CHAPTER III

The Discovery of the Past

Behind the search for the past glories of a country by its people lies a national spirit. The people of a country are enthused by this spirit generally in the first stage of the development of nationalism in the country. This search for the glories of the past is also a sort of an endeavour for self-assessment; and thus, this, too, appears in the first stage of the development of national spirit. But besides trying to assert the self of the nation through history or historical fiction, the people of a country want through it "to achieve unity or self-determination"¹ and to rouse a "political and historical consciousness of the nation."² This three-fold purpose of history or historical novels and stories has been served very well by the Indo-Anglian historical fiction, too.

The first Indian historical fiction in English, The Times of Yore³ by Sochee Chunder Dutt is, however, an exception, this collection of twenty-four tales based on Indian history revealing in no way a national spirit. Most of these historical tales are more or less familiar to the Indians. S. C. Dutt has only rewritten them in the form of stories in his own style. In

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² ibid. p.154.
rewriting or reshaping these tales which happen to be "the author's first attempt to write in English" - as the footnote to the title of the book in the first page tells us - the author has not added much of his own. His emphasis is only on making these historical tales as romantic, adventurous or curious as possible.

When we come from this maiden venture to write on Indian historical topics by one of our earliest Indo-Anglian writers to K. K. Sinha, we see the handling of history for nationalist purpose for the first time in the history of Indo-Anglian fiction. K. K. Sinha's Sanjogita\(^4\) is not his first attempt to write in English as it was the case with S. C. Dutt. Sinha had already to his credit a social novel, The Star of Sikri published as early as 1893. Sanjogita being his second novel published ten years after his first, it shows better handling of the plot and a more serious theme.

As the title indicates, this novel is based on the story of Sanjogita, the daughter of King Jey Chand. The rivalry between Prithvi Raj the Chohan king of Ajmere and Jey Chand the Rahtore king of Kanouj over the throne of Delhi in the twelfth century is very clearly shown. The ruler of Delhi is dead and the kingdom of Delhi is merged with the kingdom of Ajmere according to the wishes of the deceased ruler of Delhi. Jey Chand, who was already an aspirant for the throne of Delhi and was already

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4. K. K. Sinha, Sanjogita or the Princess of Aryavarta, publishers not mentioned, Dinapore, 1903.
jealous of the might and heroism of the thirty-two year old Prithvi Raj, turns now an inveterate enemy to the young King of Ajmere.

When Jey Chand arranges the swayamvara of his youthful and beautiful daughter Sanjogita, he excludes Prithvi Raj from his invitation of all the princes and potentates of India. In order to humiliate Prithvi Raj in a still worse way, he makes a gold statue of Prthvi Raj and places it at the door as the doorman. Sanjogita, the virtuous, sober damsel is, however, all admiration for this worthy, valiant, young ruler. She rejects in the swayamvara all the princes invited by her father and garlands the gold statue of her father's enemy. Prithvi Raj, who was hiding near about, then wastes no time in carrying away Sanjogita to his palace.

The enmity between the two Hindu kings thus increases and Jey Chand eagerly waits for avenging the wrong done to him. He solicits the assistance of the Muslim king of Ghazni who was all the while casting a greedy look on the Hindu kingdoms of India. Mohammed Ghori of Ghazni at once sends a force against Prithvi Raj and in the attack by the joint forces of Mohammed Ghori and Jey Chand on Ajmere, Prithvi Raj is killed. His body is, however, sent to Sanjogita on request; and she dies a Sati on the pyre of her husband.

With this story, the author shows on the one hand, the valour and heroism of Prithvi Raj of whom Indians can rightly be
proud; and on the other, the mean jealousy of Jey Chand which paved the way for the eventual Muslim conquest of India. The author preaches this idea openly in the long Preface to his novel where he has written:

India was once great. Her ancient civilization was the glory of mankind. But she is now changed; all the vestiges of her pristine greatness seem to have been swept away. When Europe was sunk in dark barbarism, India was blessed with bright civilization.

This pride in the past which has a deep tinge of national self-assertion, is followed by a criticism of the state of affairs in the country:

India is now fallen from the high estate. The ground crumbles under her feet. She was rich in the past; she is poor at the present. ... ... Internal weakness coupled with external violence - casual decay of our land has brought about her fall. The author has made an attempt to describe a little after the manner of the novelist, the India of the pre-Mohamadan period - the India on the eve of Mohamadan conquest - and to trace with fidelity to the direct forces that drew upon the Hindus their ultimate ruin.

The author's purpose behind the selection of such a period of Indian history is to show his contemporaries how the British could bring India under their rule. This is evident from the author's own words in the same Preface:
It is not an anxiety for vulgar fame or a desire for ignoble advertisement that has impelled him to impose upon himself a task so sad and onerous. To remind his countrymen of the glory and greatness of their ancestors, to draw their attention to the direct causes of their fall, to show up the glaring evils of disunion and to stamp the manly virtues on their minds have been some of the prominent objects which he has kept in view.

No doubt, the author felt the need "to draw their attention to the direct causes of their fall" to inspire them (his countrymen) to rise against the British for winning freedom.

The author has also written in this very Preface:

India has suffered much from disunion. The dead ashes of Hindu warriors and the calcined bones of Mohamadan soldiers, the lamentable degradation of the spiritual sons of Aryavarta and the remarkable fall of the devoted followers of the godly prophet of Arabia are a monument which can never be obliterated. In union lies our salvation - union between Indians themselves and the union between Indians and their rulers.

The author's lament for the disunity between the Hindus and the Muslims and his urge on a unity undoubtedly points to his feeling that only by developing a secular outlook, the Indians of his time could stand as one nation and win freedom from the British rule.

The author has, of course, insisted on the need for a unity between the Indians and their foreign rulers also. But this
need not be taken by us very seriously today. This abrupt appeal for a unity between the Indians and the foreign rulers is not in concord with the earlier spirit of the Preface; neither is it in concord with the spirit of the novel. This open appeal must, therefore, be a device to desist the British Government from imposing a ban on the book - a device adopted by most of the Indian writers during the British rule.

A word about the subject of Muslim invasion, now. The author has, no doubt, shown here the Muslim force of Ghazni as foreign and the subsequent domination of India by the Muslims as undesired. But that does not mean that K. K. Sinha does not regard the Muslims in the novel as Indian nationals. His expression of respect for "the dead ashes of the Hindu warriors and the calcined bones of Mohamadan soldiers" at the same breath, and his lamentation for the "degradation of the spiritual sons of Aryavarta and the remarkable fall of the devoted followers of the godly prophet of Arabia" at the same breath again, show clearly how to the author in 1903, both the Hindus and the Muslims of India were equally Indian nationals and formed one nation - a concept which the Government of India of today also is trying to propagate. His reference to "the remarkable fall of the devoted followers of the godly prophet of Arabia" is undoubtedly to the replacement of the Muslim rule in India by the British. The author refers to this with sorrow. The author's choice of the story of the Muslim invasion, therefore, is not for showing the Muslims in India as a separate nation that invaded India once, but to show the faults of the Indians in general for which the foreign
invaders like the Muslims in the Hindu period and the British
during the Muslim period, could invade India and dominate her.

As for the technique of the novel, we have already
known from the Preface how the author wants to narrate here an
episode of Indian history "a little after the manner of a nove­
list." Speaking later in the Preface about his technique, he has,
however, done full justice to himself. He has written:

The story has been cast in the mould of a novel though the
matter has seldom been sacrificed to the manner. The modern
method of debate has been followed in the description of
proceedings of the Councils attached to the courts of Delhi
and Kanpaur, partly because it was not foreign to the Hindu
nature and partly because it will make matter intelligible
to the modern reader.

With such a consciousness of the facts of history and
the art of a novelist, and with such an enthusiasm for the "salva­
tion" of India, K. K. Sinha has earned a commendable success as a
historical novelist with a nationalist bias.

Padmini 5 by T. Ramakrishna, the author of The Diver for
Death, is another historical novel. It is set in the seventeenth
century Southern India. This novel which has been sub-titled An
Indian Romance, has kept the romance element so alive with the
love story of Padmini that the novel seems to be more a romance.

than a historical fiction. However, the author has depicted here with care the historical events leading to the great battle of Talikote which wiped out the Vijayanagar kingdom from the map of India. Through this fall of this glorious Hindu kingdom of the South in the sixteenth century at the hands of the Muslims that had come only lately to India and established their rule in many parts of the country, the author seems to make an attempt to rouse the nationalistic spirit of the Indians, especially the Hindus.

Coming from T. Ramakrishna's Padmni to Sirdar Jogendra Singh's Nur Jahan which has also been called a romance, we mark no distinct improvement in the growth of Indo-Anglian historical fiction. This novel depicts the life story of the Indian queen Nur Jahan seemingly without any other motive. There are, of course, glimpses of Akbar's pre-occupation with equal justice and equal treatment to all the subjects of his empire irrespective of their religion, which suggests for the people of India of the author's time a way of living for the Hindus and Muslims unitedly as one nation. This idea, however, is not implicit in the story; neither is it the theme of the novel.

