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THE

Quarterly Journal

OF THE

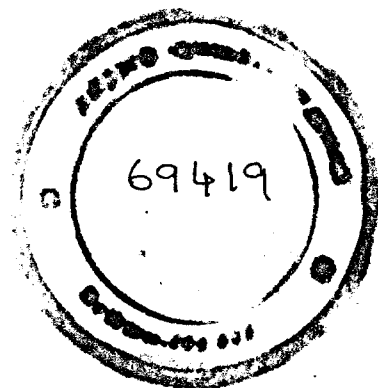
Mythic Society.

BANGALORE.

VOL VII.

1916-17.

2.95



INDEX TO VOL VII.

Annual meeting of the Society	...	...	4 to 15
Contributions.			
Baba Budan Mountains	...	...	102 to 105
Dravidian Affinities and their Squel	...	...	243 to 284
First Town Planners	...	...	126 to 132
Fundamentals of Vedanta	...	...	119 to 125
History of Sri Vishnavaism	...	106 to 108;	198 to 209
Hoysala Empire	...	...	292 to 309
Indian Arts and Architecture	...	...	43 to 58
Indian Village Administration of the Buddhist Period	...	...	16 to 42
Inscriptions of the Ancient Kings of Anegundi	...	...	285 to 291
Tippu Sultan's Embassy to the French Court	...	...	77 to 101
Twelfth Century University in Mysore.	...	...	157 to 196
Vatsyayana and Kautilya	...	...	210 to 216
Reviews of Books:—			
Arthasastra by Kautilya	...	...	147 to 150
Balamatimarga	...	...	230
Commercial History	...	...	70
Divine Aspect of History	...	...	324 to 325
Kesava Temple at Somanathpur	...	...	237 to 238
Indian Architecture	...	...	232
Indian prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities	...	...	234 to 235
Life and Teachings of Sri Madva	...	...	327 to 330
Riks	...	...	147 to 150
South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses	...	...	232 to 233
Story of the Buddha	...	...	232
Vedic Grammar for Students	...	...	142
Reviews of Journals:—			
Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register	...	...	71 to 72; 138; 227
Indian Antiquary	...	...	142 to 144; 229.
Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society	60-63; 145 to 147; 229-230 & 323	...	
Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society	...	...	63 to 64; 135
Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society	...	...	66 to 67; 140 to 141
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland	59-60, 139-140, 217-219	...	
Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society	...	...	70 to 71; 221
Revue Historique de l'Inde Francaise	...	...	325 to 327
Reviews of Reports:— (for 1915—1916; 1916—1917			
Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department	...	...	65 to 66; 322
Report of the Nizam's Dominions Archaeological Department for 1914—1915	...	...	136 to 138
Report of the Archaeological Superintendent of Epigraphy for 1915—16	...	...	133
Report of the Archaeological Department of the Southern circle for 1915—16	...	...	134
Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Eastern circle for 1915—16	...	...	330
Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1914—15	...	...	233 to 234
Report of the Travancore Archaeological Series	...	...	225

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
 2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—
 - (a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects more particularly in Mysore and South India.
 - (b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.
 3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-President, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.
 4. Membership shall be of two kinds—
 - (a) Honorary.
 - (b) Ordinary.
 5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons, who in the opinion of the Committee have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.
 6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
 7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.
- Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions

from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Post Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Any subscriber on payment of rupees three per annum will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

The activities of the Society shall be as follows:—

- (a) There shall be as far as possible nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.
- (b) Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.
- (c) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous 1st July and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.
- (d) Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.
- (e) The Society will encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee and duly notified to those concerned.

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisitions and obtaining orders in each case.

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held as far as possible in July when the report and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in the 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being:—

The President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer.

A. V. RAMANATHAN,
General Secretary.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1916-17

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HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

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The Mythic Society, Bangalore

Statement of accounts from July 1, 1915 to June 30, 1916.

Receipts	Amount		Expenditure	Amount	
	RS	A P		RS	A P
By Opening balance	..	..	To Printing charges and stationery	..	831 12 2
" Interest on Fixed Deposits	..	..	" Contingent charges, as rail charges, cooly on Journals, etc.	..	78 0 6
" Members subscription—	..	..	" Clerk's fees	..	60 0 0
Resident	..	..	" Postage	..	197 18 0
Mofussil	..	..	" Balance	..	3,502 7 0
" Sale of Journals, etc.	..	..			
Total	..	..	Total	..	4,610 0 8

Balance Statement

Assets	Amount		Liabilities	Amount	
	RS	A P		RS	A P
Balance of cash with the Treasurer	..	..	Credit balance	..	4,186 7 0
Subscriptions due	..	..			
Total	..	..	Total	..	4,186 7 0

NOTE.—Value of Journals on hand: Vols. I to VI = 4,471 Journals @ 0-12-0 = Rs. 3,353-14-0.
Number of Members: Honorary 13, Resident 147, Mofussil 149, Subscribers 11, Student 3, Exchanges 13.

F. R. SELL, Honorary Treasurer.

The Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Habitation for the Mythic Society to be called 'The Daly Memorial Hall'

On Wednesday evening August 30, 1916 the approaches to the grounds adjacent to the Government High School and St. Martha's Hospital, Cenotaph Road, looked bright with flags, festoons, bunting and evergreens, the pleasant occasion being the laying of the foundation stone of 'The Daly Memorial Hall' by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, G.C.S.I. A spacious *shamiana* had been pitched in the premises. At 5.30 p.m. Sir M. Visveswaraya, and the Rev. Father Tabard, together with the members of the Memorial Committee awaited His Highness' arrival at the foot of the Memorial Hall. His Highness accompanied by Sirdar M. Gopalraj Urs, Aidede-Camp, drove in a carriage drawn by two black horses. After the reception, His Highness was conducted to the *shamiana* where a separate dais had been constructed for the occasion. His Highness took his seat on the dais, being supported by the Hon'ble Mr. H. V. Cobbe, S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. and Sir M. Visveswaraya, K.C.I.E., Inside the *shamiana* over five hundred well wishers of the scheme had assembled; the Councillors, practically all the high officials of Mysore and of the civil and military station, the City Fathers of both parts, the Bench, the Bar, representatives of the mercantile community, and the members of the Society resident in Bangalore.

PRESENTATION OF THE ADDRESS.

Father Tabard, standing at the foot of the dais, with the Members of the Committee read the following address:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—We, the members of the Daly Memorial Committee, beg leave to express our feelings of profound gratitude to your Highness for having so kindly acceded to our request to lay the foundation stone of the Memorial Hall. It is a matter of no small pride to us that one in so exalted a position as Your Highness should set the first stone of a building which is intended to be an abiding mark of the high esteem and deep love that Col. Sir Hugh Daly, lately British Resident in Mysore, has won from Your Highness' loyal subjects throughout the State.

The Mythic Society with which this memorial is to be associated owes its development, in no small measure, to Sir Hugh's help and encouragement. When, therefore, the idea of building a habitation for the Society was first suggested by the President in a letter to Your Highness' Government on November 10, 1914, it was considered that the hall might be named after Sir Hugh Daly.

Sir Hugh Daly's liberal culture, suave manners, generous disposition and sincere sympathy with the aspirations of the people of Mysore for advancement, evoked on the eve of his departure an eager and widespread desire among the public also to commemorate in a befitting manner his connexion with the State.

A hall consecrated to letters and intellectual enlightenment was considered the appropriate form the memorial should take, and the appeal made for contributions was readily responded to. Your Highness, His Highness the Yuvaraja and Your Highness' Government have, in accordance with the well-known traditions of this State, helped the movement with marked liberality. The Committee also avail themselves of this opportunity to acknowledge the generous donations from His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and Sir Dorabji Tata towards the cost of this memorial.

The Committee hope that the people of this beautiful city of Bangalore will, in the course of a few months, have the pleasure of meeting under the roof of this temple of research, wherein both Europeans and Indians may unite in close fellowship in furthering the cause of intellectual advancement.

It only remains for us now to request Your Highness to lay the foundation stone as a token not only of Your Highness' personal regard for the Hon'ble Col. Sir Hugh Daly, but also of Your Highness' deep interest in the work and mission of the Mythic Society.

The address was presented to His Highness in a silver casket.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA'S SPEECH

His Highness the Maharaja then made the following speech :—

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The building of which I am just going to lay the foundation stone is intended to provide a local habitation for the Mythic Society and to honour the memory of my friend, Col. Sir Hugh Daly, who was till recently the Resident in this State. Both these objects have my warmest sympathy.

In the address just read, Father Tabard has told us how largely the Mythic Society owed its development to Sir Hugh's encouragement and support during the past five years. His active interest in the progress of the State and his geniality have won for him a warm place in the hearts of the people of Mysore. Within a very short time of his arrival here, I came to regard him as a valued friend.

I am glad that, by the substantial contribution made by my Government and the principal officers of my State, assisted by subscriptions from outside, it has become possible for the Mythic Society to attain its chief desire, namely, to own a building of its own. I learn that the Society gives its chief attention to researches connected with Mysore history and archæology, and I earnestly hope that, when its objects become better known, the people of Mysore at large—not the learned few only—will begin to feel pride and interest in its work.

Much of the credit for the success of the Society and the project for this building is due to Father Tabard who has been its founder and mainstay. Without him and his enthusiasm for antiquarian research, the Society would not have attained its present position. I have read the addresses delivered by Father Tabard at the annual meetings of the Society for the last two years, and I am much struck by his love of Mysore and its traditions, and his appreciation of the magnificent relics of bygone times found in this country.

The building will serve to recall to the memory of future generations the name of a high-minded British officer who was a sincere friend of Mysore and its people. It will bring together Europeans and Indians to work on a platform for an object which appeals to the higher intellectual tastes of civilized life. I have no doubt that, in the fulness of time, the researches conducted within its walls will reveal many a brilliant page in the past history of Mysore.

Laying the Foundation Stone

Afterwards His Highness was conducted to the foundation stone, the whole party following. Amidst loud cheers, His Highness laid the foundation stone of 'The Daly Memorial Hall' using a silver trowel presented by the Committee.

Garlanding

Rev. Father Tabard then garlanded His Highness and bouquets were freely distributed among those present.

Conclusion

Father Tabard, in a short speech, thanked His Highness, for having consented to lay the foundation stone in the midst of His Highness' multifarious duties. He then called for three cheers for His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and this was vociferously responded to. His Highness, after shaking hands with Father Tabard, the Hon'ble Mr. H. V. Cobb and Sir M. Visveswaraya, drove back to the palace amidst applause.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. VII.]

OCTOBER, 1916.

[No. 1

THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY

Held at Bangalore on August 7, 1916

WITH SIR M. VISVESVARAYA K.C.I.E., DEWAN OF MYSORE
in the Chair.

Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., the Secretary, read the report.

REPORT

The session 1915-16, commenced under the auspices of His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, could not but be a successful one.

The presence of His Highness as Chairman at our last annual meeting, and the words of encouragement which fell from his lips, gave a new impetus to our Society; and it is our pleasant duty to attribute the success of the past session to the interest His Highness the Maharaja, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the members of the Mysore Royal Family and His Highness' Government have evinced in the welfare of the Mythic Society.

At the last annual meeting His Highness the Yuvaraja announced, amidst applause, that His Highness' Government had been pleased to grant a free site for the erection of a habitation for our Society. That promise has

been as you are all aware royally redeemed. It is not only a site which has been given but also a substantial building grant. Nay, His Highness the Maharaja, not satisfied with the Government grant he had graciously sanctioned, has been pleased to make a personal donation towards the same object. His royal example has been followed by His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Dewan Sahib, the Councillors and most of the high officials of the State. Our thanks in this connexion must also go to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, to Her Highness the Ruler of Bhopal and other benefactors outside the Mysore Province for their handsome contributions.

A building which will bear the name of a British officer to whom our Society owes so much is in the course of erection. It will not only provide a permanent habitation for the Mythic Society, but be an ornament to Bangalore, and stand as a lasting monument to the generous sympathy of His Highness the Maharaja, his family and his Government with the objects of the Society.

It is also a source of gratification to be able to report that, through the exertions of Lt.-Col. Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and of our President, the nucleus of a fine library has been formed. In this connexion our thanks are due to the Imperial Government, the Governments of Mysore, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, Burma, the United Provinces, Assam, and Kashmere, for having so kindly sent us free all their available official publications.

We may here mention with the expression of our heartiest thanks that Sir Hugh Daly has presented the Society with many valuable works on Indian ethnology and archæology. We hope that his example will be followed by others, as gifts of books bearing on the subjects within the scope of the Society will always be gratefully received.

Our Journal has also attracted favourable notice in other parts of India. The Director-General of Archæology in India, the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Southern Circle, the Hyderabad Archæological Society, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Behar and Orissa Research Society, the South Indian Association, the Superintendent, Researches Department, Kashmere State, the Ceylon Antiquary have consented to exchange their publications with ours and the Imperial Government, the Governments of Madras and Bombay have intimated their desire to receive our Journal regularly. All this must be encouraging for the members of the Mythic Society as it helps them to feel that others working in the same field are in full sympathy with them.

Our membership, 13 honorary, 147 resident and 149 mofussil members, is also eminently satisfactory as it shows every year a marked tendency to increase. Yet in this connexion we beg to be permitted to remind our members that membership carries with it some definite duties, amongst

which one is to pay their subscription. The journal for 1915-16 has been more bulky than in previous years, the cost of paper higher. It will then be readily understood that outstanding of subscriptions to the amount of Rs. 684 is a distinct drawback to a Society like ours. We know well that in most cases the delay in paying up subscriptions is due to thoughtlessness, but more than one enterprise has been wrecked through such thoughtlessness, and we make an earnest appeal to our members to save the Mythic Society from the same fate, by forwarding to the Treasurer at an early date all outstandings up to July 1, 1916, and also their subscription for 1916-17.

But for that small drawback, which, we hope, will soon be set right, our finances would be, as will be seen from the accounts submitted with this report, on a sound basis.

Nine meetings have been held during the session under review, and more than one of the papers read at those meetings have attracted considerable interest outside Mysore. We have in contemplation some considerable improvements to our Journal which we have no doubt will enhance its interest and value. Our programme of lectures for the new session promises also to be in keeping with our best in the past, and we may hope that large audiences will make it a point to be present in order to show their appreciation of the efforts made by learned lecturers to keep up the fair name of our Society. At the request of the Mysore Government, steps are being taken to have the Society registered under Regulation No. III of 1904.

Now it only remains for us to offer the expression of our heartiest gratitude to the lecturers and contributors who have enabled us to maintain the high standard of our Quarterly, and once more to all those who have shown practical sympathy with the aims and objects of the Mythic Society.

FATHER TABARD'S ADDRESS

DEWAN SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—The report which the Secretary has just read out to us is very exhaustive, and, I hope you will all agree with me, satisfactory in every way.

Our Secretary in a graceful allusion to the presence in the chair at our last annual meeting of His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore has pointed out that under such high auspices the session *had* to be a successful one. The coming session is also inaugurated under happy auspices, and the Dewan Sahib's presence with us to-night makes us sanguine that the Mythic Society will continue to flourish and progress during the session 1916-17.

This session will be marked by the opening of the 'Daly Memorial Hall' the foundation-stone of which His Highness the Maharaja will kindly lay in a few days.

With the realization of our most cherished hopes we shall feel that not only has the Mythic Society a safe and bright future before it, but that it will,

with a habitation of its own, be better able to fulfil the primary intentions of its original founders.

Their first idea in founding the Society was to bring more intimately together both Indians and Europeans. At the outset they thought of the Society as of a club where Indians and Europeans would meet to discuss in a friendly way the fascinating problems connected with Indian history, archæology, philosophy and ethnography, and by the means of a quarterly journal to place the result of those discussions before the public, in order that, at a time when similar studies were being started in almost every province of India, Mysore might not be left behind in the path of learning, she who is accustomed to lead in many others.

The result has exceeded all their expectations. What was intended to be a club with twenty or twenty-five members has expanded into a Society numbering well over three hundred, and we believe that, through our Quarterly, greater interest has been aroused in Mysore in the objects which form the scope of the Society.

But all along we felt that meeting once in a way to listen to the reading of a learned paper was not sufficient—lack of time after the lectures prevented exchange of ideas and illuminating discussions. In the near future, through the liberality of His Highness the Maharaja and of His Highness' Government, we shall have our own place, where members will be able to meet as often as they like. There they will find a congenial company who, after a heavy day's work, will enjoy with them an interesting conversation on the hoary India of the past, and also numerous books and reviews which will keep them *au courant* of what is being done and written all over India with reference to those subjects.

The importance of this social aspect of our Society will be recognized by every one, as every one cannot help but see that every opportunity taken to bring educated and cultured Indians and Europeans together must lead to a better understanding, and, in the end, to greater mutual respect and confidence. Had the Mythic Society no other object, I still think it ought, on that account alone, to command the sympathy and support of all. But the other objects of its activities are also worthy of that same support and sympathy. It is true, studies like those to which the Society devotes its energies do not bring an extra rupee to the State, or better, in any material way, the position of the lower classes, but the same might be said of all the arts and studies which contribute to the refinement of the mind. Yet every civilized nation has deemed it a duty towards even the lower classes to educate them by means of permanent or temporary exhibitions of work of art and by giving them the means of understanding the past history of their country.

History in a large sense is, in my opinion, the basis of nationality; and though there is a fundamental unity in India, is not one warranted in saying

that, if it has never become a real nationality, it is because it has so far no history worth the name. The deeds of our ancestors, their victories or reverses are a part of each one's patrimony. What differentiates nations at the present day has its roots in the past. It is the past which has moulded us and made us what we are. An Englishman, a Frenchman, for instance, is a child of that past and almost always it is impossible to understand a nation unless you are well acquainted with its history. The feeling that such a link exists is strong in every European breast. Who is the Englishman of the present day who does not feel that King Alfred, the Black Prince Nelson and Wellington are his own, the Frenchman who does not thrill at the names of Charlemagne, St. Louis, Joan of Arc and Napoleon? We are individually proud of our fatherland's victories in the past, and still acutely feel her reverses and defeats.

Why should not the same feeling be encouraged in India? Why not each one, however small his sphere of action, do his utmost to help towards erecting what will be one of the greatest achievements of the human mind—a *real history of India*.

But as an imposing edifice is built up stone by stone and storey upon storey, so must it be with the history of a large empire like the Indian Empire.

It is by the study of each province, each race as revealed by archæology, epigraphy, numismatics, customs and habits that a complete monument will come into existence. Mysoreans must study Mysore, and they will love and understand Mysore all the more, then study the history of India as a whole and the history of the mighty empire of which India is the brightest jewel. The love for, and pride in, their little motherland will lead them to love more, understand better, and take more pride in the Indian and British Empires.

This is what the Mythic Society is trying to do in its modest sphere.

Mysore history and Indian history: this sums up its various forms of activity; for the other branches as archæology, religion, ethnography and even philosophy are only the handmaids of history. They all converge towards one point: 'To know and understand the past in order to understand the present and to foresee in a certain measure the future itself.'

Researches must always necessarily be the privilege of a few, but the results of researches ought to be made accessible to all, and this we are endeavouring to do by means of our Journal and also by having thrown open to all membership of the Society. We want all, at least in Mysore, to know the history of their country so that when they pass an old stronghold they may conjure up the past, or when they look at a palace or a temple they may be able to date it by its style of architecture. This may perhaps sound unimportant, but who is he who will say that, while travelling or wandering

about, he has not experienced a keener pleasure in his travels and wanderings when he has been well acquainted with the history, architecture, etc., of the sights he has looked upon. No one should ever pass by, indifferent in his ignorance, the imposing or magnificent remains of the past.

It has been my good fortune to receive the personal thanks even of Mysore officials who had to confess that the Mythic Society has revealed their country to them and enabled them to revisit with exquisite pleasure spots which they had visited before with indifference and sometimes haughty disdain.

We are thankful to His Highness the Maharaja and His Highness' Government for their having recognized from the very outset the possibilities of the Mythic Society. Bent with all their energies on improving the material, economic and intellectual condition of the people, they have not been unmindful of the glories of the past, and at a time when their mind was occupied with the opening of new railways, the building up of mighty embankments and the creation of a university, they have allowed the Mythic Society a share in their sympathies, and encouraged every effort that has been made to instruct the people of the Province in their splendid history, and to make them understand those mighty remains which still witness to their former greatness.

I may here be permitted to refer in a very special manner to the help given to the Society by the far-seeing statesman who occupies the chair to-night. Were I not afraid to be presumptuous, I should say that nothing is too small or modest for him to encourage, if it is in any way calculated to promote the material prosperity of the people, or to improve their intellectual status.

Strong then in the encouragement we are receiving from every side, we shall continue our work in the full conviction that it is useful work; but in return we ask for practical aid and sympathetic support from all. We expect our members to make the Society more widely known and also to get contributions for our Journal. Our hospitality is whole-hearted. Any one who has something to say about the subjects we are interested in is welcome to send us what he thinks will add to the value of our Quarterly. During the last session we were happy to give our readers two papers read in Madras before His Excellency Lord Pentland, one on 'A little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History', by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., F.M.U., and the other by Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I. on 'Sidelights on the Dravidian Problem.' Let every one know that our Quarterly is open to all, and we trust that many lecturers over the Madras Presidency will avail themselves of our columns where the results of their labours will be presented in a more permanent form than if they were given to the public in the shape of ephemeral pamphlets.

Our past contributors have promised to remain faithful to us. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., the talented Officer-in-charge of the Archaeological Department of Mysore, has kindly placed his large experience at our disposal. Were our finances able to bear the cost, he would allow us to publish some photographs which cannot find place in his Archaeological Report which, as it stands, is the envy of all the other provinces of India. The great Sanskrit Scholar, Mr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., M.R.A.S., the man whose discovery of Kautilya's Arthashastra will ever mark a new period in the study of India, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Mr. V. Aiyasawmi Iyer B.A. will come forward again, each one an expert in his own line. We can also depend on the Revs. Messrs. Thompson, Slater and Goodwill, whose illustrated lectures are always so well appreciated; promising young men like Messrs. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., and K. Devanadhachar, B.A., who like me, delight to take their rest in the evening of a busy day in the study of Mysore and of India, and to whom I am personally greatly indebted for their ever-ready assistance in the management of the affairs of the Society, will induce many others to come also to the fore.

Mysore has the talent, Mysore has the patriotism, Mysore must also have the enthusiasm. Enthusiasm in fact must be the key-note of the Mythic Society. The object we work for is worth it. Under the auspices of His Highness the Maharaja, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Dewan Sahib and practically all who are highest in the State let us be up and doing. Let our enthusiasm show itself in straining every nerve in making our Society the great success it deserves to be. Others have taken the field after us: the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and Hyderabad. We must not allow those Societies, though some of them are heavily backed up by their Provincial Governments, to outstrip ours. In our efforts we shall find support in the thought that by our studies of the objects forming the scope of the Mythic Society we are setting another gem, however small, in the fair diadem of Mysore.

With these remarks I have the honour to propose that the report of the Mythic Society for 1915-16 be adopted.

Mr. A. R. Bannerji, M.A., C.I.E., I.C.S., seconded the adoption of the report—The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., proposed and Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., seconded that Father Tabard be re-elected President for another year. The proposition was carried by acclamation.

Dr. P. Achyuta Rao proposed and Mr. J. G. Tait, M.A., seconded the election of the other office-bearers as follows: Vice-Presidents, Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, Esq., C.S.I., B.A., Justice Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., I.C.S., Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., F. J. Richards, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S., A. R. Bannerji, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., I.C.S.; General Secretary, A. V. Ramanathan, Esq., B.A.; Joint Editors, F. R. Sell, Esq., M.A., S. Krishnaswami

Aiyangar, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., F.M.U.; Honorary Treasurer, S. Shamanna, Esq., B.A.; Branch Secretaries for Ethnology, C. Hayavadana Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.; for History, K. Devanathachariar, Esq., B.A.; for Religions, J. Kann, Esq., B.Sc.

COMMITTEE

The above ex-officio, and Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, P. Sampat Aiyangar, Esq., M.A., Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., E. P. Metcalfe, Esq., B.Sc., N. Madhava Rao, Esq., B.A., the Rev. F. Goodwill, V. Subramania Iyer, Esq., B.A.

The Chairman rose amidst great applause and spoke as follows:—

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—The Mythic Society is a very learned body engaged in deep study and research. I feel one must possess an uncommon fund of erudition to presume to preside at any function connected with such an institution. I protested that I was not the right person and suggested other names, but Father Tabard would not take a refusal.

I can lay no claim to have worked in any of the various fields of activity in which this Society is engaged. I have only a distant acquaintance with archæological research, my recollections of ancient history have grown dim. I have never yet interested myself in ethnology, or epigraphy, or numismatics, and I have long since forgotten the little philosophy I once knew.

It is in accordance with the eternal unfitness of things that a person labouring under so many disqualifications, should have been called upon to take the chair on this occasion.

The Secretary has read a satisfactory report, and the President has treated us to an eloquent and inspiring speech.

Father Tabard makes a graceful reference to the help given by His Highness the Maharaja. Such help from His Highness has never failed for any worthy object for the good of his country or his people. His Highness has been giving liberal annual contributions, and he has been pleased to authorize special grants for the new building both from public funds and His Highness' own privy purse. Father Tabard has gratefully acknowledged the support the Society has received from His Highness the Yuvaraja and Col. Sir Hugh Daly. He has referred in generous terms to the contributions made to the literature of the Society by the Revs. Messrs. Thompson and Slater, Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Mr. R. Shama Sastry, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and other learned men.

Our President has also told us that he has secured a liberal supply of books and periodicals to form the nucleus of a fine library, and he is justly

proud of his new building scheme for which he has been able to collect subscriptions, both from within and outside the State, to supplement the Government grant.

When the Society gets a habitation of its own, we are offered the prospect of a sort of club life where Europeans and Indians will move intimately together, and meet often to exchange ideas and carry on illuminating discussions connected with hoary Mysore and India of the past. He rightly adds that the Society will have deserved our sympathy and support if it did nothing more than promote intimacy of understanding between Europeans and Indians.

The work which the Society is doing will not fail to raise Mysore in the estimation of the public. Mr. Sell makes an appeal for more members, for the regular payment of subscriptions, and for larger attendance at meetings. I trust all these will be forthcoming, and that the Society will have enduring success and an ever widening circle of subscribers and supporters.

The proceedings of the Society are in English, and it is a blot on the fair name of Mysore that no connected original history has yet been written by a son of the soil in the language of the country. This defect will, I hope, be soon remedied. The vast majority of the population who should take a pride in the history of the country have, at present, no facilities to study its history, and they have no conception of the excellent work that is being done by this Society.

A suggestion has already been made to the learned head of our Government Department of Archæology that a small readable pamphlet containing an account of the more striking incidents in the history of Mysore as revealed by Mr. Rice, by the Department of Archæology, and the proceedings of this Society, should issue in the Kannada language for the edification of the masses of the population.

Concerning the objects of the Society, I am reminded of a couplet which described the work of a noted antiquary who lived at the beginning of the eighteenth century,

Quoth Time to Thomas Hearne,
'Whatever I forget you learn.'

The Mythic Society is trying to keep alive information which, but for its timely succour, is liable to be lost to the world. I take it that it seeks to piece together, for its edifice of true history, scraps of truths derived from books, inscriptions, folk-lore, palm-leaves and other records which, if not utilized in good time, are likely to be 'consigned to oblivion's uncatalogued library.'

The objects of the Society have been variously described on previous occasions. They are said to include the study of history, archæology, ethnology, philosophy and religions of India. The President to-day brushes aside

all qualifications, and boldly asserts that the Society's chief aim is to build up the history of Mysore and of South India, and that all other studies merely subserve that prime object. We all agree in this; though many of us may lack opportunities or taste to take part in the actual studies, we are all intensely interested in the results of the Society's researches.

The President has referred incidentally to the interest which His Highness' Government are taking in improving the material and economic condition of the people.

It has been the constant wish of His Highness the Maharaja that all the beneficent activities of civilized countries should find a home in his own State. The work in which this Society is deeply interested is one of them. We have a special department of Government working in this field. We want activities also in other directions, namely, the promotion of civic duties, of social service, the development of art, literature, science and morals.

We are aware that the number of enthusiasts for any field of activity is as yet too small compared to the needs of the country, and there is a great deal of inertia to be overcome. The real problem of the hour is how profitably to distribute the limited energies of the people among the several activities which claim attention. Father Tabard rightly says that the studies of the Mythic Society do not bring an extra rupee to the State or better, in any material way, the position of the lower classes, but they contribute to the refinement of the mind and give the people the means of understanding the past history of their country.

I do not mind confessing that the term 'mythic' as applied to the Society first repelled me, and I have also noticed similar comments in other quarters. Whatever the original meaning may be, perhaps Father Tabard hopes to influence future lexicographers to change its significance by the character of the solid work done by this Society. Thanks to his devoted labours, the Mythic Society to-day is no longer a myth, but a concrete entity with a very real object and a great purpose, comprising a learned body of over three hundred members with a patriarchal seer at its head.

One great defect in our past, in fact in India's past, has been the tendency to exaggerate and the inability to write correct history. Facts were mixed up with mythology and religion. If there was a good king, he was described as the greatest of kings, comparable only to the gods; just as many a pious priest who worshipped at a shrine has, after his death, obtained a shrine for himself and eventually supplanted the original deity.

The Buddhist chroniclers in other countries have been more reliable. It was during a visit to Ceylon, eighteen years ago, that I first read in a small history of that colony that a prince of Mysore had gone there about the eighth century of the Christian era, and ruled over that island for nearly thirty years.

A decade or two ago, any reference to the past history of Mysore would have been received with incredulity. We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Rice, the pioneer in archaeological researches in this State, to Father Tabard, Mr. Narasimhachar and others for redeeming ancient Mysore in the estimation of the world.

Tradition has it that Mysore was the scene of some of the exploits depicted in the epic poems of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. She has produced great preachers in religion and dynasties of kings who have wrought mighty deeds. The President last year referred to Mr. Rice's comparison of this country with Greece, Palestine, and other States inhabited by small but energetic nationalities. That there was considerable activity in this country in the past in the fields of religion, art, literature, and philosophy, is borne out by our great Sanskrit and Kannada works on religion and philosophy. That the people possessed a high degree of artistic skill and talent is evidenced by the superb specimens of sculptural art, such as the temples at Halebid and Belur, the great stone statue at Sravanabelgola, and the fine stone bull on the Chamundi Hill. These monuments of a bygone age are the best of their kind, and have no rivals in any other part of the world.

Father Tabard says: 'Mysoreans must study Mysore, and they will love and understand Mysore all the more.' I commend this advice to my countrymen. For great mountains, picturesque rivers, mighty water-falls, superb scenery, Mysore is unsurpassed. Whether we consider tradition or history, or the solid worth and beauty of the land, Mysore is a country which is in every way worthy of our devotion and love.

The President's erudition and industry have left their mark on the proceedings of this Society, and his interest in Mysore and its traditions and his spirit of unselfish service in its cause must command our respect and admiration. With the help of Father Tabard and his cultured band of workers, let us hope historic research will find a permanent home in this State, and that the Mysoreans will be awakened to a full conception of the past glory and greatness of their country.

The meeting terminated with Dewan Bahadur J. C. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S., proposing and Rao Bahadur K. Krishniengar, B.A., L.C.E., seconding, a vote of thanks to Sir M. Visvesvaraya for having so kindly presided on the occasion.

INDIAN VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IN THE BUDDHIST PERIOD

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, ESQ., B.A.

SIR THEODORE MORRISON in his book *The Economic Transition in India* says that 'for the purpose of a rough classification the nations of the civilized world may be divided into two broad categories; those which have not and those which have passed through their industrial revolution,' and places India in the first category as she still retains the principal characteristics of the old economic order. His sympathetic anticipations that India will soon grow into an industrial country are not likely to be fulfilled for generations to come. It can be confidently asserted that India is not likely to pass through the throes of an industrial revolution. India will always remain to be synonymous with India agricultural. That India should spring at one bound into the eminence of the Land of the Rising Sun might be in the fond imaginings of dreamy patriots, but people who are proud of a past built on the secure foundations of a quiet and peaceful life of a contented peasantry will always believe that the millenium lies not in the destructive smoke of monstrous factories but in the curling wavy clouds passing through the straw-roofed cottages nestling together in the secure shade of the British rule. In one word India's greatness lies in her agricultural prosperity.

So it behoves us all to know something of the peace and plenty that formed the feature of India of old. Unfortunately we share with Prof. Rhys Davids the regret that there has been as yet no attempt to reconstruct a picture of the economic condition at any period in the early history of India. Great oriental scholars have but incidentally dealt with some of the points, to illustrate some view or other they held, on the basis of the Vedas, the Jatakas, or the Epics. But generally speaking the books on India have been exclusively taken up with questions of religion and philosophy, of literature and language.

What is implied by the contemptuous expression 'the unchanging east' or 'the unchangeable India' should be the goal we should have in view, nay such an expression is rather a compliment paid to India, which should never be in a hurry to hanker after changes. Changes are not always indicative

of progress, least of all changes in the modes of life of the people, modes conforming to the best interests of India, modes into which nature has fitted India. Material progress, however desirable, should be as far as possible least competitive in kind, and agriculture is not only contributive to such a progress, it has none of the pernicious influences of the other kinds of occupations which also help to promote the prosperity of a people. The cry has been raised that the old village panchayet system should be restored. If we seek the village panchayet, we want the village to be there, and if we want the village, of course we want all the pleasant features connected with it. Agricultural village is a correct correlation of terms. But have these idealists bestowed any thought how the village government was conducted of old, and what formed their peculiar characteristics, characteristics so comprehensive in their nature, that they, with a slight or no modification, could be revived where they have ceased to exist. It is a pity even with the already existing materials, which since have come to be considerably augmented, no attempt was made to construct a history which is sure to be not only instructive but most absorbingly interesting in its kind. Mr. R. Shama Sastry's translation of *Arthasāstra* has revolutionised thought, particularly in reference to the polity of the Buddhist age, an age, which I take comprises the period 400 B.C. to A.D. 200. Though I was occasionally tempted to quote extensively parallels obtaining in the administration of the several dynasties that ruled in India since the Buddhist age, I refrained from doing so, as I was afraid there would be considerable overlapping and consequent confusion in the study of the subject. I have been sufficiently impressed that the subject of village administration could be dealt with in three separate well-defined periods of history; the Buddhist or the early period, the Puranic, or more correctly, the medieval period, A.D. 200 to 1500, and the modern period.

In the Vedic period, of course, there was the village administration in the sense that there were settlements of villages, but there were not the units of a complete administration which began to develop with the extending conquest and settlement of the Aryans. Except general references to the polity or more particularly, the duty of kings, we do not read of any detailed picture drawn to describe the working of the Government. The Indian political science gets to be more interesting as we approach the Epic period, and many are the striking instances we have interspersed in the leaves of the *Mahābhārata*, particularly in the Shanti Parva. What was very limited in extent throughout the Epic period, as far as civil government was concerned, became more and more complex as states grew in extent of territory towards the end of that period necessitating minor divisions, the last though not the least of these divisions being a village. Hence the village comes to take its place as the pivot of administration roughly speaking only after 400

B.C., or what is known as the Buddhist period, the subject of my discourse to-night.

I propose to divide the paper into four parts,

- (1) the formation of the village;
- (2) the village officers;
- (3) the relation between the central government and village autonomy;
and
- (4) some general features.

N.B.—Unless otherwise stated the references are to Mr. R. Shama Sastry's translation of *Arthasāstra*.

I. THE FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE¹

Villages were constructed either on new sites or on old ruins, either by inducing foreigners to immigrate, or by causing the thickly populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excessive population. Villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families of agricultural people of Sudra caste with boundaries extending as far as a *krosa* (2,250) yards or two and capable of protecting each other were formed. Boundaries were denoted by a river, a mountain, forests, bulbous plants, caves, artificial buildings or by particular trees. There was set up a *sthāniya* (a fortress of that name) in the centre of 800 villages, a *drōṇamukha* in the centre of 400 villages, and a *sangrahana* in the midst of a collection of ten villages. Each village was surrounded as in these days with the quickset hedges that grew to gigantic proportions so as not to give easy access to man or beast. Gateways were opened early in the morning and were closed as soon as the sun had set. There were also constructed in the extremities of the kingdom forts manned by boundary guards whose duty was to guard the several entrances into the kingdom. The interior of the kingdom was no less safeguarded. Trap keepers, archers, hunters, chandalas and even wild tribes were appointed to keep watch and ward. As Professor Rhys Davids observes the social structure of India was, then more than now, based upon the village. As in medieval Europe, the difference between a town and a village was one of degree only. Hence in the elaborate rules laid down for exercising the central authority, the village very often loomed large. In fact the administration was one of villages, some big approximating to towns, some small, the latter being a small congregation of people mainly agricultural in their pursuit living a life of exclusiveness, with simple wants. As in those days it was considered derogatory for a Brahman himself to participate in the cultivation of the land, more prominent attention was paid to Sudras who were looked up to as the agricultural backbone of the

¹ Chapter I, Book II.

country. Brahmans came in only for a small share of the land given to them of a purpose. The lands so given them were called Bramadāya lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines. Such a tenure still exists, and *mānya* lands are quite common in the Madras and Mysore land tenure. Those who performed sacrifices, spiritual guides, priests and those learned in the Vedas were entitled to those free grants. The peasantry were not allowed to lead an idle life, for lands were confiscated from those who did not cultivate them. Manu says (VII. 74) that the king should settle in a country which is open and has a dry climate, where grain is abundant, and which is chiefly inhabited by the Aryans, not subject to epidemic diseases and pleasant, where the vassals are obedient, and his own people easily find their livelihood. At a distance of 800 *angulas* around every village an enclosure with timber posts should be constructed.¹ Manu says that on all sides of a village a space one hundred *dhanus* (a *dhanus* being a bow's length or about 6 feet), or three *samyā* throws the *samyā* is a short, thick piece of wood used at sacrifices) should be reserved.

Manu is very strict that, in the settlement of the villages, the king should look to the proper protection of the people against theft, robbery, and assault, and says that a king who duly protects his subjects receives from one and all the one-sixth part of their spiritual merit, and if he does not do so one-sixth of their demerit also will fall on him.

A king who does not afford protection and yet takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls and duties, daily presents and fines, will, after death, soon sink into hell. A king who affords no protection and yet receives the one-sixth part of the produce takes upon himself all the foulness of his whole people (VIII. 304). Such was the religious terror imposed on the sovereign lest the villages were denuded of the people, and the formation became a failure. Kautilya says² that the king should provide the orphans, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless with maintenance. Helpless women should be provided with subsistence when they were pregnant and also the children they gave birth to.

Narada Maharishi asks³ Yudhishtira: 'Is the State not oppressed by you or your women, or the princes of your family or by thieves or by avaricious people? Are there tanks, large and full, located in suitable places in your kingdom so that agriculture may not depend solely on rain from the heavens? Does not the seed and the maintenance of the man who tills go unrealized? Do you award money lent with interest at one per cent? Is your *varta* or department of livelihood looked to by efficient men, for in *varta* lies the happiness of your people. (*Varta* meant (1) agriculture, (2) cattle-rearing, (3) manufacture and trade.) Do your five officers of the village,

¹ Chapter X, 172.

² Book II, Chapter I.

³ Chapter V, Sabha Parva of the *Mahābhārata*.

brave, well versed and well actioned achieve the good of the country by their united efforts? For the protection of your cities have you made your villages as strong as the towns? Do dacoits roam and are they not chased by your forces in even and uneven places?' The quotation is very interesting because of the fact that village administration was taken to be the chief care and concern of the king. The questions addressed herein would form the greatest ideals of any government.

No village settlement was complete unless the kings constructed reservoirs fitted with water either perennial or drawn from some other source. Village occupation, the only mainstay of the country, was so engrossing in its nature that special restrictions were placed to insure its peaceful continuance. As helpless villagers were always dependent and bent upon their fields no disturbance of any sort was allowed. Cultivators should not be caught hold of for debts while they were engaged in their duties.¹ Says Chanakya² that no ascetic other than a Vanaprastha, no company other than the one of local birth, and no guilds of any kind other than local co-operative guilds should find entrance into the villages of the kingdom. Nor should there be in villages buildings intended for sport and play. Nor in view of procuring money, free labour, commodities, grains, and liquids in plenty, should actors, dancers, singers, drummers, buffoons, and bands make any disturbance to the work of the villagers. The king should avoid taking possession of any country liable to the inroads of enemies and wild tribes and harassed by frequent visitations of famine and pestilence. He should not only clear roads of traffic from the molestation of courtiers, of workmen, of robbers, and of boundary guards, but also keep them from being destroyed by herds of cattle. The formation of villages consisted not only in the king settling up new ones, but also in keeping in good repair timber and other forests, buildings and mines created in the past. Manu says (VIII. 230) on all sides of a village a space of one hundred *dhanus* (6 feet) should be reserved for pasture and thrice that space round a town.

The king had to make provision for pasture lands on uncultivable tracts. The Brahman came in for a good deal of kindly treatment, for he was provided with forests for *soma* plantation, for religious learning and for the performance of penance, such forests being rendered safe from the dangers of animate or inanimate objects, and being named after the tribal name of (*gotra*) the Brahman resident therein. Elaborate rules were framed for the formation of forests so as to serve not only the sporting propensities of the sovereign, but also to prepare commodities from forest produce. A good deal of attention was paid to the construction of forts. On all the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom defensive fortifications were to be

¹ Chap. XI, Book III.

² Book II, Chapter I.

constructed on ground best fitted for the purpose. Fortifications were of different kinds. A water fortification (*audaka*) such as an island in the midst of a river, or a plain surrounded by low ground. A mountainous fortification (*parvatha*) such as a rocky tract or a cave, a desert (*dhanvana*) such as a wild tract devoid of water and overgrown with thicket grown in barren soil or a forest fortification (*vanadurga*) full of wagtail, water and thickets. Many were the expedients defying even the ingenuity of the Huns and Germans by which entrance into these fortifications was made impossible. In fact Kautilya devotes more space and attention to these fortifications than to the formation of places fit for the settlement of the people.

I will quote one such expedient.

'Outside the rampart, passages for movements shall be closed by forming obstructions such as a knee-breaker, a trident, mounds of earth, pits, wreaths of thorns, instruments made like the tail of a snake, palm-leaf, triangle, and dogs' teeth, rods, ditches filled with thorns and covered with sand, frying pans and water pools.' Though fortifications more or less of this kind were common to considerable villages and to towns which were not far removed from them in their nature, yet where these were constructed on a elaborate scale they were intended for the residence of the kings about whom were gathered the town population enjoying facilities for their many-sided activities.

Very interesting details are given by Chanakya regarding settlement of waste areas which was only next in importance to the formation of villages:—

The Indian Machiavelli proposes the question 'which is better for colonization a plain or watery land', and answers it of course by asserting that a limited tract of land with water is far better than a vast plain, inasmuch as the former is conducive to the growth of crops and fruits throughout the year. Of plains that, which is conducive to the growth of both early and late crops, and which requires less labour and less rain for cultivation, is better than the other of reverse character, and of watery lands that which is conducive to the growth of grains is better than another productive of crops other than grains. Of two tracts of land one rich in grains, and another in mines, the latter helps the treasury while the former can fill both the treasury and the storehouse. Another interesting problem this practised politician proposes and solves is, 'which is better, the land with scattered people or that with a corporation of people?' Strangely enough his shrewd statesmanship makes him say that the thinly populated land is better, inasmuch as it can be kept under control, and is not susceptible to the intrigues of enemies, while the land of corporations is intolerant of calamities and susceptible to anger and other passions. There is ample testimony to prove that the villages and agricultural tracts generally were in the hands of the Sudras who still form the backbone of Indian prosperity, for, says Kautilya, in coloniz-

ing a land with four castes, colonization with the lowest is better inasmuch as it is serviceable in various ways, plentiful, and permanent. Of cultivated and uncultivated tracts, the uncultivated tract may be suitable for various kinds of agricultural operations, and of two lands one thickly populated and the other full of forts, the former is better as it is a kingdom in every sense.¹

Vishnu in his Smṛithi (III. 82), portions of which are evidently of a later date than either Chanakya or Manu, evidently knowing how litigation had increased because of the complications arising out of an oral gift of property, says that to those upon whom the king bestows any land, he must give a document, signed with his own seal, destined for the information of a future ruler which must be written on a piece of cotton cloth, or a copper plate, and must contain the names of his three immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the donation to himself.

The following is a summary of the *Mānasāra Silpa Śāstra* as given by Mr. E. B. Havell in his study of *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*. According to him the *Silpa Śāstras* were possibly compiled about the fifth or sixth century A.D. but the traditions they embody are of far greater antiquity. Further he is of opinion the essential points contained therein are not far different from those which were to be seen in the third century B.C. As regards the date of the book, it must be accepted with some reservation, but as regards the essentials Mr. Havell is not far from the truth. If the date of Chanakya, or rather the compilation of the *Arthasāstra* which goes in the name of Chanakya, is taken to be not earlier than the third century B.C., the several statements made therein do find a place in the *Mānasāra Silpa Śāstra*, only that the latter was professedly a treatise intended to elucidate the principles of a particular branch of study, and the *Arthasāstra* a summary of all sciences, in fact, in the language of Kautilya, the end of sciences. So where the descriptions are particular in the *Mānasāra*, they are general in the book of polity by Kautilya.

The *Mānasāra* says that for choosing the site of a village, a careful examination of its position and soil is first necessary. The best site is that which slopes towards the east where the full flood light of the sun would fall. It should be near a stream where water could be had at a depth of seven feet. The soil must be tested by its colour, smell, taste, appearance and feel. A rough practical means of testing the soil for the foundations was to dig a pit one *hasṭha* in depth and then return the excavated soil into it. A stable foundation would be indicated by the soil at the top being higher than it was before, an indifferent one if it were of the same level, and a bad one if

¹ Chapter XI, Book VII.

the surface were lower. The true position of the cardinal points having been carefully ascertained by means of the shadow of a gnomon, the alignment of the main street of the village was marked out. The general planning of the larger villages followed that of the cosmic cross, and the so-called magic square representing the four quarters of the universe. The easterly axis of the plan ensured that the principal streets were purified by the rays of the sun sweeping through them from morning till evening, while the intersection of main streets by shorter ones running north and south provided a perfect circulation of air and the utmost benefit of the cool breezes. The two principal streets were broad avenues, probably planted with umbrageous trees. The long one, was called *rajapatha*, King's Street, the short one was *mahakala*—Broad Street—or otherwise *vāmana*, south street, from the name of the mystical elephant which represented the southern quarter. The wide path running round the village inside the wall or stockade was called *mangala vīthi*—the way of auspiciousness—this being the path by which the village priest went daily in performance of the rite of *pradakshina*, or circumambulation. *Mangala*, has also a secondary meaning as an epithet of Kartikeya, the god of war. In this sense the name refers to the use of the road by the village sentinels whose watchfulness ensured the safety of inhabitants from hostile attacks. The *Mānasāra* gives the maximum width of the main streets of the village as five *dandas* (a *danda* = 8 feet). The others varied in width from one to five *dandas*. The size of a single cottage was reckoned as from 24 feet by 26 feet to 40 feet by 32 feet. They were generally grouped together by fours so as to form an inner square or quadrangle, the magic of the square depending on the fact that it afforded the best protection for the cattle of the joint household when they were driven in from the pastures every evening. Four cottages combined into a single habitation with its own inner courtyard was the next step in the evolution of the house-plan. The *Mānasāra* recognizes forty different classes of villages. At the least the area must be 4,000 feet. Of this area, about one-third was devoted to building space and the rest to the agricultural lands owned by the community. Neither the village nor a town was usually square in plan but a rectangle, to secure a proper circulation of air even in the largest cities. The *Mānasāra* gives eight standard types of the village plans¹ a few of which are given below.

(1) The *dandaka*, after the staff carried by the *Sanyasins*, specially intended for a hermitage or other religious community, consisting of one to five long parallel streets running east to west with three shorter ones intersecting in the middle and at the two ends. In this provision was made for tanks and various shrines.

¹ For figures and detailed description read pp. 10 to 18 of Mr. Havell's *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*.

(2) The plan called *nandyavartha* (the abode of happiness) was intended to accommodate a mixed population of different social grades or belonging to different religious sects.

(3) The plan called *padmaka*, after the lotus leaf, in which the main street running on diagonal lines was avoided, as first it would be bad for defence, and secondly tended to congestion of traffic, and thirdly the streets would mostly run in the wrong direction for the sun.

(4) The *Swastika*, the mystic sign derived from the magic square. The peculiar feature of *Swastika* lay in the fact that in the Aryan military camp, it was a formation used for defending the four gateways. In this plan the direction of the blocks of houses in each quarter of the village indicated the movement from left to right.

Among the building by-laws laid down in the *Mānasāra* are the following. Schools and buildings for religious study should be erected at the angular points of villages, i.e. they should be in the quietest places, out of the main traffic and near the least used entrances of the village. The lower classes must never construct their houses of more than a single story. As far as practicable, the height of the buildings in the same street should correspond. The front, middle, and back doors of a house should be on the same level, and in a straight line with each side of the door. The quaint representations of buildings given in the Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures give some idea of the aspect of Indian villages in the third century B.C. The commonest type of village dwelling in the Bharhut sculptures is like those of the present day, a very simple structure and apparently built of sun-baked clay. The roofs of the cottages at Bharhut are barrel shaped with semi-circular gables or with pointed gables. Besides domestic and religious buildings, the Indian village had sometimes its assembly hall where the village council met. Mr. Havell, in page 34 of the book, from which I have extensively extracted, says that there are many representations of village shrines in Asoka sculptures, and gives a plate which shows a typical one from Bharhut, which proves that the village shrine of the third century B.C. already contained all the constructive elements of the medieval temple. The main building was only a square or circular cell covered by a dome, but when such a shrine became famous a hall or *mandapam* was added. The model for this *mandapam* was that of the village assembly hall, which was at the same time the local council chamber, court house, music hall, theatre, and school. It was here the village council met, and the villagers gathered in the evening to listen to the recitation of the soul thrilling stories from their national epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhāratha*. It was the radiating centre of that traditional culture which has become the heirloom of even the meanest peasant.

When the village was formed with the necessary defences, houses sprang up in all directions, but strictly conforming themselves to the rigid rules that

were laid down for their construction. Next to *Mānasāra Silpa Śāstra*, no law book gives so much attention to this as the *Arthasāstra* of Chanakya. The roof of a house had to be fastened by means of iron bolts to the transverse beam, and it is only in conformity to the stability of the *setu* that houses should be constructed. New houses were to be raised, but never encroaching upon what belonged to others. The foundations should be two *aratnis* by three *pādās* (1½ feet by 2¾ feet). Except in the case of temporary structures for the confinement of women for ten days (for then, as it is now with certain non-Brahmin classes, pollutions of the kind were not allowed within the permanent living area), all permanent houses were to be provided with a dung hill, water course and a well. Violation of this rule was visited with punishment. Sanitary injunctions were minute and rigid. Water was not allowed to slush the streets, and for each house a water course of sufficient slope was to be constructed so as to make the water fall from it into the drain. What has taken years for us to learn, the ancients knew so well, for between any two houses, or between the extended portions of any two houses the intervening portion was fixed to be three or four *pādās*.¹

When the habitations had sprung up in the newly settled village, restrictions were laid how to safeguard them from eight kinds of providential visitations, namely, fire, floods, pestilence, diseases, famine, rats, tigers, serpents, and curiously enough to modern ears, demons! From these the king was religiously enjoined to protect his kingdom. As the houses were mostly thatched, naturally, during the summer, villagers were bound to carry on cooking operations outside, or they should provide themselves with the ten remedial instruments (*dasamūli*) which were the five water pots, (*panchaghatinām*), a water vessel, (*kumbha*) a water tub kept at the door of each house, (*drōna*) a ladder, an axe probably to cut off the beams that had caught fire, a winnowing basket to blow off the smoke, a hook to pull down the burning door panels, pincers to remove hay stalk and a leather bag to carry water. (As Brahmans would hate to do the work of the *bistis* by carrying a leather bag of water to put out the fire, the probability is that these villages had exclusively, or more Sudras than Brahmans). The villagers at the first sign of fire should remove the thatched roofs. Those that worked with fire should live all together in a single locality.

Each house owner should ever be present at night at the door of his own house. Any house owner who did not run to give his help in extinguishing the fire was fined twelve *panās*, and whoever carelessly set fire fifty-four *panās*, but he who intentionally set fire was to be thrown into the fire itself.

Floods.—Villagers living on the banks of rivers should, during the rainy season, remove themselves upcountry. They should provide themselves with wooden planks, bamboos and boats. They should, by means of bottle

¹ Chapter, VIII, Book III.

gourds, canoes, trunks of trees or boats rescue persons, or else they were fined twelve panas.

Pestilences.—Physicians with their medicines, and ascetics and prophets with their auspicious and purificatory ceremonies were to try to overcome pestilences and epidemics. Besides the above measures, oblations to gods, the ceremonial *Mahá Kachacha vardhana*, milking the cows on cremation or burial grounds, burning the trunk of a corpse, and spending nights in devotion to gods, should also be observed. With regard to cattle diseases not only the ceremony of waving lights in cow sheds, but also the worship of family gods to be carried out. Such was their faith in religion.

Famines.—During famine the king should show favour to his people by providing them with seed and provision. At times he should favour them by distributing either his own collection of provision, or the hoarded income of the rich, or by adopting the policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue (*karsanam*), or causing them to vomit their accumulated wealth (*vamanam*). The last expedient to be resorted to by the king was to emigrate to another kingdom having abundant harvest.

Rats.—The rat nuisance was as bad then as now. To ward off the danger of these pests, cats and mongooses were to be let loose; similar measures being taken against the danger from locusts, birds and insects.

Snakes.—To get rid of the snakes, a common danger in village tracts having a rank vegetation, experts in applying remedies against snake poison should resort to incantations and medicines. On new and full moon days snakes might be worshipped to propitiate them.

Tigers.—In order to destroy tigers, either the carcasses of cattle united with the juice of Madana plant or the carcasses of calves filled with the juice of Madana or Kodrava plants might be thrown in suitable places, or hunters or keepers of hounds might catch tigers, by entrapping them in nets or persons under the protection of armour, might kill them with arms, or on new and full moon days mountains may be worshipped.

Demons.—Persons acquainted with the rituals of the Atharva-Veda and experts in sacred magic and mysticism should perform such ceremonials as would ward off the danger from demons. In all kinds of danger from demons, the incantation '*we offer thee cooked rice*' should be performed. In a word the king should always protect the afflicted among his people as a father his children.¹

I am conscious I have made this chapter, the formation of villages, tediously long, but I have taken care to give only just the materials that were very essential.

¹ Chap. III, Book IV.

II. VILLAGE OFFICERS

Chanakya says that the king having divided the kingdom into four districts and having also sub-divided the villages as of first, middle and lowest rank, he should bring them under one or the other of the following heads:—

Villages that are exempted from taxation, those that supply soldiers and those that pay their taxes in the form of grain, cattle, gold or raw material and those that supply free labour and dairy produce in lieu of taxes.²

Chanakya's statement is important as it makes us to understand pretty plainly that in those days, as in the early manorial system in Europe, the stout peasantry or the yeomanry were to fight in war till the standing army was formed, and taxes were paid in kind, as they are even now in some of the Indian States. Besides, those that were not able to pay the taxes had to give presumably two kinds of labour, boon work and week work. Just as there were the bailiff, the sheriff, and the hayward to take the work from the villagers and give an account of the collections made from the people, so also in the early rural economy there were two officers, the Gopa and the village headman who were solely concerned with village affairs. A word of caution is necessary here that the village officers should be distinguished from the village officials. The officers were appointed by the central government and were responsible on pain of punishment, which varied according to the enormity of the offences they committed, for the orderly carrying out of the directions of the government in its dealings with the villages. The village officials, on the other hand, were the servants appointed by the villagers to attend to their affairs, and paid by them and responsible to them as the washerman, the blacksmith, etc.

In the *Arthasāstra* we have only two such village officers, the Gopa and the village headman. In the *Mahābhārata*, Sabha Parva, mention is made of five village officers who were, viz. Prasastha, (Headman), Samahartha (Collector of Revenue), Samvidhāta, (intermediary between the people and the Collector), Lēkhakaha (Shanbhogue or writer of accounts), Sākshi (witness to the transactions). Some of these seem to be no other than village officials.

Evidently the multiplication of the officers was according to the multiplicity of the work to be performed. As we shall see presently the two officers mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* had more than enough to do. Besides these village officers, there were a number of superintendents who looked to many of the concerns of the village, of whom mention will be made in the third part.

*The Gopa and his duties*³

It is the duty of the Gopa, the village accountant, to attend to the accounts of the five or ten villages as ordered by the Collector-General. His

² Chap XXXV. Book II

³ Chap. XXXVI. Book II.

duties were as onerous as they were varied in kind. He had to set up boundaries to villages, number plots of grounds as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens, vegetable gardens, fences, forests, altars, temples of gods, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding houses, places where water was freely supplied to travellers, places of pilgrimage, pasture grounds and roads, and then fix the boundaries of various villages, of fields, of forests and of roads and to register gifts, sales, charities and even remission of taxes regarding fields.

Having numbered the houses as tax paying or non-tax paying, he should not only register the total number of inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also keep an account of the exact number of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves and biped and quadruped animals, fixing at the same time the amount of gold, free labour, toll and fines that could be collected from each house. Besides having to help to frame this record of Domesday survey, he had to do the duty of the censor, and mind the moral supervision of the people, by keeping an account of the number of young and old men that resided in each house, their history, occupation, income and expenditure. In those places which were under the jurisdiction of the Gopa, commissioners, specially deputed by the Collector-General, should not only inspect the works done and the means employed by the village, but also collect the special religious tax known as *bali*. Hard was the lot of the Gopa as spies under the disguise of householders were deputed by the Collector-General for espionage to ascertain the validity of the accounts of the village, and also to find out the causes of emigration and immigration of persons of migratory habit, the arrival and departure of men and women of condemnable character, as well as the movements of the foreign spies. Besides these there were the merchant spies to look to the correctness of the several kinds of produce. The system of espionage was pushed to a far degree in matters relating to village government. Spies under the guise of ascetics were deputed to gather information regarding the proceedings of honest or dishonest cultivators, cowherds, merchants, and heads of government departments.

In places where altars were situated, or where four roads met, in ancient ruins, in the vicinity of tanks, rivers, bathing places and in desert tracts, mountains, and thick grown forests, spies under the guise of old and notorious thieves with their student bands were deputed to ascertain the causes of arrival and departure and halt of thieves, enemies and persons of undue bravery. Such were the arrangements made energetically to carry on the affairs of the nucleus of the administration.¹

¹ Chapter XXXV, Book II.

² Chapter XIII, Book IV.

The Headman of the Village¹

The village headman was *de facto* king of the village. His responsibilities were large, but unfortunately his position was unenviable at times. Though he lorded it over the people, he had to cater to the wishes of the sovereign and his many minions. He loomed large only in the vision of the people. It cannot be definitely said whether he was a hereditary officer or a nominee of the king. Prof. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* says that, from the fact that the appointment of the officer was not claimed for the king until the late law books, it is almost certain that in earlier times the appointment was either hereditary or conferred by the village council itself. Manu says (VII. 115) that the king should appoint a lord over each village, who is none other than the village headman, as well as lords of ten villages, and of twenty villages, of a hundred and of a thousand villages. This gradation was intended so that each should inform the one above of the crimes committed in his village. It was through the village headman that all government business was carried on, and he had both opportunity and power to represent their case to the highest officials. The village headman had to prepare the road and provide food on the occasions of a royal person or high official visiting his village. When the headman of a village had to travel on account of any business of the whole village, the villagers by turns should accompany him. Those who could not do this should pay one and a half panas for every *yojana* (5.5/44 miles). If the headman of the village sent out of the village any person except a thief or an adulterer, he should be punished with a fine of twenty four panas. When merchants halted in a village and had made known the value of the merchandise with them, and if any part of their merchandise which had not been truly sent out of the village during the night had been stolen or lost, the headman of the village had to make good the loss. Occasionally the headman was helped in his arduous and risky duty by other government officials.

For instance, whatever of their merchandise was stolen or lost in the intervening places between any two villages, the Superintendent of Pasture Lands was to make good. If there were no pasture lands in such places, the officer Chorarajjuka should make good the loss. If the loss of merchandise occurred in such parts of the country as were not provided even with such security, the people in the boundaries of the place should contribute to make up the loss. Such was the rigour of the justice of those times, which survives only in the school discipline now where all boys are made to pay the penalty for the default of one boy, that if there were no people in the boundaries, the people of five or ten villages of the neighbourhood should make up the loss.

Manu (VII. 199) lays down that the salary of a village headman should ordinarily be those articles which the villagers ought to furnish daily to the

king, such as food, drink, and fuel. Chanakya says that the subsistence of a village servant (Grāma bhritika) should be 500 *pandas*.¹

Evidently, as it is reported to be in some native states paternally inclined towards its servants, there was no retirement of the officials, but the sons and wives of those who died while on duty were provided with subsistence and wages. Infants and aged persons were also shown favour. It is said in *Arthasāstra* that the king should not only maintain his servants, but also increase their subsistence and wages in consideration of their learning and work.²

Whether the officers were appointed by the village council or the king, or were entitled to the position by heredity, they had played the part of effective middlemen between the government and the people, and for all their hard work, had not only to bear the gratuitous odium thrown on their devoted heads by the people, but were not seldom terrorized by their superior officers as we read in the *Mahābhārata* where they are compared to the influence of the evil planets on the Nakshatras.³

III. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND VILLAGE AUTONOMY

For the satisfactory carrying out of the village government, the king appointed a number of superintendents. The most important of them were (1) Superintendent of Store House, (2) Superintendent of Tolls, (3) Superintendent of Weaving, (4) Superintendent of Agriculture, (5) Superintendent of Cows, (6) Superintendent of Passports, (7) Superintendent of Pasture Lands.

I may be allowed to give at least a cursory view of the duties of each.⁴

The Superintendent of Store House.—This officer had to supervise the accounts of agricultural produce; keep an account of different kinds of taxes paid by the country people: commerce; barter; begging for grain; grain borrowed with promise to repay; manufacture of rice, oils, etc., prepare revenue statements to check expenditure and recovery of past arrears. Of the stores thus collected, half should be kept in reserve to ward off the calamities of the people, and only the other half to be used, old collections being always replaced by new. The Superintendent had also personally to supervise the increase or the diminution in grains when they were put to several processes. He had to keep a careful watch that the proper quantity was sent as there were so many ways by which the people could cheat the king of his just revenues. For instance, grains have a tendency to increase

¹ Chapter III, Book V.

² Quoted by C. V. Vardya in *Epic India*, p. 210.

³ Chapter III, Book V.

⁴ Book II, Chapter XIII and *et seq.*

twice the original quantity when moistened and grains fried will increase by one-fifth the original quantity. He had to keep a watch over people who were concerned in these several processes, and he should generally be in charge of the weighing balance, weights, etc.¹

The Superintendent of Tolls.—This officer had to erect near the large gates of the city both the toll house and its flag facing to the north or the south. When merchants with their merchandise arrived at the toll gate four or five collectors should take down who the merchants were, whence they came, what amount of merchandise they had brought, and where the seal mark for the first time had been impressed. When the merchandise was not stamped, or stamped with a counterfeit seal, heavy fines were inflicted. Merchants had to declare the quantity and price of the merchandise, and when purchasers bid for a sum higher than what the merchants had demanded, the excess amount was paid into the treasury and the merchants for practising the deceit to pay a lower toll were fined eight times the toll.

The same punishment was imposed when the price of the merchandise packed in bags was lowered by showing an inferior sort, or when valuable merchandise was covered over with a layer of inferior. Commodities were always to be sold after they were precisely weighed, measured, or numbered. Those who uttered a lie to avoid the tolls were punished as thieves. As tolls formed one of the fruitful sources of revenue and were levied on a number of articles, it was no wonder stringent regulations were passed in the matter of their collection.²

The Superintendent of Weaving.—Weaving was carried on as a domestic industry in rural parts. The Superintendent should employ only qualified persons to manufacture threads, coats, cloths and ropes. The so-called qualified persons who were engaged in some of the processes of weaving were none other than widows, cripple women, girls, mendicants, or ascetic women, mothers of prostitutes, old women servants of the king, and prostitutes who had ceased to attend temples on service. Wages were fixed according as the threads spun were fine, coarse, or of middle quality, and in proportion to a greater or less quantity manufactured. Where women were concerned a high code of honour was demanded of the Superintendent. Those women who could present themselves at the weaving house should, at dawn, be enabled to exchange their spinings for wages. Only so much light as was enough to examine the threads should be kept. If the Superintendent looked at the faces of such women or talked about any other work he should be visited with punishment. Manu says that a weaver who had received ten *palas* of thread should return cloth weighing one *pala* more. Severe punish-

¹ Chapter XV, Book II.

² Chapter XLI, Book II.

ments were inflicted on those who failed to do the work agreed on by them, or who misappropriated raw materials intended for weaving.¹

The Superintendent of Agriculture.—He should be one possessed of the knowledge of the science of agriculture dealing with the plantation of bushes and trees. Assisted by those who were trained in such sciences, he should in time collect the seeds of all kinds of grains, flowers, fruits, vegetables, etc. He should employ slaves, labourers, and prisoners to sow the seeds on crown lands which had been often and satisfactorily ploughed. He must see that the work did not suffer on account of any want of ploughs and other necessary implements or of bullocks. Nor should there be any delay in procuring to them the assistance of blacksmiths, carpenters, borers, rope makers, as well as of those who caught snakes, and of similar persons. According to the rainfall, whether it was more or less, the Superintendent should give instructions to sow the seeds which required more or less water; or seeds might be sown according to the changes of the season. Fields that were left unsown might be brought under cultivation by employing those who cultivated for one-half the share in the produce. He should grow wet crops, winter crops, or summer crops according to the supply of workmen and water. He should know that, where there was smoke caused by the burning of the essence of cotton seeds and the slough of a snake, snakes would not stay. He must proportion the contribution of the people according to the labour involved in the cultivation, for example, those who cultivated the land irrigating by manual labour should be assessed only a fifth of the produce as water rate, and by water lifts one-third of the produce. Provisions should be supplied to watchmen, slaves and labourers in proportion to the amount of work done by them. One peculiar feature was that always when seeds were sown, a handful of seeds bathed in water with a piece of gold should be sown first and the following *mantra* recited:—

Prajāpatya Kaśyapāya devāya namah
Sada' Sitā mēdhyatām dēvi bijēshu cha
dhanēshu cha chandavata hē

'Salutation to god Prajapathi Kasyapa. May agriculture always flourish and may the goddess reside in seeds and wealth.' The Superintendent must freely allow those that were learned in the Vedas, and those that were engaged in making penance, to take from the fields ripe flowers and fruits for the purpose of worship and rice and barley for performing *āgrayana*, a sacrificial performance at the commencement of the harvest season, and also those who live by gleaning grains in fields to gather grains after they have been accumulated and removed.²

The Superintendent of Cows.—He had to supervise herds maintained for wages, herds surrendered for a fixed amount of dairy produce, useless and

¹ Chapter XXIII, Book II.

² Chapter XXV, Book II.

abandoned herds, herds maintained for a share in dairy produce, cattle that strayed, and the amassed quantity of milk and clarified butter.

Cowherds should work under his orders. They should apply remedies to calves, or aged cows, or cows suffering from diseases. They should graze the herds in forests which had been severally allotted as pasture grounds for various seasons, and from which thieves, tigers and other molesting beasts had been driven away by hunters and their hounds. With a view to scare out snakes and tigers, and as a definite means of knowing the whereabouts of herds, sounding bells should be attached to the necks of timid cattle. Whenever they failed to report the loss of animals by theft, or drowning, or by destruction, they should be compelled to make good the loss. When an animal died a natural death they should surrender the skin with the fat, bile, marrow, teeth, hoofs, horns and bones. The butter milk should be given as drink to hogs and dogs, though they might reserve some in a bronze vessel to prepare their own dish. They might also make use of coagulated milk or cheese to render their oil cakes relishing. Cattle must be milked at proper times in proper seasons. The cowherd who milked a cow a second time should have his thumbs cut off. When a person caused a bull attached to a herd to fight with another bull, he should be punished. Cattle should be grouped in herds of ten each of similar colour while they were being grazed. Cowherds should take their cattle far or near according to their capacity. Once in six months sheep and other animals should be shorn of their wool. All cattle should be supplied with abundance of fodder and water.¹

The Superintendent of Passports.—This officer should issue passes at the rate of a *masha* a pass. It was only those who were provided with these passes that were at liberty to enter into or go out of a country. The Superintendent of Pasture lands should examine the passports. Pasture grounds naturally therefore should be opened between any two dangerous places. Valleys should be cleared from the fear of thieves, elephants and other beasts. Hunters with their hounds should reconnoitre forests. At the approach of thieves or enemies, they should so hide themselves by ascending trees or mountains as to escape from them and blow conch shells, or beat drums. As to movements of enemies or wild tribes, they might send information by flying pigeons with passes, or causing fire and smoke at successive distances. In a word it should be his duty to protect timber and elephant forests, to keep roads in good repair, to arrest thieves, to secure the safety of mercantile traffic, to protect cows and facilitate the transactions of the people.²

The Collector-General.—He was the chief officer of the State. The several superintendents and commissioners were appointed by him. The

¹ Chapter XXIX, Book II.

² Chapter XXXIV, Book II.

system of espionage, as even a hasty perusal of *Arthasāstra* would show, was carried to its perfection. The spies permeated, as it were, all walks of life. Nobody, whatever his calling might be, was free from their scrutiny. The Collector-General was their chief of staff. He was the highest revenue minister. Rural as well as urban administration was placed under his care. The Collector-General thus energetically attended to the affairs of the kingdom. Also his subordinates constituting his various establishments of espionage along with their colleagues and followers attended to their duties likewise.¹

Sources of Revenue.—Many are the injunctions laid thick on the heads of sovereigns in the matter of collection of revenue. Though the sovereigns did not leave untapped every possible source for swelling the revenues of the State, yet they went about it with a method which was as agreeable as it was exacting. Chanakya says 'just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured, causing immense trouble.'²

Manu says with regards to the collection of revenue. 'As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so the king draws from his realm moderate annual taxes.' (VII. 126.)

Manu does not mince matters when he says 'the king should not cut up his own root by levying no taxes, nor the root of other men by excessive greed, for by cutting up his own root or theirs he makes himself or them wretched.' He must combine in him two impossible qualities being both sharp and gentle, if he would be respected. (VII. 139.)

So also in *Mahābhārata*, in Shanti Parva, Bhishma says 'As the bee gathers honey from flowers gradually, the king should collect wealth gradually.'

The king who found himself in a great financial trouble and needed money might collect revenue by demand. In such parts of his country as depended solely upon rain, and were rich in grain, he might demand of his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain *according to their capacity* (a very important qualification). He should never make such demands of his subjects living in tracts of middle or low quality, nor of people who were of great help in the construction of fortifications, gardens, buildings, roads for traffic, colonization of waste lands, exploitation of mines, and formation of forest preserves for timber; nor of people who lived on the border of his kingdom or who had not enough subsistence. He should, on the other hand, supply with grain and cattle those who colonized waste lands. He might purchase for gold one-fourth of what remained after deducting as much of the

¹ Chapter XXXV, Book II.

² Chapter II, Book V.

grain as was required for seeds and subsistence of his subjects. He should avoid the property of forest tribes as their means of living were scanty and as they did a good deal of service involving great risks, as well as that of Brahmans learned in the Vedas or Srotriyas. That Chanakya who is unsparing of the Brahman should be as kind as Manu (VII. 138) who says that Brahmans and Srotriyas should not be taxed, and that though the king was dying through want he must not levy a tax on the Srotriya should be a matter of gratification for the much maligned Brahman. But the king might purchase of them offering them favourable prices. Failing these measures, the servants of the Collector-General might prevail on the peasantry to raise summer crops.¹

The demand from cultivators was one-fourth of the grain and one-sixth of forest produce and of such commodities as cotton fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, sandal, flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos and flesh. They might also take one-half of all ivory and skins of animals. Besides the demands from merchants raised both on raw materials and finished products, herdsmen were also taxed. Persons rearing cocks and pigs should surrender to the Government half of their stock of animals. Those that reared inferior animals should give one-sixth. Those that kept cows, buffaloes, mules, asses and camels should give one tenth. Now and then a very delightful method of collection of taxes was adopted. Those that maintained prostitutes should collect revenue with the help of women noted for their beauty and youth in the service of the king. Such was beauty's charm on the hard working tax-payers in those days of justice and morality. The demands anyhow should be made only once and never twice.²

The old law-givers differ not only in the matter of the several sources of revenue, but also in the share of contribution by the people.

N.B.—On the whole it might be safely said that ordinarily the revenue of the State was derived from land and commerce, the other secondary sources being mines, salt custom duties or *shulka* (the place where corn was sold), river crossings and elephants. Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his *Epic India*, page 213, says the fact that the elephant preserves belonged to the king compels the conclusion that the people were freely allowed to appropriate other beasts of the jungle for the purposes of food, trade or hunting. Unlike now the people were allowed the free use of jungles which usually bordered on a State. They were entitled to live therein wherever they liked, and to cut what trees they pleased and to graze their cattle wherever convenient. The Superintendent of Forests was after all not exacting even though he was made responsible for forest produce and for their safety and up-keep. It might without any fear of contradiction be asserted that the land revenue on an average never exceeded one-sixth the gross. I do not agree with Mr. Vaidya when he says, 'as the tax of the king was levied on the produce of the land, it appears that the

¹ Chapter II, Book V.

² Chapter II, Book V.

land cultivated was never measured.' A study of the *Arthashastra* where minute tables are given for the measurement of space, and also the rules given by Manu and Chanakya for the settlement of the boundary disputes, would dispel this view. Of course there were instances of the land of a village being divided by the villagers among themselves according to their convenience.

People who were unable to pay taxes were let off by working for the king a few days a week. The king possessed a right to exact forced labour from artisans and labourers.¹ No caste seems to have been exempt from this tax of compulsory labour. Even the Brahmans were made to work for the king, if they did not follow their own sacred profession, for we read in *Mahābhārata*.

'All Brahmans who have not learnt the Vedas and kept the sacrificial fire should be made to pay taxes and to do forced labour by a king who is religious.'

In Vishnu Smṛithi (III, 22) it is said of the king that he must take from his subjects a sixth part every year of the grain and a sixth part of all other seeds (III, 23) and two in the hundred of cattle gold and clothing. Again a sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids and condiments etc (III, 24). Manu says a fiftieth part of the increment of cattle and gold and eighth, sixth or one-twelfth part of the crops (VII, 130). The king might also take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, etc.

Remission of taxes was based on a generous and protective principle. In the construction of new works, such as tanks, lakes, taxes were remitted for five years and for repairing ruined work, for four years. For improving or extending water-works, taxes were remitted for three years. If uncultivated tracts were acquired for cultivation by mortgage or purchase, remission of taxation was for two years. Out of crops grown by irrigation by means of wind power or bullocks or below tanks in fields, parks, flower gardens or in any other way so much of the produce as would not entail hardship on the cultivators might be given to Government.²

Though it might be contended that the taxes were very many in kind, the fact must not be lost sight of that they were a small fraction, and even the aggregate did not make them prohibitive. If we only compare the present system of incidence with the past, we shall see that the many items that are taxed now were not found in the list of taxable articles then, and also the system of taxation was not rigid, for the taxes were paid only on articles actually produced. To any one familiar with the thousand and one taxes that Pitt and Peel took all the trouble to reduce, neither the incidence nor the number of articles liable to be taxed then seems to be inequitable or large. The words

¹ Chapter IX, Book III.

² Chapter IX, Book II.

are that the king 'may take,' but there is room to think that he did not take full advantage of this right. Chanakya, as has already been seen, makes us to understand that the king very often came to the help of the people in stead of exacting according to an iron code of laws the utmost from his subjects.

An interesting question to which I may be permitted to devote a few sentences is 'whether the land revenue was of the nature of a rent or a tax?' The question is interesting because it decides the point according to the answer we are able to give, whether the ryot had a right in the soil or not. There is very good evidence to show that by unquestioned prescription the Government was entitled to receive from the occupier of the land whatever it required of the surplus profit, thus reducing the land revenue to a rent paid by the tenant rather than as a tax paid by the owner to the State. Kautilya says that when a property was brought to the hammer and its value increased by the bidding even among persons of the same community the increased amount together with the toll on the value should be handed over to the king's treasury.¹ Further he adds² lands prepared for cultivation should be given to taxpayers only for life. Lands might be confiscated from those who did not cultivate them and given to others. The king should bestow on cultivators only such favour and remission as would tend to swell the treasury and should avoid such as would deplete it. All these statements go to prove that of the two parties that claimed ownership, the king and the subjects, the king had more of it than the people, but that, subject to the payment of a stated proportion of the produce to meet the necessities of the administration, the proprietary right of the cultivator in the soil of his holding was absolute and complete, and that he was able to mortgage, sell, or otherwise alienate the land. This was only for land, for the king exercised his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables, in reservoirs or lakes, and had a exclusive ownership in mining. As regards mining, Chanakya says³ that besides collecting from mines the ten kinds of revenue, such as (1) the value of output, (2) the share of the output, (3) the premium of five per cent, (4) the testing charge of coins, (5) fine previously announced, (6) toll, (7) compensation for loss entailed on the king's commerce, (8) fines to be determined in proportion to the gravity of the crimes, (9) coinage and (10) the premium of eight per cent, the Government should keep as a State monopoly both mining and commerce in minerals. A curious coincidence of the enunciation of similar principles is to be found in a Madras Government Order, No. 1008, Revenue, dated September 21, 1882, wherein it is said that the State cannot without violating the rule and practice dating from time immemorial, assert in this presidency, an exclusive right to minerals in

¹ Chapter IX, Book III.

² Chapter I, Book II.

³ Chapter XII, Book II.

unoccupied lands, but that it is fully entitled to a share in such products as in any other produce of the land. Wherever the ryotwari system prevails, the position of the ryot in India, whether he has large or small holdings has not at all varied, as he still occupies a favoured position unlike the ryot in England, who is not a mere tenant. If he does not enjoy the favoured position of a landlord in England, neither is he like the English tenant. If the name of landlord belongs to any person in India, it is to the ryot. He divides with the Government all the rights of the land. Whatever is not reserved by Government, belongs to him. He is not a tenant at will or for a term of years. He is not removable because another offers more. It is a large question to decide, neither is it within the scope of my thesis to ask whether the ryot is not hampered now by the periodical settlements where certain factors alone are taken into consideration to enhance the tax and not others, by which the ryot is reduced to the position of a helpless being, which was not the case in Ancient India, as the kings had always taken a share of his net earnings, and that a small fraction. To put it briefly, then as now, land revenue was more of the nature of a tax than a rent, as ample latitude was allowed to the occupiers of land. May it be suggested that the land did not belong to the State as it demanded only a fixed proportion of the produce, and even that for the protection of the people.

IV. SOME GENERAL FEATURES

Boundary disputes.—These formed a significant feature of rural life in those days. The ancient law-givers devoted much attention how to settle them. Manu says (VIII. 245) that if a dispute had arisen between two villages concerning a boundary the king should settle the limits in the month of Jaiṣṭha (June) when the landmarks were most distinctly visible. He should mark the boundaries by trees, shrubs, bamboos of different kinds, creepers, raised mounds (as followed in Mysore and Bombay), reeds, thickets, so that the boundary might not be forgotten. Tanks, wells, cisterns should be built where boundaries meet as well as temples. As through their ignorance of boundaries trespasses constantly occurred, the king should cause to be made other hidden marks for boundaries, such as stones, bones and whatever of a similar kind the earth could not corrode even after a long time. If there were a doubt, even on an inspection of the marks, the settlement of a dispute should depend on witnesses who should be examined in the presence of the crowd of the villagers and also of the two litigants. They should, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets of red flowers and red dresses, being sworn each by the reward for his meritorious deeds, settle the boundary in accordance with the truth. On failure of witnesses from the two villages, men of the four neighbouring villages who were pure should make, as

witnesses, a decision concerning the boundary in the presence of the king. Failing to secure these, the king might hear the evidence even of the following inhabitants of the forest, such as hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, root diggers, etc. If any determined the boundary unjustly he should be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred *panas*. In cases where the boundary could not be ascertained by any evidence a righteous king with the intention of benefiting them should himself assign his land to each, and that was the settled rule. Kautilya says much the same thing as Manu.¹ In all disputes regarding the boundary between any two villagers, neighbours or elders of five or ten villages should investigate the case on the evidence to be furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks; even among cultivators and herdsmen outsiders who have had the experience of former possession in the place, or one or many persons not personally acquainted with the boundary marks, and then wearing unusual dress should lead the people to the place. If the boundary marks just described were not found, a fine of 1,000 *panas* should be imposed on the misleading or guilty person. Disputes concerning fields should be decided by the elders of the neighbourhood or of the village. If they were divided in their opinions, decision should be sought for from a number of pure and respectable people or the disputants might equally divide the disputed holding among themselves. If both of these methods failed, the holding under dispute should be taken possession of by the king. Encroachment upon boundaries was punished with the first amercement. Destruction of boundaries should be punished with a fine of 24 *panas*. Thus the determination of the boundaries was dealt with.

Wages.—There was a statute of labourers. The question of wages received ample attention at the hands of the Government.² The servant should get the promised wages. As to wages not previously settled the amount was fixed in proportion to the work done and the time spent in doing it. Wherever the wages were not previously settled, a cultivator should obtain one-tenth of the crops grown, a herdsman one-tenth of the butter clarified, a tradesman one-tenth of the sale proceeds. Artisans and others serving of their own accord should obtain as much wages as similar persons employed elsewhere or as much as experts should fix. Disputes regarding wages should be decided on the strength of evidence furnished by witnesses. Failure to pay wages should be punished with a fine of ten times the amount of wages or six *panas*.