The story of the novel shows how Nur Jahan's father Ghias Beg left his country Persia and reached India; how he

6. I could not find the novel in any library within my reach for a first hand study. I had thus to depend for my discussion of this novel on Indian Fiction in English by Dorothy M. Spencer, Indo-Anglian Fiction by P. P. Mehta and the newspaper reviews of this novel published in the author's later work, The Divine for Death.

became the favourite of the then emperor of India Akbar, and then rose to power; how his beautiful daughter Mihar-ul-Nissa who was married to another Persian serving as a soldier in Akbar's army, was loved by Akbar's son Salim; how Salim had got this Persian soldier, Ali Kuli Beg murdered and married Mihar-ul-Nissa; and how, at last, Salim succeeded Akbar and took the name Jehangir, changing at the same time Mihar-ul-Nissa's name to Nur Jahan. The story being without any tinge of nationalism, I have abstained from retelling it in a more detailed form.

One cannot, however, ignore the passing references in the novel to Akbar's magnanimity in the field of religious tolerance and justice as mentioned above. There are scattered references to the great Indian emperor's idea of moulding all the Indians into one nation dispelling their religious prejudices. This is the most important point for us to study here. Let us therefore study it a bit elaborately.

When Ghias Beg is given shelter and a job by Akbar, the former says to his wife about Akbar's greatness thus, "He is really indefatigable in his attempt to unite the heterogeneous people into a compact nation." In the same context, Ghias Beg again says:

He wished boldly to place before his subjects a high ideal, he called from every creed the best articles of faith and on this he formed his own divine religion, and then decreed that in his eyes Hindu and Mahomedan were alike.

When Akbar's Rajput wife Jodha Bai requests Akbar to influence Ghias Beg so that Ghias might consent to give his daughte in marriage to Salim, Akbar refuses to exercise his influence and says:

I wish to kindle the fire of love in the hearts of all my subjects, to burn away all differences which separate brother from brother and father from son. I have told them, may demonstrated to the world that there is only one God, the God of love, and the only path leading to Him, the path of devotion, though there are many modes of worshipping Him. May the lesson bear fruit and unite these heterogeneous, wrong thinking, narrow minded, blind people into a united Indian nation.\(^{10}\)

And to this the empress Jodha Bai says, "God who watches the destiny of the nations is sure to bring up and nourish the seedling which you have planted."\(^{11}\) It is of course a historical fact that Akbar made sincere efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity in his empire. But the words here given in his lips to express the idea of unifying the "heterogeneous, wrong thinking, narrow minded blind people into a united Indian nation" are the words used by the Indians of the author's own time. Through this idea of Akbar, the novelist seems to have given expression to the spirit of his own time.

\(^{10}\) ibid. p.75.

\(^{11}\) ibid. p.75.
Then again, at one stage of the story, Akbar and Abul Fazal are discussing Indian integration and Akbar's newly evolved religion Din Ilahi. Akbar says in this context, "I act as a devout Hindu, a pious Christian, and a selfish Parsi, because I find no difference in the essence of their teachings." Such pre-occupation of Akbar with the unity of the Indians of different religions was, no doubt, historically true. But it also seems to be the author's intention which is to exhort his readers that they should also think in terms of Indian unity and integration as that great Indian Akbar did in the Middle Ages in the teeth of all the religious differences.

Describing Akbar ailing before his death, the author gives expression to Akbar's sorrowing thoughts thus:

What had time spared him but the hope for the continuance of his work, the peace and order which he had established, the unity and aspiration which he had inaugurated, the awakening of the national feeling which he had engendered. 

The term like "the awakening of the national feeling" is also a term used in the author's own time when the Congress leaders fought for that ideal.

It must, however, be reiterated that the idea of forming one secular state, to use a term which is so familiar today, revealed in the novel through such terms as "to unite the heterogeneous people into a compact nation", "to unite the heterogeneous,

wrong thinking, narrow minded, blind people into a united Indian nation"; "the awakening of the national feeling" occur only occasionally in the novel; and the idea of the unification of the heterogeneous masses of the Indian people into one compact nation is not inherent in the story itself.

The technique of the novel is not faultless if it is to be regarded as a novel proper. The writer often tells the story in his own person as if he is narrating a tale only. It is, of course, not that he never develops the plot as a novelist does, himself remaining in the background. But whenever he does it, the actions and conversations of the characters seem to be far removed from reality. But we may ignore the fault like this in the technique since the author has called this novel a romance. While treating this as a historical novel or romance, we are to note this also that the author here has not used any date anywhere, neither has he made any mention of the time in his story.

When we come from this novel to A. Madhaviah's Clarinda, we come to a different kind of historical novel altogether. Had the novelist himself not sub-titled this novel as A Historical Novel, we might have treated it as a social novel. It is because of the fact that unlike the historical novel in general where the main characters are royal personages of repute or ill repute and their problems mostly political or having political implications, this novel is about men and women belonging to the society of

the common people; and the problem in which they are involved is also social. The heroine here is not only an ordinary woman but also little known outside her circle in her own times and forgotten after her death. As the author himself writes in the Introduction:

Our heroine was a historical character, and the appended account of the only few incidents of her life now gleanable from contemporary records, will show how little is known of her strange and remarkable story and how much remained to be guessed at, or imagined as each might choose.

The novel has been treated as a historical novel by me mainly for two reasons. First, the heroine around whose life the story is woven was a real woman. And secondly, the time and society depicted in the novel belong to the past and are revealed through incidents that took place in reality in the past. It is, however, true that these incidents have not found place in the pages of history; neither do we come across any reference to the life of the heroine in the history of the country. Of all the characters in this novel, only that of Dr. Schwartz finds place in Indian history because of his missionary services to the people of South India.

The author does not write anything explicitly about Indian nationalism in the novel. But from a reading of the story, it can be realized how he wants the Hindu society to be purified of its vices so that the Hindu society in particular and the people
of the country in general can be strengthened. This idea is im-
plicit in the story of the novel which is about a Hindu girl who
could not remain a Hindu for the evils of the society - the evils
which were at the root of the weakening of the Hindu society and
the corresponding increase of the Christian power in India. For
illustration let us go to the story.

The heroine of this novel in three parts is Clavirunda
Bai, a Maratha Brahmin girl, who having lost her father at a
tender age, was brought up by her grandfather. Amidst the author's
narratives of history of Tanjore in the latter eighteenth century,
the story of the novel starts when the heroine is bitten by a
snake and a gallant English officer casually comes across her and
snatching away the coiling snake, kills it. He then sucks out the
poisoned blood from Clavirunda's leg and saves her. The girl and
her grandfather who is then in her company are naturally full of
gratitude to this English officer. The girl is afterwards given
in marriage to a middle aged widower, the Dewan of Tanjore. The
rich Dewan has already a son, Madhava Rao who is also marriageable.

Clavirunda is unhappy in her married life with the mid-
dle aged widower. Moreover, her step son Madhava is enamoured of
her and she has to guard her chastity against his amorous advances.
The Dewan is suspicious of her chastity and throws all blames on
her for his son's conduct. Clavirunda tries her best to clear all
the misunderstandings of her husband when he dies of his old age.
When the Dewan dies, the so called well-wishers of Clavirunda's own society want to burn her a sati with the hidden motive of owning the vast property belonging to her husband. She is then rescued by her maid-servant Sarada by exposing the conspiracy to the English officer Lyttleton who had earlier saved her from the snake-bite. However, when Clavirunda is dragged out of the burning pyre of her husband, she is already half-burnt.

The Hindus get furious at the audacity of this Feringhee. Lyttleton meets them with force and love combined and wins them easily. After she recovers, Clavirunda decides to live under the protection of this benevolent English officer. While thus at Lyttleton's house, her step-son proposes to keep her as his concubine. Clavirunda disagrees; though she would have agreed had Madhava offered an honest proposal to marry her.

As Clavirunda passes her days under the care of Lyttleton, she develops a love for him which he, too, reciprocates. A formal marriage between them is, however, impossible since the two lovers belong to two different religions. Clavirunda who has been so much ill-treated in the Hindu society desires to be converted into Christianity; but because of the want of a good priest in Tanjore at that time, baptism is not possible immediately. Waiting for the earliest possible chance for Clavirunda's conversion and her subsequent marriage with Lyttleton, the two lovers start living like husband and wife.
Their chance comes when in 1771, the great German missionary Frederick Schwartz who is then at the head of the English branch of the S.P.C.K. at Trichinopoly, pays a visit to Tanjore. The great priest, however, having known nothing about the sufferings of the Hindu woman in her society and about the benevolence of Lyttleton, turns down their request for baptism and marriage cruelly. He asks them to live separately first and prove their innocence. The two innocent souls are badly shocked at this. They live separately, one completely cut off from the other. In such an isolated life, Lyttleton falls a martyr to gout. When he is seriously ill, Clavirunda comes to him and nurses him lovingly. But even Clavirunda's nursing does not prove fruitful; and Lyttleton passes away.