The law was no less strict or definite as regards labourers.³ A servant neglecting or unreasonably putting off work for which he had received wages should be fined twelve *panas*. He who was incapable of turning out work or was involved in calamities should be shown some concession or

¹ Chapter IX, Book III. ² *Arthasāstra*, Chapter XIII, Book III. ³ Chapter XIV.

be allowed to get the work done by a substitute. The loss incurred by his master or employer owing to such delay should be made good by extra work. An employer might be at liberty to get the work done by another provided there was no such adverse condition that the former should not employ another servant to execute the work, nor should the latter go elsewhere for work. An employer, not taking work from his labourer, or an employee not doing his employer's work should be fined twelve *panas*. The same rules applied to guilds of workmen.

Rural Co-operation. Co-operation was much insisted upon. In *Arthasāstra*¹ we read that whoever stayed away from any kind of co-operative construction should send his servants and bullocks to carry on his work, should have a share in the expenditure and should have no claim to the profit. Again² any person who did not co-operate in the work of preparation for a public show should together with his family forfeit his right to enjoy the show. If a man who had not co-operated in preparing for a public play or spectacle was found hearing, or witnessing it under hiding, or if any one refused to give his aid in a work beneficial to all he should be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him. The order of any person attempting to do a work beneficial to all should be obeyed on pain of penalty. Co-operation in sacrificial acts was also much insisted upon. Manu says (IX. 274) that those who do not give assistance according to their ability when a village was being plundered, or a dyke was being destroyed, or highway robbery committed should be banished with their goods and chattels. There were craft villages and trade guilds.

Money economy.—Natural economy which continued to the twelfth century A.D. in England and Europe generally was centuries before replaced by money economy. This alone is indicative of the fact that the people had attained a high order of civilization and had extensive transactions in far-off lands. Anyhow the self-sufficing nature of the village economy acted as no bar to the people taking to money as a convenient means of exchange. Prof. Rhys Davids says in his *Buddhist India* that transactions were carried on at values estimated and bargains struck in terms of the *kahapana*, a square copper coin weighing about 146 grains and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch marks made by private individuals. There were no silver coins. There were one-half and one-fourth *kahapanas*. Market prices came to be fixed by Manu's time. Even though the *kahapana* was only five-sixth of a penny its purchasing power was great, quite as much as a shilling. There was a considerable use of instruments of credit. Merchants gave letters of credit to one another. The rate of interest varied from eight to thirty per cent. But Chanakya³ tells us that the goldsmith should employ artisans to manufacture gold and silver coins from the bullion of citizens, and

¹ Book II, Chapter I.

² Book III, Chapter X.

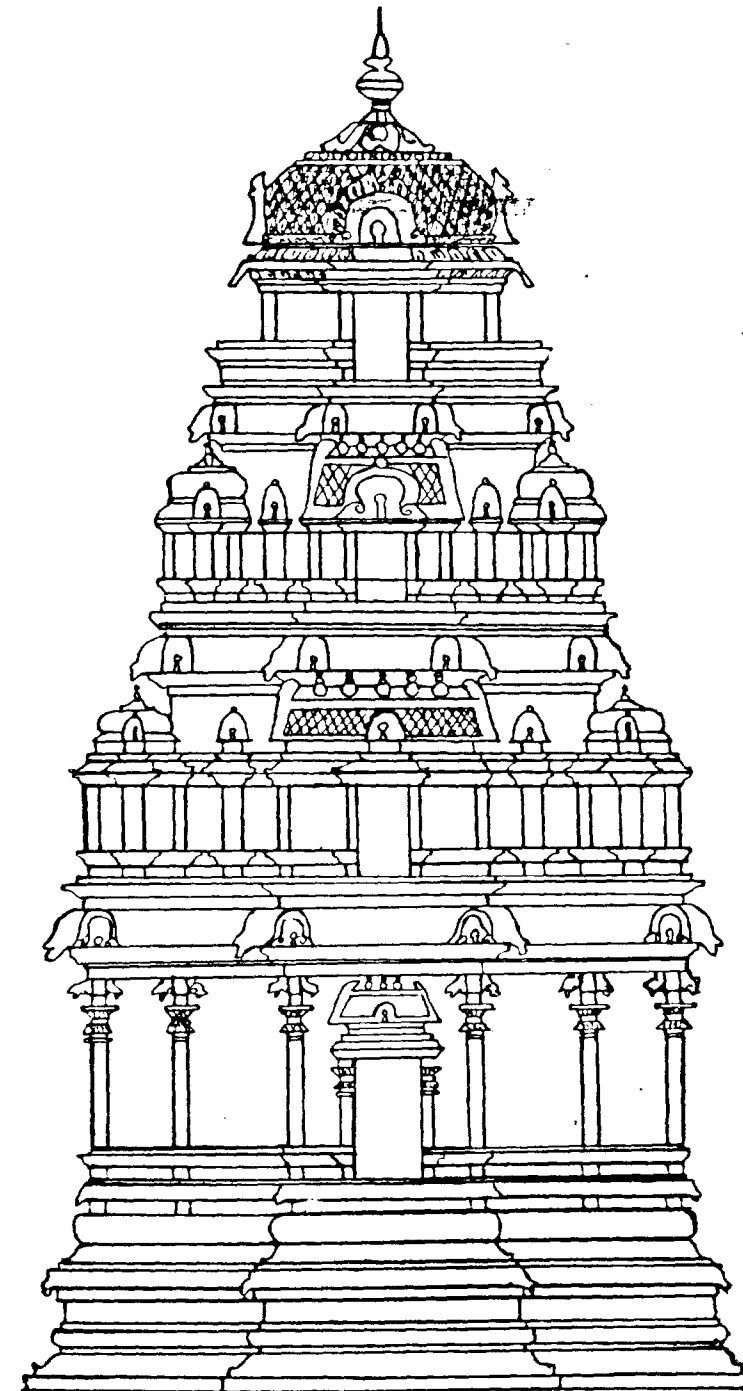
³ Book II, Chapter XIV.

country people. The goldsmith of the mint should return to the owners coin of the same weight and of the same quality as that of the bullion which he received. With the exception of those coins which had been worn out, or which had undergone diminution, they should receive the same coins into the mint even after the lapse of a number of years. What an instructive comparison this affords to the practice obtaining at the present time when the mints have been closed for private coinage, and when a seigniorage is charged for gold coins, and the silver coin is nothing but a token coin. But there was a wholesome restriction. Whoever caused gold or silver articles to be manufactured in any place other than the mint, or without being noticed by the State goldsmith, should be fined twelve *panas*. The weights and measures should be obtained from the Government, and should be approved by them. The fact that fines were levied in terms of money on both rural and urban population in itself is a strong proof of the universality of money economy.

CONCLUSION

If one dives into the pages of *Arthasāstra*, one is struck with wonder that the art of government could have reached that high, level of perfection. At times a vague idea is likely to flit through one's mind that Chanakya in one of his *avatars* must have studied the technique of the European system of administration and forged this remarkable document. If we were to read the pages of Chanakya's book, after a study of the condition of the country presented in the Jataka stories, we should be struck with compelling admiration of the remarkable progress made in all directions. The king was no more a beneficent despot but one that ruled on the principles of constitutional government, whose many arms were the many departments he had created. He took an active part in the government of the kingdom. There had grown up a large number of officials both central and local, the latter being more often hereditary than nominees of the king, as the big officers or the several superintendents were. In a country like India which is lamentably liable to be visited by famines, the irrigation allotment made now was nothing when compared to the constant care evinced by the sovereign. Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* (second edition, page 130) says that the provision of water for the fields was recognized as an imperative duty by the great Mauryan emperors, and is a striking illustration of the accuracy of Megasthenes' remark that imperial officers were sent to measure the land as in Egypt and inspect the sluices so that every one might enjoy his fair share of the benefit. The land revenue, even though it was the first charge on the land was not rigorously collected, and varied according to various places. Megasthenes noted with surprise and admiration that the husbandmen could pursue their calling in peace while the professional soldiers of hostile kings were

engaged in battle. Pax Britannica could not have given them more, and German savagery should be ashamed of its doings particularly in Belgium. There is no reference to caste panchayets, and the inference is that the Brahmans who came under the law as much as anybody obeyed willingly the headman and the village panchayet. The wonderful organization of Chandragupta's empire depicted in the pages of Chanakya, fortunately corroborated by the accounts of Megasthenes, must have been the product of a steady evolution of government of many centuries, and owed not a little to the centralization of the social and economic activities of the self-governing Indo-Aryan village communities. The administration of the city by a board of superintendents was only an amplification of the village government. In a word, it might be said that the history of Indian civilization is the history of its village, which always remained the political unit of the state throughout the centuries, when mighty waves of dynasties after dynasties followed in quick succession either to build on previous foundations, or to destroy what was built before, but always leaving unimpaired the undaunted spirit of the little village.



A VIMANA CONSISTING OF THREE STORIES.

*Copied from Ram Razu's Essay on
Architecture.*

46-17

47

INDIAN ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY V. AIYASWAMI IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.C.E., A.C.E.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I CANNOT sufficiently thank you, for the great honour you have done me by giving me an opportunity to-night to read this paper on 'Indian Arts and Architecture' which is merely a compilation of notes taken by me in my study of several books and periodicals. These notes are culled from the writings of E. B. Havell, Fergusson, Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Ganga Sankar Misra, Rama Raz, etc. Personally I have not done justice to this subject for want of time. Further I am not a specialist in this branch, nor do I pretend to have made any original researches in the subject, and yet, on the great encouragement given to me by our worthy President who is a true student of the subject of to-day, and myself being an ardent lover of the subject, I have made bold to read the paper before you to-night. You will, therefore, kindly excuse me, if the lecture lacks oratory, fineness of expression, or extraordinarily interesting new matter, and the President of the evening will, we may be sure, be the real lecturer and make up for all the deficiencies in the lecture.

Art

The dawn of a new era is always accompanied by the birth of great literary and artistic movements. In the human race there is always a passion for self-expression. We ever try to create new forms of expressing the deepest longings and aspirations. This is so characteristic a feature of human, and, in fact, of all types of life, that it is almost an instinct. In fact, this passion for self-expression is really a reflection of the great desire on the part of the Supreme Being to multiply Himself and thus express His infinite nature in an infinity of objects.

Every object in nature is the expression of some aspect or other of the infinite beauty of God. In the ever-varying moods of nature is caught up and mirrored some aspect of the Divine harmony and glory. As Mrs. Annie Besant says: 'There is nothing in nature untouched by man

that has not its own beauty and its own grace. The forest depths and the mountain solitudes, the tossing waves of ocean and the shimmering ripples of the lake, the little out-of-the-way valley, cradled in the bosom of the hills and carpeted with flowers, the snow-clad peak, the brilliant blue and the summer moon, the dark, star-spangled depths of midnight, the white radiance of the moon, the dancing shadows cast by the sunbeams, what are these but the signs of eternal beauty, the sign manual of God? Nature, which is His expression in matter, in her contact with the ugly and the formless, is ever moulding into new forms of beauty, chaotic matter which is the plastic material for her artistic finger. Study nature alike in the masses with which she constructs the world, and in the details with which she crowds the smallest nook in her vast realms, and you will understand that one of the pillars on which God, the great architect of the universe, constructs His universe is beauty.'

Art may be defined to be 'the beautiful expression of the beautiful.'

The object of art is to pierce the veil of matter, to seize the idea, the underlying principle which nature is trying to make manifest, and then express that idea or principle in marble or canvas. The work of the artist is, therefore, essentially spiritual. By spiritual intention, he is able to enter into the mind of nature, and he brings, from his experience in that state of oneness with nature, the evermastering inspiration of a great idea which is ever the basis of all great art. Without it there is no art, there is only drawing, simulation of natural objects.

Thus it will be seen that art is intimately bound up with religion in the purest sense of the word, that its object is essentially to purify and widen human life, by revealing the Divine in the manifested and even in the unmanifested universe.

In a purely æsthetic sense, art designates what is more specifically termed the fine arts, such as architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry. The fine arts minister to the sentiment of taste through the medium of the beautiful in form, colour, rhythm or harmony.

Art in its most extended sense, as distinguished from nature on the one hand, and from science on the other, is defined as, 'every regulated operation or dexterity by which organized beings pursue ends which they know beforehand, together with the rules and the result of every such operation or dexterity'. In this wide sense it embraces what are usually called the useful arts. The useful arts have their origin in positive practical needs, and restrict themselves to satisfying them. Art applied to industrial purposes, may be represented by the triple combination of formulae:—

Fitness.

Beauty or Rhythm.

Love or Worship.

Such being the absorbing notion of religion among the Hindus, they endeavoured to represent this idea in their architecture and sculpture. Nothing was excluded from the sacred precincts of temples, not even the humblest occupations of the daily labourer, not even sorrow, suffering and sin. The universe has emanated from the Deity to whom the architect dedicated his temples, and as far as humble skill and untiring industry permitted, he sought to depict the universe on those temples, the imperishable monuments of his industry and faith.

Visvakarma

This religious bent of Indian art marks its striking originality. The God who is the source of all the beauty, rhythm and proportion is Visvakarma, and to him all the homage and reverence of the Hindu artisan are due, for all art and industry are revealed by him to the artisan.

In the *Mahabharata*, he is described as Lord of the Arts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, who made the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist and whom, as a great and immortal God, they continually worship. Visvakarma is not only worshipped by the craftsmen with offerings and ritual at the beginning of their work, but there are also numerous charms and songs with which he is invoked to ward off disasters and assist them in their work.

Excellence of Indian Art in Ancient Times

India has played an important part in the history of the world. To get through the knowledge of her art is a difficult task.

Her vast wealth, her green, fertile land, her infinite treasure of philosophy has made her the famous 'Golden Bird' in the eyes of various ambitious and adventurous nations and tribes of the world.

People from the remotest corners, fired with zeal and plunder, have poured like locusts into the beautiful land where Yamuna and Ganges flow. She has resisted the Macedonian Phalanx of Alexander the Great. She felt the terror of Timur. She often witnessed her beloved sons butchered in cold blood, her treasures looted and plundered, her pattern of exquisite workmanship mercilessly given to conflagration. These significant historical events cannot be said to pass without leaving any effect on her civilization.

In the absence of historical chronicles, a student of the history of Indian arts weeps, as if in the wilderness, for the past glory of India.

But, in spite of all this, there still stand the mighty forts, the high and lordly towers, beautiful palaces, 'the silent majestic witness of vanquished dreams'.

Fitness, for the use to which a thing is to be applied.

Beauty, growing spontaneously from the perfect fitness (for man does not live by bread alone).

Love, the source of the highest aspirations, proceeding from the understanding of the identity of a perfect life with the perfect harmony of the Divine Laws.

In every age and every part of the world, when the progress of national development has reached its highest point intellectually and spiritually, art combines all these three qualities and the absence of any one of them is a symptom of the degradation of art and of national character.

All art which is produced entirely by machinery—(as much of the art of the present day is produced)—must obviously lack the quality of love, which no machine can feel; and art thereby becomes a sham and a make-believe.

Among things that have been conducive to human progress art is the foremost. The history of art explains those various stages that man has passed through, before he attained his present position, and reflects the true national sentiment. It is the authentic record of civilization which seldom lies. The nations with the greatest art have always been leaders in the world's progress.

The Religious Element in the Arts and Crafts of India

India has always been a 'spiritual country' the land of the philosopher. She always sought spirituality in each and everything, and this marked tendency towards spirituality explains the fact that the Indian civilization is an outcome of her religion. They worked for God and for humanity, and not for the luxury of materialism. Romesh Chunder Dutt observes: 'To the Hindu, his whole life in all its minute acts is a part of religion. Not only moral precepts, but the rules of social domestic life, of eating, drinking and behaviour to fellow-men and fellow-creatures are part of his religion. It is his religion which teaches the warrior to fight, the learned to prosecute his studies and contemplation, the artisan to ply his trade, and all men to regulate their conduct towards one another. The very conception of Brahma in the *Upanishad* and in all the religious writings is the all-embracing universe, all is an emanation from him, all return to him. The very signification of the word 'Dharma' in the ancient *Dharma Sastras* is not religion in the modern sense of the word, but the totality of human duties and of human life in all its occupations, pursuits and daily actions. And though the modern Hindu is far removed in ideas from his ancestors, yet even to this day, the whole life of an orthodox and religious Hindu is controlled by rules and sanctions which he calls his Dharma, rules regulating every act and every word in political, social, and domestic life.'

Unprejudiced minds¹ venture to assert that Indian civilization is more ancient than that of Egypt. There is much evidence² to show that the ancient Hindus came in contact with the ancient Egyptians and influenced their manners, social life and religious faith to no inconsiderable extent. The Egyptians are stated by all to have come from the *Land of Punt*, a country in the east of Egypt, through the 'Persian Gulf round the sea to the Mediterranean.' The physical aspect of the 'Land of Punt' quite corresponds with that of the western coast of India. The word 'Punt' itself appears to be the corrupted form of the Sanskrit word *Panch* and it is a well-known fact that the Greek word (*Pancheo*) was used to mean India of the Punjab, the land of the five waters. This is not mere idle fancy. Sir William Jones, Philostratus, Eusebius, Col. Wilford, Dr. Robert Taylor, Pliny, Rawlinson and other writers, both ancient and modern, are of opinion that Egypt was colonized from India. Col. Olcott boldly comes forward to say, 'We have a right to more than suspect that India 8,000 years ago sent a colony of emigrants, who carried their arts and high civilization into what is known to us as Egypt.'—(*C.H.C. Magazine*.)

Sir Thomas Munro, in his evidence on the affairs of the East India Company (1813), when asked if the civilization of the Hindus could not be improved by the establishment of open trade, gave that memorable answer which has often been quoted and will bear repetition.

'I do not understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus; in the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, open the minds to receive instruction from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But, if a good system of agriculture unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute, convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Indians are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo.' Munro had a high idea of the Indian manufacture of his time. Among the causes which precluded the extended sale of British goods in India then may be mentioned 'the religious and civil habits of the natives, and, more than anything else, I am afraid the excellence of their own manufacture.' He had used an Indian shawl for seven years and had found very little difference in it after

¹ One would like to have some proof for this bold statement.—The Editor.

² We are not aware of such evidence.—The Editor.

52-8

that long use: while with regard to imitation shawls produced in England, he said: 'I have never seen an European shawl that I would use even if it were given to me as a present.'

Mr. Robert Richards who served for many years in Madras and Bombay, in his evidence given before the British Committee on Indian subjects in 1831 said:—'Let it be recollected that, in many branches of art, their skill is absolutely unrivalled. Several of their fabrics, such as muslins, shawls, embroidered silks, handkerchiefs, etc., together with examples of workmanship in gold, silver and ivory have never yet been equalled by British artists. Their architecture, though peculiar, is of a superior order, and in the construction of great buildings they have exerted powers of moving and elevating large masses which are unknown to European architects. Agriculture made its first progress and attained considerable perfection in the east, which in this respect, set the example to Europe. In these and many other arts connected with the comforts and convenience of life, the natives of India have made great progress in some, and attained perfection in others, without being in the smallest degree indebted to the European patterns or example.'

The manufactures of India were originally in a highly flourishing condition. The various native courts encouraged large and urban enterprise. European traders were first attracted, not by the raw products, but by the manufactured wares of this country. The fame of the fine muslins of Bengal, her rich silk and brocades, her harmonious cotton prints had spread far and wide in Asia as well as Europe. I cannot do anything better than request you to peruse these plates of the Technical Art series published by the Government of India which are placed here on the table before you.

Indian Architecture

Among the various arts, architecture claims to be the first which attracted the human mind. In primeval ages, man was driven to find a habitation in order to protect himself from the inclemencies of the weather and thus came the origin of architecture, which is coeval with the history of man.

The history of building palaces and constructing roads marks an epoch-making period in the history of civilization. 'The history of art in every country' says Mr. Havell, 'is contained in the history of architecture. Every national movement in art has found expression in building. A decline in architecture means a decline in national taste and thus when architecture decays, the rest of the arts suffer with it. Architecture has given birth to all the arts of the painter and the sculptor, the carver and the inlayer of wood and stone, the glass painter, the plasterer, the lacquer worker and other minor arts, while it has exercised an enormous influence on the development



of other arts, such as those of the weaver, the potter, the worker in iron, bronze, brass and other metals.'

Treatises on the Ancient Indian Architecture

Study of Indian literary records on art is essential, otherwise it would be difficult to get at the real value of the art, as has been pointed out by Mr. F. O. Oestel. At the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Copenhagen in 1908 he said :—'In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Congress to the difficulty experienced in the study of Indian Art and Architecture, owing to the want of accurate translations of *Silpa Śāstras*. *Sukraniti* treats of the history of this art and the *Slokās* therein furnish us with a criterion by which we can judge what advancement Indians had made in those prehistoric times. Several works on architecture are mentioned in *Sukraniti*, such as

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|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Mānasāra</i> . | (5) <i>Sakalādhikāri</i> . |
| (2) <i>Mayamata</i> . | (6) <i>Viśva karmīya</i> . |
| (3) <i>Kāśyapa</i> . | (7) <i>Sanat Kumāra</i> . |
| (4) <i>Vaigānasa</i> . | (8) <i>Sarasvateeyam</i> and others. |

Ramaraju in his essay on architecture calls the collection of these treatises *Silpa Śāstras* and gives a brief description of each of the above mentioned works.

The first work, *Mānasāra*, is said to be the most perfect on the subject that now exists. It is said to be the production of the sage named *Mānasāra*, and is of great celebrity in the south of India, as affording copious information on every branch of the art on which he treats, but particularly on that of building sacred edifices; and it is often consulted by the artists as the highest authority for the solution of contested points in architecture. This work is said to consist of fifty-eight *Adhyāyas* or chapters, each of which is devoted to a particular topic.

The second work entitled *Mayamata* is ascribed to Maya, probably the author or compiler of *Sūrya Siddhānta*, a work on astronomy of the greatest repute who is stated in the *Valmiki Rāmāyana* to have prepared the altar for the sacrifice performed by Dasaratha. He is also stated in the *Mahābhārata* to have erected a splendid palace for the residence of the five sons of Pandu. It differs little from *Mānasāra* in the main arrangement of the subjects.

The third work entitled *Kāśyapa* is attributed to the sage whose name it bears. He is considered as one of the progenitors of mankind, and ranked among the seven holy men who were preserved from universal deluge, and who peopled the earth soon after the great event. This treatise though more succinct than the two former, contains sufficient information on the subject of

53-A

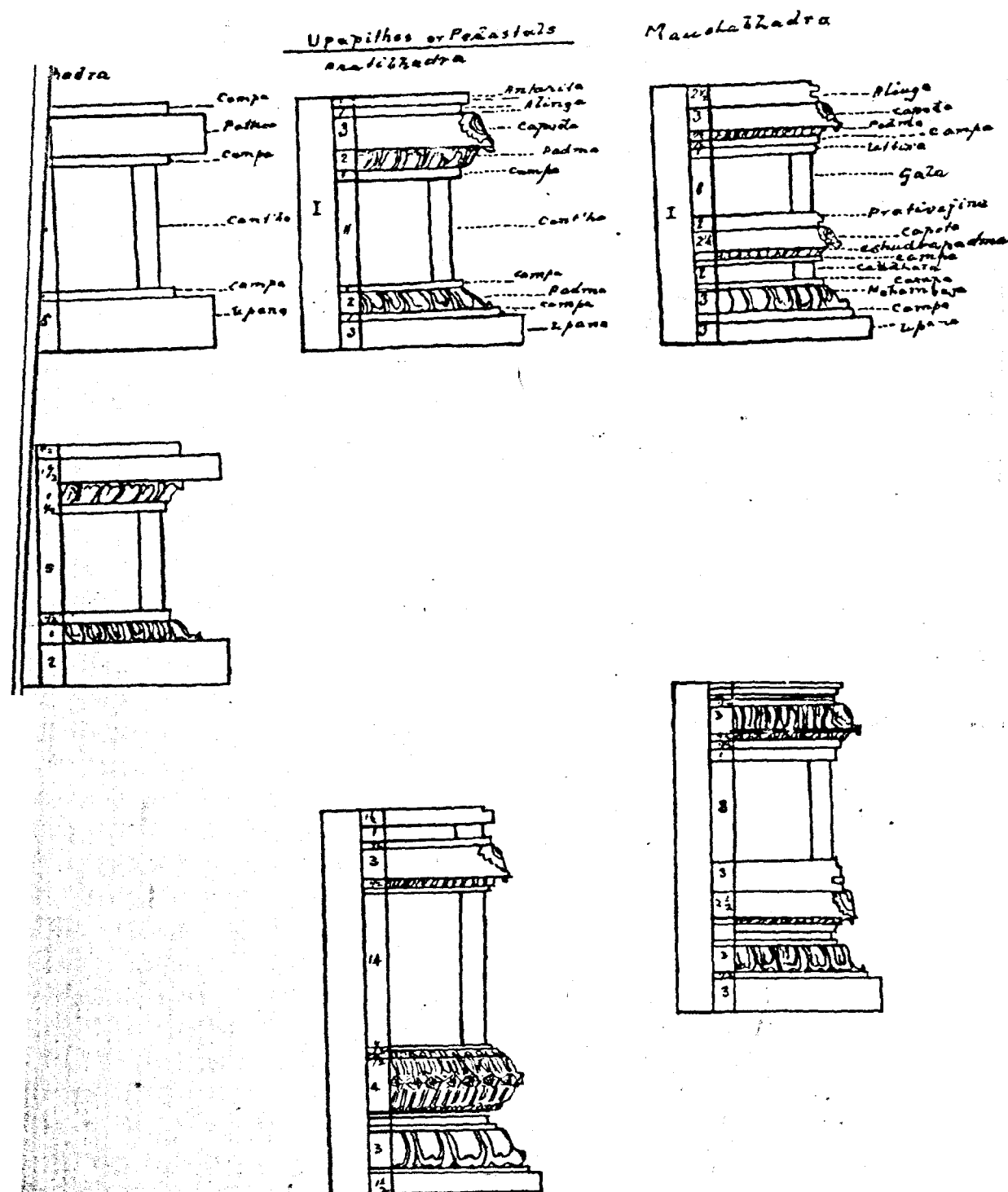
sacred architecture and sculpture. The whole is composed in a dramatic form and is stated in the preface to have been revealed to the author by Siva.

The fourth treatise called *Vaiganasa* is the work of a sage so named who was the founder of a sect of Vaishnava priests, it is written in a sort of metrical prose and is rather ritual than architectural and the author in the latter part of the work frequently cites the authority of *Kashyapa*. This seems to be a modern performance.

The work entitled *Sakalādhikāra* is attributed to Aghastya, a sage whose history occupies a conspicuous place in the Puranas. The rules contained in this voluminous treatise differ very little in substance from those laid down in *Manasara* and other treatises on the same subject.

It will be interesting for you to hear a short enumeration of the contents of the book. Even village and town planning is treated therein.

The first chapter treats of the measures used in architecture, sculpture, carpentry, etc., the second describes the qualification of a *silpi*, and gives a brief account of the origin of the five different classes of artists, said to have been descended from Visvakarma, and to have followed respectively the occupations of sculptors, joiners, braziers, jewellers, and blacksmiths. The third, fourth and fifth chapters explain the nature and qualities of the soil on which the buildings should be erected—such as temples, palaces, and private dwelling houses for the several classes of people. The sixth contains rules and directions for constructing a gnomon for the purpose of determining the several points of the compass. The seventh treats of the parts into which the ground plan of the cities, and towns, temples, palaces and houses, should be divided. The eighth chapter gives a minute description of sacrifices and other devotional rites, to be performed on various occasions in the building of temples, houses, etc. The ninth chapter treats of villages and towns, and prescribes rules for the formation of streets, and the allotment of fit places for the erection of temples and for the residence of the different classes of people. The tenth contains a description of the different sorts of cities. The eleventh treats of the dimensions of the several sort of edifices. The twelfth of the *garbhavinyasa*, or laying the foundation-stone in the centre of the intended building; the thirteenth of *upapīṭas* or pedestals; the fourteenth of *adhistāna* or basement; the fifteenth of the several species of pillars, with their respective dimensions; the sixteenth of *prastāras* or entablature; the seventeenth of the junction of the several parts of the timber work, with reference to their points; the eighteenth of *vimānds*, temples or palaces in general. Ten successive chapters, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth, contain descriptions of temples surmounted by pyramidal domes, consisting of from one to twelve stories, with their respective dimensions. The twenty-ninth chapter treats of *pracaras* or outer courts of temples; the thirtieth of the attendant deities and the parts respectively



assigned to each within the walls of the temple; the thirty-first of *gopuras* or pyramidal buildings or turrets raised over the gateways leading to the temples; the thirty-second of *mantapas* or porticoes or resting places for the deity; the thirty-third of *salas* or halls; the thirty-fourth of cities; the thirty-fifth of private dwelling houses; etc.

Hindu orders of Architecture

The Hindu orders may be said to consist of four principal parts, namely, the (*Upa-peeta*) or pedestal, the *Adishtāna* or base, the *Stamba* or pillar, and *Prasthara* or entablature.

The several mouldings which enter into the composition of the pedestals and the bases are (1) *upana*, (2) *compa*, (3) *greeva*, (4) *uttara*, (5) *vajinam*, (6) *prativajinam*, (7) *pattika*, (8) *alinga*, (9) *antarika* all of which are of a rectangular form, and (10) *kumuda*, (11) *padma*, (12) *kapotham*, etc., which are circular.

According to *Mānasāra*, there are three kinds of pedestals of which the first is called *vedibhadra*, second *pratibhadra*, third *manchabhadra*. Each of these is again divided into four sorts, making in all twelve, and each differing from the other in form and ornaments, whatever may be its height in regard to the base with which it is concerned.

Bases.—There are not less than sixty-four different sorts of bases under various denominations, as *pratibhanda*, *ekabhanda*, *pratikrama*, *pushpapushkalam*, *sreebhandam*, *manchabhandam*, *sreeneebhandam*, etc.

Pillars of Indian architecture are, with respect to dimensions, divided into seven sorts. Sketches of some of these are appended.

The Three Periods of Indian Architecture

Indian Architecture may be divided into three periods:—The Pre-Buddhist, the Buddhist and the Muhammadan. As regards the Pre-Buddhist period, of one thing we can be pretty certain, viz. that the Aryans were a more highly civilized race than they are considered to be. They had a thorough knowledge of architecture at a very early time. Our *Sastras* are full of descriptions of buildings. They give a vivid picture of the architecture of that time. Expressions such as *luttresses*, halls of sacrifice, strongholds, sacred mansions, halls built with thousand columns, three-storied palaces are met with in the Vedas. The *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* abound in descriptions of temples, many-storied buildings, balconies, porticoes, triumphal arches, boundary walls, steps in tanks, flights of stone masonry and a variety of other structures, all indicative of flourishing architecture in the country. We have enough evidence to show that *stone buildings were in use before the birth of Buddha*. 'To the Aryans' says General Cunningham, in his *Archaeological*

Survey Report, viii, pp. 142-3 'belong the stone walls of old Rajagraha of Kusagarpur, the capital of Bimbisar, as well as the Jarasindha-Kapatak, and the Baibher and Soubhandar caves, all of which date certainly as early as B.C. 500 . . . It may be urged that this rough stone building offers no proof that the ancient Hindus were acquainted with stone cutting. To this I reply pointing to the other cave of Soubhandar, with pointed arch roof, and a square-headed door and window . . . This cave was in existence before the death of Buddha. Moreover, Rhys Davids, describing ancient Indian cities, says in his *Buddhist India*, p. 41: 'Visali must have been a great flourishing place. . . There are many shrines of Pre-Buddhist worship in and around the city, and the discovery and the excavations of the site are most desirable.' This is strong evidence to prove the contention that the art of architecture was not unknown to the Aryans.

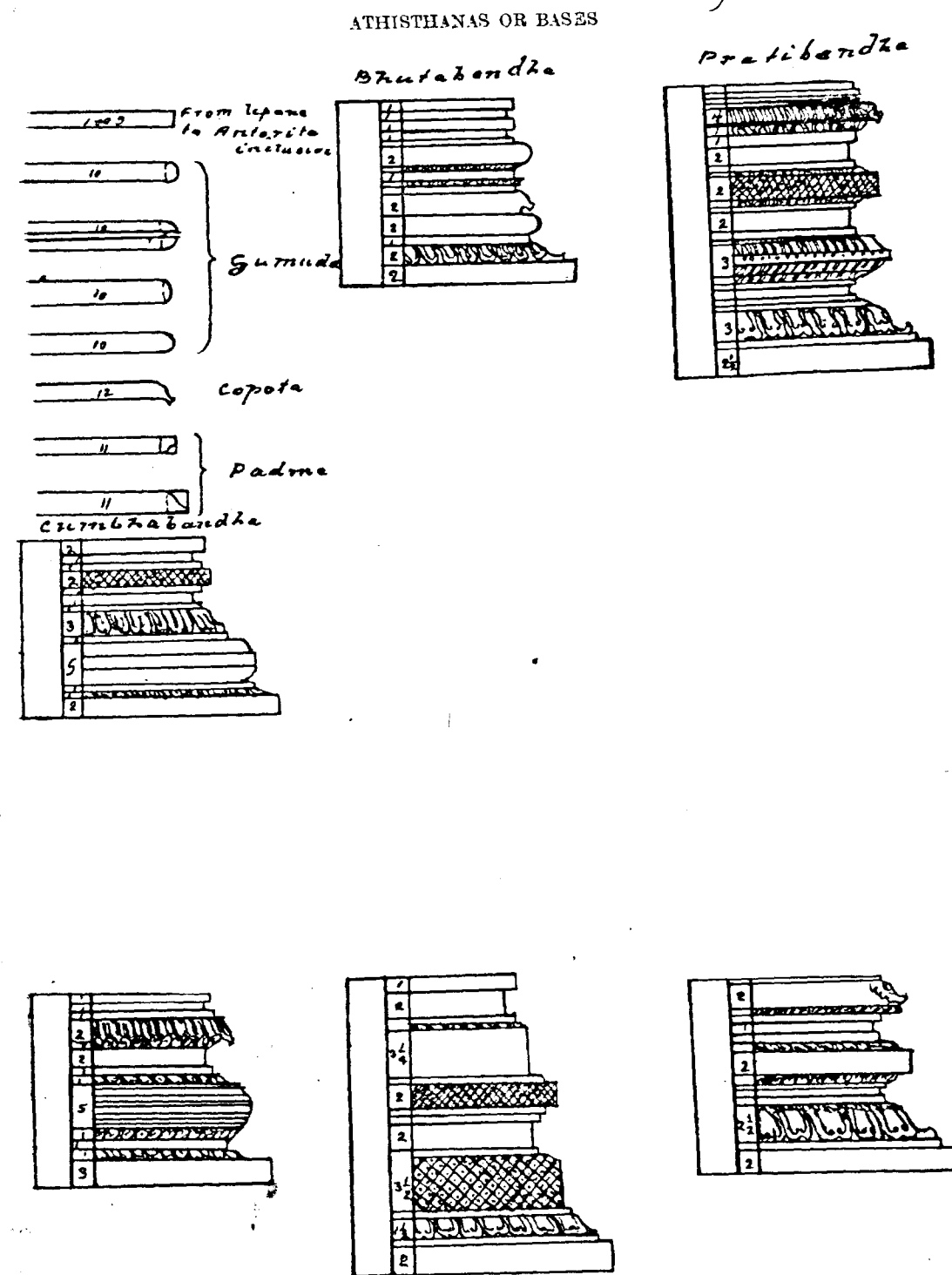
The propagation of Buddhism marks a new era in the history of Indian civilization. During this period Indian architecture reached its perfection. It must be mentioned that even in this period we have no foreign element. Architecture was conducted on the same principles which were found by our Aryan ancestors. Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that 'it cannot be too strongly insisted that that art displayed in India, is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of European influence; it is indeed in every detail antagonistic to the western art, nor can it be affirmed that anything here could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia and Assyria.'

But, on the contrary, the fact is that other countries learned various lessons in art from India. With the spread of Buddhism, Indians came in contact with various peoples. They carried their art wherever they went. We find traces of Indian art in Egypt, Rome, Syria, China, Japan, Ceylon, Java, America, and many other countries. O'Brien has proved that the round towers of Ireland are of Indian origin and belong to a remote antiquity about the thirteenth century B.C.

The Hon'ble Alexander Del Mar of New York in his essay on 'Indian Marks in Egypt,' states that 'in architecture the pyramids and rock temples of Egypt are plainly the prototypes of those of India.' The discovery of temples and images in Java, America and in Baku in Russia clearly proves the fact that Indian architecture travelled far and wide.

The Buddhist architecture has found expression in *stupas*, *chaityas*, pillars, *viharas*, and cave temples. Most of the buildings of this period are patterns of finest workmanship. The stupas of *Sanchi* and their ornamental gateways are remarkable for their exquisite engraving and also for their stability. It is wooden in character.

¹ It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the former one that 'Indian civilization is more ancient than that of Egypt.—The Editor.





'We rather feel inclined to wonder,' Fergusson remarks, 'how men dared to attempt its erection in stone and are equally astonished that it should have stood for twenty centuries nearly unimpaired.'

The cave temples of Ellora are well known to every student of Indian architecture. The lighting of these chapel caves by a great arch over the entrance has attracted considerable attention, as being admirably adapted for the purpose. As Mr. Fergusson points out 'nothing invented before or since is lighted so perfectly.'

The ornamentation of these temples has compelled Professor Harne to say: 'All that is great, splendid and ornamental in architecture above the ground is here seen also beneath the earth—stair case, bridges, chapels, columns, porticoes, colossal statues and reliefs, sculpture on almost all the walls representing Hindu deities.'

Stupas varied greatly in size. The very ancient specimen at Piprava on the Nepalese frontier which may possibly be earlier than Asoka has a diameter of 116 feet at ground level and stands only about twenty-two feet high.

The diameter of the great *Sanchi* monument at the plinth is $121\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the height about $77\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the stone railing is a massive structure 11 feet high.

Several monuments in Northern India, some of which were ascribed to Asoka, are recorded to have attained a height of from 200 to 400 feet.

Styles of Indian Architecture

Fergusson in his architectural memoir says: 'The styles of architecture employed by the natives of India are so numerous and their forms so various that it is extremely difficult to suggest any classification which shall be so comprehensive as to include all at the same time, so simple as to be intelligible to those who have not made a life study of the subject. All may be rejected but three will be defined as easily characterized groups.'

The Dravidian style or style of South India.—It prevails throughout the greater part of the Madras Presidency and is found wherever the natives speak Tamil or any of the allied languages; and when found in any locality, it is certain that, at that time, the builders were speaking some of these tongues:—

The Bengal or the style of Northern India, is in like manner found only in the Bengal Presidency, or as far south as people speaking any of the languages derived from Sanskrit may have extended. Like the preceding, it always marks the presence of a people speaking these tongues.

Chalukyan style is found in those countries where inscriptions or records of that race were known to exist. This style is found throughout the Bombay Presidency extending all the way from Guzerat to Mysore. It

57-A

differs materially from the two above-mentioned but presents a sort of connecting link between them.

Dravidian Style

The style of Southern India is the one which will be most easily recognized by those at all familiar with the subject. The people who erected them indulged in architectural magnificence to an extent unknown in other parts of the country. In the Dravidian temples it will be specially noticed that no arches are found, though the clear openings in some of their great gateways or *mahadwaras* exceed twenty feet.

Northern Hindu Style

The ancient architecture of Northern India is easily recognized by any one at all familiar with the subject. It is not, however, so generally known, as the examples are few, and small in dimensions, as compared with those of the Southern styles, and in consequence of there being only found in such places as Orissa in the east, Maharashtra in the west, or in the jungles of Central India, in the limits between the two provinces.

In this style, the base is generally of a cubical form but with a slight projection on each face. The upper part at its springing somewhat overhangs the base. Above this, it is generally perpendicular at first, but always falling inwards with a gentle curve towards its summit (see Benares Temple).

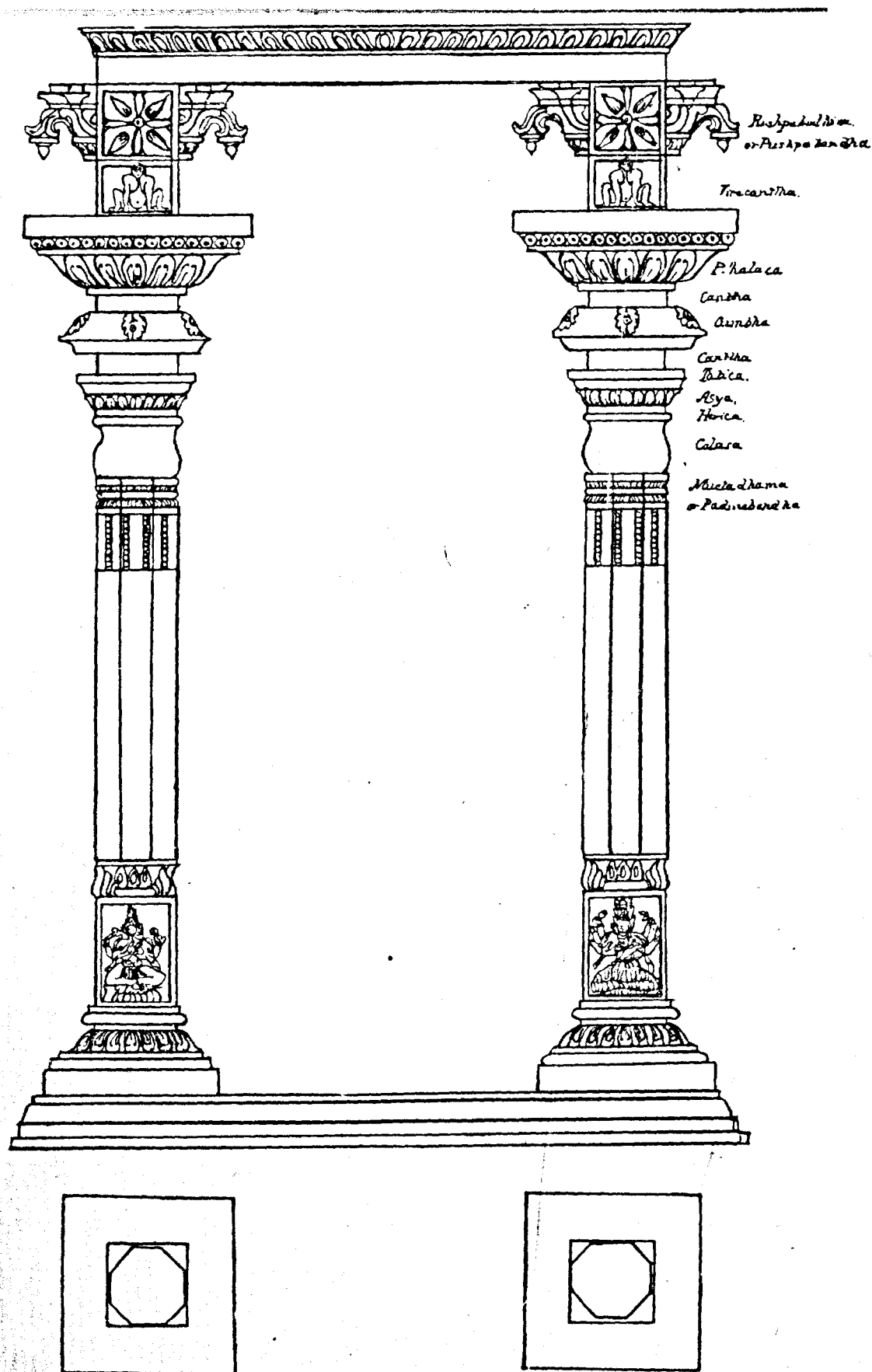
In this form, it was employed by the Jain architects as early as the eleventh century. The most notable examples of the kind are to be found among the temples of Bhuneswar in Orissa and Dilvara and Mount Abu.

Chalukyan Style.¹

It is only very recently that Indian historians have become at all familiar with the Chalukyan kings. Their inscriptions are found as far north as Mount Abu, and as far south as the banks of the Cauvery, and during the three centuries that preceded the Muhammadan invasion of the Deccan, they seem, in their various branches, to have reigned supreme in all the countries of western India from Guzerat to Mysore.

With a little familiarity their style is easily distinguished from the two above described. In plan, their temples are generally star-shaped under sixteen sides. The typical form seems to be that four of these sides are flat and form the principal faces, and between each of these are three faces arranged angularly. The same principle pervades the design of the spire, which is always rectilinear in outline and generally made up of miniature repetition of itself heaped one over the other.

¹ Should not this style be more properly called 'Hoysala style.'?—The Editor



The peculiarity which is more characteristic of the style than the outline of its form is the marvellous richness and beauty of the details with which the buildings are elaborated. There are many buildings in India which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temples of Belur, Halebid and Somanathpur surpass even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy. The great age in which they were erected closed within the Muhammadan conquest in the first year of the 14th century, and even before that time a decline in style had set in.

Hindu Temple Architecture

In big temples we find—

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Garbhagriha. | (6) Dhvajasthambam. |
| (2) Sukanāsi. | (7) Mahādhwāra. |
| (3) Navaranga Mantapam. | (8) Prākārá. |
| (4) Mukha Mantapam. | (9) Vimāna. |
| (5) Balipectam. | (10) Gopura. |

Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar, head of the Archæological Department of Mysore State, has been devoting great attention and immense trouble to a detailed exposition of the temple architecture in the Mysore Province, in every one of his very interesting annual reports. I cannot go into the subject in detail, but I only crave you kindly to peruse the photographs and the plates that are presented before you to-day here.

Muhammadan Architecture

The Muhammadan conquest of India marks the commencement of a glorious epoch in Indian art. The beautiful Taj Mahal, the magnificent Audience Hall in Delhi Fort, the palace of Akbar at Fatepur Sikhri, Bijapore and other places, the tombs and mosques in Northern India are the models of architecture of the Muhammadan period. The Muhammadans had to employ Indian architects to assist them in the construction of their buildings. Even in the Mughal period, Hindu art continued its ascendancy. Sir W. Hunter says : 'Although Muhammadans brought their new forms of architecture, nevertheless the Hindu art asserted itself in the imperial works of the Mughals and has left behind memorials which extort the admiration and astonishment of our age. The first pattern of architecture of the Mughal period is the beautiful Taj at Agra. Its claim to superiority is not disputed by any other buildings in India, nay in the world. There is a great controversy as regards the design and building of the Taj. It is said that

the architect was a Venetian named Geronimi Verronee, and that its exquisite inlaid decoration is the work of Austin de Bordeaux, a French adventurer, who was for some time employed at the court of Shah Jehan. But this theory has been disproved by E. B. Havell in his essay on '*The Taj and its designers*.' The Taj is the outcome of the same genius and skill which was shown hundreds of years ago in this spiritual land of Bharatha Varsha. Neither any western nor any other eastern country can claim any share in the glory of making the Taj with India.'

Decline of Indian Art

Generally speaking the decline of Indian art begins with the reign of Aurangzeb. His fanaticism created a hatred in him towards Hindu art, and thus the Indian craftsmen and artisans began to be neglected. Soon after the fall of the Mughal Empire, great political confusion ensued in India, which gave a fatal blow to everything conducive to national progress. It was the time when the Indian nation fell from the high pedestal of their religion and art, and ignorance and superstition began to prevail throughout the country. In the midst of this state of anarchy and chaos, the English were brought in by Providence to restore peace and order.

But unfortunately they, instead of renovating the neglected national art of the country, brought their own methods which are quite unsuitable to the needs of the country. It is highly desirable for the progress of any country that her traditions are kept up. No doubt blinded with their ignorance, Indians have neglected their traditions of architecture and adopted those which would have been suitable for any country in the Arctic region rather than for tropical India. But still our traditions are not dead.

Havell says: 'India has even now an immense advantage over Europe in having a still living national art. The wave of commercialism which in the last two centuries has swept over Europe, carrying all but a feeble remnant of the splendid traditional craftsmanship of the Middle Ages, has not yet entirely overwhelmed Indian art. Art in India, especially in the north, is much more real and living, less artificial and exotic than it is in the great centres of art of Europe. India needs no art schools, museums, picture and sculpture galleries. The descendants of the architects who built the Taj Mahal, of the court painters, and of the craftsmen who decorated the palaces of Jehangir and Shah Jehan under the engineers who constructed their public works, still carry on the trade of their forefathers, and throughout the villages of India, there are still handicraftsmen, painters, potters, goldsmiths, brass smiths, wood and stone carvers whose skill of hand and inherited craft traditions represent a source of immense industrial wealth, which in Europe

is being revived artificially by an elaborate and costly system of teaching in art schools, by museums, art galleries and schools for handicrafts.'

Adaptation to Modern Life (Havell)

Art must always be moving with the times; for real art is the expression of the thought of the times. There is no finality of art in any age. It always needs the stimulus of new ideas to keep it healthy, just as the human body constantly requires fresh blood to be moving in the veins. Indian art must be stimulated with new thought, but this cannot take place as long as educated India is content to be merely imitative.

It would be a fatal error to assume that Indian art traditions are too old and worn out to be capable of adaptation to modern life and ways of thought. Indian art has never failed before to adapt itself to new conditions; and even to acquire a fresh vigor by the change of ideas; and India stands now in a better position than any European country for reconciling modern scientific ideas with ancient or modern art. If India, instead of merely imitating modern Europe, would set up for herself higher ideals of science and art towards which the best thought of Europe is aiming, she would value her old artistic traditions far too highly to wish to throw them away. As long as the chief ambition of present day Indian art is to become the successful imitator of what Europe does, India will remain in a state of inferiority—and rightly too, for indiscriminate imitation is an admission of inferiority which surely depreciates the power of initiative, and prevents the development of all the creative faculties. To restore then the constructive powers of the Indian mind to their full capacity should be the first and chief aim of all Indian reformers and politicians. This aim can be attained effectively and quickly through the revival of national art and culture. Of all branches of art, that of architecture is one which gives occasion for the exercise of the highest constructive powers; and in the revival of the domestic Indian architecture there is a magnificent field open for all of us, and the very best opportunity for giving a great stimulus to Indian art. Nowhere is it more true than in India that architecture is the mother of all the arts, and the neglect of Indian architectural traditions by Indian leaders of public opinion, has been one of the principal causes of the deterioration of Indian art. European experts like Fergusson, who have devoted themselves to the study of Indian architecture, acknowledge that 'the science of building has been developed by Indian architects to a point fully as high as and in some instances higher than the best achievements of Europe'. Fergusson further says that 'if Indians could be persuaded to take a pride in their own architecture, there could be no doubt that the master-builders of the present day who carry on the traditions of Indian architecture might even now excel the great works of their ancestors' for he had learnt more of the real science of

architecture, as practised by the great master-builders of Europe, by observing Indian master-builders at their work, than he had learnt from all the works he had read.

Fergusson says 'the living Indian architectural traditions are the result of the earnest thinking of thousands of minds spread over hundreds of years and acting in union with the national voice which called them into existence.'

Fine Arts and their Revival (Havell)

There will be no true renaissance of art in India until the fine arts are restored to their proper place in the national life. Our children should learn the stories of Rama and Sita, of Krishna and Radha, of Savitri and Satyavan, of Nala and Damayanti, not only from books, but from pictures painted on the walls of our schools, houses and palace. Our young men should take lessons in religion and history from the great paintings on the walls of colleges and municipal buildings. And they must be painted by Indian artists and in an Indian way. This is the part which fine art should take in a complete and sound scheme of national education.

There are many Indian artists to be found who have not forgotten the Indian way of painting and sculpture. They alone deserve to be encouraged. But for the caste system, the traditional artistic culture, which gives the present generation of Indians such splendid foundation to build upon, would long ago have disappeared entirely. It is almost impossible to overvalue the importance of a sound tradition in art.

The princes and aristocracy of India have a great responsibility in this matter, for, on their patronage, the prosperity of the fine arts largely depends.

All educated Indians should feel that, by dishonouring the Indian artists who hold to their ancient traditions, they are dishonouring art, dishonouring India, and dishonouring themselves. The honour you mete out to Indian artists should not be in proportion to their skill in imitating European art—the essence of art is creation, not imitation,—but in proportion to their ability to interpret daily Indian life and Indian artistic thought.

Indians will never recover their intellectual freedom until art takes again its former place in National Education, and until that intense feeling for beauty and that love and reverence for nature, which shine so strongly in Vedic literature, inspire once more the whole national life and religion. Every great intellectual awakening, since the world began has proceeded from the *Yoga*—communion with the source of all beauty and all love which our old Rishis taught and practised, whose wisdom is our most precious heritage.

REVIEWS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

(April, 1916)

THE April number of this scholarly journal gives, as usual, much matter worthy deep attention. It opens with a contribution by Mr. R. L. Turner on the 'Indo-Germanic accent in Marāṭhi.' Students not only of philology but also of phonetics will find it of considerable value. Mr. Turner maintains with great ability that Marāṭhi is descended from a language which appeared in literature under the form of Mahāraṣṭri, and that it was a literary language strongly influenced not only by Sanskrit but also by the Prakrit dialects. We are afraid the same line of argument would apply with equal force to the many dialectical forms of Sanskrit. The point is to see without holding any orthodox opinion how far the dialectical forms keep still the Indo-Germanic traces tenaciously. We admit that as compared with the other Sanskritized languages, the Marāṭhi maintains a greater affinity not only in form but also in pronunciation, and that is the most that can be said. When Mr. Turner says that the original tone of Sanskrit itself descended from the Indo-Germanic tone, we are constrained to ask whether the Indo-Germanic tone had any individuality of its own, i.e. in other words can we fix it to be of this or that definite form for us to draw conclusions. The subject is as vast as it is erudite and complex. We have been puzzled in not a few places to follow the author, who, to his great credit it must be said, has dealt with the question in a scholarly manner.

The next is from the pen of Professor A. K. Sayce on 'The Arzawan letters and other Hittite Notes.' It has mostly to do with the revised translation of the second Arzawa Tablet found at Tel-el-Amarna. It contains a letter from a Hittite named Labbaya who was employed in escorting the caravans from Khalirabbat or Eastern Cappadocia to Canaan and who with his two sons was accused of intriguing with the enemies of Pharaoh.

Among other noteworthy contributions, we may be permitted to make a passing mention of an interesting article on 'The Chinese numerals and other notational systems'. It is very interesting because one of the learned members of our Society has been giving considerable attention to a comparative system of notation among the ancients, and how the present system of complex calculations has slowly evolved from the simple and primitive methods. Mr. L. C. Hopkins in his article on the Chinese numerals says that the Chinese have two systems, one being the ordinary notation, and the other called the 'commercial' notation, and takes up

the latter system for a critical study. When we compare the normal forms of the Chinese with their commercial forms, we are at once struck with the simplicity of the commercial form. May we suggest an explanation that because the Chinese were far advanced as a commercial nation, they naturally therefore adopted a system which could be easily followed by others? As some of the figures were indicated by vertical strokes, the ingenuity of the people was such that lest there was confusion if the same number was repeated they used both the vertical and horizontal strokes, so that one could easily read the numbers without any overlapping. Mr. Hopkins has been considerably helped in his investigations by Chinese books on the subject together with the help he has received from the researches of western *savants*. The study of the numerals is both stimulating and interesting, and is likely to be of great use for a comparative study of the other systems where, principally, the pictorial system is followed.

Among miscellaneous contributions we invite attention to a scholarly criticism by Professor A. B. Keith of Professor Ridgeway's theory of the origin of the Indian drama. Professor Keith very aptly contends that the various lines of argument which give a basis of agreement in the case of Greece are wholly lacking in India, and maintains that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India. The Krishna colour or cult is taken to be the basis either to maintain or demolish the theory how far religion played a part to stimulate the dramatic instincts of the people. Professor Keith maintains that he did not, as understood by Professor Ridgeway, make the colour of the parties with whom Krishna had to deal, to be the main point on which he wanted to support his theories, and exposes, with a vehemence of language that does not lend dignity to the journal, the absurdity in the argument of Professor Ridgeway.

Space forbids notice of other attractive and learned topics, particularly the *Indian Day*, and the *Unlucky Number 13*.

K. DEVA.

The Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, Part I

THIS latest comer into the ranks of journals devoted to research and critical scholarship, bids fair to win a seat among the foremost by dint of sheer merit. The Government of the new province is enthusiastic in its help to the Society which issues the journal, and among its active members are men who have made their mark as philologists, antiquarians or framers of forgotten history. It is not every province in India that can boast of scholars like Jadu Nath Sarkar, Haraprasad Shastri, B. C. Mazumdar and S. C. Roy. No wonder then that the three volumes issued till now by the Society are a veritable storehouse of priceless historical and archaeological information.

The number before us leads off with the annual presidential address by His Honour Sir Edward Gait, wherein the highly cultured Governor of Behar and Orissa puts forward certain pleas for the due encouragement of the Society, which, put into the mouths of the founders of the Mythic Society, would make

not the slightest difference as between Behar and Mysore. Says Sir Edward: 'In conclusion, I would express the earnest hope that all members of the Society will do their utmost to further the objects with which it was established, and will not only endeavour to induce as many of their friends as possible to join the Society, but will also help to provide material for the journal. There is an exceptionally wide field for research in Behar and Orissa, owing to its diversity of races and languages, and its richness in sites of special historical and religious interest and in archaeological remains, dating back to pre-Buddhistic times, and comprising relics of some of the greatest dynasties that ever held sway in India. Again, 'I would specially urge junior officers of my own service to take an active part in ethnographic research. No civilian can be a really successful officer unless he understands the habits and mentality of the people of his district. . . . Such enquiries bring their own reward, for they give an added interest to official tours and develop one's powers of observation and mental alertness.' The bare substitution of the word Mysore for Behar in the lines quoted by us, renders the appeal couched in them apply with tenfold greater force to the demand made by the Mythic Society for sympathy and encouragement from our own men of light and leading. Mysore no less than Behar abounds with untold monuments of historic value, and these uplands of ours have seen the sway of as many great dynasties as distant Maghada, the vestiges of whose reigns await yet the patient handling of enthusiastic scholars.

To proceed: The Hon'ble Rev. A. Campbell, D.D., writes on the 'Traditions of the Santals' at some length, and readers of the article will find that he has managed to place on record the many differing versions of these hoary traditions in the simplest and most entertaining manner possible. The terse, pointed lines in which the creation of humanity is told, are pregnant with that wisdom to which the Hindu and the Christian alike lay equal claim:—

In the beginning was Thakur Jin. There was no land visible, all was covered with water. Then Thakur Jin's servants said to him, "How shall we create human beings?" He replied, "If it be so desired, we can create them." They then said, "If you give us a blessing (or the gift), we shall be able to do so." Thakur Jin then said, "Go, call Malin Budhi. She is to be found in a rock cave under the water."

In effect, this is the self-same story of the creation as is being believed in by all the great religions of the earth whose fount of inspiration seems to have been Ancient Babylonia. Evidently, the Santals must have a past ascending to untold ages before the sturdy Aryan set his conquering foot among them.

Mahamahopdyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, continues his scholarly investigations into the life of the little known but universally read poet of poets, Kalidasa. The article under reference is the second of the series and concerns itself with the query, 'When did Kalidasa flourish.' The erudite Pandit adduces about eighteen kinds of cogent evidence, covering the fields of literature, philology and contemporary history, to show that the great master must have lived and worked somewhere between 'the latter end of the fifth century, and the first half of the sixth century.' This article of Mr. Shastri is valuable in more than one sense. Founded as his

method of criticism is on the laborious, painstaking, conscientious models of the west, it is a clear illustration to those that wish to learn, of what historical, and scientific criticism should be.

The next article of some interest is on 'The Empire of Bindusara' by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., where the author presents us with a few fresh data defining the extensive conquests of Bindusara, conquests which extended as far south as Madras, thus refuting Mr. Vincent Smith's statement that the limits of the Nanda dominions could not be defined. Babu Satindra Narayan Roy, writes two short accounts, one on the gradual 'Conversion of Santals into Hindus,' and the other on 'The Evolution of a New Hindu God.' The latter deals with the rise, within the last fifteen years, of a new deity Trinath (i.e. a deity combining in himself Brahma, Vishnu and Siva), whose worship is rapidly spreading throughout the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore and even Midnapore. His adoration is a very simple affair, all the offerings required being but a pice worth of *pan*, another pice worth of *ganja* and a third pice worth of oil. When with the oil a light is lit, and the *pan* and *ganja* are placed before him, the officiating priest, not necessarily a Brahman, reads aloud from a Uriya manuscript, an account of the genesis of the god and his prowess. After the worship is over, betel-leaves are freely distributed among those present, and those that smoke, take each a whiff of the sacred *ganja*. In the course of the narrative, the author surmises that the evolution of this new god must have originated in the brain 'of some astute family priest' with the idea of benefiting the whole priestly class. In an earlier page, the same author states, that the officiating *pujari* need not necessarily be a Brahman.' He reconciles his later statement with the former by saying that it was a clever stroke of business on the part of the said priest to have placed the whole class out of the reach of charges on the score of greed or avarice, by this gift of option. A more glaring instance of gratuitous calumny we could not well conceive, and in the interests of historic truth and fair play, we must protest against all such light-hearted and immature assumptions. The abuse of the Brahman for having played sad havoc with the historical and sociological annals of India, is a rampant one, leading enquirers very often on false scents, as is well attested to by Mr. Vaidya's sober arraignment of this tendency in historians of the west in an article of his in the latest *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch*. If nothing else, common sense must have pointed out to the author, that the Brahman is the last person to invent a worship, in which all that is required are a copper's worth of *pan*, *ganja* and oil. Every student of Tantra knows that these are very necessary ingredients, not in the worship of any Aryan deity, but in that of every animistic god whoever he or she may be. Secondly, if it is cupidity that made a Brahman invent this belief, where is scope to satisfy it in the attendant ceremonial which consists of nothing but the reading of a manuscript by anybody who chooses, and the distribution of *pan* after this, besides smoking? The echoing of fashion and convention are for small, unoriginal minds, and the random statements of such ought never to find a place in the thoughtful and responsible pages of a research journal.

Dr. Spooner's now famous phantasies as regards the Persian origin of ancient Maghada, its great emperors Chandragupta to Asoka, nay, even of their predecessors

the Nandas, nay, even of Buddha, have become well known by this time as amazing fables pieced together with surprising skill and eloquence. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal exposes once again the utter hollowness of the learned archæologist's amusing conjectures, and we have to admit that the task is well and convincingly done. To give but one instance out of the many, to illustrate Dr. Spooner's historic veracity and Mr. Jayaswal's exposition thereof: Dr. Spooner makes the statement in many places that 'Chandragupta washed his royal hair according to the Persian Calendar,' the authority for this being Strabo who is said to rely on Megasthenes. Says Mr. Jayaswal, 'But on reference to the original authority, I find nothing whatever about the "Persian Calendar." The original passage is in Strabo, XV, 66 and runs as follows:—

'The following particulars are also stated by the historians. The Indians worship Zeus Ombrios (Indra), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country. When the king washes his hair, they celebrate a great festival, and send him great presents, each person seeking to out-rival his neighbour in displaying his wealth. (McCrindle.)

There is nothing here about Chandragupta particularly, nor is the statement attributed to Megasthenes, nor is there the slightest mention of the Persian or any other calendar. The ceremony refers to the well-known Vedic ritual of the royal *abhishechaniyam*, and to the customary presents brought on the occasion by the subjects.' After a few more onslaughts like this, Mr. Jayaswal continues:—

'To mix Herodotus with Strabo is a mistake; one account relates to Persia, and the other to India; to pick up a piece from the former and to mix it up with the latter would be to give a piece of history that would not be faithful to fact. Then to attribute that history to Megasthenes is worse than unscientific. And on the basis of that history, to generalize about Chandragupta that "he organizes his court along purely Persian lines and pays regard to Persian ceremonial down to the washing of his royal hair."¹ . . . is rather reckless.'

Such unscientific and reckless generalizations abound in Dr. Spooner's *Zoroastrian Period of Indian History*, and Mr. Jayaswal has done well to assist the thinking world in wafting these pretty imaginings of the Doctor into thin air.

K. R.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

The number before us deals with a variety of topics and caters for widely different tastes. Mr. H. G. Greaves, Controller of Patents, India, leads with a very interesting and suggestive article on the invention of fire, in which he indicates 'the excessive slowness with which the development of the utilization of fire in the service of man has proceeded.' As he remarks, it is hard to appreciate this fact, in these days of cheap matches, but no more convincing proof can be found for the high value set on live fire in those days, than the dignity and sanctity bestowed, in all early communities, on those engaged in keeping fires alight, and the large part played by it in all ancient religions.

¹ (p. 417.)

² Vol. xii, New Series No.

Mr. Bimala Charan Law's paper on Taxila is a collection of the references made to it in the *Jatakas*. A more informing thesis on this early Indian University would have been more welcome at the present moment, were it only to focus attention on ancient University ideals. Beyond the few generally prevalent traditional notions about the relationship of Hindu teachers and pupils, which were so well and so forcibly described by His Excellency Lord Hardinge in his speech at the foundation-stone-laying ceremony of the Benares Hindu University, very little is definitely known about the organization of, and life in, ancient universities.

Naimisāranya in the epic period, Mithila, Ujjain, Benares, Srinagar, Navadvēpa, Poona, and Madura in the early mediaeval period, and Sringeri and Vijayanagar in later days, were not only renowned seats of learning, but also the abodes of academies like the *Tamil Sangham*. A systematic examination of contemporary literature, inscriptions, *sthalapurāṇas* and temple records, is likely to give us valuable hints. The subject is one of enthralling interest and promises to repay richly the labour spent on it.

Mr. S. Kumar shows in his short note on the Bengal school of artists, the danger of placing too great a reliance on a single authority in discussions relating to early Indian history and suggests indirectly the wide field still open to research workers to help in constructing a correct history of Indian arts.

A disquisition on the genuineness of the eighth canto of *Kumara Sambhavam* and a collection of valuable notes on the geography of Orissa in the sixteenth century—both written by Rai Manmohan Chakravarty Bahadur complete the number under review. Each of these is a model in its own sphere. In the former, Mr. Chakravarty discusses the available evidence, both internal and external, and concludes that the canto formed part of the original poem, and that its omission from most manuscripts is due to the nature of the subject dealt with—the amorous dalliance of the Divine Being and His consort—which shocked the religious instincts. Such a criticism was, we may note in passing, levelled against a verse in that canto by Kshemendra also in his *Auchitya Vichara Charcha*. The notes on the geography of Orissa are based on the Ain-Akbari and the *Mādāla Pāñji* or the chronicles of the Jagannath temple. The good use made of the latter gives considerable support to our plea for an intelligent and systematic examination of temple records for sidelights on Indian history.

A. V. R.

Mysore Archaeological Report for 1914-15

To those who are interested in unearthing the rich mine of the historic past of India, a report like the one issued by Rao Bahadur Narasimbacharya, the indefatigable Officer-in-charge of the Archaeological Researches in Mysore, cannot but arouse enthusiastic interest. We are very glad to note that where others would have taken the field to be exhausted, he has been able to bring to light information most interesting and instructive in its kind. Of the manifold activities evinced by his department, not the least praiseworthy are the 334 new records that have been copied. Of these, as has been specially noticed by the Government, is a Ganga

copper-plate inscription discovered in the Hoskote Taluk, which differs from the other published Ganga grants in several details, and mentions a hitherto unknown Ganga king of the name of Vijaya Krishna Varma, son of Madhava Varma. Of the many things brought to the information of students of history covering an extensive area and referring to dynasties of kings including the Ganga, the Chola, the Chalukya, the Hoysala and those of Vijayanagar and Mysore, not a few are deserving of individual mention as they settle finally points of history which have hitherto been disputed. But none of these is so important in its nature as the record which is dated to be of about A. D. 900 found at Begur, Bangalore Taluk, which mentions Bengaluru (Bangalore), thus not only testifying to the antiquity of the place, but demolishing once and for all the theory of Bengaluru being the city of beans. We should think that at the rate the Rao Bahadur by his assiduous industry, is gathering inscriptions and other particulars, regarding the Hoysalas, there should be ample materials available at an early date to write the history of the Hoysalas. It is an act of great courage of conviction on the part of the officer to share the view propounded—for the first time and since persistently held—of the Rev. Father Tabard, M.A., President of the Mythic Society, that, in spite of Ferguson and his airy mixing of styles, the Chalukyan architecture should more justly have been called Hoysala architecture. Apart from several new features which year after year have been distinguishing the report of Mr. Narasimbachar, making such reports not the drybones of history, but living records of interesting personalities and institutions, the one that compels our admiration is the intimate knowledge we have been enabled to possess of certain curious customs which have crept into religious institutions, e.g. in the well-known Ranganatha Temple at Thirumale where the object of worship is a round stone, set in a square stone basin, the custom itself being that a sect of Vaishnava Sudras officiate as assistant priests. Another curious thing about this temple is that the east tower which shows signs of Saracenic style is said to have been built by a Muhammdan, Killedar Husen Khan by name, who was commissioned to do so by the god in a dream. The miraculous element is not wanting, as the stone basin receives any quantity of water without ever filling up. Bangalore District has yielded a rich find. Just at this time when there is going on a keen controversy regarding Kannada being made compulsory to the detriment or rather the exclusion of the other languages, principally Tamil and Telugu, may we not be permitted to state that, as once Mysore was the home of the Tamils and the Telugus, as is evidenced by the several inscriptions in these languages, the Mysore University, of which as patriotic Mysoreans we are all proud, should throw its portals open for the teaching of these languages?

The procedure adopted for the first time by Mr. Narasimbacharya of publishing individual sculptures of artistic merit and of illustrating the works of particular artists in his reports has induced scholars of authority on Indian art and sculpture not only to take a greater interest in the artistic work of Mysore, but also to form a more favourable estimate of their merit as works of art. It need not be said that the same procedure has been adopted this year with greater utility. The several plates that embellish the report have no less contributed to its value to students of sculpture, architecture and iconography. We hope that the Mysore Durbar will

sanction at an early date an adequate staff for drawing the ground plans of historic places that figure in the report. We also hope that before long the learned officer himself will be enabled by the increase in the number of genuine records of the Ganga dynasty to draw up the early Ganga history. The Mythic Society takes this occasion to appeal to all lovers of history to try to utilize these and other materials in throwing as much light as possible on the darkest recesses of the forgotten history of India.

We close this cursory review with our hearty congratulations to the learned archæologist, and hope that his enthusiasm will more and more increase to give us still more interesting and instructive details.

K. DEVA.

The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society¹

Besides the proceedings of the Society for 1913-14, and a list of presents to its Library during 1914, the volume under review contains as many as seven articles by various well-known writers. Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, leads off with the mention of a few materials collected from Iranian sources for a chapter in the Early History of Bactria. This paper was the outcome of a desire expressed by Professor H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College, for a reliable textbook on the Early History of Bactria and Iran. The sources made use of by Dr. Modi are said by him to be the Avesta and other Pahlavi books of the Parsees, and the history of those regions written by old Muhammadan writers like Firdousi, Macoudi and Tabari.

Bactria, the Bakhtri of the famous cuneiform inscriptions of Behistun, was the contemporary of Assyria and Babylon in the height of their glory, it be held Moses laying down the foundations of a great theocracy for the Hebrews, one of its kings, Kai Kâus is represented to have known Solomon, a successor of his, Lohrasp, is said to have had the Babylonian Nebuchednezzar as his general, and most interesting of all, King Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp was the monarch at Bactria when the great Zoroaster promulgated his religion and taught it to the king. These may be mere legends unanalysed yet and the truth in them brought out. Dr. Modi does not pretend that the references he has been able to hunt up out of the considerable mass of old Iranian and Muhammadan literature, bear on them the impress of historic truth. As to its antiquity, the only indirect evidence furnished by history is the reference in the Vendidad to Balkh as 'the city with uplifted banners.' Taking these words to mean a capital city in the heyday of its glory, it must have flourished at least before 1200 B.C., when we know it was captured and destroyed by the Assyrians.

There is one point in the legendary history as given by Muhammadan writers that is noteworthy. It is that of Nebuchednezzar having been a general under Cyrus the Great. While the classical authors of the west speak of him as an ally of Cyrus, the Pahlavi Minokherad and the Dinkard support the Muslim historians. Which of these speak the truth? On a correct reply to this query depends the

fixing of the Age of Zoroaster, and the determination also of the relationship in time between the Achæmenian and Kayanian dynasties. Which of these preceded the other? Of course Dr. Modi tries at a solution of the problem on the supposition that both the dynasties were contemporaries, the former ruling in the west and the latter in the east. He says that such a supposition would confirm the date of Zoroaster as given by the Parsee books. But until better evidence is forthcoming to explain why the classical writers do not refer to the Kayanians, while the Parsee books ignore equally the Achæmenians, guesses at truth of the kind made by Dr. Modi, must remain as such and no more.

Doctor Harold H. Mann and Mr. S. R. Paranjpe write at considerable length on the intermittent springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency. According to local tradition, the springs were first observed some three hundred years ago, and up to the year 1821 continued to flow regularly every year for a month or six weeks in January or February. From that date, the phenomenon manifests itself only once in two or three years. The area covered by the springs, about 3,150 sq. yards, is surrounded by a high stone wall, and paved with stones. Fourteen cisterns of various sizes have been built to receive the water. The water invariably begins to overflow in the first of these cisterns, and within a few minutes of its first appearance, the remaining cisterns are rapidly filled. These cisterns are in no way connected with each other. Only one cistern overflows, and here the water is let off through the mouth of a cow carved out of stone. During the overflow the water bubbles up through all the interstices in the pavement as well as through the beds of the cisterns. The awakening of the spring is hailed with joy for hundreds of miles, and many a footsore pilgrim resorts thither to bathe in the many small ponds built for the purpose, and obtain merit, as the water of these springs is reputed by tradition to have come all the way from the Ganges. Though people believe that the springs never flow in the rainy season, figures recorded for the past thirty-two years ending 1913, show, that they have flowed seven out of sixteen times in that season. But it is found invariably that the average period of flow in the rainy season is only twenty-three days, whereas the average for the hot season is as high as fifty-one days. The learned authors of this investigation conclude that the source from which all the springs are supplied, lies somewhere under the traditional banyan tree from under which Mother Ganga first made her appearance in response to her devotee's prayers, that the water is ordinary trap water remarkably free from saline matter, and that no reason as yet exists to suppose that there is anything extraordinary about these springs or in the intermittency produced, which differs in no way from many others known to exist in other parts of the world.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. of Poona, follows next with his closely argued paper on 'The Solar and Lunar Kshatriyas in the Vedas.' The paper is an answer to Mr. Pargiter who holds by the Puranic version that the Solar dynasty of Indian Kshatriyas was of Dravidian origin, and that the Lunar dynasty had its original kingdom at Prayag or Allahabad. From exhaustive quotations culled from the Rig-Veda and the Brahmanas, and from cumulative evidences tendered by ethnology and philology, Mr. Vaidya argues for the incursion into India from the north-west of two different streams of Aryans, in the Vedic times, the first of whom are referred to in the Rig-

Veda as Bharats, and the latter (the descendants of Yayati), as followers of five brother chieftains, viz. Yadu, Turvashu, Anu, Druhya and Puru. In the course of the development of this theory of his, Mr. Vaidya relegates the authority of the Puranas on the Indian Kshatriya genealogy to the background, prior prominence being sought to be given to the authority of the Vedas, the Vedangas, the Brahmanas, the later Sutras, the Greek and other classic writers, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* in a descending line. The Rishis Vasishta and Viswamitra identified by tradition and the Puranas with the Solar race of kings are always found in the Vedas associated with the Bharats solely, so that it is clear that the first stream of Aryans were later on styled the Solar race, and the second stream the Lunar race whose Rishis, the Angirases and Kanva find a similar mention in the Vedas connected with the Anu, the Yadu, the Druhya, etc. Ethnology and philology also as applied by Sir H. Risley and Dr. Grierson show that there were two Aryan races who invaded India at different times and settled in the country. The first, the long-headed Aryans, settled in the Punjab and Rajputana and are found there even now with offshoots about Ayodhya and Mithila, whose present language, eastern Hindi, is allied to the Punjabi and the Rajastani. The second race of Aryans was broad-headed and mixed with the original Dravidian population of the country, and is now found in the large tract from Ambala in the north, to Kathiawar in the south-west and Jubbulpore in the south-east and Nepal in the north-east. The present language of these people is western Hindi. As to the question why these two streams were styled Solar and Lunar by the Puranists, though no mention of these names is to be found in the Vedas, Mr. Vaidya answers it by saying that the desire of the ancient peoples to connect their greatest with some divinity or other has been universal in its operation, and that as regards the case in point, Manu, the progenitor of the first race of Aryans was styled in the Vedas as the son of Viswaswan, the sun, that besides, the Niruktha identified Bharata the first great king of the Vedic period with the sun himself, and so, the Puranic writers termed the first race of the invaders as of the sun, and by a sense of natural opposition, the second race as coming from the moon. The whole thesis is a very elaborate and closely-argued one, and deserves to be studied carefully by those interested in such questions.

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., proves in the course of a short, but very interesting article, how the sacred tale of Barlaam and Josaphat so strongly current in the Middle Ages throughout Christendom derives its main features, through the medium of the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, from the *Jataka* stories concerning the early life of Gautama Sakya Muni.

'The Growth of Sectarianism among the Sri-Vaishnavas' after the apotheosis of Sri-Ramanuja is traced with some critical skill and care by Mr. V. Rangacharya, M.A., the *Guruparamparas* of both the Vadagalais and the Thangalais forming the chief source of the conclusions he arrives at. When Sri Ramanuja ceased his mortal labours, Vaishnavism was a single belief split into no doctrinal divisions. The *Prabhandas* (Tamil devotional songs) and the *Bhashyas* (Sanskrit commentaries on the Vedanta) held an equal sway over the minds and hearts of men. But differences arose gradually based on the predilection of certain of the Acharyic leaders for

Tamil, in which the *Prabhandas* were composed, and which, they declared were enough to bestow salvation on a believer, irrespective of his knowledge of the *Bhashyas*. A schism like this was inevitable. It was a natural reaction in the minds of the more catholic of the Sri Vaishnavas against the increasing conservatism and the self-sufficing seclusion of the majority of their brethren who ascribed to caste and to Sanskrit an importance transcending the ordinary dictates of humanity, fellow-feeling and the thousand and one weaknesses inherent in mortals. The great Ramanuja himself, in the heyday of his career, was the prophet of this gospel, though in his declining years he felt himself unable to work out his overflowing love for the masses against the stern hostility of his conservative following. But the sparks thrown out by him in his generous prime were received unnoticed in a few bosoms and in process of time developed into a steady glow, which won for itself a local habitation and a name in the time of Pillai Lokacharya, the Thengalai leader at Srirangam, while the great Venkatanatha ruled over the orthodox section at Conjeeveram as his contemporary. This open declaration of a new doctrine was made some time in the first half of the fourteenth century, and since then, the history of Sri Vaishnavism in Southern India is the rise, progress and mutual animosities of two warring sects. It is but proper to add here that though the aims of the first protestants were towards a greater catholicity and brotherhood of all classes, the means they adopted to secure for their schism Acharyic sanction were tainted by falsehood and forgery, and that among the distinctions they adumbrated, some were puerile and entirely meaningless. Moreover they have carried their love for Tamil to such an extent that Sanskrit, the vehicle of immemorial Aryan culture, has come now to occupy but a subordinate place in the mental and theological equipment of a South Indian Brahman. Leaving all this aside, the one great drawback which emerges on a moral evaluation of this sect is, that the Thengalais have practically forgotten the *raison d'être* of their schism which was a greater consolidation of all Sri Vaishnavas, Brahmans or no Brahmans, and continue as bigoted, as narrow and as hide-bound as their more honest orthodox brethren. One slight mistake of Mr. Rangacharya in his well written thesis is where he defines the *namam*, the Sri Vaishnavite caste mark, as the foot of Lord Vishnu. That a scholar like himself should make such a definite statement is surprising, as the *pancharatra* on which the Sri Vaishnavas rely for the wearing of the marks makes it clear that the three marks, whether perpendicular or horizontal, 'are symbolical of everything indicated by the mystic number three' as for instance, either the three primary Gods, the letter *Aum*, the three fires, the three Vedas, the three worlds, the three times, the three gunas or the three essentials of faith *Prakriti*, *Jivatma* and *Paramatma*. (Vide '*Sri Vaishnavism and Its Caste Marks*,' by K. Devanathachariar, *Journal of the Mythic Society*. Vol. VI. No. 1.)

Among the other papers of interest in this number are Dr. Jeevanji Modi's '*Gatke's Parsee-mameh*,' and the same versatile author's account of 'A Persian Inscription of the Moghul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana.'

K. R.

Commercial History¹

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan has issued in the form of a booklet his lecture delivered under the auspices of the Government Commercial School, Bangalore. Ordinarily speaking, it does not lie within the scope of the Mythic Society to review books or articles which have to do with the 'modern side.' But Mr. Ramanathan has taken the trouble to give a lucid summary of the condition of early Indian commerce taking us back to days which the Mythic Society delights to speak about. We agree with the author when he says that India even in days when she had greater facilities and resources to become a leading commercial country let the opportunity pass by, thus affording scope to a number of nations to exploit her. India gave freely of what she had and took as freely all that was brought to her doors, but in the matter of herself taking her wares outside to sell and bringing other wares instead, she had not the desire for it. What India lacked, Nineveh and Babylon attained. They founded colonies and covered a good portion of the then world. They invented the alphabet and also the manufacture of glass and were noted for their purple dyes and fine woollens. They were the first nation to raise a national debt, and they issued and honoured letters of credit. Next came the Greeks who depended for their existence on a large import of food stuffs, and maintained a large merchant marine doing a good deal of carrying trade. Even in days when they had fallen under the sway of the Romans, they were the foremost to contribute to the Byzantine greatness. Alexandria owed not a little to them. It was they that discovered the periodicity of monsoons in the Indian ocean and greatly increased the safety of navigation. To Rome belonged the credit of a banking system. The last among the elder nations were the Saracens, and to them commerce was indebted for the cutlery and fabrics of Damascus, the textile fabrics and carpets. The history of commerce dealt with in the succeeding pages of Mr. Ramanathan's delightful book relates to recent times. We commend the book as one which in an attractive style gives in a small compass the history of a large subject. Publications of the kind are just the sort to be placed in the hands of students who have neither the time, nor the patience to devote to larger volumes, while still at school.