Seven years after his first visit, Dr Schwartz pays another visit to Tanjore when he knows all about the sufferings of Clavirunda in the Hindu society and the service rendered by the late Lyttleton for her succour. He now willingly baptizes Clavirunda into Christianity as Clarinda. Her faithful maid Sarada is baptized as Sarah while Clarinda's adopted son Gopal is baptized as Henry Lyttleton.

From this story, it is evident that the author wrote this novel with a serious concern for national consolidation. The evils of the Hindu society in the eighteenth century drove many of the Hindus to seek refuge in other religions, especially in the Christian religion. By revealing these evils of the Hindu
society like child marriage, Sati, widower remarriage etc., the
author shows to his readers the need for reformation of the
society which will strengthen the Hindu community, thus resulting
ultimately in the strengthening of the Indian nation.

Now, in so far as Clarinda is a historical novel, the
chains of actions like Lyttleton's living with Clavirunda,
Schwartz's first refusal to baptize Clavirunda and perform her
marriage, Lyttleton's falling a victim to gout and his death,
Schwartz's ultimate baptizing of Clavirunda, Sarada and Clavirun-
da's adopted son Gopal are all facts. As for the rest, Madhaviah
himself writes in the Introduction, "We have essayed in the
following pages to present a more or less complete picture of her
(Clarinda's) whole life, in a manner which we fondly hope, will
be considered neither improbable nor unprofitable." The inven-
tions of the author here do not mar the quality of the novel as
a historical novel. But because the hero and the heroine of the
novel are very little known in history, we may perhaps best look
upon this novel as socio-historical.

Coming to the technique, we find that the plot of this
novel spread over three parts does not develop uniformly. Book I
of the novel is a thorough historical record of the occupation of
the Southern peninsula, especially the Tanjore district of the
Madras Presidency by the English and the French. The description
here is so graphic and pertaining to the facts that this part
seems to be more an independent historical narration of Tanjore
from 1746 to 1786 serving as an introduction to the latter two parts of the novel than a part of the novel proper.

Fifteen years after the publication of A. Madhaviah's Clarinda (1915) came out Baladitya by A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, a historical novel with a much bigger plot, larger scope and a far more distinct urge for Indian nationalism. The national urge which drove the author to write a historical novel like this is expressed in the long Introduction also, where he writes:

In England, the ancient national heroes Alfred the Great and Hereward the Wake have been made the subjects of novels which bring the reader in active touch with those worthies. But in India though there have been no lack of first rate national heroes in our ancient history we have not made them the subjects of popular novels.

The author further points out, "A country's heroes are among its most valuable possessions. They are the heirlooms of the national family to be carefully preserved and fondly cherished." Then again, "I do consider the lack of biographies of India's political heroes as a national calamity, for it led to their undeserved oblivion."

The use of such terms as "national heroes", "national family", and "national calamity" by the author in his Introduction shows how consciously he took to writing the novel with a nationalistic purpose.

The theme of the novel is the crushing defeat of the Huns who had pillaged and plundered the kingdoms of Mahakosala and Magadha and by overthrowing their king, occupied them. This crushing of the Hunish power has been shown as possible because of the united efforts of all the major kings of India from Kamarupa to Kashmir and from Simhala to Nepal. With such a theme, besides showing the unity of all the kings of India in the remote sixth century A.D., the author also indirectly shows the need for such a unity amongst the Indians of all the parts of the country for putting an end to the foreign domination in his own time. The author has also affirmed here, with a sense of pride, the various aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilization.

Let us first see how through the story, the author shows the unity of all the kings of ancient India which enabled them to crush the Hunish power that threatened their rule. We see the Huns here under their leader Toramana pillaging India and overthrowing Yasodharman the king of Malwa and Mahakosala, and Baladitya the king of Magadha, a descendant of the famous Gupta dynasty. Puny kings like Bhanugupta of Western Malwa have already accepted the suzerainty of the Huns and have become their pets. Baladitya and Yasodharman, however, cannot submit themselves to the Huns. They go underground and keep seeking the earliest opportunity to regain their kingdoms.

In an encounter with Bhumaka, the brother of the Hunish king Toramana, Baladitya kills Bhumaka in the city of Ujjaini, the capital of the Huns, and then flees the city with his friend
Yasodharman for safety. The two leave for the jungles of the Aravallis where a pious Hindu Raghupati and his daughter Saraswati as well as a Jain monk Bhadrabahu are heard to have been exiled by the Huns on the ground of religious difference. They, however, find the unfortunate exiles safe under a Hindu robber chief who is found to be an honest man at bottom and all enthusiasm for the cause of Indians rising against the intruding Huns. Baladitya and Yasodharman are then relieved of their anxiety; and the former leaves for Keralaputra while the latter to his lost kingdom Mahakosala. Baladitya takes with him Raghupati, his youthful daughter Saraswati and the Jain monk Bhadrabahu. They leave by ship from the port of Bharukachcha.

When Baladitya and his party reach Cranganore, the port and capital city of Keralaputra and see the king there, the king is very much impressed by the heroic endurance of Baladitya. The king offers any help he is capable of for fighting the Huns. It is here and under the patronage of this Cranganore king Mahasena that Baladitya marries Saraswati for whom he had developed love since he saw her in the Aravallis. Mahasena suggests to Baladitya that help and active co-operation from the South Indian kings will be available for fighting the Hunish menace in the North. Baladitya is elated at this prospect of a united fight of the Indian kings against the foreign usurpers.

Toramana at Ujjaini knows from his spies about the war preparation of Baladitya at Kerala. He also knows about Yasodharman living at Kalanjar where he has found many loyal followers. He
has further heard about the swayamvara of princess Charumati of Kalinga at Kalingapatnam. Toramana finds that though the Hindu king of Kalinga has invited all the Hindu princes of India to the swayamvara of his daughter who has earned a reputation all over India for her unparalleled beauty and learning, his son Mihiragula has been left out. Toramana wants to perpetuate Hunish rule in India; and he has perceived that this is possible only if the Huns are Hinduized. He thus wants his son to marry a Hindu princess. For this, he decides to send Bhanugupta as the representative of his son to the swayamvara of Charumati uninvitedly.

In the swayamvara, Yasodharman is accepted by Charumati as her bridegroom; and it is he who stands against Bhanugupta representing Mihiragula as a candidate. To Yasodharman, Mihiragula being a non-Aryan has no right to come to the swayamvara of an Aryan princess. Bhanugupta predicts war against the Aryan kings at this rejection of the Hunish prince and goes away. At once Vyaghraraja the king of Gondwana and Mahakanthara, Aparajita the king of Devarashtra and Maharashtra, Yasodharman of Malwa and Mahakosala, Mahasena of Keralaputra, Mahendravarman the king of Vengi, Avantivarman the king of Kanchi, and Kumarapala the king of Kamarupa who are all present at the swayamvara assure all possible help to Gunasagara the Kalinga king in the event of any attack by the Huns.

Meanwhile Baladitya's expedition for restoring Magadha from the Huns has started. Yasodharman has left Kalanjar for Magadha as arranged earlier and soon the troops from Kalinga,
Mahakosala and Gondwana join them. The kings of Kerala, Vengi, Kanchi, Simhala and Kamarupa are also expected at Magadha with their own troops. So are expected Mahendravarman of Vengi, Avantivarman of Kanchi and Mahasena of Kerala with Baladitya himself. It is, however, found later that though the kings of remote Simhala and Kamarupa have reached Magadha with troops, and the kings of Anga and Vanga have also helped the allies with many war-elephants though their kingdoms have been long absorbed in Magadha, the kings of Vengi, Kanchi and Kerala do not act according to their words. In the battle that takes place, the province of Magadha is restored and Baladitya is crowned Emperor in the city of Pataliputra. Vyaghraraja, the king of Gondwana and Mahakanthara, who was a great enthusiast in the cause of the Aryans, dies a heroic death in the battle.

After this victory, Baladitya becomes a Buddhist which piques Yasodharman and ultimately leads to a rupture between the two friends. As a Buddhist king of Magadha, Baladitya engages himself mostly in benevolent works for the welfare of his subjects and grows indifferent to his political ambition to restore the whole region of the Magadha empire under the Huns.

Twenty-eight years roll on like this after the battle of Pataliputra. Yasodharman can no more remain indifferent like Buddhist Baladitya to the fate of a part of the Magadha empire remaining under the rule of the Huns. Yasodharman is induced by his mother and wife Charumati also to make an expedition to crush the Huns and free their kingdom. Yasodharman
resolves accordingly and seeks help from the kings of the different kingdoms of India. Soon he gets very encouraging response as before.

Toramana is long dead now and his son Mihiragula is on the throne of the Huns. When Mihiragula hears about the war preparation of his enemies again, he holds a council of his subordinate Indian kings and allies like Vajrayudha of Kashmir, Indradyumna of Kashi and Rudrasimha of Saurashtra. They decide to face the enemies in a battle at the frontier of Mahakosala. The battle takes place at Karur; but Yasodharman finds the support of the Southern kings discouraging, though this time the kings of Vengi, Kanchi and Kerala send troops. The kings that come from distant parts to fight for the Aryan cause are the kings of Nepal, Kamarupa and Simhala. As the battle is raging, Mihiragula who was personally commanding Hunish force hears news of revolt in more than one part of his kingdom and he goes away to suppress those rebellions leaving his army at the command of Nahapana. The Aryan forces then have an easy victory over the Huns and their allies and Mihiragula has to flee to Kashmir for refuge. On the Aryan side, too, Kakavarna the king of Simhala dies; and prince Murari the son of Baladitya who was sent by Baladitya as his representative, is fatally wounded. Murari later succumbs to his wounds in the palace of Yasodharman.