K. DEVA.

The Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, January, 1916

There is a melancholy interest attaching to the appearance of this *Journal*, for its publication nearly synchronized with the rather sudden death of its real originator, the Hon'ble Lieut. Col. Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Resident at the court of the Nizam. Sir Alexander was the founder and first President of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, whose organ the *Journal* is. Those who had the pleasure of knowing Sir Alexander know the great interest in the antiquities of the Nizam's Dominions and the amount of labour and organizing ability he brought to bear on his work as President and founder of that Society. He was the heart and soul of the movement which ended in its foundation and after its foundation his interest in

¹By Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

it was both unabated and deep. It is difficult to estimate the loss that the Society has sustained by his death. Though the cause of archæology generally in India, and particularly in the Dominions, for which his love was great, has lost in him a distinguished friend, his example remains to all workers in that rich field. It is to be hoped that that example will bear fruit in the years to come in the history of the Hyderabad Society.

We have great pleasure in welcoming this latest recruit to the ranks of antiquarian journals in India. Its format leaves little to be desired. Its contents provide a rich repast to all lovers of antiquarian studies in India. The mere mention of the names of the five articles that appear in it ought to suffice to kindle real interest in it. These are: 'The Scope of Archæology in the Hyderabad State' by Mr. G. Yazdani, Honorary Secretary of the Society; 'The Antiquities of Kulpak', by Mr. T. Srinivas, Bar-at-Law, 'The Antiquities of Warangal', by Mr. G. Yazdani; 'Old Hyderabad China' by Mr. E. H. Hunt, M.A., and 'Kopal Town and Fort' by Sir Alexander F. Pinhey, K.C.S.I. Each of these articles is worth reading, not merely—we may add—by the mere antiquarian but by the general reader as well who wants to take any interest in what surrounds him. If people everywhere took a little more interest in what they see around and inquired and wrote about them, our knowledge about things ancient in this land would in a very short time become very great. What is wanted is an intelligent interest in things observed. Articles of the type we have noted above, embellished as they are by beautiful plates, do a real service in kindling this interest in matters antiquarian. Quite apart from this view of their worth, it is needless to say that they individually add to our previous knowledge of them. Sir Alexander Pinhey's article on Kopal town and fort adds considerably to what is known about it from stray references to it in Farishta and the older historians of India. Mr. Hunt's article on 'Old Hyderabad China' opens up a new line of inquiry in that State which, we trust, will attract wider attention. Mr. Yazdani's article on 'The Antiquities of Warangal' is a most valuable one, while we feel we should commend Mr. Srinivasa's paper on 'The Antiquities of Kulpak' for the great pains he has brought to bear upon his task. Mr. Yazdani deserves a word of a praise also for his paper on 'The Scope of Archæology in the Hyderabad State' which shows the wide scope there is for archæological work in that State.

The first number of the Hyderabad Society's *Journal* is altogether an excellent one and the Society may legitimately take pride in its production. If its successors are as good as this particular number, we have no doubt that it will soon attract wider attention to itself. In any case, there can be no doubt that it will by its work fill a void in the Indian antiquarian world.

C. H. R.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register

The *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* transports us to a new world of antiquities, which has, however, sufficient resemblance to our own to awaken interest and sympathy. One touch of archæology makes the whole world kin.

The contributions in the April number are well written, and must be of great interest to those who are sufficiently familiar with present-day Ceylon to trace in the past the roots of existing conditions.

The Rev. Father H.G. Pereira, S.J., gives an account of the Jesuits in Ceylon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and of the early conversions to Christianity. Some of the extracts give a vivid impression of the persecution to which the converts were subjected. The article contains an interesting picture taken from Father de Moraes of the social condition of the Portuguese colony in Colombo, which seems to have been neither better nor worse than similar settlements of that period. 'The men were given to lewdness and lust' says the good priest; but by 'fulminating very strongly against such abuses' he gradually awakened them to a sense of their sin, and brought them to lead Christian lives. 'The Enemy of Mankind had, however, sown many deadly tares' among the natives of that land, of which Father de Moraes proceeds to recount a few, such as 'their not killing anything even if they happen to be ravenously hungry' and their unfortunate addiction to chewing betel leaves.'

The next article deals with 'The Polonuaruwa coin weight standard', which must be of great interest to numismatists. In the third, Mr. John M. Senavaratne discourses very learnedly on the question whether a colossal block of grey granite lying inscribed at Polonuaruwa was brought from Segiri or Sigiri; and finds that the ingenious reasons given in support of the latter theory lack convincing power.

Next comes an interesting historical document—being a petition, dated 1801 presented by certain shareholders of the Dutch East India Company to the Batavian Republic urging that Ceylon should not be ceded to England at the treaty of Amiens.

The most readable article in the issue is the one which follows from the pen of Mr. H. C. P. Bell. It is a sketch of the close of the life of Andreas Amabert, a young soldier of fortune from France, who died in the service of the Dutch East India Company as lieutenant in charge of a frontier fortress in 1764. The story is told with a quaint charm of style and presents in a delicate and effective manner the tragedy of a brave young life doomed to fret and waste in the squalid pettiness of an obscure semi-commercial station.

After the articles come notes and queries relating to divers matters of local interest. 'Misspelt Place-names,' and 'The tree of Ten Thousand Images' are two of the subjects on which short notices appear. The misspelling of place-names in Ceylon will hardly startle a people who have learnt to acquiesce in Seringapatam, Bangalore and Chitaldrug; and the Tibetan tree of Ten Thousand Images—on every leaf of which the pious (and they alone) can behold a likeness of Buddha and a transcript of some sacred text has more than one counterpart in other parts of the world.

Mr. L. H. S. Piers gives a description of two ornamental devices in metal common in Ceylon—the head of the chameleon and the cock—and suggests an explanation, which if meant as a joke can be regarded as a fair success. There is however just a suspicion of solemnity about the explanation of the significance of the chameleon head.

N. R.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—
 - (a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects more particularly in Mysore and South India.
 - (b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.
3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, Branch Secretaries, one or more Editors, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.
4. Membership shall be of two kinds—
 - (a) Honorary.
 - (b) Ordinary.
5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons who, in the opinion of the Committee, have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.
6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions

from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum. Any subscriber, on payment of rupees three per annum, will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

The activities of the Society shall be as follows :—

- (a) There shall be, as far as possible, nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.

[Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.]

- (b) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous 1st July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.

[Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.]

- (c) The Society will encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee and duly notified to those concerned.

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisitions and obtaining orders in each case.

The Annual General Meeting will be held, as far as possible, in when the report and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in the 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being :—

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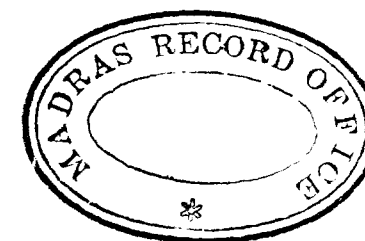
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TIPPU SULTAN'S EMBASSY TO THE FRENCH COURT IN 1788

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE entry of kings and queens into cities, the visits of princes and illustrious personages, the reception of ambassadors have always been the occasion of special festivities. Other customs have changed, but whether it be a king's or a prince's visit, the concourse of people is always great, and the official programme does not vary much. Yet, when the account of one of these takes us back nearly a century and a half, it is bound to be interesting reading, as it places before us incidents which may or may not have some historical value, but which, at all events, show that human nature is ever more or less the same.

I have been fortunate in coming across some documents connected with the reception at Toulon of the ambassadors sent by Tippu Sultan to King Louis XVI of France, and, I believe, they will be of some interest to the readers of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* especially in Mysore. These documents have been published for the first time in the *Bulletin de l'Académie du Var* for 1914-5.

TIPPU SAHIB

Among all the potentates, who have reigned in India, very few are known in France even by name. Tippu Sahib is an exception, owing not so much to

the fact that he was an ally of France, as to a feeling common at the time to both countries: the hatred of England.

That feeling born at Cr cy and Agincourt had remained very much alive in French breasts as is proved by the substantial assistance rendered by France to America in the war of independence. That feeling of hatred was by degrees succeeded by one of suspicion towards 'Perfide Albion' and not until 1914 have the two traditional foes come to be to each other what God intended them to be all along, loyal and disinterested friends as also the guardians of all that is best in European civilization, a happy result of the present war, a result, which we all hope will last for many generations to come.

Tippu knew of that feeling, and it was the aim of his life to turn it to his advantage. At the same time, to the French of the end of the eighteenth century, a Mysore Sultan appeared like another hero of independence, and France felt that, if she had not been able to strike at England through America, she might still do it through the Sultan of Mysore.

Before I proceed with the detailed particulars of the embassy, which Tippu resolved to send to the French king, I beg to be permitted to remind you of the circumstances of the times.

Tippu was the eldest of Hyder Ali's sons. Hyder, feeling that his lack of education had been a drawback in his career, insisted on his sons being trained by skilful teachers, and so Tippu became proficient in all the sciences cultivated in India at that time. He could speak several languages, European and Indian; he used to devote to reading several hours every day, but yet it was in bodily exercises that he particularly excelled, and at a very early age he was the best horseman in his army. The science of war, he learned from French officers in his father's service. At the head of a cavalry regiment he took part in 1767 in the conquest of the Carnatic, and the victories he won over the Maharattas, 1775 to 1779, proved that he had profited by his masters' lessons.

At his father's death, December 7, 1782, he was in Malabar keeping in check Colonel Humberston.

Taking advantage of his being so far away, the English under General Mathews captured Onore, Bednore and all the neighbouring districts, but Tippu, as soon as he had rendered the last offices to his father, marched against the English commander with an army, 25,000 strong, of whom 1,000 were French. He took Mathews by surprise and forced him to surrender, April 28, 1783.

A kind of truce was signed, but soon broken by both parties, the English evading payment of the indemnity agreed upon, and Tippu causing Mathews and twenty of his principal officers to be poisoned.

When the Sultan was besieging Mangalore a peace was concluded between England and France, and thus Tippu was deprived of his most precious allies,

in spite of which, he was able himself to conclude an advantageous peace with England, March 11, 1784.

Tippu availed himself of the respite in doing away with the phantom Mysore Raj, proclaimed himself Sultan and started reorganizing his army.

To expel the English from India was his most cherished dream, and he could not help chafing under the peace he had signed unwillingly. But before renewing his conflict with England, he wished to make sure of French aid, and so resolved to send an embassy to Louis XVI in order to conclude with France an offensive and defensive alliance.

THE EMBASSY

At the beginning of March, 1788, the French Prime Minister,¹ the Comte de Brienne, gave special orders for the reception of the ambassadors to the Governor of Toulon,² and on March 7, the Admiralty³ wrote as follows to the Naval Commandant⁴ of the same place and to M. Malouet:⁵ 'I am informed, Gentlemen, that the ambassadors sent to the king by Tippu Sahib are expected daily at Toulon with M. de Monneron. As it was at first expected that they would land at Brest, His Majesty had issued orders that they were to be received there with the greatest honours. It was even the king's intention to send some of his own carpets with other articles of furniture. Now there is no time to despatch them to Toulon, but His Majesty wishes that nothing should be neglected which may impress the ambassadors and enable them to send their master a satisfactory account of their reception on French soil. The ordinary honours rendered to ambassadors must be rendered to them. It is not known yet in what their retinue may consist, but as rice is the staple food of the Asiatics, you must take good care to get large quantities of different kinds, all of the best quality. They eat the flesh only of animals killed by themselves. See then that there be a good provision of sheep, game and several kinds of fowls, like partridges, pigeons, etc. At the same time M. le Comte d'Albert must take care of his own dignity, as it would be a mistake to do too much, or to do too little. The Commandant in consultation with M. de Monneron will send the best cutter in the port with two ship captains to meet the ambassadors. On their landing, they will be met by the Port

¹ E. C. de Lomenie de Brienne, Cardinal Archbishop of Toulouse. Minister from August, 1787, to August, 1788. Born 1727, died 1793.

² La Riviere de Coigny was for thirty years Governor of Toulon.

³ The Head of the Admiralty was Cesar Henri Comte de la Luzerne, Minister for the Navy from October, 1787, to October, 1790, with a short interval.

⁴ Charles Hector Comte d'Albert, 'Commandant de la Marine', at Toulon from 1785 to 1790. Born 1728, died 1803.

⁵ Pierre Victor Malouet, 'Intendant de la Marine' at Toulon emigrated to England in 1792, returned to France in 1802, became Baron under the Empire and minister for the navy under the First Restoration. Born 1740, died 1814.

Officer accompanied by all the ship captains at Toulon and also the other principal officers. Carriages for them, their retinue, and the officers sent to meet them, must be ready to take them to the 'Intendance' on their arrival. There they will be received with military honours and the band will play pieces calculated to please them. M. le Comte d'Albert, surrounded by the officers available, all in full dress, will wait for them in the reception hall, which must be decorated as splendidly as possible. On their arrival, he will remain covered, simply giving the military salute, he will then go to meet them, and will take them to seats on his right hand, a little lower than his own. This will be sufficient, I trust; anyhow M. de Monneron will advise you, if there is any difficulty.'

P.S.—M. le Comte d'Albert will be good enough to explain to the ambassadors that the king had given special orders for a magnificent reception at Brest, and that for the last three months everything has been ready there. Being informed too late that they would land at Toulon instead, it has not been possible to make preparations here on the same scale.

(Sd.) LA LUZERNE.

FRICITION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES

Those instructions drafted in a hurry, when the landing place of the ambassadors had been unexpectedly altered, and within a few days of their arrival, had not taken into consideration the susceptibilities of the several officers at Toulon, who had the same right to represent the king as le Comte d'Albert.

M. Malouet, 'Intendant de la Marine', was the first to protest. He wrote to the Comte de La Luzerne: 'My Lord, whilst engaged before everything else in carrying out your instructions in all their details in collaboration with the Commandant regarding the arrival of Tippu Sahib's ambassadors, I beg to inform you that, hitherto, the Intendant de la Marine, in all official ceremonies, has taken his place by the Commandant's side. I, as well as my predecessors, have had letters from the king to attend the Te Deum sung on the eve of St. Louis' Feast, on the occasion of His Highness the Dauphin's birth, as also of the signature of the peace.' Your intention in the present circumstances cannot possibly be that I should appear in the eyes of the ambassadors, simply as in charge of providing everything necessary to them, and not as one of the chief officials here. Yet, my Lord, your despatch giving intimation to the Commandant and to me about what we have to do, does not mention the Intendant in the procession, or at the reception of the ambassadors. The Comte d'Albert seems disposed to interpret your silence according to the regulations, which place the Intendant

¹ Peace of Versailles, September 3, 1783, between England and France.

on the same footing as the Commandant, and I acknowledge his courtesy in safeguarding the rights of my rank. Still, my Lord, those rights are, more especially, under Your Lordship's protection, and, under the circumstances, I have deemed it my duty to ask you to confirm them.

(Sd.) MALOUE.

This request does not seem to have pleased the minister, who instead of acceding to it, issued more precise orders.

VERSAILLES, March 28, 1788.

TO MESSRS. LE COMTE D'ALBERT AND MALOUE.

Gentlemen, I have received your letters of the 14-15th and 16th instant. M. Malouet may be sure that the king's intention is to maintain all the privileges attached to his place, but I am sure that in reading over again the instructions I sent you on the 7th in connexion with the reception of Tippu's ambassadors, the Intendant will be convinced that it is impossible to make any change in them. The ceremony referred to is not at all similar to those where the Intendant has his place by the side of the Commandant. On this particular occasion, M. d'Albert as representing the king must be seated and covered, and M. Malouet would be out of place by his side, as he could not sit in the same way. All this is so true that, if the ambassadors entered Toulon by one of the city gates, the governor of the town would then alone represent His Majesty, and M. d'Albert could then present himself only after the ceremony and as a simple visitor. Anyhow the instructions given for Toulon are the same as those given for Brest for the last four months, and M. de Beaupreau has not sent in any complaint. All the same, I feel that the Intendant of the Port must become personally acquainted with the ambassadors, and so the king has decided that, the day after the reception, when M. d'Albert in his capacity as Commandant of the navy goes to return the ambassadors' visit with all his officers, M. Malouet will be by his side, and thus he will be at the head of the officers of the administration, and on that occasion the Intendant will inform the ambassadors of the orders he has received from the king to provide them with whatever is necessary or pleasing to them, and he will express his satisfaction at having been entrusted with that pleasant task. M. Malouet has given me proof of his zeal in vacating his own house to put it at the disposal of the ambassadors, in case the one prepared by the Commandant may not be quite ready. There are three ambassadors and their retinue may comprise between thirty and forty persons. All the measures you have adopted for carriages and food stuffs look to me perfect, and I rely entirely on what M. Malouet may do to give entire satisfaction to the ambassadors.

(Sd.) LA LUZERNE.

Though he shows himself a good courtier in writing 'I understand that, M. d'Albert being on this special occasion the representative of the king, it is an unusual ceremony, the novelty of which, though it excuses my error, is explained by your last decision,' Malouet was all the same deeply hurt, and he showed his spite in absenting himself from the reception under the pretext of a sprained arm. He asked for leave, and later on in his memoirs he tried to justify his absence, 'I was not present at the reception, which I had prepared in their honour, as before their arrival, I had to take my son, who was ill, to the waters of Greous.¹ The rivalry which existed between the admiralty and the war office, which still exists in a latent form seemed to avail itself of the ambassadors' arrival to create causes of friction. Again, it is the First Lord of the Admiralty, who takes upon himself to round off the angles. In doing his best to please both parties in safeguarding the rights of each, he writes:

VERSAILLES, April 4, 1788.

To

M. LE COMTE D'ALBERT.

SIR,

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 27th ultimo, informing me that M. de Coigny sees in the order given to him by M. le Comte d'Albert an obligation to supply a guard of fifty men with a flag to Tippu Sahib's ambassadors, and that in spite of your observations that this was not the case as the house which they are to occupy not only belongs to the Naval department, but is built on a site which does not belong to the civil department, he has adhered to his opinion consenting, however, to put the guard in the street opposite the entrance of the hôtel.² From the opinion I have of M. de Coigny and from what you write to me about the harmony that has always existed between both of you, I think, that on this occasion his only desire is to fulfil exactly the orders he has received. But as he has written about it to M. le Comte de Brienne, I have no doubt but that the reply he will receive will settle matters satisfactorily. The minister has informed me that in instructing M. de Coigny to render the ambassadors the honours prescribed in article 52 of the Ordinance of March 1, 1768, *re* the regulations applying to fortresses, he has given him to understand that it was His Majesty's intention that you should order one or two companies of Grenadiers to accompany them. Those companies will be divided into platoons with a

¹ Greoulx (Griselum) a warm mineral waters station in the Basses Alpes. It was known to the Romans.

² The word 'Hôtel' in French means also a large town mansion, and it is in that sense it is used in this paper.

certain distance between them. They will escort the ambassadors when they go to their hôtel, or when they visit the several institutions of Toulon.

Two days later he gives more precise orders in informing le Comte d'Albert that, 'It has been agreed with M. le Comte de Brienne that, what has been arranged between you and M. de Coigny with regard to the execution of the orders, given to the latter for the reception at Toulon of Tippu Sultan's ambassadors, will stand. Consequently, M. de Coigny will post in the street opposite the entrance of the ambassadors' hôtel, the guard which the military department must supply. Besides, the king's intention is, that you introduce the officer commanding that guard to the ambassadors and that you allow him to enter the hôtel to receive their orders.'

All the efforts of M. la Luzerne did not completely satisfy M. de Coigny, who, following the example of M. Malouet, managed, as we shall see later on, to find a way to absent himself from the reception.

Government did not use the same formalities with the Toulon municipality. The City Fathers, who so far had been left in complete ignorance, were informed of the coming event only by a letter, dated March 12. 'M. Malouet has the honour to inform the Mayor and the Consuls that the minister has announced the very early arrival at Toulon of Tippu Sahib's ambassadors. The arrangements, made in a hurry to accommodate them, with their retinue, in the new hôtel of the Commandant, having left no time to order or to buy furniture, M. Malouet has the honour to beg the Consuls to provide them with six large cots in good condition; the king will pay for the hire and damages. M. Malouet also asks the council to provide accommodation in the town for twenty officers and forty servants; the uncertainty as to the time of these foreigners' arrival, who may come in as soon as the breeze blows from the east, does not allow of any delay in the preparations. The Consuls are then urgently requested to have everything ready as soon as possible.'

(Sd.) MALOUE.

As they had not received any order from Government, the Mayor and the Council of Toulon, extremely anxious, decided to write.

March 23, 1788.

A MONSEIGNEUR DE LA TOUR¹

² The First Lord of the Admiralty has informed the Naval Commandant at Toulon that two Indian ambassadors were expected any day and that it was the king's intention that they be received with the greatest honours and that their stay in the city might be made as pleasant as possible. M. d'Albert and M. Malouet are making the necessary preparations to comply with the orders

¹ de Gléne de la Tour (Chevalier) Premier, Président Intendant of the Parlement of Provence

² This is obviously an error as *three* ambassadors had been expressly mentioned.

they have received. The war minister has also written to M. de Coigny to announce the arrival of those two ambassadors. He instructs him at the same time to arrange with M. d'Albert about the detachments of troops, which the two corps will have to supply. The precise orders issued by Government, and the preparations which are being made by the naval department make us believe that, on this occasion, we may have to present to those ambassadors the respectful duties of the city while visiting them with the City Fathers, and in offering them the customary *vin d'honneur*. We are quite ready to do whatever is necessary to escape any blame. Yet, as we have not received any orders, we believe, my Lord, that it is our duty to acquaint you with what is going on, so that the expenses which will be incurred on that occasion may receive your approval.' The Premier President, who does not seem to have been better informed than the municipality, replied on January 26, thanking them for having informed him of the order received by the commandants. 'He thinks that it is only right that they should present the municipality to the ambassadors, and that they should offer them *le vin d'honneur*. I have no doubt, he adds, that this will please them, and will meet with the king's approval.' In spite of the king's sanction, the municipality were also hurt at the want of courtesy shown them, and they showed their displeasure in writing on June 10 to M. de Brienne and M. de Breteuil.¹ 'In the absence of M. de Coigny, we have the honour to inform you that Tippu Sahib's ambassadors arrived at five o'clock last evening, and that they are to land at 3 p.m. to-day. The whole municipal body will immediately call on them at their hôtel to assure them of the city's welcome. Though the municipality have received no orders on the subject, the Consuls have taken upon themselves to fulfil this duty, as Government has given orders to the several officers commanding the troops in the town, to receive the ambassadors with all the usual honours. If we can, in any way, contribute to make their stay in Toulon more pleasant, we shall neglect nothing to do so.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECEPTION

While the First Lord of the Admiralty was doing his best to please every one, those who had received orders were attending to all the details of the reception.

First of all they had to see about the accommodation. The huge caravansaries of the present day which we also call hotels did not exist then, and the ordinary inns were not fit to receive distinguished guests. The Hôtel de la Marine now the Préfecture Maritime, the cost of which amounted to

¹ Louis Auguste le Tonnelier Baron de Breteuil. Plenipotentiary Minister at Cologne, 1783, in Russia, 1760, in Sweden, 1768, at Vienna, 1770, Minister of the king's household in 1783 and 1788, took refuge at Soleure during the Revolution—returned to France in 1802 and died in 1807. He was born in 1733.

100,000 livres, though begun in 1783, was just completed, but it was not yet furnished. In case the ambassadors arrived as early as anticipated, they would have to be accommodated in the house of M. Malouet himself, who had given a proof of his zeal in vacating his own quarters to accommodate the ambassadors. That house was the Hôtel de l'Intendance, now Commissariat General de la Marine. It had been built and furnished so as to accommodate illustrious personages passing through Toulon. Philip V of Spain, the Chevalier d'Orleans Great Prior of France, Maurepas the famous minister, had stayed there. Yet Malouet in placing it at the disposal of Government calls it 'his house,' and observes that 'the Intendance is an ordinary house without any apartments fitted up for special ceremonies, furnished in a simple though decent way.' 'I have arranged,' he adds, 'to have the whole of it reserved for the ambassadors. I alone will stay in it with them to do them the honours of the place. The garden of the Intendance has been fitted up as a ball and concert hall to give entertainments during the stay of the ambassadors. I have no doubt that M. le Comte d'Albert will inform you that I have done all that most willingly. It is solely to comply, as well as we could, with the king's orders, that we have also fitted up the Hôtel du Commandant to receive the ambassadors in case of necessity.'

As day after day passed without any signs of the ambassadors' arrival, M. Malouet who was not very keen on vacating his house was doing his utmost to have the Hôtel de la Marine ready. He was assisted in his efforts by the Comte d'Albert, who was not very anxious to see some one else doing the honours of a house where he would represent the king, and who was, on the other hand, keen to have his future residence magnificently furnished at the king's expense.

The result of their united endeavours enabled M. Malouet to write as follows to the Admiralty:—

MY LORD,

March 22, 1788.

Everything is ready for the reception of Tippu Sahib's ambassadors. They will be accommodated in the Hôtel du Commandant, which, by the distribution of the apartments and their size, by its position facing the parade ground, is the best which could be given to the ambassadors from Toulon to Paris. There are rooms for masters and thirty bed-rooms for servants. The walls are papered with designs in gold. Yesterday I made the final arrangements with regard to the furniture, etc., without putting the king to too great an expense. I have myself lent or borrowed eight bedsteads. I have purchased only one cot, several armchairs, sofas, carpets, etc. As Government had to supply the hôtel with looking-glasses, they have also been purchased. These are the measures we have adopted in order to make the reception as splendid as the short time at our disposal will allow. We have in readiness two gilt

cutters: as the awning is rather old, we are having it replaced by one of crimson damask adorned with gold fringes. We have made special liveries for thirty rowers in blue and purple with silver facings. I have ordered from Marseilles two gilt coaches, one of which is drawn by six horses. The drivers will wear the king's livery with silver facings. M. d'Albert, M. de Coincy and myself will supply the other carriages; I will pay fifteen livres a day for those from Marseilles including two horses for each. I will engage the six horses only for the day of the arrival; the harness alone will have to be bought. We have no carpets, lustres, candle-sticks, girandoles or Turkish sofas. I have ordered them to be purchased at Marseilles where they can all be found with the exception of the lustres. I will lend one myself and borrow two. The servants' cots have been procured from the general storehouse; screens, and mats will be placed in the rooms. The contractor will supply the victuals. I have laid in a large stock of sheep, lambs, calves, pigeons, rice, coffee, sugar, jams, and all sorts of sweet drinks. One of my footmen, and one of M. d'Albert's, as well as a majordomo, will be attached to the service of the ambassadors. The man in charge of the general storeroom will supply the crockery, the glassware, the linen, and the necessary cooking utensils. I will add my own crockery and also special china for the ambassadors' table. Perfumes, sweets, will be found in every room as well as all the flowers of the season. I have ordered from Marseilles washing utensils preferably in china, if procurable.

Meanwhile, M. de Bonneval, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, was attending to all the details connected with the manoeuvres in view of the expected arrival of the ambassadors. His instructions are found in a general order, dated March 18, 1788. 'The sixth and seventh divisions must be ready to parade with their flags on the day the ambassadors sent by Tippu Sahib to the Court of France land, and will accompany them to the Hôtel du Commandant de la Marine. They will meet and take their position on the Place d'Armes. The sixth division will then go to the streets east and north lining the way right and left from the convent of the Carmelites. A detachment composed of one master gunner, two submasters and forty gunners commanded by an ensign, with their proper flag, carried by another ensign, will form a part of the guard of the ambassadors. This detachment will be put at the head of the two lines, in three deep. As soon as the ambassadors have entered the Hôtel du Commandant, this detachment will take up its duties at the gate and will use the guard house. Two sentries will always be at the door. The seventh division will enter the arsenal with its flag and will line the route together with the sixth, starting from the Canal de la Garniture. Part of this division will be for the wharfs, right and left from the principal guard house to la Pegolière. As soon as the ambassadors' cutters have passed those wharfs, part of these companies will proceed as quickly as possible to the street where the general warehouse is situated, and which leads

to the arsenal to line that street as far as the arsenal gate. The brass band and the fifes and drums in full dress will at first take their position in front of the Swiss Guard at the head of the bridge, and will play at the passage of the ambassadors. They will then hurry on to the parade ground and stand on the right of the detachment facing the guard of honour. When the ambassadors enter the Commandant's Hôtel, they will enter also and occupy the place reserved for them. The drums of both divisions will remain in the ranks, except four with a drum-major. These will take their position in front of the flag of the seventh division, which will be in the middle of the road leading to the arsenal. Four others will be placed in the middle of the road south of the parade ground. The drum-major above mentioned will join this second batch as soon as the carriages have passed the first one. All the troops will present arms at the passage of the ambassadors; the drums will beat a salute and all the officers on duty will salute with the sword.'

(Sd.) BONNEVAL.

The principal officers, military and naval, were to wait for the ambassadors in the reception hall, behind the Commandant. Others of next rank were to meet the ambassadors on board as soon as the ship was sighted.

Though the naval department was doing its utmost to keep the ambassadors to itself, it could not prevent them during their stay in Toulon from entering the limits of the military jurisdiction, and so the military governor of the place was waiting with great impatience for the moment when the ambassadors' carriage would cross those limits in order to claim all his rights.

Whether M. de Coincy had not been completely satisfied with the Admiralty's decision, or whether he foresaw some intended cause of conflict, he thought better not to remain at Toulon during the stay of the ambassadors. Before leaving, he issued the following orders:—

April 28, 1788.

To

THE LIEUTENANTS OF THE KING AT TOULON AND OFFICERS OF THE FLEET.

M. de Laugier commanding the artillery at Toulon will carry out the orders I have given him with regard to firing the salute when the ambassadors' ship passes the forts of la Malgue, St. Louis, La Grosse Tour, the Tower of Balaguier and the Fort of l'Eguillette, taking care that the battery near the flagstaff does not fire till a quarter of an hour after the ambassadors have entered their hôtel. Then the staff officer will inform the ambassadors that it is the general officer commanding the garrison who had ordered this salute to be fired. At the same time a field officer will take charge of the guard of honour composed of fifty men, a captain, a lieutenant, and a flag bearer and post them in the street facing the entrance of the Hôtel de la Marine. If the ambassadors, to whom, the officer commanding this guard will be presented

by M. d'Albert dismiss them, they will then return to their quarters. The ambassadors will enter the city by the gate du Parc. Two companies of grenadiers will be posted opposite the gate of the arsenal, and when the ambassadors go out, platoons will be detached to accompany them as far as the entrance of the Hôtel de la Marine. They will see that the crowd does not become a nuisance and that no disorder occurs. They will then withdraw.

Should the ambassadors express a wish to visit the several establishments of Toulon, the staff officer will be informed of the fact, and the orders are that, each time they must be escorted by a troop of grenadiers more or less large according to the exigencies of the case.

At last, on the 10th June, the First Lord of the Admiralty was informed by M. Possel, General Commissary, acting for M. Malouet who was absent, that 'Tippu Sahib's ambassadors arrived last evening in the roadsteads.' One of the health officers immediately boarded the vessel with the officers deputed by M. le Comte d'Albert. On the captain's declaration that all were well on board, the vessel was allowed to enter the harbour, but Their Excellencies expressed a wish to land only this afternoon when they will be received according to your instructions. The embassy comprises about forty persons, of whom only eight are persons of rank. The Hôtel du Commandant will afford sufficient accommodation for all of them.

ARRIVAL AND SOJOURN OF THE AMBASSADORS AT TOULON

The ambassadors were received everywhere in France, but more particularly at Toulon, with the greatest honours as witness the memoirs and newspapers of the time, from which I cull the following accounts as far as Toulon is concerned.

Monday, June 9.—Tippu Sahib's ambassadors who had been so long expected arrived at Toulon to-day June 9, at 4 p.m. on board the king's sloop of war '*l'Aurore*' under M. de Monneron, captain in the Portuguese and lieutenant in the French navy during the war. They were saluted on their entering the narrow entrance of the harbour by the artillery of the forts which command that entrance, and also by the guns of the four king's frigates which are here at anchor. The *Aurore* cast anchor opposite the old chain. M. d'Albert in command of the naval department sent immediately M. Delort, flag captain acting as vice-admiral to take their orders as to the time they wished to land, but the ambassadors refused to see any one to-day though they have fixed their landing for 4 p.m. to-morrow 10th inst., as their lent, during which, according to their religion, they are not allowed to show themselves in public, will not be over till then. Here are the names of the ambassadors as given by M. de Monneron:

The chief ambassador is called Mohamed Dervish Khan, aged forty. He belongs to a tribe which claims to be descended from the Prophet Mahomed. His

brother-in-law is the commander-in-chief of all Tippu's fortresses. His son Aga Sahib, accompanies him. The second ambassador Akbar Ali Khan is a scholar, aged seventy. He carries among his luggage a complete copy of his writings. The third Mohamed Oosman Khan, aged fifty, is the one who asks and answers questions. He has with him his nephew, Ghulam Sahib.¹

They are all Musulmans, like their master Tippu, and not Hindus. They talk the Moorish language and also Persian. Mohamed Assad Oullah, king's interpreter at Mauritius, accompanies them in the same capacity.

When they left India they were forty-five in all. Three died of scurvy on the way. Those three deaths and a bilious attack from which two of the ambassadors suffered, decided the captain of the *Aurore* to make for Toulon instead of Brest, where it might have been too cold for the precious health of the passengers. The voyage was long. Leaving Pondicherry on July 22, 1787, they called at Mauritius from August 27 to December 4, and then they arrived at the Cape on July 3, 1788. They left the Cape on February 11, and kept as close as possible to the coast of Africa to get as much warmth as they could. They reached Ascension Island on February 20. They touched at Goree, a French possession on the Guinea Coast from April 3 to 29. From May 28 to June 1, they stayed at Malaga whence they arrived at Toulon to-day, June 9. As the staple food of the Asiatics is rice, we have been careful to procure here different kinds of the finest and the whitest, and as they do not eat flesh meat except of animals slaughtered by their own cook, large stocks have been laid in of sheep, game, and fowls of different kinds, like pigeons, partridges, etc.

Tuesday, June 10.—Early in the morning ten cutters were got ready at the arsenal to meet the ambassadors on board. At midday, the drums of the naval troops and also those of the garrison were beating all over the town. At the same time all the ships in the roadsteads were most magnificently adorned with flags. Larger flags were hoisted on the flagship and also all the vessels in the harbour, and the galley ships hoisted their blue and white standards. The landing took place with great ceremony as follows: M. le Comte d'Albert, naval commander, sent to Captain de Monneron three cutters with splendidly decorated awnings of crimson damask with gold facings and fringes for the ambassadors and the officers in their retinue, and a number of others for the soldiers and servants who accompanied them. On each of the first three were a flag captain, two superior officers and two subalterns. As soon as the ambassadors and their retinue had entered the cutters, at about 4 p.m. the forts, the five frigates in the roadsteads and all the batteries in the garrison fired a salute of fifteen guns each. The flagship saluted them also with fifteen guns when they entered the fort. At half past four, the

¹ Ghulam Sahib died on July 8, 1863, and must have been born in 1771 or 1770 as he used to say, in speaking of the Embassy, that he was seventeen years of age at the time.

ambassadors landed at the arsenal where they were received by the port officer, M. de Castellet, accompanied by a large number of naval officers. After their presentations they walked to the hall of the arsenal, which had been got ready to receive them, the naval troops lining the way. Perfumes and refreshments were offered to them, and immediately they entered the coaches intended for them, of which there were nine. M. de Castellet handed the ambassadors to the first and the finest coach drawn by four horses, and himself sat facing them. All the officers and the ambassadors' retinue, M. de Monneron and all the naval officers who were in the other cutters, took their seats in the other coaches. When the coaches reached the gate of the arsenal, drums beat a salute. At the door of the arsenal six archers of the *Prévôté de la Marine* posted inside the railings, and, having at their heads the *Exempt de la Prévôté*, presented arms. When they came opposite the guard house, the naval detachment on duty presented arms also, and the drums beat a salute again. Two Swiss Guards, in the full dress uniform of the king's service, were stationed at the gate, and they threw the door wide open when the coaches arrived. The first coach was escorted all the way by four other Swiss Guards in the same uniform as the above one at each door of the carriage, and two carrying halberds. On the ambassadors' leaving the arsenal, the detachment of land troops which lined the way presented arms. The flags saluted them, and the drums again beat a salute. This detachment accompanied them as far as the *Hôtel du Commandant*, preceded by the full band of the regiment of Dauphine, which played several marches. They then passed through the sixth naval division, which lined the way leading to the parade ground, and which also presented arms. The ambassadors alighted in the courtyard of the hôtel, and a salute of fifteen guns was fired from the rampart of the *Porte Royale*. A few minutes later the royal battery stationed near the flagstaff did the same. Their Excellencies having entered the *Hôtel*, M. le Comte d'Albert accompanied by many naval officers in full uniform came to receive them at the door of the reception hall, which had been magnificently decorated. Remaining covered he saluted them by touching his forehead, he embraced them, as also two young men of the retinue, who seemingly thought they were entitled to the same privilege. This general officer, who at this moment was representing the king, gave them his hand and took them to seats placed on his right hand, but lower than his own. The Director-General took his seat on the left. The Comte d'Albert, always with his head covered, explained to the ambassadors that the king's orders were that they should be received with the utmost magnificence, that they had only to ask, that everything was at their disposal, and that they were to be supplied with everything useful or agreeable. The interpreter having explained the compliment, they replied by another compliment, which the interpreter explained also. An officer of the garrison then came to offer the ambassadors a guard of honour, which was declined

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That guard was composed of fifty men with a flag, and was commanded by a captain and a lieutenant. The same officer also asked them on behalf of the king's lieutenants (the Mayor and the Consuls), the only civil authorities in the town, in the absence of M. de Coigny, when they would be pleased to give them an audience. They answered that, as they were very tired, they could not yet fix the day. At last, after a few words with M. d'Albert, they withdrew to their apartments for rest.

Wednesday, June 11.—Their Excellencies announced that they would give audience and receive visits in the afternoon. Consequently at about 4 p.m., M. le Comte d'Albert commanding the naval troops accompanied by M. Possel, Chief Civil Magistrate, called on the ambassadors, the former at the head of the naval officers in full uniform and the latter at the head of the City Fathers. M. le Comte d'Albert complimented them in the name of the troops, and M. Possel in the name of the administration. M. Possel also informed them of the king's instructions to provide them with everything that might be useful or agreeable, and assured them of his great pleasure in having been entrusted with the task. M. de Monneron, who was with the Commandant, was also asked to explain to the ambassadors how the king had issued precise orders for their reception at Brest, and that everything had been ready there for the last four months, but that, unfortunately, as the arrival at Toulon was unexpected, he had not been able to carry out His Majesty's wishes as well as he would have liked. The ambassadors looked deeply impressed with the way they had been received at the entrance of the empire, and explained through the interpreter that they were unable to find words to express their gratitude. At this juncture, an officer of their retinue, carrying a silver vase full of *attar*, offered it to the Commandant and to M. Possel to wash their hands. Another silver vase was also brought on a tray. This vase was divided into four compartments in which were some small grains which nobody knew, besides cinnamon and other fragrant perfumes.

M. d'Albert and M. Possel, seated in cushioned arm-chairs by the side of the ambassadors, took some of those grains which they swallowed somehow, and the other officers did the same. All the members of the Town Corporation presented themselves, one after the other. The municipality sent them a quantity of ginger bread, and a large basket full of candles, of cloves and bottles of pomatum and scents. Precisely at 6 o'clock, Their Excellencies got into the coaches with their principal officers, and were taken to the theatre by M. de Monneron and several other naval officers. A detachment of the regiment of Barrois escorted the coaches as far as the hall. By the side of the first coach were the four Swiss Guards spoken of already. Having entered the hall, the ambassadors were taken to the box of the naval commandant who was waiting for them. They were treated to a representa-

tion of 'Richard the Lion Hearted' and of the 'London Vauxhall' a great ballet pantomime. The interpreter explained everything to them, and they looked very much interested, though they seem to have liked the Quakers' Dance best.

Thursday, June 12.—At 5 p.m., two of the ambassadors with their two children and some persons of their retinue got into their coaches to go and see the Royal Foundry, accompanied by the Comte d'Albert, Messrs de Castellet and de Monneron. The coaches were escorted by detachments of the regiments of Dauphine and Barrois, and four Swiss Guards who never left the doors of the first coach. On entering the foundry, the ambassadors were saluted by a discharge of twenty-one guns. They were present at the casting of six howitzers in caronade. After having been shown round the foundry, Their Excellencies were taken to the arsenal. The guards presented arms. The guns beat a salute, and the Swiss Guards appeared with their halberets.

They also visited the park of artillery where they expressed their surprise at the number of guns; also the warehouse, the workshops, the fencing school and the corderie which impressed them by its length. Feeling tired, they got again into their coaches and returned to the hôtel. 'They seem,' writes Malouet, 'to take interest in all they see and their questions denote men anxious to learn.'

Friday, June 13.—To-day Their Excellencies visited all the factories and also the port in all its details. As arranged by M. de Coincy, as soon as they leave the hôtel, they are always escorted by detachments of the Dauphine or Barrois. At night they attended the representation of 'Azemia' at the theatre.

Saturday, June 14.—There were fireworks on the parade ground, and the interior of the ambassadors' hôtel was brilliantly lit up. At 9 p.m. the ambassadors showed themselves on the balcony of their hôtel. The naval band played several pieces. All being seated with Messrs d'Albert, de Castellet and Possel, one of the ambassadors set fire to a flying dragon, which itself set fire to the five pieces of the fireworks. The first piece represented a star of the east, the second a Maltese cross with all sorts of designs surrounding it, other pieces followed, the last one representing an arch of triumph. In the centre were two fine columns which were revolving, and at the top could be seen an Indian with a palm tree in front of him, and the moon over his head. The whole ended with a large volley of fireworks.

Sunday, June 15.—To-day the ambassadors were treated to a representation of 'The Joust and the Ring.' They seemed interested. The first ambassador was not there. Six boats had been got ready for the purpose.

¹ Richard Coeur de Lion. Opera comic in 3 Acts. Words by Sedain. Music by Gretry (1784).

² 'Azemia' Opera comic in 3 Acts. Words by Lachabeaussier. Music by Dalayrac enacted at 'The Italians' on May 3, 1787.

An enclosure was prepared in the old wet dock with five pontoons, one for Their Excellencies, the heads of departments and the ladies of the highest rank, two for officers and society people, and two for the general public. At the town hall there was an awning made of cotton cloth, which the municipality had procured purposely for the occasion, in order that the balcony where the ambassadors were, might be sheltered from the sun, as well as Madame de Coincy and the other ladies of rank, who attended the function. Later in the evening the ambassadors witnessed the representation of the 'Dot' followed by a ballet dance.

Monday, June 16.—To-day the ambassadors received another visit from the Mayor of Toulon, who begged them to accept the compliments of M. de Caraman. The admiralty gave a grand ball in their honour followed by a supper in the Hôtel de l'Intendance. The function lasted from 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Over five hundred persons were present. Their Excellencies looked much pleased, and they made some remarks on the charming manners and handsome looks of the French ladies. During the ball the chief ambassador presented a *hookah* to M. le Comte d'Albert who, to please him, smoked for a few seconds.

Tuesday, June 17.—To-day the ambassadors enjoyed from their balcony the sight of a sham fight in which the regiments of Barrois and Dauphine took part. During the fight which lasted from 6 to 8 p.m., two gunners having met with an accident, the ambassadors were much concerned as they feared that the accident might prove fatal. They sent sixty sovereigns with a letter of deep sympathy and they promised, when in Paris, to do their best to obtain a pension for them. After this exercise, the two regiments fell in and marched past Their Excellencies, who later on visited the lines. This same day the other officers were also presented to the ambassadors with the usual etiquette.

In the evening Their Excellencies witnessed the representation of 'Tableau Parlant' and of 'Mort vivant par amour.'

At the back of the stage an arch of triumph had been erected, in the middle of which were placed the king's and Tippu's portraits with an inscription in the Indian language, and also the names and titles of the ambassadors.

After the first scene a detachment of the regiment of Dauphine went through some exercises on the stage. This was followed by a Genius being

¹ La Dot. Comedy in 3 Acts. Words by Desfontaines. Music by Dalayrac, enacted at 'The Italians' on November 21 1785.

² Victor Maurice de Requet Comte de Caraman, born 1727, was the King's Commandant in Provence in 1788 and 1789, died 1807.

³ Tableau Parlant. Comedy in one Act in verse. Words by Auseaume. Music by Gretry, enacted at 'The Italians' on September 20, 1769.

let down from the ceiling to offer Their Excellencies a wreath of laurel and flowers. The children of Madame Zanini gave several dances, after which they came into the box with bunches of flowers for the ambassadors. Their Excellencies after many caresses gave sixteen sovereigns to the children.

Wednesday, June 18.—Day devoted to return visits. At the town hall they were received by the municipality. A 'Vin d'honneur' supplied by Dame Auriot at a cost of four hundred and forty-one livres was offered to the ambassadors.

Thursday, June 19.—The ambassadors were to have left to-day for Marseilles, but as their luggage was not ready, and as to-morrow Friday is an unlucky day, the departure has been postponed to Saturday.

Friday, June 20.—Their Excellencies visited the arsenal and the docks. They went on board the *Commerce de Marseille* of 118 guns, which was not quite completed and the *Triomphant* of 80 guns.

A convict, named Nicholas Bornot, well known in the harbour contrived to throw himself at the feet of the ambassadors with a petition. Their Excellencies have promised to interest themselves on his behalf. This man, convicted at the age of twenty of theft in his uncle's house, has been in jail for the last twenty-three years. He has given proof of his repentance, so his pardon will be a fine opportunity to show the Indian ambassadors the weight attached to their recommendation.

Saturday, June 21.—At 9 a.m. the ambassadors got into their coaches, after having scattered silver and gold coins among the populace. In the first coach drawn by six horses sat the first ambassador alone. The other two ambassadors were in a second coach drawn by four horses. They were rendered the same honours at their departure as at their arrival. 'It is impossible,' write the consuls of Toulon to M. de Caraman, 'to fix up any programme for the journey. Their superstitions are such, that nothing can be arranged beforehand. They have during the month so many unlucky days, on which they can hardly show themselves, that everything must be left to chance. Consequently, we have engaged by the day the carriages, which are to take them to Paris, so that, they can stop where they like, and as long as they like.'

The presence of the Indian ambassadors at Toulon, and the festivities connected with it, had attracted large crowds from the country all round. The ambassadors expressed their admiration for the cheerful French nature and their gratitude for all that had been done to please them. 'Their customs are very quaint, and one finds it strange to see them taking their meals squatting on the ground. Their clothes are made of muslin or of silk, and are very simple. Their retinue are clad in ordinary calico.'

No one knows the object of the embassy. Their instructions are kept in a casket, which they must open only at Versailles. It is supposed that they

are empowered to conclude an alliance between their master and the king of France. Nobody at Toulon has been able to see the presents they have for the king. There are seven chests. The rumour is that among those presents there are a throne made of ivory and adorned with diamonds, a sceptre and a crown made of gold and of incalculable value.'

PREPARATIONS TO CONVEY THE AMBASSADORS TO PARIS

Not only the details of the reception of the ambassadors at Toulon, but also all the arrangements necessary to convey them and their retinue to Paris devolved on the naval department in that port. At the present day, when comings and goings are mostly a matter of pleasure, and when one has seen the splendid organization of our railways, which have enabled us in August, 1914, to concentrate from every corner of France with lightning rapidity millions of men and untold quantities of war materials, it is almost impossible to form an idea of how difficult it was in 1788 to arrange for the journey of fifty people with their luggage from Toulon to Marseilles. It was M. Possel, General Commissary of the Fleet, who, in the absence of M. Malouet, was entrusted with that unpleasant task. As early as April 14, he wrote to the Admiralty, 'My Lord, in your despatch of the 4th, you have instructed me to engage all the carriages necessary to convey from Toulon to Paris Tippu Sultan's ambassadors. But I am afraid that, if their retinue of forty people is to be always with them, besides the difficulty in finding relays of horses, I shall not be able to purchase ten or twelve coaches at Marseilles. I have been asked already a lot of money for those I have tried to buy here. It should then be necessary to send some from Paris. On the other hand, if the cortège could be limited to four or five carriages and twenty-five horses, the stage coaches could be utilized for conveyance of half the retinue. I could so arrange their departure that they would reach Paris at the same time as the ambassadors.' The minister agreed with M. Possel as to dividing the cortège into two, but he advised him to procure the necessary carriages himself; 'for,' as he says, 'it would not be economical to send carriages all the way from Paris, and whatever may be the price asked for those he might buy at Marseilles, they will be cheaper than those which would be sent from Paris without counting the freight and the cost of having them overhauled on their arrival at Toulon.' To the difficulties of finding means of conveyance was added the desire not to displease the ambassadors, and in giving way to all their whims to avoid as far as possible unnecessary expenses. M. Possel explained the matter in a letter to the Comte de la Luzerne, dated June 16: 'We have come to the conclusion that it would be much more economical and at the same time more convenient to the ambassadors to travel by easy stages, and we have in consequence hired carriages and carts for them and their luggage. We have advised them not to take with them those of their servants, who are

not absolutely indispensable. These people could be sent in ordinary carriages directly to Paris without halting anywhere, and as economically as possible, whereas the ambassadors could go *via* Marseilles where they are anxious to stay for two days. Some Moors, whom they met at Malaga, have spoken of that town in such a way as to make them very anxious to see it. It is probable that they will also ask to stay two days at Lyons.

Now for the bargains made with the coach drivers; it is agreed that they will take the ambassadors to Paris for thirty livres for each carriage, but on condition that, if you adopt other measures for Their Excellencies' journey by sending some of the king's carriages to meet them or otherwise, the hired carriages will return as soon as they are no longer required. Everything having been settled satisfactorily, M. Possel was in a position to write as follows to the minister on June 21.

'Tippu Sultan's ambassadors left only this morning, having decided at the last moment to stay for two days longer. They are journeying by easy stages at their own request, and they are accompanied by M. de Monneron and one of his officers. Four coaches and one cart have been engaged for them and the principal persons of their retinue. They propose to stay only twenty-four hours at Marseilles. M. le Comte de Caraman, informed by M. le Comte d'Albert and myself of their departure, has issued orders to the mounted police of their province for their escort. I suppose that M. le duc de Clermont-Tonnerre whom we also have informed will issue the same orders in Dauphine. If your Lordship thinks of having them escorted in the same way in the other provinces, it will be necessary for Your Lordship to address directly the several commandants on the subject. I have written to the Intendance of Aix, Grenoble, Lyons and Dijon for them to see that the ambassadors may get all they want, and there may be no difficulty with regard to their luggage, which has been sealed here, and sent on with a pass from the Director.

M. de Monneron has undertaken to look after all the expenses of the ambassadors and their retinue during the journey. To that effect I have made the naval treasurer give him 15,000 livres, for which sum he will give you an account. The followers have been sent in ordinary carriages which are accompanied by carts for the luggage. At first I had thought of M. Desbois, Exempt de la Prévôté de la Marine, to look after them during the journey, as he had been previously in charge of similar missions, but having heard casually two hours before their departure that their luggage contained some very valuable articles, I have decided to have them escorted by two archers, who will return to Toulon as soon as M. Desbois, who has been instructed to command the mounted police, will be able to get some one else to take their place. I have given the Exempt detailed instructions, and, I think I have forgotten nothing useful. A mounted orderly will go in advance to make sure of accommodation at the inns, and 4,800 livres have been given him for

expenses. M. de Monneron has also given him letters on which he will be able to get at Lyons more money, if required. He has been instructed to attend to any orders you might issue during the journey and also to consult M. de Monneron, whom I presume he will meet at Lyons. I have impressed upon him that he should look most carefully after the Indians, and consult the two officers from the *Aurore* who accompany him as they are better acquainted with their temperament and their customs. The Exempt will give his accounts to M. de Monneron who, together with his own, will submit them in Paris. Their Excellencies have asked for the services of the senior medical officer, who was with them on board the *Aurore* for themselves, and those of the junior officer for their retinue. I have agreed all the more willingly as this arrangement will save expenses. I will, as early as possible, let you know the hire charges of carriages, horses and carts. I have got them rather cheap, and I am sure it would have cost much more to purchase them, whatever price we might have got in reselling them. It is understood that, in case you adopt other measures for the rest of the journey, though the arrangements made here appear to be satisfactory, the carriages will be sent back from Lyons. The ambassadors have each one his own carriage, one for the chief ambassador drawn by six horses, the others by four. As it was rather difficult to procure the necessary vans here, I have accepted two which M. Malouet and M. le Comte d'Albert have kindly placed at my disposal, and which I have had completely overhauled, so that they will be equal to a long journey. As it would have been more expensive, if the same horses had to bring them back, I have settled that they should be paid and replaced when too tired to go on, and I trust you will approve of this arrangement.

It remains only for me to submit the detailed accounts of all the expenses incurred for the reception and stay of the ambassadors at Toulon, which I shall have the honour of doing in a few days.'

TO PARIS

It is not my purpose to follow the ambassadors in every stage of their journey. It is enough to note that, whenever they halted, crowds gathered to have a look at them: the followers were ordering brandy in incredible quantities, but the inn-keepers were not slow in availing themselves of the chance. At Orgon one of them charged forty sovereigns for only one night's shelter and one meal.

We meet the ambassadors again at Marseilles where they intended staying for only twenty-four hours, but they were detained for three days, on account of the festivities got up in their honour then at Aix, at Avignon where they were received by the Pope's Legate.¹ They passed through Saint Vallier

¹ The Comtat Venaissin with Avignon as capital was then a possession of the Holy See.

Vienne, Lyons, Roanne, Moulins, Nevers, and Montargis on their way to Paris, which they reached on July 16, 1788.

In Paris they were received in a public audience by the king on August 3, 1788. An account of their stay in the capital has been published in the *Revue de Paris* of January 15, 1899. I may, perhaps, at some future date, translate it for the benefit of the readers of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*.

A medal was presented to each of the ambassadors. By kind permission of Mir Mahomed Habibulla Sahib, Khan Bahadur, a distinguished gentleman of Krishnagiri (Salem District), Mittadar of Bevuhally, and grandson of Ghulam Sahib, nephew of one of the ambassadors, I have the good fortune to be able to reproduce it here. It is kept carefully as an heirloom in his family. The medal is about three inches in diameter and one-eighth of an inch thick. On one side is the king's head, looking to the right, a full-bottomed wig not detracting from the nobility of feature and bearing which the sculptor has well rendered. The throat is open and drapery is gracefully arranged round the bust after the antique. The inscription is 'Ludovicus XVI Franc. et Nav. Rex and under the bust the artist's name "Du Vivier" (fecit). On the reverse is the head of Marie Antoinette, looking to the left. The hair is not dressed so high as in the du Barry style, and is evidently supported on rolls in the front, while the back is arranged in short curls and tied with a riband, two loops of pearls hanging at the sides. The neck is bare and ornamented with two strings of precious stones. The bodice appears to be ornamented with lace and precious stones, and on the shoulders, drawn to the back, is a mantle marked with Fleurs-de-lys. The artist has not been so successful with the queen as with the king, the curvature of the forehead in profile, exactly matching that of the nerves, being overdone. If she had the Austrian full lip, the sculptor has reduced it. The inscription is Mar. Anton. Austr. Franciae et Navarr. Regina' and underneath 'Du Vivier 1781.'

Perhaps the ambassadors had a presentiment of the fate waiting for them on their return. In any case, they did not seem anxious to leave the delights of this new Capua. It was only on October 9 that they left the French Capital to sail on October 11 from Brest on board the frigate *Le Thetys* commanded by M. de Macnamarca.

The embassy departed without having attained its object. Ill-fated Louis XVI, in the midst of financial difficulties, which were the immediate cause of the French revolution which broke out the following year, contented himself with cementing more closely the alliance between France and Mysore promising to accede to the request of his ally, when circumstances were more favourable. Thus was lost another and last chance for France firmly to establish her influence in India.

¹ Description taken from the *Gazetteer of the Salem District*, p. 493.

BACK TO SERINGAPATAM

A French historian of Mysore, J. Michaud, in his *History of the Rise and the Fall of Mysore*, Paris, 1801, 2 vol. in 8vo tells us how the ambassadors were rewarded for all they had done for their country.

'The ambassadors reached Seringapatam in May, 1789. As they had not been successful in the object of their mission, bringing back only vain protestations of friendship on the part of France, they were not favourably received by the Sultan. The Indian envoys had excited the curiosity of France, but, on the other hand, France had interested them to a supreme degree. At Tippu's Court they were for ever speaking of the splendour of the French Court, of the arsenals, the large armies, the flourishing manufacturing towns, the populous and handsome cities of France. The comparison between the Versailles of Louis XVI and the Seringapatam of Tippu, could not leave the Mysore Sultan indifferent. The relation of their voyage couched in the pompous language of the east excited the interest of the people, but also the utmost indignation of Tippu. He liked the French only so far as he could make use of them, but on the whole they were included in the blind hatred he bore to all Europeans. He thought of himself as one of the greatest potentates of the world, and he could not bear to hear that, in the west, there was a Christian kingdom more powerful and more prosperous than his own. He issued strict orders that the ambassadors should cease speaking of France in such glowing terms. His orders not having been complied with to his satisfaction, and the rumour of the glories of France continuing to spread among the people, Tippu swore to be revenged on his unfaithful ambassadors. While walking one day with Akbar Ali Khan and Mahomed Oosman Khan, he caused them to be stabbed by one of his own servants, afterwards causing a rumour to be spread to the effect that they had betrayed their master.'

Soon after Tippu renewed the war invading the territories of the rajah of Travancore, who was an ally of the English. The English came to the assistance of the Hindu rajah, and Tippu besieged in his capital, had to sign (May 18, 1792) a peace, which cost him half his dominion and a huge war indemnity. These reverses embittered the Sultan still more against the English, and he sought everywhere for enemies to those who had conquered him. He attempted to get help from the French Republic through the Governor of Mauritius, but the English having come to know of his intrigues declared war again on February 3, 1799. The French troops sent to his assistance were composed mostly of adventurers and could not prevent the fall of Tippu. Defeated on March 27, 1799, he was again besieged in his capital where he resisted for over one month. A breach having been made in the rampart, the English captured the town on May 4, 1799.

Tippu showed the utmost personal bravery. Wounded several times, he was left for dead among a heap of corpses. It is said that he was shot by a

soldier who did not know who he was. With him fell an empire founded by the patient and bold genius of his father.

THE BILL TO PAY

As soon as Tippu's ambassadors had left Toulon, steps had to be taken to settle up the bills in connexion with the festivities held in their honour, and also their installation in the Hôtel du Commandant.

The minister, who on June 28 expressed to M. le Comte d'Albert and M. Possel the king's satisfaction at the manner his orders had been carried out during the stay of the ambassadors at Toulon, as nothing had been left undone that was calculated to give them a very good opinion of France, was not quite so pleased when, one month later, he was informed that the sojourn of the ambassadors at Toulon had been rather costly. He asked for the accounts to be sent to him without delay as he wanted to repay at once the sum advanced by the Port authorities. To those were added the 15,000 livres advanced to M. de Monneron, 4,800 advanced to the Exempt de la Prévôté and 1,200 to M. Sagui who had asked for that sum in order to get the carriages ready.

On July 31 M. Possel sent the Comte de La Luzerne the complete accounts. The minister replied as follows:—

'I have received, Sir, with your letter of the 31st ultimo, the accounts in connexion with the expenditure incurred on the occasion of the reception and stay at Toulon of the Indian ambassadors.

They amount to 1,06,475 livres 14 sols and 9 deniers, of which 85,475 livres, 14 sols and 9 deniers will be debited to Toulon, the remaining 21,000 will be paid by the general treasurer. You must have seen by this month's accounts that I have budgeted for 60,000 livres. I hope to order, before long, payment of the balance as well as of the 21,000 livres advanced to Messrs. de Monneron, Sagui, d'Estourees and Desbois.'

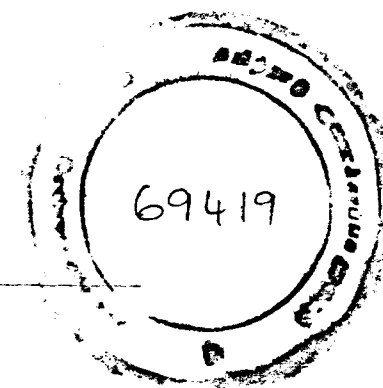
The detailed accounts sent to the minister are not forthcoming, but those connected with the furnishing of the Hôtel du Commandant are still extant, and they throw an interesting light on the cost of living at Toulon at the end of the eighteenth century, and also of what was considered necessary at that time for the furnishing of an official residence.

The minister was not pleased with those expenses, and on December 26, he wrote to M. Possel 'You will be so good as to observe and to bring to the notice of the naval authorities at Toulon, that the admiralty has good reasons to be surprised and displeased that, on the occasion of the passage of the ambassadors, instead of hiring the required furniture, so many very expensive articles should have been purchased outright.'

The admiralty decided that all the articles purchased except the fixtures should be sold by auction. But that order did not prevent the Comte d'Albert

keeping as many articles as he could, furnishing his hôtel in a grand style at the expense of Government.

Among those things that were to be auctioned the Comte d'Albert and M. Malouet made a selection, which was not sent to the auction room, but valued at the *pro rata* value of similar objects. They also took good care to debit Government with the cost of their old fashioned carriages, which proves that, while serving the king, those gentlemen were not above looking after their own sundry perquisites, which also, together with the official friction mentioned above, shows that no matter the time, and no matter the clime, always and everywhere, human nature is pretty much the same.



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②: 1 on N109

N107

THE BĀBĀ-BUDAN MOUNTAIN

BY RAO BAIADUR R. A. NARASIMHACHARYA, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE Bābā-Budan mountain, situated in the west of the Kadur District of the Mysore State, is well known as a place of pilgrimage to both the Hindus and the Muhammadans. According to the *Purāṇic* account it is a portion of the mountain which, on account of its life-restoring medicinal herbs, was taken to Lankā by Hanumān during the war of Rāma with the demon king Rāvaṇa in order to resuscitate the monkeys rendered quite helpless by the snake arrows of Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa. The place of the greatest sanctity on the mountain is the cave containing the *pīṭha* or seat of the saint Dattātrēya, son of Atri, believed to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This cave, which is supposed to have been his hermitage, faces to the south and has a small porch in front. According to the Muhammadans, what is known as Dattātrēya *pīṭha* is the throne or tomb of their saint Hazrat Dādā Hayāt Mīr Qalandar. Some naively say that Dattātrēya is nothing but a corruption of Dādā Hayāt Mīr.

The cave is low, being only four or five feet high. Descending a few steps into the cave, we turn to the right and reach a small doorway beyond which we are not allowed to go. On our left hand side is a raised platform, vacant, to some distance and having a number of tombs further on. Within the small doorway mentioned above, is a wide circular area with another small doorway opposite to us which is said to lead to Mecca. To the right of the latter doorway is the seat of Dattātrēya with a natural spring to its right, intended for the ablutions of the saint, which is said to overflow during the rainy season, the excess water going out of the cave through an underground channel. To the right of the spring, again, is a vacant platform intended for the disciples of the saint. To the left of the Mecca doorway, is a niche in which are kept the silver-plated sandals of the saint. Turning to the left side of the cave and proceeding a little distance, we reach a platform where it is said a certain Muhammadan princess used to distribute cakes among *fakīrs* unseen. A little further on is a dark well, about five feet deep, known as *Gandhādā bāvi*, or the sandal well, because the earth taken out of it has the colour and, in some degree, the odour of sandal. The story goes that the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāḷa, who lived in the fortress on the mountain, having heard of the beauty of a Muhammadan princess named Mamājuni, daughter of Jān

Pākusāyī, the ruler of the Tavagān country, who had been betrothed to the Bādshāh of Delhi, wanted to get possession of her, and with this object sent some men who contrived to bring her away while asleep on her couch. The cool breeze of the mountain awaking her, she learnt from the men the purpose for which she had been brought there and prayed to God that she might be made to look a very ugly creature when seen by Vīra-Ballāḷa. Her prayer was granted and the king ordered the ugly creature to be given away to the *fakīr* of the mountain, namely, saint Dādā Hayāt Mīr Qalandar. The latter took her under his care and directed her to distribute cakes among *fakīrs* unseen through an aperture of the cave, seated on the platform mentioned above. On one occasion a mischievous *fakīr* seized her outstretched hand, whereupon his head became severed from the body by the curse of the Qalandar. After this incident the distribution of cakes by the princess was ordered to be discontinued. On being informed of what had taken place by the Qalandar, the father of the princess came with a large army, defeated Vīra-Ballāḷa and handed over his insignia to the Qalandar. The worship of the seat in the cave is conducted invariably by an unmarried man or *fakīr*, the things offered in worship being sugar, sweetmeat, plantains, cocoanuts and incense. On Mondays and Thursdays the worship is carried on both morning and evening, while on other days it is carried on in the evening only.

In front of the entrance to the cave is lying a thick slab broken into two pieces. The reason for the breaking of the stone is stated to be the large number of cocoanuts broken on it during the visit of the Mysore King Krishṇa-Rāja-Odeyar III (1799 to 1868). Near the slab is a short mortar pillar into the west face of which is built a stone engraved with a Persian inscription bearing the date A.H. 336 (A.D. 1005), the year in which, according to tradition, the sacred place was occupied by the Muhammadan saint. The date is also indicated by the chronogram *Jāgīr sālikīn*, i.e. *Jāgīr* granted to a saint. Though bearing this early date, judging by the script and by the words *Dattātrēya* and *Dādā* in English and modern Kannada characters at the end, the inscription appears to have been engraved but recently. It may be rendered thus:—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Allāh: Muḥammad: Alī: Fatimāh: Hasan: Husain. Verse recording the date of the hillock (apparently the cave) of Hazrat Mīr Qalandar—may God hallow his grave! 'Whoever recognizes his own self, etc.,' is a saying of the Prophet: 'Thou and I live together in heaven' are the words of our Lord. That which is the essence of revelation, miracle and the opening of heart is on the hillock of Hayāt Mīr Qalandar.

The full saying of the Prophet, of which a portion is given above, is—Whoever recognizes his own self, recognizes God.

Higher up to the south of the cave are a number of tombs on both sides of the flight of steps leading to the *maṭha* of the *svāmi*. Here is another Persian inscription in the shape of an epitaph recording the death, on the fourteenth day of the month of Jumād-al-akhir of A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830), of Hazrat Sayyid Mirān Shāh Qādiri, son of Hazrat Sayyid Jamāl Shāh Qādiri, Sajjadāh (recognized successor) of the shrine of Hazrat Mir Hayāt Qalandar. The *maṭha* is said to have been built or restored by the Ikkēri queen Chennammāji (1671 to 1697). The present *svāmi*, named Sayyid Murtājā Shāh Qādiri Sajjadāh, wears a beard, his title being *Śrī-Dattātrēya-svāmi-Bābā-Buḥan-svāmi Jagadguru*. Only Sayyids can be the *svāmīs* of the *maṭha*: either Husainis or Qādiris, the descendants of Husain or Hasan, sons of Ali. After initiation a Qādiri becomes Shāh Qādiri; and on occupying the apostolic seat he is styled Sajjadāh. No unmarried man can become the *svāmi* of the *maṭha*. Dādā Hayāt Mir Qalandar is said to have appointed Bābā-Buḥan as his successor. Jāgar in the Chickmagalur Taluk of the Kadur District is said to be a corruption of the word *jāgīr*, that portion of the taluk having once been granted as a *jāgīr* to the *maṭha*. Hyder is said to have granted the village Dāsarhalli and Krishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III the village Sūlaguppe to the *maṭha*. Two silver maces in the *maṭha* bear inscriptions stating that they were presents from Krishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III. It appears that the ancestors of the present *svāmi* had once their *maṭha* at Delhi, which was in later times removed to Dodḍa Mēdūr, a village in the Belur Taluk of the Hassan District. The *svāmi* generally lives at Attigunḍi, a village at the foot of the mountain. It is stated that the *svāmi* has in his possession *sanads* granted to the *maṭha* by Humayun, Akbar, the Ikkēri chiefs, Hyder, Tippu and Krishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III.

To the left of the *maṭha* is the *Bhaṇḍārkhāna* or storehouse, where provisions are stored. Muhammadan pilgrims are fed twice a day for four days, other pilgrims being given rations for three days. A Persian inscription at the entrance to the *Bhaṇḍārkhāna*, dated A.H. 1269 (A.D. 1852), commemorates in verse the construction of the building. It may be rendered thus:—

The Sajjadāh Mashīn (spiritual descendant) of the holy mountain of Hazrat Budhan, i.e. Hazrat Shāh Sayyid Ghauth, the guiding Shaikh, built a beautiful spring-house on the mountain, the envy of Tur, for the comfort of the people. The house is indeed, a most comfortable place of rest. God has blessed the abode of the Qalandar with distinction from Eternity; hence it has been a place of pilgrimage for the high and low. Lo! I saw the holy place, and my bountiful teacher Nusrat ordered me to compose a chronogram relative to it. The hint of my teacher is for my honour: when I meditated about the chronogram, this voice came from Heaven—'The house based on beneficence.'

There are always about ten or twelve Muhammadans near the cave on the mountain for the purpose of cooking food for the pilgrims of their own faith; but they are not permitted to live there with their wives and children.

There are three *tīrthas* on the mountain, namely Gadā-tīrtha, about a mile to the north-east of the cave, Kāmana-tīrtha and Nellikayi-tīrtha, both about two miles to the east. The first *tīrtha* is in the form of a tank which is known as Palāgtalāv among the Muhammadans. The excess water flows through the Jāgar valley and joins the Bhadrā river. It is called Gadā-tīrtha because, according to tradition, it was brought into existence by Bhīma with his *gadā* or mace on account of his thirsty mother Kunti during the exile of the Pāṇḍavas. The second *tīrtha* is a waterfall. It flows through the Chickmagalur Taluk and joins the Ayyankere tank near Sakkarepatna in the Kadur Taluk. Near this *tīrtha* is the site of an old city on which old bricks and pieces of pottery are strewn about and occasionally coins, too, are said to be picked up. The third *tīrtha* is so named because water falls there in big drops in the shape of the *nelli* (emblic myrobalan) fruit.

The Bābā Buḥan mountain has been rightly called the cradle of the coffee plantation of South India. The man who first brought coffee to Mysore is said to be Hazrat Shāh Jāma Allāh Mazarabi. According to tradition coffee began to be cultivated on the mountain in A.D. 1385 during the reign of the Vijayanagar King Harihara II; and it is stated that a *nirūp* or order was issued by this king to the officers concerned directing them to allow free the articles brought for the use of the *maṭha* in exchange for the coffee seeds grown on the mountain. It is further stated that a stone inscription was set up during the reign of the Vijayanagar King Krishṇa-Dēva-Rāya (1509 to 1529) permitting the cultivation of coffee within certain limits on the mountain as in the previous reigns without any molestation from the Government officers. But no such inscription has as yet been found. It is, however, interesting to note that tradition carries the cultivation of coffee on this mountain as far back as the close of the fourteenth century.

THE HISTORY OF SRI VAISHNAVISM

From the death of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika to the present day

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INTRODUCTION

IN the last two numbers of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* an attempt was made by me to trace the historical evolution of Śrī Vaishnavism from the death of Rāmānuja to the death of Vēdānta Dēśika. The various circumstances under which the sectarianism of Vaishnavism came into existence, the activities and achievements of the leaders who worked for the traditional and the innovating schools, and the place occupied by Vēdānta Dēśika both in the internal history and the external relations of the creed have been described in detail. The object of the present thesis is to trace the development of the two phases of the religion still further, to describe the institutions which were established and maintained for the preservation and propaganda of the objects and ideals of each, and to consider the growth of sub-sects among the two broad schools. A large number of scholars and writers, poets and philosophers, who adorned the land during these times, and their works, are given, and an attempt is made to ascertain the influence which the movements of different orthodox families had on the destinies and fortunes of the creeds to which they belonged. It will be seen from this essay that, however lamentable the trend of development has been in Śrī Vaishnavism, it is not without lessons to the student of religion. It will show again and again what the historic evolution of every other religion in the world shows, that religious evolution is nothing but a history of actions and reactions, of movements and counter-movements, brought forth by the needs of the times and fostered by the men of the times; and while the true votary of Viṣṇu feels pain at the growing divergency of his co-religionists, he cannot but feel admiration for the large number of literary and religious luminaries who were at the bottom of the movements and who gave a lustre to the intellectual atmosphere of the country. The critical historian will, of course, see in many of them, especially in those of the eighteenth

century onward, votaries of extreme sectarianism, with whose spirit he will hardly sympathize; but he will not be a true historian if he yields to the prejudice and ignores the men who figure therein. From the purely literary point at least they deserve the attention of the student of research; and if the present essay appears to be somewhat discursive and prosaic, it is hoped that sufficient indulgence will be given for the spirit which underlies it and the industry it has cost.

A few words are perhaps necessary to state the general plan of the treatment of this vast subject. In the first section I have traced the fortunes of the orthodox school in the time of the immediate successors of Vēdānta Dēśika. The second section is devoted to the growth and organization of the Prabandhic movement under Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. The two next sections are devoted to the orthodox reactions under the Parakāla and Ahobila mathas, on the one hand, and the counter-activities of the Vānamāmalai and other Prabandhic institutions on the other. The last section is devoted to the rise of the *Munitrayasampradāya* within the ranks of Vāḍagalaism itself. The whole ends with an attempt to describe Śrī Vaishnavism as it is.

SECTION I.

The development of the Dēśika cult under Nainār Achārya.

ON the death of Vēdānta Dēśika in 1369 his position as head of the Śrī Vaishnavas was assumed by his son Varadāchārya or Nainār, a person who had already gained distinction as scholar and teacher and who was yet to win greater distinction as organizer and controversialist. Nainār had for his immediate object the apotheosis of his father and predecessor. Prompted by the feeling that the gratitude of the Śrī Vaishnavas would hardly demur to the deification of the deceased saint, he proceeded to establish his worship as part of the worship of the divinity. For a year he stayed at Śrīraṅgam and then set out on an extensive tour with a view to fulfil his desire. In the course of his journey he came to Sarvagā Śingappa,¹ the disciple and admirer of his father. Śingappa bestowed upon Nainār the honours and privileges of royalty, so that the pilgrimage of the Āchārya came to be, unlike that of his father, a grand and pompous procession. In the numerous royal courts he visited Nainār distinguished his father's glory by citing the authority of his erudition in his victorious disputations with rival religious leaders. Tanjore was one of the places which he thus honoured with a long visit. Induced to stay there by the liberality of the king, he signalized his period of sojourn by issuing an epochal regulation in regard to the Dēśika cult. A

¹ Vēdānta Dēśika had written the *Subhāshitanī* and other works for this chief and Nainār imitated his father in encouraging his services to the orthodox school. For a discussion of the question of the identity of Sarvagā Śingappa, see my article on Vēdānta Dēśika, *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, 1915-6; Prof. Seshagiri Sastry's *Sansk. Tam. MSS.*, 1897, pp. 7-10.

Vaishṇava Brahman of the place came to him and asked him what were the purification utterances to be made in case the twelfth and thirteenth days' ceremonials of a man's death fell after Kārtikai Kṛittikā.¹ In consultation with his friend and co-disciple Brahmatantra² Svatantra Jiyar, Nainār Āchārya counselled him to recite the *Tanīyans* of the *Nālāyiraprabandha* composed by Tirukkumhaippirān Pillān and supplement them with the *Prabandhas* of Dēśika. The difficulty of reciting the *Dēśikaprabandha*, however, was great, as his works were scattered and scarce. Nainār, therefore, collected 121 of his works, and classified them, for purposes of reference and studies, under six heads, —thirty-two *stūttas*, eight *kāryas*, twenty-four treatises on daily life, thirty-two *Rahasyas*, twenty-four *Prabandhas* and one *Bhagavadvishaya*. Nainār further ruled that in the recitation of the *Prabandhas* on the funeral ceremonials of the twelfth and thirteenth days, Dēśika's treatises should be included. To these he added the panegyric poem of *Pillai-andādi*³ which he himself composed on Vēdānta Dēśika. In the temple of Nilamēgha at Tanjore this regulation was proposed and formally accepted by all. From this time onward the *Dēśikaprabandha* was joined to the *Nālāyiraprabandha* in worship and in ceremonials, and the name of Vēdānta Dēśika was joined to the Ālvārs and Rāmānuja in popular and daily worship. The establishment of an image of Dēśika in Nilamēgha's shrine—it had been already done at Śrīraṅgam—was another distinct step in this direction.

The career of Nainār and Brahmatantra Svatantra was devoted to the development of the Dēśika cult which they began in this manner. They visited Tirukkōṭṭiyār, Tirumalirunjōlai, and Madura where they defeated certain Advaitins who objected to the celebration of Periaḷvar festival, and established Dēśika's image in the temples of these places. At Tirunagari, Śrīvilliputtūr, and holy places in the Kēraḷa country they performed similar settlements. In the Kēraḷa capital, we are told, Nainār's people were subjected to much trouble by his opponents who resorted to black magic, but his skill was able to put them to shame and defeat. From Kēraḷa the teacher proceeded to Mysore. Here at Mēlkote⁴ and elsewhere, he induced the temple

¹ The necessity for the question arose in the fact that the repetition of the *Tiruvāymoli* is prohibited in that season.

² His original name was Pērarūḷāla Aiyā. In the time of Dēśika he had become a *Sanyāsin* disciple of his and received from his teacher the title of Brahmatantra Svatantra in consequence of his victory over Advaitins. Far older than Nainār, he had still become his disciple, with Dēśika's permission, in respect of the *Bhagavadvishaya*, in K. 4440, *Bahudhānya*.

³ A poem of 20 stanzas in Andādi metre. It corresponds to the *Rāmānuja nūrrandadi* and is studied with great interest by all scholars of the Vāḍagalai sect. It has also been compared to Madhura Kavi's *Kaṇṇinūṇ Śīrutlambu*. It has been printed.

⁴ It is difficult to prove these statements from epigraphical evidences. Some of these very works are attributed by epigraphy to others. The image of Vēṅkatanātha in the Narasimha temple at Śrīraṅgapatam, e.g. is attributed to a later member of the Parakṣa Māṭha. See *Mys. Ep. Rep.*, 1911-2, p. 61.

priests and authorities to construct shrines for Dēśika. The 'conquest of all regions' was over, and Nainār returned to Conjeeveram, the place where his predecessors had shone with such glory, and introduced the *Dēśikaprabandha* in the temple-worship. The indefatigable activity of the Āchārya was successful in bringing about a similar state of things at Tiruvahindrapuram, Madhurāntakam, Tūppil, Śrīperumbūdūr, etc.

The *Guruparampara* of the Vāḍagalai school says that an incident happened, at this stage, which led to the parting of Nainār with Brahmatantra Svatantra Jiyar and the establishment of a *māṭha* of his own at Tirupati. The Lord of Tirupati, it is said, appeared before the Jiyar and the temple authorities, and desired that he should be entrusted with the management of the temple. He, therefore, settled at Tirupati, constructed a *māṭha* there for his disciples, and propagated the Dēśika cult. Years he spent in this manner till death seized him. He was succeeded as abbot by one of his disciples, Pērarūḷālan Appai under the title of *Dvitiya Brahmatantra Svatantra Jiyar* but as he also, on account of old age, died soon, the majority of his disciples came back to Nainār at Conjeeveram.

Meanwhile Nainār had gained a number of triumphs over Advaitins in the course of his pilgrimage. He defeated them at Sarvagña Śingappa's court, and took advantage of his victory to impart to that chief certain secret doctrines which had hitherto not been taught. This success was followed by another equally striking success. One Śākalyamalla,¹ we are told, who was unable to defeat him in disputation on this occasion, used magic as his weapon and made the palanquin-bearers of the Āchārya unable to discharge their mission by threatening them with a Brahmarakshas; but Nainār whose skill had baffled even the magicians of Malabar proved a victor and had the pleasure of having his opponent for his disciple. The conversion of a non-Vaishṇavite Brahman, Dāsa Rāja by name, the composition of a treatise called *Sarārthasaṅgraha* for his sake, and the vanquishing of religious rivals in the courts of the Telugu kings of the north, are other incidents mentioned in the *Guruparampara* before his return to Conjeeveram. It was after this event that the Dvitiya Brahmatantra Svāmi died, as has been already mentioned, at Tirupati and that his disciples came to Nainār.

The activity of Nainār at Conjeeveram recalled the days of his father. Endowed with talents which were naturally rich and which had been trained by the greatest scholar of his age, he was in every way fitted to adorn the place of his father. A large number of works testifies both to his erudition

¹ For a reference to Śākalyamalla and a work attributed to him *Udāra-Rāghava*, see Prof. Seshagiri Sastri's *Rep. Sansk. Tam. MSS.*, No. 1, 1893-7, pp. 3-4. Śākalyamalla had also the titles of Kavimalla and Mallayārya. He was the son of one Mādhava and had, it is said, a vision to the effect that Rāma taught him the Sāhityasāstra. Hence his writing the beautiful poem *Udāra-Rāghava*. See also Prof. Bhandarkar's *Lists of Sans. MSS.*, 1893.

and his industry,—the *Sārārthasaṁgraha*,¹ the *Abhayapradānasāra*,² the *Vīrōlhaparihāra*,³ the *Prabandhasāra*,⁴ the *Tattvatrayachūlakam*,⁵ the *Rahasyatrayachūlakam*,⁶ the *Āhāranīyamam*,⁷ the *Nyāsatīlakaśākyāna*,⁸ the *Saṁyabrahmasamarthanam*,⁹ the *Śaṅkāśatakam*,¹⁰ the *Abhētakhaṇḍanām*,¹¹ the *Avidyākhaṇḍanam*,¹² the *Tyāgaśabdārthanirṇayam*,¹³ the *Tattva-muktākalāpaśānti*,¹⁴ the *Adhikaraṇachintāmaṇi*,¹⁵ the *Mīmāṃsāpādukā-paritrāṇam*,¹⁶ the *Harīṇasandēśam*,¹⁷ the *Kōkīlasandēśam*,¹⁸ etc. Besides these he wrote six treatises on the greatness of his father:—the *Dēśikamaṅgalāśāśana*,¹⁹ the *Prārthanāśṭakam*,²⁰ the *Dēśikaprapatti*,²¹ the *Dīnācharya*,²² the *Dēśikarīgrahadhyaṇa*,²³ and the *Pillai-andādi*. Equally erudite in Sanskrit and in Tamil, equally at home in composition and in controversy, equally able in industry and in organization, Nainār Āchārya was an object of admiration to his followers and terror to his opponents. Many of his literary works were Sanskrit renderings of his father's Tamil and Maṇipravāla treatises and designed to appeal to a wider world.