The loss of Murari proves to be a fatal shock to Baladitya who declares before his death that he wants no part of the newly regained territory. Yasodharman and Charumati go to Puri.
on a pilgrimage after this victory when they hear about the
death of Baladitya. He had a plan to visit Baladitya for recon-
ciliation after such a pilgrimage. The news of Baladitya's
death before that reconciliation, therefore, gives him a very
severe shock.

From such a story, it is obvious that Ayyar wants to
refute the common assumption that the Indians in the past were
a heterogeneous mass of peoples unable to unite together for a
common cause. He has shown very well by this story based on
historical facts that though India was divided into many kingdoms,
each having different language, culture and tradition, yet all
the Indian kingdoms including even those of Nepal and Ceylon had
a common link from the earliest times. This link was the firm
link of the Hindu religion and the common Aryan culture and tra-
dition. It is for such a link that when occasion demanded, all
the kingdoms of India from Ceylon to Nepal, and from Kamarupa to
Maharashtra could unite together and fight for a common cause.

It will also be evident from a reading of the novel that
the author wants his countrymen under the British domination to
realize the need for a similar unity amongst all the states of
India. The novelist who was an I.C.S. officer of the Government,
could not naturally write anything against it explicitly. But
from certain speeches given in the lips of his characters in the
novel, we can easily understand that this I.C.S. officer of the
British Government took the garb of a historical novelist only to
rouse his countrymen to such a unity against the foreign rulers.
For example, Ayyar has made Yasodharman speak of himself at the swayamvara of Charumati as one "engaged in this righteous war for the independence of our country." 16 Then, when Yasodharman speaks to the citizens of Amaravati before the battle of Karur against the Huns, he explains to them the need for unity "against the barbarian and the foreigner who has tyrannized over us." 17

In the same speech, we find Yasodharman exhorting the people to support them in their fight against the Huns, explaining the greatness of the cause thus:

This is a supreme crisis in the history of our country and that of Aryavarta. To-day we are on the eve the most momentous conflict ever nation engaged in, the conflict of civilization, culture and religion. 18

Then again, just before the battle of Karur, Yasodharman appeals to his allied forces in these words:

Soldiers of Mahakosala, Kalinga, Magadha, Kamarupa, Simhala, Vengi, Kanchi and Kerala, to-day you are face to face with the fiercest battle you have ever had in Aryavarta since the Mahabharata war. Our enemies, the Huns, are assembled in full force in order to crush our attempts at independence. ... Let everyone of our soldiers, be his caste what it may, acquit himself like a true Kshatriya to-day. 19

If we take away these speeches from their contexts in the novel,

16. ibid. p.250.  
17. ibid. p.332.  
18. ibid. p.332.  
they will, no doubt, sound like the speeches of some national leaders against the British Government in the author's own time. The terms in these excerpts like "attempts at independence" and "righteous war for the independence of our country" are the familiar terms of the Indians of the author's own time.

We are left now with the task of illustrating how the author asserts here the ancient Indian tradition and culture with a nationalistic spirit. With this purpose the author has shown, in one full chapter how India in the remote sixth century was well ahead of all the other countries of the world in the field of astronomical and astrological research and knowledge. For this purpose, the author has brought in Varahamihira the great Indian astronomer and astrologer of the sixth century A.D. to discuss with the great Indian poet of the time Dandi, the rare achievements of Indian astronomy right from the time of Parasaramuni of classical antiquity through the time of Aryabhatta of the fifth century till his own time.

India's early relation with other countries abroad especially in trade and commerce has also been shown with a sense of pride in many places. For example, the trade and commerce of early Keralaputra is shown as extending to "Arabia, China, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Kambhoja." Indian ships in general are stated to have navigated for trade in that distant past to the coasts of

"Baveru and Roma in the West and Sumatra, Java, Matan, Kambhoja, China and Japan in the East."²² How Indian ships were the biggest and fastest sailing in those days has also been mentioned.²³

It is, however, not that the author is very much complacent about all these achievements of India in the past and wants his countrymen also to be complacent about these. In order to keep the people of the country free from complacency after reading this historical story, the author has shown how in the past, too, forces of dissension and disintegration were there for which freedom of the country was constantly in danger. For example, when the battle for the restoration of the province of Magadha takes place in the novel, the kings of Vengi, Kanchi and Kerala who had formerly promised active co-operation, break their promise and keep away. In this context, the following words of Yasodharman's mother have been given as an expression of remorse which might also serve as an indirect warning to the freedom fighting Indians of the author's own time:

When the barbarian invaded the land in the time of Paurava (Porus), Ambhi of Takshasila turned traitor to his country and ideals; when the barbarian king's general (Seleukos) crossed the Sindhu, the petty kings of Avanti and Malwa aided him against the Emperor Chandragupta; when the Sakas and Yuehchis came, it was the same story all over; again when Milinda the yavana came to attack Pushyamitra Sunga,

Kalinga aided the barbarian; lastly when the blood-thirsty Huns came to this country, the ungrateful princelings deserted the great Skandagupta and Prakasaditya and took sides with the barbarian and the foreigner. 24

It may also seem that the author here indulges in a sort of self-criticism, he himself being a high official of the foreign Government and thus serving under the power he should like to see overthrown by his countrymen.

Then again the author has shown how the king of Kamarupa demands Anga and Vanga from Baladitya after the restoration of Magadha. The demand is turned down by Baladitya when Kumarapala threatens secession from the allied camp. Queen Charumati is then made to exclaim thus, "When will the Aryan princes learn to unite and not play into the hands of the common foe?" 25 It is obvious that the anxiety of Charumati is also the anxiety of many an Indian imbued with the spirit of nationalism during the British rule when they saw the seeds of dissensions sown by a few enemies of the nation at the time when the struggle for freedom was going on.

It is now clear how the author through this historical novel shows an example of the unity of the Indian kingdoms of the past, calls indirectly for such a unity amongst the Indians of all the parts of the country of his own time for the freedom of India,

25. ibid. p.277.
and affirms proudly the ancient Indian culture and tradition, besides making the people aware of the possible forces of dissension in the freedom struggle. *Baladitya* is thus out and out a nationalist novel.

As a historical novel, the author has followed here only the broad outlines of history for the plot. Besides the plot of the formation of a confederation of the Indian kings to drive out the foreigners which is a historical fact, there are a number of episodes and incidents in this vast novel of 400 pages which are all the inventions of the author. This is especially so in the first half of the novel which is full of digressions from the original plot and full of imaginary episodes and incidents. In this early part of the novel, there are many incidents and characters which are unrealistic and unconvincing and which thus fail to rouse any nationalistic spirit which was the very purpose for which these imaginary episodes were introduced. For example, the kind of honesty and faithfulness shown by the robber chief Hari Ram in the wood of Viswakarani is unconvincing, though admirable. So are the influences of Paramarthi the Magadhan merchant over the coast from Bharukachcha to Cranganore, i.e. over the whole of the West coast of India. The grandeur and scientifically planned arrangement of the ship *Vikrama*, the rare distinctions of the personality of the queen Charumati, the skill of espionage of the spies Kalagni, Sarvasammata and Sumati also seem to be only marginally relevant if not unconvincing. The author is, however, aware of this and he writes in the *Introduction*:
In writing this novel, I have been more particular in representing what I consider to be the true spirit of the age rather than in sticking to the historical facts even in details. A novelist is not bound to adhere to minute historical facts. Hence it is that out of seventy characters who figure in this novel only four or five are definitely historical. The rest are my own creation.

Whereas in Baladitya, A. S. P. Ayyar's emphasis is all along on the ability of ancient Indian kings and peoples to unite for driving out foreign invaders, in Three Men of Destiny, his second historical novel, the emphasis is not only on their ability to unite for defence and freedom but also for peace and prosperity. In this second novel, the author further emphasizes the fact of a strong bond of unity between the North and the South. Together with these, he glorifies ancient Indian science and literature, culture and civilization as in the earlier novel for the nationalistic purpose of self-assertion.

The hero in Three Men of Destiny is also a prince deprived of his rightful throne as in Baladitya. But whereas in Baladitya, the hero is deprived of the throne by foreign invaders, in the present novel, the hero Chandragupta Maurya is deprived by his usurping brothers the Nandas who are not only Indians but also the heirs to the throne according to their own claims. The invasion of foreigners against which the Indians are to unite together

remains here, too, as in Baladitva. But this time, the invasion is not by the Huns who want to settle in India but by the mighty Alexander with his Greek troops whose design is to bring India under his control in order to "unite the world under me (Alexander), to marry the east to the west, to abolish all the artificial distinctions of race and country" as we know it from Alexander's letter to his mother in the novel. Chandragupta does not go straightway against this foreigner; rather he wants to occupy the throne of Magadha through Alexander's help. He is, however, refused help by Alexander. It is after Chandragupta regains the throne of Magadha that he makes his attempt to drive out the foreigners through the united efforts of the Indian kings.