Nainār Āchārya closed his illustrious²⁴ career in the year *Jaya* corresponding to A.D. 1415. He should have been about ninety-nine years of age at his death. No teacher ever died with greater reason for satisfaction at his own past and achievements, and none with a more genuine yearning to

¹ A brief elucidation in Sanskrit of the principles of the *Rahasyatrayasāra*.

² This is Sanskrit version of Dēśika's work of that name. It deals with the *Vibhīṣaṇa-śaraṇāgati* and its significance.

³ This is also a free Sanskrit rendering of Dēśika's Maṇipravāla work of the same name.

⁴ On the Ālvārs and their Prabandhas, similar to 2 and 3.

^{5, 6 and 7} These are free Sanskrit translations of Dēśika's works of the same name.

⁸ A commentary on Dēśika's *Nyāsatīlaka*, on Śaraṇāgati.

⁹ A work on the personal attributes of the Lord, with a view to show that the Brahman is a personal God and not Nirguṇa as the Māyāvādīs say.

¹⁰ A treatise on doubts likely to arise in men's minds and replies to them.

¹¹ A refutation of the Advaitic doctrine of the oneness of *Jīvātma* and *Paramātmā*.

¹² A work refuting the Advaitic doctrine that *Jīva* is Brahman under illusion.

¹³ A treatise on the meaning of the word *Tyāga* or renunciation, which occurs in the *Gitā* (सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य).

¹⁴ In elucidation of Dēśika's philosophic work *Tattvamuktākalāpa*.

¹⁵ A gloss on the *Brahmasūtra*.

¹⁶ An exposition of Dēśika's *Mīmāṃsāpādukā*.

^{17 and 18} These works were evidently in imitation of Dēśika's *Hamsasandēśa*. They seem to have been lost.

¹⁹ Benedictory verses in Sanskrit on Dēśika, twelve in number.

²⁰ Eight verses of prayer to Dēśika.

²¹ It deals with the *Śaraṇāgati* or self-surrender to the grace of the Āchārya. It consists of ten Sanskrit verses.

²² A description of Dēśika's daily habits in twenty-two Sanskrit verses.

²³ This is a description of Dēśika's person and shows the extreme devotion of Nainār Āchārya to his father and teacher. It contains fourteen verses and is, as usual, dignified and erudite in style.

²⁴ *Jaya*, Paṅguni, Kṛishṇa-saptami.

leave the world. His ambition as well as his pride had been richly gratified by what he had been able to achieve, by his realization that, in the opinion of his following, he had followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. And no other commentary is needed to demonstrate his greatness than that his departure from the world was the sign of a tremendous Prabandhic activity which resulted in the dethronement of orthodoxy from its supreme place at Śrīraṅgam. Nainār had indeed appointed, just before his death, his able disciples Prativādhayaṅkaram Appa, Ghaṭikāśatam Ammal (Varadāchārya, the grandson of that Varadāchārya who was Āchārya before Ātrēya Rāmānuja) and Kḍāmbi Nainār; but able as these were, they could not successfully stem the advancing tide of the Prabandhic movement. With the death of Nainār, thus, we come to the close of that long line of Āchāryas who began with Nātha Muni and who represented the unity of Śrī Vaishṇavism.

SECTION II

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PRABANDHIC PARTY

The activities of Nainār and Brahmatantra Svatantra Jīyar were looked upon with aversion by a strong and growing section of the Vaishṇava community. It has been already mentioned how in the early days of Dēśika there arose a partisan movement under Pillai Lōkāchārya or rather his brother Aḷagia Perumāl Nainār, at Śrīraṅgam, and how Vēdānta Dēśika preferred a life of self-exile at Satyamangalam to one of controversy with men who professed his own creed. It is highly probable that the party of Aḷagia Perumāl Nainār would have transformed themselves into a distinct community if they had been allowed to carry on their work in peace. But a variety of reasons prevented such a tendency towards rigidity. The early death of Aḷagia Perumāl,¹ in the first place, removed the guiding spirit, the dynamic force of the whole movement. His brother Pillai Lōkāchārya was indeed of the same views; but he was too strong an admirer of Vēdānta Dēśika² and too broad-minded a Vaishṇava to be the ideal leader of a purely sectarian creed. He indeed became the champion of the new party, but under his lead it was not so aggressive or bigoted as in the days of his brother. Secondly, the self-exile of Vēdānta Dēśika removed opposition and went to produce an abeyance of vigorous activity. Above all, there came, in 1327, the Muhammadan capture and sack of Śrīraṅgam. The god himself was compelled to fly for refuge, and Pillai Lōkāchārya, with a number of devoted disciples, followed the deity to Madura. On the way, we have already seen,

¹ *Yatīndrapravanaprabhāra*, p. 10.

² This is clear in the fact that he studied the *Bhāṣya* under Dēśika and that he composed a *Tanīyan* of panegyric verse in his honour.

he died in the village of Jyōtishkuḍi. His death was immediately followed by the disorganization of his flock. The man who was to succeed him and to carry on the movement, Tiruvāymoḷi Piḷḷai or Śrī Śailēśa, as he was called, was not yet risen. He was still, as the *Yatīndrapraṇāprabhāva* puts it, an official at Madura and living a life of worldliness and sensual pleasure. Years were to pass before he was to renounce the pomp and pleasures of a secular lord to the spiritual authority and piety of a religious leader. Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, therefore, contented himself with the choice of certain disciples of his for preparing the way for the reform and elevation of the future leader. He appointed one Kūra Kulōttama dāsa to teach him the *Bhāshyas* and their meanings; Tirukaṇṇaṅguḍi Piḷḷai and Tirupputkūḷi Jīyar to teach the *Tirūvāymoḷi*; Nālur Piḷḷai to expound to him the commentaries on the *Nalayira Prabandha*, and Vḷanjōlai Piḷḷai to impart instruction on *Saptakādai*¹ and other works. After making these arrangements, Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya departed from the world.

Kūrakulōttama Dāsa promptly proceeded to discharge the duties entrusted to him. He went to Madura and found in Śrīśailēśa a shameless debauchee. Reciting the sacred *Tiruviruttam*, however, before him, he drew the attention of the abandoned man, and was asked by him to be favoured with its meaning. Kūrakulōttama Dāsa, with a view to provoke the curiosity of the suppliant, proudly spat at him and refused to answer, saying that he was unfit to learn it! Śrīśailēśa however was nobly obstinate. When on one occasion he went round the city, he happened to meet Dāsa. As soon as he saw him, he alighted from his elephant, fell at his feet and implored his grace. Kūrakulōttama Dāsa now felt that the time for fulfilling his preceptor's mandate was come. He, therefore, condescended to take Śrīśailēśa home, and teach him the lessons he had learned from Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya. One day, we are informed, Śrīśailēśa was unable, in consequence of his official duties, to attend to his teacher. The latter was displeased, and did not go the next day to his disciple's residence. The former thereupon proceeded on foot to his teacher's home, and after a long waiting, received pardon, and a mandate to mess with certain other disciples of his master. As the result of this, we are informed, the disciple had a spiritual awakening. He abandoned his office and riches, and looking on his teacher as his God, proceeded to the village of Śikkil where the latter lived, and spent his days there in his company. Years passed in this manner, till Kūrakulōttama Dāsa took leave of the world. The dying teacher counselled his disciple to go to Tirukkannāṅguḍi Piḷḷai and Tirupputkūḷi Jīyar for learning certain other lessons in the *Prabandhas*. Śrīśailēśa then went to the first of these two scholars and learnt from him the general and

¹ The *Saptakādai* is a work of 'seven Tamil stanzas containing the gist of the teachings of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya as given in his *Śrī vacanabhūṣaṇam*.' *Trienn. Catal.*, 1913, p. 219.

broad meanings of the *Nālāyiraprabandha*. He had not the fortune to study under the other scholar, however, as the latter had died just a few days before his arrival at Tirupputkūḷi. But Providence had arranged for an equally efficient substitute. For just at the time of Śrīśailēśa's arrival at Conjeeveram, Nālūr Piḷḷai of Tirunārāyaṇapuram and his son Āchchān Piḷḷai, great scholars in the *Prabandha*, had come there for the worship of God Varadarāja. Śrīśailēśa proceeded with them to Mysore and learnt from them the history and the details of the 36,000. After this, the indefatigable scholar went for the south. He restored the idol of Śaṭhakōpa of Ālvār-Tirunagari to its original place from its refuge at Tirukkuṇāmbi,¹ and revived the prosperity of that holy place. Proceeding then to Trevandrum, he studied the *Saptakādai* under Vḷanjōlai Piḷḷai, who had dedicated his life to the service of Padmanābha.

Śrīśailēśa had now completed his studies and came to be considered the undisputed leader of the school of which Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya had been the head. It is difficult to say, owing to the absence of chronology in orthodox treatises, how long Śrīśailēśa was an officer, how long a student, and how long the leader of his school. It is certain, however, that at the time of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya's death, i.e. about A.D. 1327, he was a young man,² entirely absorbed in a life of luxury and sensual pleasure. Supposing that his reform by Kūrakulōttama Dāsa took place seven or eight years after, it is evident that *Tirumalai* must have formally begun his studies under Dāsa in 1335. It is not known how long he studied under him; but placing it tentatively at about ten years, we have to infer that Śrīśailēśa must have formally acknowledged the leadership of his creed about 1345 or 1350.

The *Yatīndrapraṇāprabhāva* clearly informs us that Ālvār Tirunagari was the scene of Śrīśailēśa's lectures. Nor need we be surprised at it. Śrīraṅgam, the great centre of Vaiṣṇavism, was under Musalman occupation. Ranganātha himself was an exile at Tirupati. The temple was indeed not destroyed, but every moment there was the danger of destruction. The great Vēdānta Dēśika was a refugee at Satyamaṅgalam and though his labours were not without advantage to the Vaiṣṇava world, yet they were carried on in the midst of gloomy and depressing circumstances. There were, it is true, some people at least who braved the dangers of Musalmān vandalism and persecution, and whose active and patient courage made

¹ See *Mys. Ep. Rep.*, 1911-2, p. 18, where Mr. Narasimhachar points out that the Ālvār sojourned for a time here. An inscription in the Rāmabhadra temple might refer to it.

² Appillai's *Tirumudiāḍavu*, however, says that Śrīśailēśa was born at Kuntipura in K. 4129 or A.D. 1328 (*Vibhava, Vyākṛti, viśākha*). So Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya must have died before his birth. But it later on says that the latter gave the *pañchasamskāra* initiation to the former. (This is inconsistent with the version of the *Yatīndrapraṇāprabhāva*). Evidently K. 4129 is a mistake for 4409. See *Journal of South Indian Association*, 1914, June, p. 259.

them stay at Śrīraṅgam. But the distress of military occupation naturally so reduced them that they could hardly support an active propaganda of their gospels or an open pursuit of their religious endeavours as in the days of the pre-Musalmān domination. It is not surprising therefore that while Vēdānta Dēśika was lecturing on the *Bhāshyas* and the *Prabandhas* at Satya-maṅgalam, Śrīśailēśa carried on the movement of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya at Ālvār Tirunagari and spread the *prabandhic* gospel over the land.

It is not known how long Śrīśailēśa carried on his propaganda at Ālvār Tirunagari; but we have reasons to think that it must have extended over a comparatively long period of fifty years.¹ For the *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva* distinctly tells us that he was engaged in his lectures till he acquired for his pupil the celebrated Maṇavālamahāmuni, destined, in progress of time, to organize the school of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya into a distinct sect of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. Maṇavāla was the son of one Tihaḷkiḍandar Anṇan, a pious and well-read scholar of Ālvār Tirunagari and Śrī Raṅganāyaki, the daughter of Alāgia Maṇavāla Perumāl Piḷḷai, a disciple of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya who, ever since his master's death, had been living at Śikkil. Maṇavāla was born on Thursday, the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Aippisi*, of year *Sādhāraṇa*, K. 4771, which corresponded² to October 24, A.D. 1370. Nothing specially noteworthy took place in the period of childhood and youth of Alāgia Maṇavāla. He went through the usual training of a Vaiṣṇava youth and became educated by his father in the Vēdas and other knowledge of the day. The meaning of the *Prabandhas* and the *Rahasyas* as explained by Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya he also learnt at the feet of his father. When about twenty he entered the life of a house-holder and, having soon after lost his father, proceeded to Śrīśailēśa and became his disciple. The *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva* does not give the date of this event; but as we are told that Alāgia Maṇavāla was born in 1370 and that he became Śrīśailēśa's disciple after he entered the *grihastāśrama*, we shall not be far from the truth if we suppose that it must have taken place some time about A.D. 1395.

It is difficult to say, owing to want of materials, how long Alāgai Maṇavāla was the disciple of Śrīśailēśa. The orthodox treatises speak, however, as though the period of discipleship was comparatively long, and covered a number of years. All during this period, Maṇavāla studied and mastered the Tamil Veda and its meanings. He, at the same time, evinced a wonderful devotion to Rāmānuja, built a separate shrine in his honour, established four

¹ That is from about 1345 to about 1400.

² According to the *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva* the exact date was K. 4371, *Sādhāraṇa*, *Aśvija Śukla 4*, Thursday, *Māla*. K. 4371 is evidently a mistake for 4471. Appillai's *Tirumozidai* gives it correctly. Some manuscripts give Friday wrongly for Thursday. See, *Journal South Indian Association*, June, 1914, p. 260.

streets around it, and composed a poem *yatirāja vimśati* to celebrate his greatness. Śrīśailēśa was so much pleased, we are informed, with his disciple that he declared him to be an *avatār* of the great Bhāshyakara himself, and impressed on his other disciples to regard him as such. And when some time after, he died, he exacted from Alāgai Maṇavāla, we are further informed, a vow to the effect that he would spread the teachings of the Ālvārs as expounded in the 36,000 broadcast over the land, that he would study the Bhāshya and the Sanskrit works only once and that he would make Śrīraṅgam itself the centre of his propaganda.

After the death of Śrīśailēśa, Alāgia Maṇavāla stayed for some time—we do not know how long—at Ālvār Tirunagari. It was at this time that the celebrated Rāmānuja Jīyar, the founder of the Vānamāmalai math and the right-hand man of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni, became his disciple. Known as a householder by the name of Alāgia Varadar, Rāmānuja Jīyar—he became a *Sanyāsin* immediately after his arrival at Tirunagari—was, from this time, the chief man, in reality, in the *Prabandhic* movement. He seems to have been personally a far stronger man than Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. An impartial reader of the *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva* cannot but notice the greater strength of character which the lieutenant displayed. Maṇavāla is comparatively a weak figure, lacking in that dynamic force which is absolutely necessary for a religious reformer or doctrinal innovator. He might have been a greater statesman, a more tactful and shrewd leader. Indeed he must have been personally a magnetic figure. He seems to have commanded enormous influence over his followers and the lower classes in particular, whose position in the religious activities of the land he tried sincerely to better. But whatever he did, he did in a timid, hesitating manner. Again and again he objected, as we shall see presently, to interfere with the Āchāryic families at Śrīraṅgam lest any such attempt might lead to a catastrophe; and it was the stronger and more fanatical personality of Rāmānuja Jīyar that boldly bade for Āchāryic supremacy.

The influence of Rāmānuja Jīyar and others showed itself in the desire of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni to go to Śrīraṅgam and boldly preach his doctrines there. Fortunately the coast was to some extent clear to him, because Nainār Āchārya had, like his predecessors, made Conjeeveram his headquarters, and left Śrīraṅgam to itself. About the year 1400, therefore, Maṇavāla Mahāmuni found himself in the great stronghold of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. He came to the abode of one Anṇan, an adherent of the *Prabandhic* school and a scholar of Tirumaiyam, who had come to Śrīraṅgam and been expounding the 24,000 to some students. The story goes that, as soon as the stranger prostrated at his feet, Anṇan recognized in him an *avatār*, felt that he should see him respected and honoured by the temple authorities, and therefore took him to the Bhaṭṭa who was the manager of the shrine, and made him, on

his hearing the interpretation of a stanza from the *Tiruvāymoli*, realize that he was greater than the author of the 36,000 itself and that special honour should be done him in the temple. Thus was gained the first step in Aḷagia Maṇavāla's progress, the first acquaintance between him and the great shrine which he was soon to make, by his genius, the centre of his own creed. In the days which followed, Aḷagia Maṇavāla acquainted himself with the scenes of the labours of Piḷḷai Lōkācharya and others of his school. He further devoted himself to the examination of old treatises on the *Prabandhas* with a view to rescue them from oblivion; and to give a practical side to his education he visited the holy shrines of Tirukōilūr, Shōlinghur, Erumbi, etc., and turned towards Tirupati. His arrival at Tirupati was, says the *Yatindra pravaṇaprabhāva*, fore-shadowed by a miracle. The great Jiyar of that place had a vision to the effect that a great Śrīvaiṣṇava was lying from west to east in the form of a huge mountain, and that one was standing near him! He narrated this remarkable vision to the people of Tirupati. Some among the hearers who were come from the south told them that the vision must evidently refer to Maṇavāla and his life-long friend Rāmānuja Jiyar! Meanwhile, Maṇavāla, the unconscious subject of the vision, reached the hills. After the visit to Gōvinda Rāja's shrine, he ascended the holy hills. The vision concerning him proved very fortunate for him; for he found himself, to his own surprise, welcomed in great pomp by the Jiyar and temple authorities. From Tirupati, Maṇavāla is said to have proceeded to that great centre of orthodoxy and scholarship, the holy Conjeeveram, the place which had just witnessed the loss of its great ornament Nainār Āchārya. At first the visit was a flying one, for Aḷagia Maṇavāla soon proceeded to Śrīperumbūdūr, the birth-place of Rāmānuja; but in the latter place, the Bhāshyakāra himself, it is said, asked Aḷagia Maṇavāla, his own *avatār*, to return to Conjeeveram and learn the *Śrī Bhāshya* there, at the feet of Kḍāmbi Nainār. Kḍāmbi Nainār was, as we have already seen, the representative of the orthodox school of Vēdānta Dēsika, and was, therefore, the chief authorized teacher of the *Bhāshya*. Hence the necessity of Aḷagia Maṇavāla to proceed to him and sit at his feet.

The importance of Aḷagia Maṇavāla's resort to Conjeeveram in order to study the *Bhāshya* under Nainār can hardly be exaggerated. It clearly proves that Maṇavāla was outside the Bhāshyic line of Āchāryas.¹ It also shows that he had to go to that school which he in his heart opposed and dreaded. It shows that he was under an *obligation* to go there, as otherwise he could hardly gain the allegiance of men. It cannot be doubted that he must have looked upon this necessity as a misery. No sphere could be

¹ This is further proved by the fact that the Vaishnavas of the Teṅgalai sect have even now to study the *Śrī Bhāshya* after reciting certain preliminary verses in honour of Vēdānta Dēsika and his Bhāshyic predecessors.

more uncongenial to him than Conjeeveram. It was there that the cult of Vēdānta Dēsika was in full swing. It was there that the orthodoxy of Vaishnavism had found an unassailable stronghold. It was there that the greatest opponents of the 'Teṅgalai heresy' lived. To go in the midst of such an atmosphere was an unpalatable act, but Aḷagia Maṇavāla had no other alternative. The *Yatindra pravaṇaprabhāva* indeed tries to give an ingenious turn to the whole incident, and pretends to look upon it as a minor episode. It says that when Maṇavāla was at Śrīperumbūdūr, the Bhāshyakāra appeared to him in a vision, presented to him the *Śrī Bhāshya*, and told him to go to Conjeeveram and study the *Bhāshya* at the feet of Kḍāmbi Nainār, saying that he himself would teach him in the form of Nainār! Rāmānuja is further said to have added that Maṇavāla was to study the *Bhāshya* only once—and that to oblige himself and Śrī Śailēsa and not for the sake of the *Bhāshya* itself—and that he should in future devote himself to the *Prabandhas* alone! The scholars of the Vaḍagalai persuasion naturally condemn this version of the facts. They criticize the legend as a myth. The introduction of the statement that Rāmānuja himself taught in the guise of Nainār, they say, is the ungrateful belittlement of a scholar to whom the Jiyar owed the little knowledge he possessed of the *Bhāshyas*. Then, again, they ask, not unreasonably, whether Rāmānuja himself could have advised one to study his own *Bhāshya* once only and declared that it was not so important as the *Prabandhas*? Would it not be a self-condemnation on the part of Rāmānuja? Would it not be a denial of the *necessity* of his own existence and labours? Would it not be equal to the undermining of the very basis and glory of Śrīvaiṣṇavism? Would it not result in the immediate overthrow of Śrīvaiṣṇavism by other creeds? Would it not go against the declared wishes of Nātha Muni, of Yāmunāchārya, and other sages whose life-long desire had been to provide a *Śrī Bhāshya* even though the *Prabandhas* had existed then? The alleged disregard of the *Śrī Bhāshya*, then, by its own author is a myth, a product of the prejudice of later Teṅgalai writers¹ who devoted themselves to the *Prabandhas* at the expense of the *Bhāshya*.

A word may be mentioned about the date of Aḷagia Maṇavāla's studies at Conjeeveram. What was his age when he came thither? No authorities give definite answers to this question. But the *Vadug. Gurup.* gives certain facts which enable us approximately to fix the date of this event. It says that the great Nainār Āchārya died in A.D. 1414-15 (*Jaya*), and that he appointed his disciples, Kḍāmbi Nainār, Prativāḍibhayaṅkara Aṇṇan, and Emberumānār Appa, to continue his work. It was the first of these Āchāryas that Maṇavāla Mahāmuni approached. His arrival at Conjeeveram must have happened,

¹ The extremity to which this prejudice is carried is seen in the *Śrīvachanabhāṣaṇa-mīmāṃsa* which says that as the *Śrī Bhāshya* was the mere result of the study of the *Bodhāyanavṛitti*, it had no Āchāryic sanction and so was not sufficiently authoritative!

therefore, some time about 1420, i.e. when he was about fifty years old. We do not know how long he stayed there; but if we suppose that he went through the *Bhāshya* in all its aspects in three or four years, we shall have to attribute his return to Śrīraṅgam roughly to his fifty-fifth year, i.e. to about the year 1425.

The studies of Aḷagia Maṇavāla under Kṛāmbi Nainār are differently interpreted by the different schools. The *Vadag. Gurup.* says that, as his knowledge increased, he came to entertain such a deep devotion to Dēśika that, in the later days of his life, when his disciples wanted to elevate him to divine rank, he refused the honour on the ground that he was nothing after Vēdānta Dēśika. The *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva*, on the other hand, gives one the impression that the disciple was greater than the teacher, and Aḷagia Maṇavāla was in a most incongenial atmosphere. It gives a number of legends to prove this alleged superiority. One of the friends of Kṛāmbi Nainār, Aiyaihaḷ Appa by name, it is said, was so much struck with the quickness of Aḷagia Maṇavāla's grasp that he told Nainār that he was not adjusting his lectures to the genius of the disciple. Nainār, we are further informed, significantly asked Appa to recapitulate the lessons with the distinguished learner the next day. Appa thereupon devoted himself to that work, and found, to his intense surprise, that Aḷagia Maṇavāla was conning the lesson with a thousand mouths! Again, on another occasion, we are told, Aḷagia Maṇavāla engaged the other disciples of Nainār in controversy, and defeated them by the display of an unrivalled lore in logic, in grammar, in Mīmāṃsa, etc. From these facts, continues the *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva*, Nainār now pointed out to his disciples that Aḷagia Maṇavāla was no ordinary student, that he was an *avatār*, but he did not know *whose avatār* he was. He therefore asked him to show him his true form. The disciple, we are told, hesitated to do so, but on second thoughts resolved to gratify his teacher's desire. Taking him to a dark solitary place, therefore, he, we are informed, kindled a light, and assumed his true form, the thousand-hooded Ādiśēsha! The teacher was exceedingly afraid, and asked him to resume his human guise. Ever after, he displayed, continues the *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva*, great solicitude to the health and welfare of the distinguished disciple, and supplied milk from his own household! Above all he felt that much time must not be wasted on the *Bhāshya* in future, that the world waited for Aḷagia Maṇavāla's grand works on the *Prabandhas*, and that he should, therefore, run through the *Bhāshyas*! The *Vadag. Gurup.* of course does not support the *Yatindrapraṇāprabhāva*; but it will be clear to everybody that Aḷagia Maṇavāla was not friendly to his companions, and that he had every reason to rush through the *Bhāshya* as quickly as possible and bid farewell to a place so unsympathetic and unfriendly to him.

(To be continued)

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF VEDANTA

A paper read before the Mythic Society

BY K. A. KRISHNASWAMY AITAR, ESQ., B.A.

THE main difference between Vēdānta and other systems of philosophy turns upon the views they respectively take of the sum-total of human knowledge and experience, the latter not as confined to the waking state alone, but as spread over the three states of the soul:—the waking and the dreaming states, and that of dreamless sleep. Vēdānta does not concern itself so much with the individual objects presenting themselves for cognition during each state as with the nature of the apparently successive states with which they are bound up, with which they appear and disappear. Thus the difference, in their views, between Vēdānta and the other thought-systems or the sciences, is *radical*. What is called the world of things disclosing to our view in the waking state, is no more or less than an adjunct to that state, of which it is an inseparable feature, and can have no existence apart from it. The intellect, however, assumes its independent existence which is simply unthinkable, for the world and the waking mood of the self cannot and should not be dissociated. Still, the so-called world, to the ordinary mind, persists through all the states. Now, this elimination, wrenching away, of the world from the state in which it appears, or can alone appear, is an act of intellectual abstraction, 'convenient for the purposes of life,' as Bergsen would say, but none the less illusive, unwarranted by the totality of our experience. Vēdānta determines the value not of a single experience in one state, nor of a single object of cognition in it, but of the different states themselves with which the worlds are manifested and dissolved. If this fundamental fact is realized, it will become evident that what is called *a thing* either static (as the scientists posit) or dynamic (as Bergsen takes it) exists nowhere. Time and space, along with the sense of duration and extension are equally 'birds of passage', visiting with the states, and vanishing with them. The self is thus felt—*not inferred*—to be unaffected by the flitting states; and the states, waking and sleeping being radically opposed to each other, cannot be conceived or experienced to co-exist in the self. In fact, in what is called sound sleep the presence of an *object* is never felt, nor can be. It is not the study of things within the periphery of any state either that of waking or of dreaming, however infinitely pursued, that

can lead to a comprehension of the nature of the self as the unaffected spectator of the changing moods.

The simple truth set forth above merely requires in the student a change of mental attitude and no laborious study or deep erudition. There is no dogma to be accepted or abstruse doctrine to be assimilated. A pure introspection, on the basis of this Vedic suggestion, a simple intuitive effort, a clear grasp of the essential principle, realized as the self in man emerging unsullied through the states, is all that is necessary to recognize this immortal element in him. Without tasking the memory or straining the imagination, every human being can rise, if he will, to an understanding of this simple truth.

By a constant appeal to one's own experience, the ever identical nature of the self becomes obvious. The self cannot be conceived as continually changing or as mere change as Bergsen affirms; for his observation is confined but to what he calls life, whose sphere is restricted to the waking mood. The sense of absolute duration which he says we *intuite*, is strictly limited to the state (waking or dreaming) in which life is associated with the mind and the body; and cannot relate to the state of dreamless sleep in which no experience of sense or feeling is possible.

In the light of Vēdānta, the Atman, or the Self is of the nature of bliss, consciousness, and reality absolute. The right or wrong desire which every man instinctively feels for lasting happiness or fleeting pleasures, uninterrupted ease or freedom from toil and worry, is all in reference to the self without which as the basis, the term *happiness* is void of signification. But instead of the lower self which leads to selfishness, one has to keep his eye on the higher which is the eternal fountain of all unselfish activities and deeds of self-sacrifice. This fact unfolds the blissful nature of the self. The self is also absolute consciousness, since the thread of our experience remains unbroken even when no objects are presented to it for cognition as in dreamless sleep. To imagine consciousness as of different degrees of intensity or faintness is to impose upon it, poetically—none the less untruly—the characteristics of material objects which are liable to variation from solidity to subtlety, etc. All criticisms of Vēdānta have been invariably levelled against it solely from the view point of the waking state. The point of the lance hence becomes hopelessly blunted or broken.

It may be urged, for instance, by an opponent that the waking is the real state of life. Dreams disclose a false or fanciful world, and sound sleep is a temporary suspension of life's activities. How can the world into which we wake, from which we go to sleep, and of which we are part and parcel, be considered as a mere mood of the self, whisked away with that mood and reappearing with it in nearly the same condition and with the identical characteristics? We see a man going to sleep, we see him rising from the same bed on which he slept. His sleeping is a natural necessity, and the

world's activities are uninterrupted by his moods. He is born, grows, decays and dies. He is thus intimately connected with this world. How can such a world be dismissed as an invariable concomitant of a mere mood of his? We do not sleep or dream with him, but we are all engaged or involved in the same sphere of activity.

'Besides, how can the waking mood be put on a *par* with the dreaming? As Hume says, the dream experience is stultified on waking, but the waking experience is never stultified in dreams. Hence the only possible inference is that dreams are the result of a disturbance of the nervous system and the world imagined to be perceived in them is no real world, but a mere concoction of fancy. All human impulse and motives to action rest ultimately and solely on the waking experience, which thereby testifies to its own reality. A doctor can send a patient to sleep, or wake him from it. This would be impossible if the waking state were not real from which the experience of all the other states originated or to which they remained subservient.

'Further, what is the good of knowing the essentially pure and unaffected nature of the self? Either in the moral or material interests of man, such a knowledge can lead to no result. It might at best induce a state of quietism and that is not a "consummation devoutly to be wished".

'Moreover, what is to become of science, morals and theology, if the world of the waking state is to be reduced from being the premier reality to the rank of a mere accompaniment or appendage to a state?'

The objections set forth above might in the eye of ordinary reason appear to have great validity. But Vēdānta sees no force in them. The objector puts himself out of court by ignoring the attitude which Vēdānta enjoins on him before sitting in judgment over its pronouncement. 'The world is real.' Why, what world? For we perceive one during the waking state and a myriad in dreams. If the former is meant, then admittedly, it is seen to come and go with the mood. It will not do to assert that the world that I can perceive only when I am *awake*, continues to exist even when I am sleeping. Such a supposition would imply that I am waking and sleeping simultaneously. The world in question is an inseparable adjunct to my waking, and the belief in the continuity of its existence even when I am not waking, only points to the natural tendency in man to attribute reality to any experience appearing as the present. This is actually the case in dreams. We perceive many things in them which for the time being we take to be real, and we are moved by hate and fear just as if the causes were real. The fanciful nature of the dream-world is recognized not at the time, but *after* the state becomes past.

But if I am not waking all the time, are there not others awake that perceive the world? Their testimony to its persistence, is it worth nothing? This is another amusing objection arising from want of an accurate under-

standing of the term 'world'. What is called the world includes everything other than the self of the enquirer, and therefore, all men, animals, plants and inanimate nature, not excepting the body itself of the enquirer. It will thus be evident that if I say, 'I don't perceive the world when I am sleeping, because I am not then waking,' I simply mean that the waking world does not exist then. Also, the Vedantic position is not one of Solipsism, as it does not confer absolute reality on the I, but on the changeless witness of the three states which is neither I nor not-I, all distinctions being lost with a world perceived.

As the world is every moment created, even according to Bergsen, the idea of its sameness is an intellectual balm supplied for purposes of life, but all the same, illusory. Our seeing a man go to sleep or wake from it is just a part of our waking experience. It does not enable us to comprehend the nature of *sleep*. We realize its nature only when we sleep and then the world is, as it were, *nought*. So also the sight of other beings being born, living and dying, and that of our own growth and decay are integral parts of our waking experience. Apart from it, we can know of no second thing. We all seem, it is true, to act together in the company of innumerable beings awake. But we have no direct proof of their wakefulness, as we can experience only our own. The experience in dreams is on all fours with this. There also so long as the state continues, we seem to be communing with a number of individuals, but we wake to find that the plurality of subjects was a mere illusion created by fancy, while *the* subject, namely, the dreamer was but one and secondless.

Although it may be repugnant to the last degree to admit that the waking state is just analogous to the dream state, every one that has attempted to distinguish the two has hopelessly failed. Every explanation of dream or sleep as the outcome of nervous condition is vitiated by the monostatic view, viz., the view taken on the basis of the waking experience alone. A dream is defined as the state in which the senses are quiescent, and the objects absent, but the nerves being excited somehow create a mimicry of both. Here it is plain that the *senses*, *objects*, and *nerves* referred to are those of the waking state; and necessarily so, as the explanation itself is offered not during the dream but after waking from it. Hume's solution of the difficulty is equally wide of the mark. A dream is no doubt stultified in the succeeding state of waking. But how can this fact invest the waking state with reality? For, we call *that* the waking state which we feel as such, but the feeling itself is the result of a contrast with the previous state. If we had no previous state, we might not call the present state either waking or dreaming.

There are also dreams within dreams which elucidate the point still further. When we dream that we had a dream, the succeeding dream (known as such only on waking from it) is felt to be a *waking* from the previous one;

and this illusion that it is a waking state is not dispelled till our mood changes to waking. The waking experience is never stultified in dreams for the simple reason that the notion of waking never deserts even the dreamer.

Besides, we do not know which is the waking state. To say that the present is the waking is to beg the question. Neither is it true that in dreams we refer to any particular series of waking states. Now as then it is *memory* that behaves as the custodian of the past and what it arranges in a kaleidoscopic order with its impress on it as the past is assumed to be the real series of past waking states. There is no other evidence to their reality than the pronouncement of memory. If then we wish to accord absolute trustworthiness to memory, we again become dupes. For, with a freakishness peculiar to it, the all-powerful memory awakens in our dreams a thousand reminiscences of a supposed past which was never experienced and yet which we unquestioningly accept at the time. Still, on waking, we discover that the false memory created in the dream, and our conduct in it based on it were all mere phantom-play. For example, I see a stranger in a dream, but in my conversation with him, I find he was my old friend with whom I had lived in intimacy for several years. I wake and realize the falsity of the whole circumstance, and with it that of the memory. The illusions of memory and its untrustworthiness except for the purposes of Life—Vyavahara—are too well known to psychologists to claim a serious consideration. As it gives the stamp of wakefulness to the present, so it creates, to consort with this present, the notions of a beginningless series of past waking states and an endless series of future waking states. It always does that even in dreams. If one can, with this special mark as the basis of distinction, distinguish a dream as such at the time—not the waking as such during waking, which everybody does, simply by contrasting it with the past dream—then one's argument may be worth something. But *then* his dream would lose its genuineness. For, the character of dreams in general is that they appear at the time as terribly real, and we hate, we love, we flee. One should, in case he identified the nature of a dream at the time, remain but a passive spectator uninfluenced by any of the passions that stimulate activity even in a dream. Such a state, in the view of Vēdānta, is not impossible; and the highest Vēdāntin is expected to be a mere passive witness of the unreal scenes of life enacting before him, either while dreaming or waking. Evidently, it is the monostatic bias that induces a man to subordinate dreams and dreamless sleep to waking and derive the two former from the last. In any case, it is enough for Vēdānta to establish one central fact which cannot be blinked: A dream can mimic or re-present every element of the waking experience, either internal or external but it can do so only on the basis of the absolute consciousness which admits of no break or change or spurious imitation.

Why do we not refer the waking state to past dreams? For the simple reason that we consider dreams as contrasted with the so-called waking to be unreal. The tendency is ingrained in the human intellect, somehow, to believe that the present is the waking state, and that the waking state alone is real.

We have thus undoubtedly two independent series of experiences the latter of which begins with the sense of waking, and the former contrasted with it appears as dreaming. But which is which it is impossible to determine as the feeling of being awake invariably accompanies the feeling of an experience being present. Since the waking state is just that which is felt as such, it is self-contradictory to expect the stultification of the waking experience in any state which is not recognized at the time as dream. In other words, since in dreams we believe we are awake, we cannot conceive the stultification of a waking state at the time, for no waking state stultifies itself while it lasts, or is believed to last.

It thus appears that every active state or state in which the experience involves a subject and an object is characterized by a sense of the present which invariably gives rise to a sense of waking and which, with its unfailing auxiliary of memory creates a kaleidoscopic order, always sorting the present waking state with a beginningless series of past waking states, the sense of reality never ceasing to associate itself with them all. This explains why in dreams we are never aware of an *absence* of the order that ought properly to mark off the waking state if there were really one such.

Impulses and motives to action prevail in dreams also. We love, we fight, we flee. The waking state is not the only sphere in which they come into play. As to the case of a doctor sending a patient to sleep and waking him from it, the objection is, as usual, based on the monostatic bias. The patient appearing to sleep and to wake are just parts of the doctor's waking experience.

The practical effect of Vedantic knowledge on man in respect of his moral and material interests is profound. When he learns to identify himself with the unchanging eternal Self and not with his physical body—heir to a thousand ills—he is inspired with courage, truthfulness and a spirit of self-sacrifice, the most inestimable assets for individual and social well-being.

The moral phase of Vedanta is seen in the restraint it places on every unrighteous tendency, since the latter arises from one's wrong attachment to his physical body—non-self improperly looked upon as self—and to the goods or enjoyments of the waking state which are altogether contingent and impermanent. Thus although the moral influence of Vedanta, however powerful, is passive, yet in the man who is conscious of indulging desires, it impels him to action towards their fulfilment with an amount of courage and doggedness which no other motive principle can evoke. Nevertheless, his desires cannot be of the

unrighteous sort, but limited to such morally permissible gratifications as are not calculated to deepen his attachment to the non-self. His acts can be virtually but acts of self-sacrifice. If Vedanta in the highest stage leads to absolute passivity, it can do so only in the case of one who has really conquered all and every desire; and no system of morals or philosophy can impose duties on such an individual. Such instances, however, are extremely rare and no anxiety need be felt as to the future of the world on the impracticable supposition that all men might rise above their desires. We may possibly meet with men turning ascetics or shamming renunciation not because the flame of desire has been put out in them, but because they find no way of gratifying it, or feel too lazy to exert themselves in order to realize it. Practical Vedanta (the portion of works) rightly condemns their hypocrisy or self-deception, and urges them to incessant activity till their desires are extinguished by disappointment or disgust arising from gratification or enlightenment.

The study of science has to be pursued by one till the tendency cease in him by which he seeks outside of the self that bliss which one intuitively feels he can claim by his very nature. On a normal man the realistic tendency has so strong a hold that for all that Vedanta may assert he will not cease to have unending interest in what surrounds him. Science helps him by systematizing his knowledge of the outside universe for useful action. Even a Vedantin cannot reverse the so-called laws of the physical world and if he expects any effects there, he must first create the cause. To that extent, science must have permanent validity for the Vedantin also who purposes to act in the waking world.

Theology protects the moral instincts, and people wish to be good without caring much for the basis of ethics. The principle of good which to the Vedantin is the self appears to the devout man as the god whom he worships with all the zeal and earnestness of his soul. The value of theology is materially undiminished so long as man keeps his eye on the moral not the philosophical side of existence. A Vedantin cannot be immoral as he can have no selfish motives to action.

I have thus put in a small compass what to be understood thoroughly in all its bearings on life's problems, has to be expounded in a bulky volume. But I believe that most of the main points have been touched upon clearly, enough, at least to create an abiding interest in the Science of Reality.

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do. do. Chap. 11 Sec. I. Sutra 9

Sutasamhita Yagna Vybhava Khanva.

THE FIRST TOWN-PLANNERS

BY A. GHOSE, ESQ., F.C.S., F.G.S., M.I.M.E.

A BROKEN incantation tablet written in the ancient Sumerian language together with a translation in Semitic Babylonian was found in 1882, on the site of the ancient city of Sippar in Northern Babylonia. This tablet which is in the British Museum supplies one of the most interesting Babylonian versions of the story of the creation. The date of this tablet has been fixed at 600 B.C. But owing to its being inscribed in the ancient Sumerian language which had been dead long before, there is reason to believe that the story embodied in the tablet is of high antiquity. The tablet describes the evolution of the great cities of Babylonia as follows:—

All lands were sea.

At length there was a movement in the sea,

Then was Erudu made, and E-sagil was built,

E-sagil, where in the midst of the Deep the god Lugal-Lul-azaga dwells.

Marduk laid a reed upon the face of the waters,

He formed dust and poured it out upon the reed.

The Lord Marduk laid in a dam by the side of the sea,

... as before he had not made,

... he brought into existence,

... trees he created,

(Bricks) he made in their place,

... brickwork he made;

(Houses he made), cities he built;

(Cities he made), dwelling places he prepared.

Nippur he made, E-kur he built.

Erech he made, E-ana he built!¹

The version of the creation myth given by Berosus ascribes to Merduk or Merodach only the creation of living beings. The introduction of civilization and the founding of cities are credited to Oannes—a marine god with

the body of a fish, who arose out of the Erythraean Sea. The story of Oannes is the Babylonian counterpart of the Indian legend of Manu and it has been supposed that the Indian myth is derived from a Semitic source. But it is significant that the ancient harbinger of civilization in the Euphrates valley, should have come out of the Indian Ocean of all places on the face of the earth, to teach the Babylonians how to write and to impart the knowledge of 'sciences and arts of all kinds, the rules for the founding of cities, and the construction of temples, the principles of law and surveying' as specifically stated by Berosus on the authority of ancient Babylonian records.