Let us see how the author shows the unification of the various parts of the country for the attainment of peace and amity in common. The period covered by the story is from 327 B.C. to 298 B.C. The story begins when Alexander the Great is on the frontiers of India and the prince Chandragupta is only a captain in the Magadha Army of the Nandas; and it ends with Chandragupta's death in 298 B.C.

As Alexander reaches "Nikaia, a small town to the west of modern Jalalabad", the old king of Takshasila and his son Omphis (Ambhi) go to Alexander and show their allegiance. Even after the death of the old king, Omphis remains loyal to the Greek invader. From Nikaia, Alexander leads his expedition to Asvakani.

(modern Afghanistan) and wins victory over this kingdom. Alexander then fights a battle against Poros in which Poros is defeated and arrested by Alexander. Later Poros is released when Alexander knows about the high sense of self-respect and unique bravery of this defeated Indian king. Alexander makes Omphis and Poros's young nephew Poros junior, Satraps under him. Soon, however, Poros junior revolts against Alexander along with other rebels in other neighbouring kingdoms of the region that were subjugated by Alexander. Alexander suppresses these rebellions and then brings many more Indian kingdoms of the region under his direct or indirect rule. It is at this time that Alexander hears about the rich kingdoms beyond the Hyphasis (Beas), especially Magadha which he is tempted to attack for its great pelf and power. He also hears about the might of the Nandas who have usurped the throne of Magadha.

In Magadha about this time, Chandragupta Maurya is engaged in devising means for recovering the throne for himself since he is the rightful heir to the throne. Chanakya has been his most respected and trusted guide in this venture. Though young, Chanakya is already reputed as a marvellously learned scholar and a man of rare intelligence. Because of his fame as a man of great scholarship, he was invited by the Nanda king to a banquet in the palace of Pataliputra. But he felt humiliated there when he was not treated as the most learned scholar of Magadha. Being an excessively piquant, irritable and intolerant man, Chandragupta promised vengeance upon the Nandas. He now finds his opportunity
when he knows about the displeasure of Chandragupta, too, with the usurping Nandas. Chanakya offers to guide Chandragupta in his venture for the recovery of the throne and Chandragupta accepts him as his trusted guide.

In order to prepare for the overthrow of the usurpers, Chanakya travels from Magadha to Bardhamanapura and from there to the North-West region of India where Alexander was then camping. On reaching the Punjab, the two men of destiny, Chanakya and Chandragupta meet the third man of destiny, Alexander with a view to seeking his help for overthrowing the rule of the Nandas in Magadha. Alexander himself had a plan to invade Magadha; but his men were too tired to proceed farther then. Alexander still would have helped Chandragupta if he could come to terms with this ambitious prince of Magadha. But they fail to reach an accord; and consequently, Chandragupta only finds himself a prisoner of Alexander who was then camping in the capital of Poros.

This imprisonment proves a blessing in disguise for Chandragupta. A niece of Poros called Santavati the daughter of the king of Simhapura, falls in love with Chandragupta when he is in the palace of Poros for meeting Alexander. When Chandragupta is in the dungeon of Poros as a prisoner of Alexander, she meets him secretly in the dungeon and marrying him in the Gandharva way, sets him free. Later in the capital of Simhapura, their formal marriage takes place.

Alexander faces troubles again when he finds many Indian kings and rulers under his control rising into rebellion against
him. Alexander suppresses them all. But soon he realizes that these rebels seeking freedom from alien domination cannot be suppressed for ever. He feels that soon he may not be able to hold any sway over any Indian territory. With such a realization, Alexander leaves India with his forces in 325 B.C. Soon there is an upsurge in the Indian territories against the foreign domination. Chanakya and Chandragupta take advantage of this. Chandragupta is by now in command of a large force after his marriage with the princess of Simhapura. Thus strengthened in position, Chandragupta and Chanakya meet the dissatisfied kings and rulers of India under the Greeks. Chandragupta can easily form an ally with the forces of these kingdoms and principalities. Soon the kings of Kalinga and Andhra also extend their support to this alliance while a thousand men from Magadha itself offer themselves to fight under Chandragupta, the real heir to the throne.

The allied forces have their final aim to overthrow the rule of the Nandás in Magadha. But for the present they engage themselves in freeing the Indian territories from the domination of the Greeks. The news of the death of Alexander on his way back to Greece encourages the Indians in their fight for freedom and soon they realize their goal.

Meanwhile Chandragupta has been informed that when his campaign to free Magadha would take place, the Kalingas would march to join them from the south, the Kamarupas from the east and the Manjupatans from the north. The attack is then launched at last on Pataliputra by the main forces under the command of
Chandragupta, Chanakya and Poros. And simultaneously the forces from Kalinga, Kamarupa and Manjupatan (modern Nepal) under the command of their respective kings follow suit. In the battle, the Nanda king and his eight brothers are all killed; and the allied army has an easy victory. Chandragupta is thus crowned as the king of Magadha; and the kings of Kalinga, Kamarupa and Manjupatan leave for their own kingdoms with gifts of honour.

Later Chandragupta appoints Rakshasa the erstwhile prime minister of the Nandas as his prime minister on the advice of Chanakya. Thus secure in his throne, Chandragupta soon decides to launch the biggest ever expedition to bring the whole of India under his rule. The suggestion for this comes from Chanakya, of course. Soon Chandragupta and Chanakya set out with a big force first to the West and then to the North, North-West and Central India. They bring under Chandragupta's rule all the kings and Satraps of these regions who had not so far come under his direct or indirect rule. While Chandragupta is at Ujjaini in course of his expedition, envoy after envoy comes to him with tributes and messages of submission from the Kosas, the Kadambas, the Gangas, the Vadukas, the Konkanasthas, the Maharashtras, the Andhras and the Errandapallas.

At this time, Chanakya arranges a second marriage for Chandragupta with the consent of queen Santavati, Santavati having no child. The bride chosen by Chanakya is Daudhara, the daughter of king Udayana. The marriage takes place in 318 B.C. In time, queen Daudhara has a son and he is named Bindusara.
Chandragupta returns from his expedition by this time.

At the suggestion of Chanakya, another expedition is led by Chandragupta towards the South where all the kingdoms and principalities are brought under the Magadha empire except Chola, Pandya, Keralaputra, Satyaputra and Simhala. When Chandragupta establishes thus the Indian empire and becomes its undisputed head, Seleukos Nikator the Greek emperor at Babylon grows jealous. He especially cannot bear to accept Chandragupta's suzerainty over the Western and North-Western territories of India over which the Greeks held their sway formerly. He resolves to recover the Indus Valley and the territories west of the Hyphasis. Thus a fierce battle takes place again between the Greeks and the Indians where the Greeks are badly defeated and a treaty of friendship is signed in 303 B.C.

The rest of the novel is a narrative of the travels of Megasthenes the Greek envoy sent to India, Bindusara's lessons at the feet of Chanakya, Bindusara's marriage and his having a boy-child (the future emperor Ashoka) and a girl-child; and amidst all these, Chandragupta's smooth administration of the empire till his death in presence of his son, daughter-in-law, Chanakya and many others.

It is seen now from this story how A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar has shown the unification of India in the pre-Christian era. It is also evident how this unification of all the kingdoms of India has been shown as possible not for any threat from outside but for the great personality of Chandragupta, as well as for the
realization of the kings and peoples of India that injustice must not be allowed to prevail in any part of the country. It is for this that when Chandragupta stood against the usurping Nandas of Magadha, the Kalingas, the Kamarupas and the Manjupatans offered their help and active cooperation. That Chandragupta's great personality also was a cause for the unification of India is proved by the fact that many Indian kings submitted themselves to Chandragupta without fighting any battle against him. It is for the purpose of showing the unity amongst the various parts of India that the author has introduced the swayamvara of princess Santavati, which was attended by the rulers and princes of many Indian states like Malwa, Sind, Kanouj, Saurashtra, Maharashtra and so on.

The second nationalist aspect of this novel is that of the unity between the North and the South of India as early as in the fourth century B.C. In Baladitya, too, Ayyar had shown this unity; but there it was not done with a special fervour or emphasis. He had shown there the unity prevailing amongst the various kingdoms of the country in general, not specially between the North Indian and the South Indian states. Here in Three Men of Destiny, the author has shown specifically the friendly relations of the Southern kingdoms with those of the North. It is for showing this cordial relation between the North and the South that the author has tried in his long Introduction to establish the fact that

29. ibid. pp.155-156.
Chanakya was a Tamil Brahmin from the South. In the body of the novel, too, Chanakya's mother in Kasi introduces herself thus, "we are Tamils from the Muchiri." (Page 18)

This emphasis on Chanakya being a Tamil Brahmin from the South seems to be purposive. Chandragupta in the novel has established himself as the emperor of all India. If he had done it at his own behest or at the behest of another North Indian like him, his suzerainty over the South might have been looked upon as the exploit or domination of the North over the South. But because Chanakya is a Southerner in the novel and because all the conquests

30. I quote here that particular portion of the long Introduction sub-titled CHANAKYA, A COCHIN TAMILIAN where the author has tried to establish the fact that Chanakya was a Tamil Brahmin of the South:

"Chanakya was in all probability a Southerner. His name 'Dramila' shows him to be a Tamilian. Till the Andhra Empire fell in the third century A.D., 'Dramila' or 'Dravida' meant only a Tamilian. Even now the Andhras mean by 'Dravida' a Tamilian. The Arthasastra shows an intimate knowledge of the South. The worship of Kumara and Kumari advocated there shows Chanakya to be a Tamilian from near Cape Comorin (Kanya Kumari). The mention of products from the obscure hills and rivers now in Cochin State makes it probable that he was from Muyilikkodu or Muchiri or Muziris or Cranganore of the present day in the Cochin State, but then part of the Tamil country and a great centre of Tamil culture; Malayalam (the daughter of Tamil married to Sanskrit) had not yet been born. Kerala or the Malayalam country is the stronghold of Atharva Veda lore and of sorcerers, physicians and astrologers. It is quite easy to find there even to-day people who claim that they can kill others by incantations and that they can make themselves were-wolves or Odiyans or become even invisible. All the strange and wonderful things mentioned by Kautilya in the Fourteenth Book of his Arthasastra for injuring an enemy, such as making wonderful and delusive contrivances oneself becoming invisible, causing death, blindness, consumptive diseases, madness, etc. by Mantras and medicines, will find ready believers in the Kerala country. Thousands believe there even
of Chandragupta are made on the suggestions of Chanakya only, and Chandragupta's administration also runs on the advice of Chanakya, none can regard the conquest of the Southern kingdoms by Chandragupta as the conquest by an outsider for mere domination and suppression. On the other hand, what Chandragupta has done in the South with Chanakya as the brain behind it, can now be regarded as a process of unification of the North and the South with the power of the North and the brain of the South. Apparently, the I.C.S. officer who could not address his people from any public platform, wanted to suggest by this device that what had been possible in the remote past might also be possible at his own time - the North-South confrontation being a little acute at the time of the author. Once that unification of the North and the South was brought about as it was done in the past, any foreign power, even that of the British, would quail before this united strength of India - the author suggests.

now in the feasibility and efficacy of those magic rites. The Tamils of Tanjore threaten 'to do Malayalam' to their opponents, meaning 'to do rites of black magic'. So, it is more likely that Chanakya, the adept in Atharva Veda and the arch-exponent of magic and Black-art, was from Kerala, and not from present Tamil Nadu. This is also the inference from the significant fact that even to-day the word 'Vastu' means in Malabar and Cochin 'houses, fields, gardens, buildings and tanks', and that this issue is apparently not found in other parts of India. So, too, in Kerala, even now, Adi-aruthi and Avani-pirappu, the end of Asadh and the beginning of Sravan, are important as the end and beginning of the Hindu financial year, as in Arthasastra. The proverb, 'Chozhiyan Chindu Summa Iradu' (Chozhiyan's tuft will always be after some mischief or other) certainly refers to the mischief done by Chanakya's dangling tuft as an additional argument for Chanakya being a Tamil. Of course, it is no argument against his being a native of Cranganore, as several Chozhiya (Chola Brahmin) colonies have existed in the Kerala country from time immemorial, and exist even now in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.
Besides showing the unification of the two parts of the country in the political field thus, the author has also shown the cordial relation of the people of one part of the country with those of the other, their mutual contact and the influence of the one on the other. It is for this that the author has brought in the episode of Samudranath being sent by Chandragupta to the Southern kingdoms for the exploration of their culture and civilization. Samudranath makes an extensive tour in the South, comes back to the emperor and narrates whatever he has learnt about the South Indian civilization before the emperor with a sense of respect for that civilization. 31

In this context we may also mention certain small incidents of the novel which suggest the good relationship between the people of the North and those of the South in those days. One such incident is that which shows how the style of building pyramid-like gateways to the Hindu temples came to the South. The author has shown Alexander and his party of intellectuals paying a visit to the University of Takshasila. As the party visits the different departments and learns about Indian achievements in different subjects from the Heads of different departments, Ptolemy the great Egyptian astronomer asks the Professor of Mathematics if India has any knowledge of the pyramid in Geometry. As the Indian Professor answers in the negative, Ptolemy who accompanies Alexander to India, explains all about a pyramid with diagrams. The Professor of Mathematics is then made to assure

the Egyptian astronomer in these words:

I am from the Chola country, sir. I come from the banks of the Kaveri where mathematics flourishes best. I shall retire and settle down in my land and induce the king there to reproduce these pyramids as gateways to the temple of our gods.

This is certainly a very good example of the service of the best talents of one part of the country to the other and carrying of the influence of one part to the other by these talents.

Another very good example of the cordial relation between the peoples of the two parts of the country is the episode of a famine in the North and the help sent by the people of the South. After the departure of Megasthenes from India, as the author shows, a serious drought affects North and Central India. This is followed by a horrible famine and a cholera epidemic when Chandragupta sends Samudranath again to the South for buying crops. The South Indian people are then found very much sympathetic towards their brethren in the North; and instead of selling foodgrains, they donate huge quantities of them spontaneously.

Besides showing the unification of the whole of India and the friendly relation between the North and the South thus Ayyar glorifies also Indian culture and tradition in the past. For example, Alexander the great who has been shown in the novel as very

32. ibid. p.111. 33. ibid. Chapter XXXV.
proud of the culture of his own race, has also been shown as very respectful to Indian culture. It is for this that when he writes a letter to his mother from Nikaia, he expresses his impatience to meet the Indian sages: "Oh, how I long to meet the Indian wise men, the gymnosophists, and to sit on the shores of the Eastern sea listening to their tales of wisdom!"34

How India was advanced in learning, more advanced than even the Greeks, has been shown in the novel through the scene of Alexander and his party of intellectuals visiting the University of Takshasila35 and their being impressed very much at the advancement of India in the field of science and arts. In the Department of Literature, they are shown the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vedas, the Puranas and the Grammar by Panini. The importance of these books is also explained. Similarly in the Mathematics Department, besides explaining to the party Indian achievements in this field, the famous Sulva Sutras, a book on surgery written about five hundred years before the time of Alexander's visit to the University, is shown to them. In the Astronomy Department again, the party "learnt with wonder that the solar year was calculated to be 365 days 5 hours, 50 minutes and 35 seconds according to the Hindus."36 Ptolemy asks here when this calculation was done, and the Professor of Mathematics replies that that was done centuries ago. Ptolemy's remark then is, "You fellows are not mere dreamers then."37 When the Greek intellectuals leave the University,

34. ibid. p.35. 36. ibid. p.111.
35. ibid. Chapter XI. 37. ibid. p.111.
Ptolemy says to Alexander, "We too must start a great University in Egypt or Babylon." The profound knowledge of politics and statecraft in India in that remote age has also been suggested through the brief summary of Chanakya's *Arthasastra* in connection with the author's story of Chanakya giving lessons to prince Bindusara on politics and the duties of a king.

Besides showing the advancement of India in the field of learning and culture, the author has also shown Indian progress in those days in city-planning, road-building, municipal administration and the like. It is thus that Ayyar has given a vivid picture of the city of Pataliputra with its sixty-four gates and five hundred and seventy towers all guarded by sentries on duty. Another description of the city with its unique system of municipal administration finds place in the novel in connection with the author's reference to Megasthenes the Greek envoy visiting the country and writing a book on India called *Indika*. The author has also shown here how the road from Takshasila to Pataliputra was 48 feet broad and had shady trees on both sides with milestones every 1½ miles, and with wells and choultries every eight miles.

The progress of the country in trade and commerce has been suggested by showing Pataliputra as the centre of all the trades of the country. To quote the author:

Innumerable bullock-carts were coming into this important city laden with all kinds of articles of luxury and necessity. Frankincense, corals, pearls and rhinoceros teeth from Arabia and Persian Gulf coming through Bharukachcha, Sopara and Ujjaini; rubies and sapphires from Simhala and Kerala, diamonds from Kalinga, Kosala, Vidarbha, Vajrakarur and the Vedotkata mountain; beryls from Satyaputra country; the finest pearls and cotton fabrics from the Pandya country; silks from Tibet, Kashmir and Benares; gold from Sindhu, Suvarnagiri and Daurada country; rock-salt from the salt range; sea-salt from Tamralipti; sandalwood from Kamarupa and Mahishamandala; crocodile and tiger-skins from Vanga and Kamarupa; bear-skins and panther-skins from the Himalayas and the Vindhyas; skins of sea-animals from Saurashtra; blankets from Nepal, Vanga and Pandya country; and all kinds of cereals, ginger, cinnamon, cassia, cardamom, corriander, cloves, fish, charcoal, firewood, straw weapons, mudpots, iron articles, vegetables, flowers and plantain leaves were being brought in by the patient bullocks, the main carriers of India through ages.42

The special mention here of almost all the states of the country at that time also points to the author's preoccupation with the unity and inter-relation that existed among all the kingdoms of ancient India.

42. ibid. p.25.
Besides all these, the author has also glorified ancient India by showing how long before the Christian era started, Indian civilization spread to such neighbouring countries as Sumatra, Java, Bali, Suvarnabhumi, Malaya and Simhala, Matan (Borneo), Champa (Annam), and Kambhoja (Cambodia). 43

In this way, the author has given expression to his national spirit in Three Men of Destiny. That the author wanted to rouse the national spirit of his countrymen so that they might stand against the British Government is implicit throughout the novel. However, there are many places in the novel where the implied meaning appears to be very explicit. The best example of this can be seen in the reaction of the people of Upper Sind when their king Musikasena is hanged by Alexander because of his rebellion against the Greek subjugation. The subjects of the freedom-loving king sing a song as they witness the hanging of the king. Here are two stanzas of their song which, as the author writes, became popular among the people of other Indian kingdoms also where the rebellions were suppressed by Alexander:

For freedom will we live,
For freedom will we die,
For freedom will we sing,
For freedom will we swing!

Tyrants shall not quell us,
Favours shall not buy us,
Treaties shall not fool us,
Weapons shall not rule us! 44

43. ibid. p.320.  44. ibid. p.183.
It is to be noted here that it is a song of this sort given in the lips of some fictitious patriots in the Bengali novel *Ananda Math* by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee that became the national song for the Indians, which acting like a mantra roused them against the British rule.

Coming at last to the author's craftsmanship here, we find its plot knit very loosely, the story being only a collection of some scenes, episodes and narrative chapters strung loosely together. The characters are also all two dimensional, some unconvincingly exaggerated and some lifeless and shadow-like. To be concrete, the character of Chanakya is overdone. He is all shrewdness, far-sightedness, wisdom and knowledge. So is the character of Alexander. There is no peril which they cannot do away with, no problem which they cannot solve, no difficult situation which they cannot come out of. It is for this that there is no real conflict in the novel which can appeal to the readers.

As a historical novel, Ayyar has taken the usual liberty here of a novelist wherever possible without mutilating history as he has done in his earlier historical novel. In the *Introduction* he has himself stated:

I have tried as far as possible, not to go against proved historical facts of importance whether contained in the *Arthasastra* or *Mudraraksasa*, or in the Edicts or Monuments, or in the Buddhist or Jain accounts, or in the Greek accounts, most of which have been collected in that excellent book, 'Alexander's Invasion of India' by McCrindle. But where
history is silent, or speaks with no certain voice, I have taken a novelist's liberty. The writer of a historical novel is not bound to stick to proved historical facts, and may allow his fancy to roam at will, in the realm of the unknown.

It is to be noted here that where Panchapakesa Ayyar has allowed thus "his fancy to roam at will", it is always with a serious nationalist purpose. It is thus that A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar comes out to be the greatest historical novelist in Indo-Anglian fiction, though even he is not without limitations as a novelist.

But if these two novels by Ayyar also are not free from blemishes as works of art, it is because they are designed only to convey to their readers (and Ayyar certainly had the English readers also in his mind) the idea that the British conquest of India was not one of an inferior nation by a superior one; and also that if India was capable in the past of cultivating a nationalist spirit and driving out the invaders, in the author's time, too, it could do so. But to convey such an idea was a peculiar predicament for an I.C.S. officer. Ayyar's situation is typical in the sense that many Indian intellectuals and creative writers during the British rule in India had to act in a similar way. This ambivalence in their attitude could have inspired good novels also; but it never did. Perhaps the Indo-Anglian fiction writers during the British rule did not want to face this confrontation which resulted in the production of the jumblings of social texts, documentaries, history, religion, propaganda and exhortation only in the name of fiction - but never good works of art.
S. Gopalan's Old Tanlore is another historical novel published one year earlier than Ayyar's Three Men of Destiny. This historical novel by Gopalan does not have any explicit or implicit purpose of glorification of the past; neither does it want to show any resistance by the Indians against some foreign invaders. The author's only purpose here seems to be to throw some light on the nasty political affairs in the South Indian kingdom of Tanjore in the eighteenth century. The period covered by the story is that when the kingdom passed gradually from the rule of the native kings to the rule of the East India Company. In doing this, the author has made no conscious effort to show the rare glory of this kingdom of the Carnatic. Rather he has taken meticulous care to reveal the weakness of the native rulers of the period which ultimately brought about the downfall of the kingdom. The exact end of the native kings' rule is, however, not shown; it is only suggested.

The author has also failed here to knit a well-planned story out of these little known facts of history. At the same time, he has not tried to be strictly historical, too. As he himself writes in his Preface, "... all the local characters in the story except the main ones are imaginary", and only "... the chief incidents are founded on facts." Creating thus many imaginary characters and incidents, the author could well have made his Old Tanlore a historical novel with a serious nationalist

purpose just as A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar has done. But S. Gopalan has remained satisfied only with the revelation of the forgotten facts of history through an interesting story. 46

The story had ample scope for portraying the character of Tukaram as a hero standing for Indian nationalism with his life which, in the author's own words, was, "itself a thrilling and grand example of all that was best in his religion." 47 But the author has not developed his character fully on that line though there are occasional flashes of these aspects of his character here and there. In the early part of the novel, the author seems to have been bent on the development of his character in this direction. When he is introduced in the novel, the author writes that he was

... well known throughout the Mahratta world as a combative personality, fearless and unsparing in his criticism of high placed men before whom others trembled, and as zealous and learned as the great Hindu saint of the same name who had so endeared himself to the people. 48

The author also shows in this part how Tukaram could not tolerate the indulgence to the Christians given by the king of Tanjore. When the famous Danish missionary Schwartz with a highly influential personality and amazing wisdom goes on preaching Christianity to the people, Tukaram is impatient and burns within himself. With such an attitude of mind, Tukaram might well have been raised to

46. Since the story of the novel is without any nationalistic significance, I have abstained from giving its synopsis here.
47. ibid. p.23.
48. ibid. p.5.
the status of a hero defending his religion and culture as S. K. Ghosh has done it with his fictitious character of Vashista in The Prince of Destiny. But in the later part of the novel, Gopalan has relegated such a character to a minor place while he has glorified the Danish missionary Schwartz for his immaculate character and noble ideals. Indian nationalism of the kind we have been describing so far does not, therefore, find expression here though it must be said to the credit of the novelist that he could gracefully appreciate the good work done by a foreign missionary. It may even appear that S. Gopalan had written this novel to highlight this phenomenon of his time in the country.

In technique, too, Old Tanjore is not faultless as a novel. Very often the author has described things here just like a historian without taking any care for the artistic development of the plot; and in many places, these historical passages are mere digressions. For example, Chapter IV of the novel which shows Satyanathan, Royappan and Ganaprakasam, three Tamil scholars of extra-ordinary merit, as well as the untold suffering of the missionaries when Hyder Ali Khan ravaged Tanjore, seems to be a digression in its present form. With a little skill, however, the author could well have woven these threads into the plot of the novel. Similarly, the way in which the graphic description of the old and grand city of Tanjore has been thrust into the body of the novel has made Chapter V also digressive. But there was scope for utilizing this chapter also for nationalistic purpose as Ayyar did with his description of the city of Pataliputra in Three Men of Destiny.
Coming from S. Gopalan's *Old Taniore* to Joseph Furtado's *Golden Goa*, we find again a very different kind of historical novel. It is akin to A. Madhaviah's *Clarinda* which I have already termed a socio-historical novel. As in *Clarinda*, here, too, the main characters are not kings and queens or princes and potentates of history, but some important personages of the past dug out from old records. But though in both these novels these characteristics are common, the purposes of the two novels are different. The purpose of *Clarinda* was to show the drawbacks of the Hindu society which encouraged proselytization. The purpose of *Golden Goa* is, on the other hand, to bring to light the hideous vices that lay behind the Portuguese rule over Goa, a part of India. *Old Taniore* lays bare the vices and drawbacks of the rulers of Taniore; but it does not do it with any intention of suggesting remedies for the good of the country. It rather shows respect to the Europeans whose honesty and wisdom it reveals. The present novel, on the other hand, shows the Portuguese rule over a part of India as a bane and brings in certain aspects of Indian culture with a sense of veneration. *Golden Goa* is thus a nationalist novel with its hatred for the foreign rule and respect for the country's culture. This becomes clear from Furtado's *Preface* to the novel which begins with these words:

The following story tells of some of the more interesting and many of the more painful doings at Goa in her so-called

palmy days under Portuguese rule, and of some certain noted, noteworthy or notorious people who lived in that wicked city (misnamed Golden Goa). ...

The novel is based on a sixteenth century true story of a high minded young fidalgo (Portuguese title of nobility) and a beautiful Hindu girl. The fidalgo is Dom Rodrigo, commonly known with his pet name Babasinho ('diminutive for Baba - an Indo-Portuguese word meaning baby-boy, but applied to a grown-up boy for endearment or respect' - as the author explains in a foot-note), and the Hindu girl is Tulsibai, the daughter of a Sett (goldsmith). Babasinho was loved by one Dona Clara, a Portuguese lady who became unhappy with her husband. When her love was turned down by Babasinho, her sentiment was wounded and she sought vengeance. Her chance came when Babasinho fell in love with the ten year old Hindu girl Tulsibai after his return from the victorious Portuguese expedition to Diu.

In order to expedite the marriage of Tulsibai with the Christian fidalgo, Tulsibai's father was converted into Christianity. But before the marriage took place, Babasinho was sent by the Viceroy to the Vijayanagar kingdom on a mission of friendship. Taking advantage of Babasinho's absence, Dona Clara brings a charge against Tulsibai as a heretic before the Grand Inquisitor of Goa. Tulsibai is soon arrested, her trial takes place in a hurry, and she is burnt alive with alacrity - all because of the jealous Dona Clara. Babasinho heard in Vijayanagar about Tulsibai's arrest and hurried back to Goa. But he comes too late to
save her. He finds Tulsibai amidst fire, jumps into the fire; and clasping his bride, soon becomes a burnt corpse like Tulsibai.

Such a story betrays little of the author's nationalistic purpose, of course. But a thorough study of the novel will reveal three intentions of the novelist for which we must regard this novel as nationalistic in purpose. These are, as has been already suggested, showing Goa as a part of India, respect for Indian culture, and hatred for the Portuguese rule. Let us now see how the author has done all these through this novel.

In order to show Goa as a part of India, the author who was himself a Goan, has shown how the famous Portuguese poet Camoens who was exiled by the Portuguese Government to Goa, praises Tulsibai as an ideal Indian woman. Camoens calls Tulsibai, the Goan Hindu girl, "one of the long dead Indian heroines come back to life." 50

The Portuguese in the novel regard the culture of India always as the culture of Goa, too; and the high minded Portuguese are always full of respect for this Indian culture. It is thus that Frei Jacinto, a Dominican friar and uncle of Babasinho remarks, "There is nothing I should like more than that the literary treasures of India should be known to Europeans who will then have to change their opinion of the Hindus." 51

Upholding the Indian culture thus, the author has criticized bitingly the Portuguese in Goa, their vices, corruptions

and misrule. Here are some examples of how the author has done it. The administrative corruption of the Portuguese Government in Goa is revealed by the author as follows:

But the chief centre of interest in the Rua Direita (meaning Straight Road - the main throughfare in the city of Goa) - rather in the whole city was the house where public offices were sold to the highest bidder. This scandalous policy though not sanctioned officially until 1614 was introduced by Dom Garcia de Noronha, Albuquerque's nephew and Viceroy of Goa from 1538 to 1540, ostensibly as a means for replenishing the state coffers but really for enriching himself. Thanks, however, to the corruption among all classes of public servants, the state coffers always remained empty. Dom Garcia used to sell judicial verdicts also - indeed everything saleable - and pocket the salaries of Government employees who were expected to live on bribes. 52

How law and order situation deteriorated to the extreme under the rule of such a government has also been narrated by the author in the same context:

Robbery is so public and common that it hurts no one's character, and is hardly counted a fault. ... Everywhere and at all times, it is rapine, hoarding and robbery. No one thinks of making restitution of what he has once taken.

52. ibid. pp.2-3.
The devices by which men steal, the various pretexts under which it is done, who can count? 53

People felt unsafe under such a rule naturally and even their daily trade was run under restriction:

If the shops were not closed at sundown they would be plundered. Indeed the banias (grocers) never kept their shops open even in day time. After receiving money, the required article was passed through a hole in the door and through a large wooden ladle. The bania never dared to put his hand out lest it should be cut off by some vindictive customer or wanton mischief-maker. 54

Sexual morality is also stated to be very loose in the city and the fidalgula and the high officials themselves have been shown as responsible for this. Many private houses are said to have served the purpose of brothels; and the government is said to have felt relieved at this; because, otherwise, the author says, it "would not have known how to feed so many hungry mouths among the soldados." 55 Even those who wanted to keep away from such vices could not do so. The author retells a story in this connection told originally by one Signor Munici. It is a real incident which took place when the signor was with the Lord Archbishop of Goa. One Kanarim woman came frantically crying to the Archbishop because her maiden daughter was carried away by a lusty soldier.

54. ibid. p.64.
The Archbishop was quite calm and he replied that any grievance must be submitted only in writing.  

Such then was life in Goa in her golden days when the Portuguese were the protectors. To quote the author again for a picture of life in Goa during those days:

... fidalgos riding or strutting about the city and Kanarims and Caffres on all sides bowing to them; some soldados gallivanting with grinning negresses and others molesting Kanarim women; drugged men behaving like maniacs, and their wives meanwhile enjoying like themselves with their paramours in the same houses, some friars fighting among themselves in the streets pitching their prior out of the convent window: hired negroes firing at the people in the church; banias howling with pain because their hands have been unexpectedly cut off and new Christians, because they are being tortured in the Inquisition dungeon, and all the while from his palace the great Viceroy of East India looking on at the tragi-comedy with folded arms and a sardonic grin... 

Inspite of all these examples of the Portuguese misrule and vices in the novel, we have, however, no ground to suppose that Joseph Furtado writes with malice against the Portuguese. If a national spirit makes Furtado hate the Portuguese rule in Goa, the same national spirit has made him proud of the visits to and stay in Goa of a number of great Portuguese luminaries. For

56. ibid. p.64.  
57. ibid. p.72.
example, the author has taken pride in the fact that the great Portuguese poet Luis de Camoens "composed his immortal Luciad and most of his best lyrics" in Goa. The author writes in the same context how "the Luciad of Camoens and the Colloquios of Dr. Garcia da Orta" ... the "supreme expression of Portuguese genius in literature and science respectively" had been written at Goa and the latter also printed there (1563), being the third book in Roman characters printed in India, the first having been a Catecismo by Saint Xavier (1557) and the second a Compendio Espiritual by the Archbishop of Goa (1561).59

In the same context, the author observes further:

It is equally worthy of note that during her short lived prosperity this city, now a scene of desolation, should have been the abode of many of the world's great men - Vasco da Gama, Alfonso de Albuquerque, Farnao de Magalhaens (Magellan), Dom Joao de Castro, Saint Francis Xavier, Luis de Camoens 60 ...

The author has written elaborately about the great poet Camoens and the great missionary Saint Xavier, the circumstances under which they had to come to Goa, what they did here and how they endeared themselves to the people of India, always emphasizing that they had great love and respect for the people of India.

58. ibid. p.84. 60. ibid. p.84.
59. ibid. p.84.
From the point of view of the development of the plot, the introduction of these characters into the novel was not indispensable. But the author has not only introduced them but has also written about them in great details even at the stake of being digressive. This is, no doubt, done for the author's nationalistic zeal—zeal to show how these great Portuguese lived in India, loved the Indians and did the best works of their life in India.

Golden Goa! by Joseph Furtado is thus a novel with a nationalistic purpose. But how far is it based on history? The author has written in his Preface that though there are a few fictitious characters, all the main characters in the novel are real and drawn from the script diary of a Spanish Dominican. 61

The story of the novel is thus a real story of the past, though it is not mainly a political story. There are many historical narratives also, the main ones among them being the story of the Inquisition in Goa 62 and the relations of the Portuguese Goa with the

61. The author writes in the Preface about this:

"The account is based chiefly on the manuscript diary of the hero's uncle, a Spanish Dominican who had been chaplain to the Viceroy from 1538 to 1548. Besides giving facts of the lives of the hero and the heroine and the numerous anecdotes about Saint Xavier and the poet Camoens, the diary records every event of political or ecclesiastical importance in the Portuguese Indies during the twenty-six years ending 1563. On the suppression of the Religious Orders in 1835, the manuscript was brought away by one Padre Mariano de San Jose, who had been an inmate of the convent of Saint Francis d'Assisi and who died in 1868. (Vide, the Review O Oriente Portuguez for July 1917). The diary is now in the possession of the family of Padre Mariano's nephew, the late Dr. Mariano Jose Correa-Lobo, from Reis Magos."

62. ibid. Chapter XIV.
From the point of view of the plot, these narratives are rather uncalled for. But their importance in a historical novel is undeniable. It must, however, be said that the historical records in many places are not properly fitted into the story. And from this point of view, the novel betrays many defects of craftsmanship.

These then are the historical novels in English by Indian writers - some showing how in the past the Indians had to yield to the foreigners for their own faults, some showing how the Indians in the past could stand unitedly against the foreign invaders, some emphasizing the need for unity among the Indians of different regions or religions and some expressing hatred for the rule of some foreign government in India. The novelists who do these seem to have one serious purpose - the purpose of rousing their contemporaries to a sense of nationalism, and of creating in their mind an awareness of the political situation in the country in their own time and their national duty in such a situation.

63. ibid. Chapter XVII.