That the ancient Sumerians who settled in Southern Babylonia (Sumer) were the founders of Babylonian culture is abundantly proved by archaeologists. The early history of Babylonia is a wonderful record of Sumerian domination and progress. The excavations of the ancient city mounds at the lowest levels, disclose Sumerian culture so advanced that the people were highly proficient in the use of copper. The Sumerians were great builders of towns and irrigation works. They were the first town-planners known to history. Gudea of Lagash one of the greatest Sumerian kings, has left inscriptions which vividly describe the magnificence with which he adorned his capital. These descriptions are borne out by the excavations of De Sarzec and De Cros at Telloh which is on the site of ancient Lagash. The historic statue E in the Louvre which was found at Telloh, has on its lap the plan of a great palace built by Gudea. This plan is of unique interest as it shows advanced knowledge of surveying and accuracy of details. Its value is greatly enhanced by the fact that it is drawn to scale which is affixed to the plan. This is one of the most remarkable monuments showing the high state of civilization attained by the Sumerians.

The origin of the Sumerians is lost in obscurity. Referring to the subject, Mr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum, says:

The Sumerian culture springs into our view ready-made, as it were, which is what we should expect if it was, as seems on other grounds probable, brought into Mesopotamia from abroad. We have no knowledge of the time when the Sumerians were savages: when we first meet with them in the fourth millenium B.C., they were already a civilized, metal-using people living in great and populous cities, possessing a complicated system of writing, and living under the government of firmly established civil and religious dynasties and hierarchies. . . . The earliest scenes of their own culture-development had perhaps not been played upon the Babylonian stage at all, but away across the Persian mountains to the eastward. . . . The ethnic type of the Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and

¹ L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 90.

reliefs, was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans or others; they were decidedly Indian in type. The face type of the average Indian of to-day is no doubt much the same as that of his Dravidian race-ancestors thousands of years ago. Among the modern Indians, as amongst the modern Greeks or Italians, the ancient pre-Aryan type of the land has (as the primitive type of the land always does) survived, while that of the Aryan conqueror died out long ago. And it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed.¹

Mr. Hall further says that 'the legend of Oannes, the "Man-Fish" quoted by Berossus, argues an early marine connexion with a civilized land over sea. Fr. Lenormont was the first to suggest this idea. Such an eminent authority as Maspero however, declined to draw historical conclusions from what he considered as merely a mythological tradition. But the germ of history has often been evolved out of nebulous traditions. The statements of Berossus that Oannes passed the day on the shore among men and plunged into the sea at sunset and that he refrained from taking any food from the people of the land, amounted to something like this, that the civilizer of Babylonia who came across the sea or along the coast from a distant land, retired every evening to his boat or inflated raft and that his nationality prevented him from taking any food from the strange and uncivilized people in whose country he had landed. From an Assyrian bas-relief from Nimrud, it is seen that Oannes had a human body disguised as a fish by means of an entire fish skin thrown over the head and shoulders as a cloak with a hood. It may safely be guessed that Oannes who was admittedly a human being, appeared in such a strange garment simply to impress and mystify the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia amongst whom he found himself. His strange appearance and his knowledge of the arts of civilization rendered him immune from attack and exalted him as a divine being. We know definitely from Arrian² that the inhabitants of the Makran Coast used to wear down to the time of Alexander's invasion thick skins of large fishes. There is apparently no other record of any other

¹ H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the East*, p. 172.

² Arrian's *Indika*, chap. xxiv.

people making such a curious use of fish skins. We learn from Nearchos that these coast-folk were in a most primitive stage as they were 'covered with hair on the body, their nails like wild bird's claws, used like iron for killing and splitting fish, and cutting soft wood; other things they cut with sharp stones, having no iron.' It will be ridiculous even to hint that Oannes belonged to this tribe of Ichthyophagi. But in the interior of the Makran Coast, lived the Oreitians who, according to Arrian, dressed like the Indians and were equipped with similar weapons, their language and customs only being different.

Herodotus mentions the Paricanians and the Asiatic Ethiopians as comprised in the seventeenth Satrapy of Darius which embraced modern Baluchistan. The Paricani have not been identified. But if their name is derived from the Sanskrit *parvaka* meaning mountaineers, then there appears to be little difficulty in connecting them with the modern Brahui which is derived from Persian 'Barohi' equivalent to hillmen. Herodotus while describing the army of Xerxes, describes the Asiatic Ethiopians as being marshalled with the Indians and as not differing from the Ethiopians of Africa in their appearance except that they were straight haired. In the army of Xerxes, these Asiatic Ethiopians were accoutred in the same way as the Indians. We have already quoted the later authority of Arrian that the Oritae dressed like the Indians and were equipped with similar weapons. So we may conclude that the Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus and the Oritae of Arrian were identical, and they possessed Dravidian features. According to Herodotus, the Asiatic Ethiopians who served in the army of Xerxes, 'wore on their heads skins of horse's heads, as masks, stripped off with the ears and mane; and the mane served instead of a crest, and the horse's ears were fixed erect; and as defensive armour they used the skins of cranes instead of shields.' This quaint headgear of the Asiatic Ethiopians, is reminiscent of the fish skin cloak and headdress of Oannes and their apparent connexion is suggestive.

Curzon has shown that the name 'Makran' is of Dravidian origin.¹ It is well known that the Brahui of the central highlands of Baluchistan speak what is undoubtedly a Dravidian language. But as the Brahuists do not show any of the Dravidian ethnic types, their Dravidian origin has been disputed. On the other hand, we have the testimony of Herodotus that ancient Baluchistan was inhabited by a dark people who fairly answered the description of the physical characteristics of the Dravidians. We also have shown that the 'Ethiopians' from the sunrise of Herodotus and the Oritae of Arrian are the

¹ *Geographical Journal*, vii 557.

same people. Brahui or Barohi is the Persian equivalent of Oritae and Paricanii which correspond with the Sanskrit word *parvaka* meaning mountaineers. Herodotus does not give any description of the Paricanii. They evidently differed from the Asiatic Ethiopians and were not dark complexioned. The Paricanians in the invading force of Xerxes were dressed in goat skin mantles. They were not so advanced in civilization as the Asiatic Ethiopians who wore cotton garments and knew the use of iron. Whether the Brahuīs are descended from the Oritae or the Paricanii, the fact remains that Baluchistan was inhabited by a Dravidian race in ancient times. The Dravidian type has been met with in Southern Persia. The ancient non-Aryan inhabitants of Persia, were called 'Anariakoi' by the Greeks, which is undoubtedly derived from Sanskrit *anarya* by which name the Dravidians were known to the Aryan invaders of India. These evidences tend to establish 'a connecting link between Babylonia and India,' as Hall has already remarked.

Having endeavoured to show that ancient Baluchistan was inhabited by a Dravidian people of advanced culture of high antiquity as indicated by their use of cotton garments and knowledge of iron so far back as 480 B.C., we now come to the question whether they were dwelling in cities. Herodotus states that the Paricanii and the Asiatic Ethiopians had to pay four hundred talents to Darius as tribute. From this fact it may be concluded that these people were fairly prosperous and not mere nomads. Arrian states that Alexander during his retreat from India, 'arrived at the village of Rambakia which was the largest in the dominions of the Oritae. He was pleased with the situation, and thought that if he colonized it, it would become a great and prosperous city.'¹ This passage does not show that the capital of the Oritae was at all pretentious. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the existence of Rambakia or Rambagh in remote Baluchistan in the time of Alexander, has been adduced by Cunningham as a proof of the great antiquity of the events of the Ramayana. Hiuen Tsang speaks of Baluchistan under the name Lang-kie-lo and mentions its capital, Su-nu-li-chi-fa-lo, which is rendered by Cunningham as Sambhuriswara. This restoration is supported by the fact that Hiuen Tsang mentions a temple dedicated to Siva—a pre-eminent Dravidian god. This temple was richly adorned and sculptured. Between Khozdar and Kelat, Masson located the extensive ruins of the ancient city of Lakorian, the fortifications of which are 'remarkable for their magnitude as well as for the solidity and skill evident in their construction.' Our knowledge of the ancient remains of Baluchistan is extremely meagre. Evidences are not want-

¹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 168.

ing that the country was fertile and rich in ancient times when it was also well populated. This was probably once a centre from which extensive migrations took place under pressure of famine conditions due to the dessication of the land. The sand-buried cities of Baluchistan, if explored, may one day reveal the ancient civilization of a lost Dravidian people.

That the ancient Dravidians in another part of India were no mean city builders will be apparent from the following quotation from Wilson which indicates pre-Aryan culture of an advanced type. The Aryan invaders found the Dravidians, whom they called Asuras, often living in cities (*pura*) as distinct from villages (*grama*). Wilson says:

'Cities are repeatedly mentioned (in the Rig-veda), and although, as the objects of Indra's hostility, they may be considered as cities in the clouds, the residence of the *Asuras*, yet the notion of such exaggeration of a class of beings could alone have been suggested by actual observations, and the idea of cities in heaven could have been derived only from familiarity with similar assemblages upon earth; but as above intimated, it is probable that by *Asuras* we are to understand, at least occasionally, the anti-vaedic people of India, and theirs were the cities destroyed. It is also to be observed, that the cities are destroyed on behalf or in defence of mortal princes, who could scarcely have beleaguered celestial towns, even with Indra's assistance. Indeed, in one instance, it is said that, having destroyed ninety and nine out of the hundred cities of the *Asura*, Sambara, Indra left the hundredth habitable for his protegee Divadasa, a terrestrial monarch, to whom a metropolis in the firmament would have been of questionable advantage.

That the cities of those days consisted, to a great extent, of mud and mat hovels is very possible; they do so still; Berares, Agra, Delhi and even Calcutta present numerous constructions of the humblest class but that they consisted of those exclusively, is contradicted in several places. In one passage the cities of Sambara that have been overturned are said to have consisted of stone; in another the same cities are indicated by the appellative *dehyah*, the plastered, intimating the use of lime, mortar or stucco; in another we have specified a structure with a thousand columns, which, whether a palace or a temple, must have been something very different from a cottage; and again, supplication is put up for a large habitation which could not be intended for a hut; cities with buildings of some pretence must obviously have been no rarities to the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda.'¹

¹ Wilson's *Rig-veda*, III, p. xiv

According to Berossus, eight dynasties comprising eighty-six kings ruled in Babylonia in the period of 34,080 years which intervened between the deluge and the invasion of Cyrus. Two of the kings are supposed to have ruled for 2,400 and 2,700 years respectively, a statement which evoked the smile of Cicero. Similar long reigns are not unknown to the *Puranas*. Such extraordinary longevity was not discredited by the classical writers who have described the Hyperboreans. With regard to the longevity of the Ethiopians as given by Herodotus, Sparig's explanation was that the African's year was equivalent to five months. The great African explorer, Speke, found this to be the case in Unyoro on the Upper Nile where short reckoning prevailed. We do not know on what basis Berossus' dynastic list was composed. The prehistoric period of Egyptian history commences from 8000 B.C. Egypt had emerged from the Neolithic age not long before 3500 B.C. No vestiges of the Neolithic age have been found in Babylonia. The lowest strata of the Sumerian sites disclose a metal using people. It has been surmized from the developed state of the Babylonian writing and from the early use of metal that the Babylonian culture was older than that of the Egyptians. We do not know the date of the introduction of the Sumerian culture in Babylonia. Gudea of Lagash could not have flourished long before 2500 B.C. The cities of Sumer were at the height of their glory at that time. According to the most conservative estimates, the hymns of the Rig-veda date from 1500 B.C. The Aryan rulers of Mittani had already made their influence felt in Northern Babylonia about this time. They were worshipping the Vedic gods. E. Meyer places the date of the invasion of India by the Aryans after 2000 B.C. It is doubtful whether within such a short period as less than 500 years, the traditional history of the wars between the Asuras and the Aryan invaders would have passed into the realm of mythology. However, the fact remains that the Dravidians of India, had already been living in cities as far back as nearly 2000 B.C. Their cities were of such importance and so fortified that the Aryan conquerors had to invoke the aid of gods to reduce them. The evolution of such cities must have begun long before the second millennium B.C.

REVIEWS

Report of the Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy for 1915-6

We have read with much interest the above report, and we are convinced that archaeology and epigraphy, particularly in Southern India, for all the valuable treasure they have yielded so far, are still unexplored sciences, and the greater the industry that is brought to bear on them by enthusiastic workers the more the precious finds we shall have from them. It is gratifying to note that the department besides its arduous work has very readily afforded all the information in its gift to students of research. The Superintendent deserves to be congratulated on the interesting finds he had the good fortune to secure this year. Space forbids us to note them in detail, but we cannot resist the temptation of giving some details of an inscription which relates to the time of the Chola King Virarajendra Dēva (A.D. 1062 to 1067) found at Thirumukkudal. The record registers the construction of a *mandapa* to the local temple by a Vaisya. In this *Jananatha-mandapa* were located a school for the study of the vedas, sastras, grammar, etc., a hostel for students, and, what is really interesting, a hospital. The students were provided with food, bathing oil on Saturdays and with oil for lamps. The hospital was named Virasojan and was provided with fifteen beds for sick people. The following items of expense were set apart for their comforts:—(1) rice, (2) a doctor, (3) a surgeon, (4) two servants to fetch drugs, (5) two maid servants to do the nursing, (6) one general servant. There is also an account of the medicines to be kept ready in stock. Our temple authorities would do well to note the splendid uses to which the funds were devoted, instead of spending them as now, on useless shows. Students of medieval polity in South India will be amply rewarded by the inscriptions of this year alone, showing how corporate life was splendidly cultivated by the people, and how young and old had a part and a lot in the administration of the State. The Cholas were supreme in this respect as they never failed to foster the democratic spirit amongst their people. We hope at a very early date the Assistant Superintendent will publish the inscriptions which have already been copied, as they are eagerly awaited by students of historical research.

K. D.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Southern Circle for 1915-6

It is needless to say that the report is a very interesting one and will amply repay perusal. Particularly so is the second part where the indefatigable Superintendent has included illustrated articles on the 'Origin of the Typical Hindu Temples of Southern India, the Mahēndragiri Temples in the Ganjam District.' Though the Government may have very good reasons to say in their review of the report 'that the Superintendent might with advantage devote his time to the preparation of monographs on the chief architectural works in Southern India rather than to the production of essays on archaeological problems,' yet we believe an official report replete with statistics does not stand the chance of commending itself to the general reader and contributing to his interest unless its dry-as-dust nature is relieved even at the charge of prolixity and irrelevancy, by theses of the sort which form a prominent feature of the report under review. We admit, as separate monographs they will not only be made available to those that desire to possess them, but will be found more handy for purposes of reference instead of being crowded in an official report. We are afraid that the Superintendent goes beyond a reasonable limit in his conservation notes of particular buildings in giving a history of them. We regret we can scarcely agree with the Superintendent in his sweeping generalizations as regards some features in the architectural design of the South Indian temples. It cannot be asserted of the Seven Pagodas with as much conviction as we have that the Buddhist influence powerfully operated on all the South Indian temples. A study of the early Tamil works gives us an idea of the structures and styles prevalent in those days. We see in them an amount of originality in design which may not after all be Buddhist. In the so-called Dravidian style itself there are so many divergences, and a deep student of the Hoysala or Chalukyan styles would never commit himself to approximate all these to one class. Besides we can not see our way to endorse the view that temples sprang up usually on the places where the remains of great men were consecrated. This might have been the case as far as a few temples are concerned, and for this, tradition more than any indubitable authority is responsible. Anyhow it is not the case with temples of recent construction. That Siva finds his abode in the cremation ground is solely responsible for this view. But the meaning of the statement is far deeper than that. Irresponsible statements how some ignorant people have deified an ascetic after his death and have attributed to him all the power of the god do more harm than good when they are made to apply without qualification to well-known temples. The supreme apotheosis of these ascetics or of wives who had immolated themselves is confined to small shrines whose devotees are village folk, but is never to be seen in great temples with a sanctity handed down for hundreds of years. The Kannaghi temple is nowhere when compared to the Minakshi temple of Madura. The views of the Superintendent are as interesting as they are debatable.

K. D.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

Vol. XII, No. 3, August and No. 4, September, 1916

Principal Contents of No. 3.

A progress report on the preliminary work done during 1915 in connexion with the proposed 'Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana,' by Dr. L. P. Tessitori. The report refers to the disappointments met with in the commencement and gives in its seven appendices some valuable information illustrative of Rajput history.

'Demon-cults in Mundari children's games,' by S. C. Mitra.

'Some small silver pieces of the Sultans of Delhi,' by H. Nelson Wright. The Bijapur Rupees of A.H. 1091; The Gulkhundā Rupees of Shah Jahan and the meaning of Tanhi by S. H. Hodivala. The last three notes are very interesting and elucidate important points in Deccan and Moghul numismatics.

The September issue (No. 4) of this *Journal* opens with an article on 'The Seasonal Conditions Governing the Pond Life in the Punjab'. The materials are chiefly based on the natural fresh water ponds, or pools formed either as a result of the rains or left on the banks of the rivers and streams owing to the main parts of the river receding in autumn when the quantity of the water in them decreases. Artificial tanks in the pleasure gardens afford no scope for zoological studies, as these tanks have a periodical cleansing. In the Punjab summer and winter succeed each other quite abruptly, thus making the climate unlike that of Bengal. Different species flourish in different seasons, and summer affords a very fine chance for the propagation of the species. The writer enters into the technical details of the different species and what hinders and helps their growth, and sums up that the climatic conditions in the Punjab are quite different from those in Bengal and that the season most congenial for the lower forms of life is not the winter, but the greater part of the summer, when all forms of life can flourish, and in this it resembles more the countries of Europe. The scope of the Society must be truly comprehensive if it can find space for articles of this kind. Justly conscious as we are of the value of these articles, we cannot satisfy ourselves as to their relevancy in the Society's Journal.

A Tibetan Funeral Prayer done into tolerable English verse gives us a very fair idea of the religious feeling of the people. After all the prayer is not entirely funeral, but is also chanted on solemn occasions, on fast days, and other holy days. The prayer, for its depth of sincerity and pathos, forcibly reminds us of the songs of the later day Tamil saints Thayumānavar or Paṭṭanathu Pillay.

A really precious find on which the Society must congratulate itself is the unearthing of a unique history of Herat discovered in the Bāhār collection of manuscripts in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, relating to 1321—1329, by an author who was himself an eye-witness of most of the events he narrates. As the learned translator, Khan Sahib Maulavi Abdul Muṭṭadīr of the Oriental Public Library, last Bankipur, says, 'that the manuscript should have remained hidden for the five hundred years is not only surprising but obviously regrettable.' The manuscript goes to show, besides other interesting details, how since the dawn of Islam there had

hardly been a great civil war, or dynastic revolution or foreign invasion in Central Asia in which Herat had not played an important part and suffered into the bargain. After three centuries of peace, and after being eclipsed by the rise of Ghazni, it was subject to the most deplorable ravages during the time of Chengiz Khan who left the country a wilderness after levelling all its palaces and public places to the ground. Space forbids to enter into other interesting details, but all the same we are convinced that their publication would be welcomed by every Persian scholar and by every student of Asiatic history.

The last, though not the least in interest, is a metrical version done in delightful English by Mr. H. D. Graves Law, I.C.S., of some more quatrains of Abū Sayid Bin Abil Khair. To put in a few words, the quatrains are as interesting as those of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam and the translation does not fall far below that of FitzGerald. Where Omar Khayyam is simple, these quatrains not unoften abound in riddles. It is in short philosophy in the garb of love.

'Notes on the pollination of flowers in India' by I. H. Burkhill, a very interesting article but not coming within the scope of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*.

In 'A note on the Terai Forests between the Gandah and the Teesta', by Mr. I. H. Burkhill describes the several stages by which this naturally forest tract was gradually developed and exploited by man.

'Some old records of the Madras Army' (1757 to 1759), edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S. J. Among these are a letter, dated February 24, 1757 from Col. Clive to Admiral Watson asking for the transport of a military force from Bengal to Madras and the latter's reply, dated February 27, 1757, advising caution in removing any portion of the forces from Bengal.

'Note on the Tarikh Salatin Afghaniah' by H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (retired), a critical estimate of this work on the Afghan Emperors of Delhi.

K. D.

The Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions for 1914-15

It is not a day too soon that the Government of His Highness the Nizam organized a separate department to deal with the preservation and renovation of the splendid ancient monuments of the Deccan. This vast territory occupying the heart of India was in the Middle Ages and in the opening centuries of our era the land overflowing with milk and honey of the Andrahs, the Chalukyas, the Yadavas, the Gajapatis, the Moghuls, the Nawabs of Bijapur and Golconda, and the sovereigns of the great Vijayanagar Dynasty. No wonder, therefore, that the choicest and most magnificent monuments of the several great dynasties are to be found in its confines, and that, to mention only one instance, the immortal cave temples of Ellora and Ajanta are situated in Hyderabad.

The report, issued for the first time, and covering a period of seventeen months, reads like a novel throughout, and possesses the supreme qualification of brevity besides. Considering that the department was new and that the first Superintendent of it was also fresh to the territory, it is but bare justice to Mr. Yazdani to say that in this short period, the situation has been well studied and work organized on true, business-like lines. Sanction has already been received and work commenced in the renovation of both the famous cave temples as also of the one at Ittagi, while estimates are said to be under preparation for the like renovation of sixteen other beautiful monuments. The short account of the Deval Mosque at Bodhan shows how the mosque was originally a Buddhist or Jaina temple as is attested by the seated images of Buddha or Tirthankara carved on several stones; then how it fell into the hands of the Hindus as is well illustrated by the numerous carvings of Hindu religious symbols; and finally, how Mohamad bin Tughlaq converted the great, star-shaped temple into a mosque in the years between 1325 to 1357. It is a pleasure to read how the zealous Koranites who displayed a ruthless vandalism everywhere, fortunately made no change in the structure of this beautiful fane, and thus bequeathed to posterity its magnificent carvings. It is interesting to read also of the discovery by the Executive Engineer of Aurangabad of several new caves at Ellora, and of old paintings in the Ganesa Lena, a series of minor caves. In connexion with Ajanta, lovers of art all the world over, will feel relieved to hear, on the high authority of Sir John Marshall, that no anxiety whatever need be felt on the score of the probable deterioration of its unparalleled frescoes, and that if they are carefully edged round and strengthened with a suitable cement, they may last for several centuries more. Sir John Marshall has undertaken this work directly, and so we may expect to see the necessary edging done at an early date. The rapturous enthusiasm of Monsieur Axel Jarl, 'a Danish artist of considerable repute' over these unrivalled paintings, when he visited them last year in company with Mr. Hydari, is conveyed in a note of his on the subject printed as an appendix to the Report, and we quote therefrom a few sentences of his in illustration thereof:—

(a) 'This technique, which reaches its climax in a Bodhisatva figure, bears a striking resemblance to that of Michael Angelo.'

(b) 'The folds of the garments, as well as their borders, in all their simplicity are drawn with a remarkably sure hand and with an astonishing knowledge of the form underneath.'

(c) 'The figure-style is highly developed and testifies to a thorough study of the human body. Every stiffness, symmetry or mere monotony has been overcome.'

(d) 'This perfect freedom in the painter's handling of the human body places Ajanta one thousand years ahead of all other paintings that we know.'

(e) 'Behind those masterpieces lies a great and thorough study of nature.'

(f) 'Europe got its renaissance through learning from the Greek antique. India will get hers if she turns to Ajanta and goes to school there.'

(g) 'Figures like those of 'Primavera' by Botticelli may be called the sisters of some of the female figures of Ajanta.'

Enough has been cited to prove that Mr. E. B. Havell is not alone in his rapture over these glorious masterpieces of genuine Indian art. M. Jarl's words

are the very echoes of Mr. Havell, not only as regards these immortal pictures and their resemblance to the handiwork of Michael Angelo, but also as regards the supreme knowledge of anatomy which the ancient Indians possessed.

Mr. Yazdani's deep enthusiasm for the great work he has undertaken is apparent in every paragraph of his fascinating report, and we close this cursory notice of it with only one observation. On page 3 he refers to a colossal Buddha image at Bodhan which is being worshipped by the local people. The Superintendent is of opinion that the image should be removed to the proposed Art Museum at Hyderabad; and he intends moving Government in the matter 'because as a matter of fact, the Hindu people of the place have no rights over a Buddha image.' We need not remind Mr. Yazdani of the irrelevance of talking of rights and wrongs in affairs like this, where the sentiments of thousands of people are concerned, and that too closely allied with religion. To Hindus, who worship the image of Christ, their own Buddha is no alien, and it were well if this truth is borne in mind.

K. R.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register

(July, 1916)

The Jesuits in Ceylon is a laborious article being the continuation of a similar article in Vol. i, part IV, by the Rev. S. J. Pereira, S.J. giving more Portuguese records bearing on the founding of the famous Colombo College, and on the strenuous efforts made by the early missionaries to convert the Sinhalese. Strong light is thrown on the untiring labours of these pious pioneers to heal the sick, to reform the vicious, and to act as well meaning intermediaries between the Kandyan kings and the foreign generals bent on conquest. *Duter Gemanu*, a Lay of Ancient Lanka, by J. G. C. Mendis reads very much like the spirited ballad of Chevy Chase, in the metrical form given to it by the author. In *Buddha Varsha* in the Kandyan period, Mr. H. W. Codrington, states from computations made on the lines of the *Indian Chronology*, that there is some probability 'that the *Buddha Varsha* was reckoned as "expired" in the fifteenth century.' There are other interesting antiquarian tit-bits by several well-known scholars aimed at settling the dates of well-known kings and dynasties. We may say that the whole journal is made too dry by the want in it of connected narratives, and by the insertion of hair-splitting argumentation over non-essentials.

K. R.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

(July, 1916)

Like lovers' quarrel in certain kinds of fiction, the present number abounds with more than the usual quota of experts' acute differences in the realm of the non-essential—whether in philology, thaumaturgy or history. The proverbial unconsciousness of the self-immersed specialist to the humour of the huge work-a-day world surging around him is nowhere better illustrated than in this number, when champions like Dr. Keith and Dr. Fleet wrangle in not very elegant language whether the ancient Aryans counted time from its aspect of the night or the day, or when Dr. Keith flourishes his fist in the face of Reinach, Sir J. Frazer and the rest for their holding that, to the ancients, sacrifice was more a communion than a gift. Even so general an historian like Mr. Vincent A. Smith must needs disprove a host of contemporary writers who aver that the Great Akbar refused to decapitate the bound and unconscious Hému at the bidding of his general Bairam, on the score of magnanimity. An obscure chronicler, Ahmed Yadgâr, who says that Akbar struck at the prostrate captive at once with his scimitar, finds favour with Mr. Smith, who thus falsifies on so slender a basis all our received ideas about that great and heroic nation-builder. It may be that the facts are as the solitary Yadgâr says, and that Akbar at that early age of fourteen was physically capable of severing at one blow the captive's head from his body, yet, till the evidence for such enormities is unanimous and beyond all cavil, it is the height of captiousness to stain the fame of great names on such light grounds.

Mrs. Elizabeth Colton Spooner's incursion into the domain of Buddhism in her article *The Fruvashi of Gautama* is equally fanciful and unhistorical. In all Ghandara sculptures of Buddha a rude figure with a thunderbolt in its hand is made to stand beside the Master in the portrayals of his life up till his Nirvana. To anybody but the Spooners it would seem that the figure, being that of a Yaksha or attendant spirit inseparable from the Blessed One in loving service, is the correct one. But the learned lady labours to read into this the far-fetched theory that the figure is that of the Fruvashi or the Persian 'guardian angel and mystic counterpart', 'believed to be a very part of a man's personality' which 'when personified comes to be regarded as a protecting spirit.' This may be Zoroastrian, but it looks surprisingly Greek, and considering that Neo-Platonism had accepted and elaborated the theory of Socrates' Dæmon, and that this was the inspiration of the Ghandharan art, filtered though it was through bewildering intervening layers—considering this we say, it is woefully irrelevant to foist on Persia, herself a borrower and not an originator of the art of statuary, a honour that is not her own. Besides Mahayana Buddhism was the prevalent creed in the days of these sculptures, and more than seventy per cent of Mahayana is Puranic Hinduism, in which the eternal attendant of Vishnu, Adishesha, is most eloquently described as being inseparable from the Lord, forming his couch when He sat, His shade when He stood and so on. Either of these sources may have influenced the Ghandharan sculptors, though personally the writer inclines to the latter one. Under such circumstances, it is

sheer ignorance of history to invent a third source, however plausible it may sound. Pro. A. Macdonnell's life sketched briefly by Sir Charles Lyall at the time when he was presented by the Bombay Branch of the Society with the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal is very interesting reading, and so also is the great Orientalist's suggestion contained in his reply that, after the war, an Oriental Institute to train young Britishers as Sanscriticists should be started in a place like Benares, with funds raised in England for the purpose.

The world of oriental scholarship has lost a veteran and a leader of acknowledged supremacy in the death of Barth on April 15, 1916. It is only in the last two decades that a score of German *savants* with the great Max Müller, Keith, Macdonnell, Fleet and others have sprang into view and have widened the field of oriental research. But before any of them were thought of in this connexion, the one great figure on whom all eyes were focussed was August Barth, whose masterly article on Indian Philosophy contributed to the *Encyclopédie Lichtenberger* thirty-seven years ago may even now be studied by Indologists with profit. The generous sketch of his life and labours by M. Paul Oltramare will be read by every one with pleasure.

There are many other very readable contributions in this number bearing on Siam, Burma, Trans-Persia and other countries which will amply pay perusal and will widen one's knowledge of their varying cult and custom.

K. R.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society¹

DR. JAMSHEDJI JEEVANJI MODI leads off the number with a lucid account of the Suez Canal, whose history goes back to nearly 4,000 years, to a time when Sesostri (Rameses II) known as the introducer of the canal system in Egypt first attempted to connect by a slender waterway the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. As encroachments and recedings of the sea alternated, the Canal became an isthmus oftentimes, and it was on one such transformation that Darius the Great re-dug the already ancient water-way, and thus shortened by about 4,000 miles the distance between Europe and Asia. A monument of Darius mentioning this feat of his was discovered by the famous Lesseps, father and son in 1866. Though the history of the Canal is continued thence up to the present time, it is mainly to rehabilitate Darius as one of the monarchs who reopened the Canal that Dr. Modi writes this paper, and we are glad to see that the attempt succeeds since we have the mention of several classical authors, such as Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny, and the discovery from 1799 onwards of half a dozen monuments (pillars and steles) attesting to the opening of the Canal by Darius.

Dr. Mann and Mr. S. R. Paranjpe continue their investigations of the 'Hot Springs of the Ratnagiri District,' and in this number a few springs are mentioned, the therapeutic effects of whose warm waters (some of them with a temperature as

high as 212° F.) are said to include the cure of chronic rheumatism, dyspepsia, chronic constipation, incipient cases of tuberculosis, scabies, etc., besides the regulation of the bowels, quickening of the appetite and of the action of the kidneys and skin. Many of these springs are said to be situated near the villages Rajapur and Sangameshwar. Mr. G. K. Nariman has got much interesting information to give of the great Arabian poet, philosopher and historian 'Haimza Ispahani' who lived towards the middle of the tenth century A.D. From these laboured annals of obscure Islamic and Persian historians of the tenth century, we pass on to Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *Harsha and his Times*, in which we find that the date of Harsha's birth has been assigned to the year 590 A.D. and that the correct delimitations to the powers of the contemporary Maukharis of Kanauj, the Guptas of both Malwa and of Bengal, and of the Brahmin Varmanas of Bengal, have also been set. Besides these, a fairly detailed account is given of the kings and kingdoms in the time of Harsha, gleaned from the travels of Hiouen Tsang and innumerable epigraphic and other evidences available. To one who is anxious to know of the dynastic condition of India during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries of our era, the account compiled by Mr. Vaidya is an invaluable one. Much interest lies in the brief narration of events which led to the final predominance achieved by Kanauj as an imperial capital after the fading away first of Pataliputra and then of Ayodhya. The whole article breathes an air of laborious study and keen critical acumen, qualities which we have long ago learned to associate with the name of Mr. Vaidya.

The Life and Times of Sri Vedānta-Desikā, by the scholarly Vishishtādwaitic writer Mr. Rangacharya, M.A., throws a strong light on the unique personality of Sri Desikā, a personality which combined in itself the rôle of a sage, a saint, an unrivalled expounder, a captivating teacher, a voluminous writer, a dreaded controversialist, and the most burning genius of his age. 'He was, to put the whole thing in a nutshell, a Hindu in his crusade against the Muhammadan, a Vaishnavite as against a Saivite, a Sanskrit-Tamilist as against the practically exclusive Tamilist in the holy studies. It was this many-sided activity that led to the remarkable versatility of his writings, a versatility which is a literary marvel. More than 120 works he has left most of which are now extant and prove how thorough his teachings were, how fertile his intellect was, and how exalted his views of life and conduct were. . . . No saint ever lived in more critical times, and none tided over them with such success and with such glory.'

The rest of the number is occupied with the indefatigable Dr. Modi's lengthy and critical account of the pioneer Orientalist Anquetil Du Perron of Paris, and of the impressions of India (of the eighteenth century) left by him. To those whose interest lies in tracing the genesis of French and English supremacy in India, the exhaustive notice of Mon. Perron's Memoirs will prove of inestimable value.

K. R.

¹ Bombay Branch, Vol. xxiv, No. 2

A Vedic Grammar for Students

By A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D.

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.

EVER since the publication of the monumental grammatical works of Pāṇini, Vararuchi, and Patanjali and a host of other grammarians among the Brāhman authors, and of Śakāṭyana and of his commentators among the Jaina writers, there was indeed no need whatever for any new grammatical work to aid the student or scholar in his study of Vedic or classical Sanskrit literature. But none of the famous Indian grammarians, however comprehensive and unrivalled in scope their works might be, has followed the scientific or historical method of treatment. Hence there has long been a need for a historical Sanskrit grammar treating of both the Vedic and the classical languages. Whitney was the first to supply the want by the publication of his excellent *Sanskrit Grammar*. But as he has mixed up the earlier language in its historical connexion with the later, it was difficult for beginners, as Prof. Macdonell himself says in his preface, 'to acquire from it a clear knowledge of either the one or the other.' The *Vedic Grammar*, another large treatise of the author's, is 'too extensive and detailed for the needs of the student.' Hence with a keen desire to help Sanskrit students, the author has now published a short but comprehensive practical grammar under the above title and the work admirably serves the purpose. As a scholar that has studied the intricacies of the Vedic language both in its historical and theological aspects, Prof. Macdonell is too well known by his other monumental works to need any elaborate introduction or praise.

The book is divided into seven chapters: 1. Phonetic Introduction; 2. Euphonic Combination; 3. Declension; 4. Conjugation; 5. Indeclinable words; 6. Nominal stem formation and Compounds; 7. Syntax with three appendices (1) List of Verbs, (2) Vedic metre, (3) the Vedic Accent; and with a Vedic Index and a General Index. The book contains on the whole X + 508 pages and is an excellent manual of the kind. Sanskrit students cannot be too grateful to the author for the patient and indefatigable labour that he has bestowed upon the work, admirable as is the knowledge which the author possesses of both the Vedic and Sanskrit Literature.

R. S.

The Indian Antiquary²

THE first eight numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* for this year have been kindly sent us in exchange and for review. To attempt to say anything in praise of this pioneer among journals of oriental research is fortunately not needed, and would look impertinent besides. Suffice it to say that in its life of more than three decades it has, under the successive editorship of great scholars like Dr. J. Buyers, Dr. Fleet, Sir Richard Temple and Dr. Bhandarkar, done yeoman service to the cause of ancient Indian polity, classics, and dynastic annals.

¹ Price, Rs. 5.

² Vol. xlv.

Of the eight numbers before us the first two contain a note on *Mādhava-charya and his younger brothers*, by Rao Bahadur Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya, of Bangalore, and an account of *The Ancient History of Maghada*, by Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayer, M.A., of Kumbakonum, the third is led off by a masterly sketch of Indo-China from the earliest ages by Sir R. Temple, the seventh and eighth have got a dissertation on the *Manusmṛiti in the Light of Some Recently Published Texts*, by Pandit Hiralal Amritlal Shah of Bombay, while from the second number onwards runs in a series Mr. V. Rangacharya's *History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura*. Mr. Vincent Smith has got a short incidental note on *An Embassy from Vijayanagar to China* in the last number. Mr. Narasimhacharya's two articles are an elaboration of a hint of his thrown out as far back as eight years ago in the pages of his *Archæological Report* for 1908, that the great Mādhavacharya, known to fame as Vidyāranya was different from another Mādhavācharaya or Mādhava-Mantri of the same time who was also minister to Bukka I and was a great warrior, statesman, and the author of many a learned work touching the Vedas and the Upanishads being known on that account as *Upanishanmārgapratiśhtāguru*; and finally, that Mādhava, the author of the *Sarvadarśana-sangraha*, was quite different from both the above two namesakes of his, being but the son of Sāyana, the younger brother of Mādhavacharya. Sufficient illustration is provided in the articles to substantiate the author's claim, the field surveyed being a wide one, comprising in fact all contemporary and post-contemporary literature whether lithic or literary. It remains to be seen what the world of scholars has to say on this masterly disillusionment by Mr. Narasimhacharya. *The Ancient History of Maghada* is an attempt to throw further light on one of the greatest kingdoms of ancient India. Its origin and development from the remotest ages is treated with vivid, analytical skill by the author, who brings the story down to the times of the Mauryan usurpation in the fourth century B.C. Details are nowhere extant to explain how Chandragupta Maurya (with all his great powers and Chanakya's subtlety to help him) single-handed as he must have been, contrived to overthrow the last of the Nandas, a monarch whose sway, then, was almost universal. But Mr. Ayer sees in the narration of a legend by Justin (*Historie Phillipicæ, Book XV*) that a lion and an elephant miraculously came to the aid of the intrepid Maurya, the clue to the fact that the powerful princes of Simhapura (Salt Range) and Kalinga (Orissa) must have hastened to the aid of Chandragupta. Incidentally light is also thrown on the origin of the Nagas who at one time in India and Trans-India seemed to have wielded imperial powers. The whole article is very carefully and critically written and deserves wider publicity.

The bewildering panorama presented to the view on reading Sir R. Temple's *Outlines of Indo-Chinese History* is in no way steadied when we are told by the author that the article is only a reprint from his *Indo-China*, one of the volumes contributed to the well-known *History of the Nations* series of Messrs. Hutchinson. Though we are against wholesale extracts of this kind from published books in the pages of a research journal, we should make an exception in the present case, as even with the most learned among us a knowledge of the great tribes and nations who live in the twilight between famous China and still more famous India

is always a desideratum. The nations comprised are the Thibetans, the Siamese, the Annamese and the Burmese, and the table of dates appended in the last page gives a fairly lucid summary of the histories of these four races.

Mr. Rangacharya's account of the great Naik Kingdom in the south is a fascinating memoir of heroic personalities that towered above their fellowmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The just and eloquent praise bestowed on the manly founder of the line, Viswanatha and his incomparable minister, Aryanatha, is in no way an exaggeration. Strong light is also thrown on that unique missionary personality in the annals of Indian Christianity, Robert De Nobilio. As we read the glowing account of his far-seeing aims and his audacious methods, we realize in a dim way what sacrifices religious convictions may lead a man to make. The vexed question of the weight of taxation which the people of the kingdom had to bear in those days, is clearly handled, and bearing in mind, the shifting standards of money value century after century, the author does well to discount rationally the high ratio set up by both Nelson and Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar. Very erroneous impressions of Hindu standards of taxation prevail in the minds of people who do not care to pause and enquire what standard is meant where *Indian* taxation is mentioned whether Muhammadan or Hindu. If the former, we should mention no standard whatever in connexion with it; it was wholesale plundering at all times, and rack-renting at the best—to Hindus especially. We need ask our readers to bring to their minds the state of the Carnatic under its Nabobs, when Aryanatha and Krishnappa, though they took about 50 per cent of the gross earnings of the agriculturist, were building all over the country, canals, tanks, reservoirs, embankments, choultries, temples and hospitals, with the money they got. The publication of Mr. Rangacharya's *History* in book form will be welcomed throughout India and elsewhere for the wealth of new and sifted information it gives us during two centuries of enlightened rule in South India.

We regret we have no space to notice in detail the other interesting articles bearing on philology, folklore and epigraphy.

K. R.

The Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society¹

THE June number of this erudite journal is filled with entertaining and instructive matter as usual. Dr. D. B. Spooner of Palibothra fame leads off with a splendidly illustrated dissertation on 'Temple Types in Tirhut.' The object with which this study of his has been undertaken is explained by him to be the refutation, as far as it lies in his power, of Fergusson's theory that the norm of the North Indian temples is the Orissan type as exemplified by the great Lingaraj temple at Bhuvaneshwar and the more famous Black Pagoda at Konarak. Dr. Spooner does not admit the validity of the theory, and tries to prove that the genesis of the Hindustan temples owes nothing to the Orissan type which is entirely dissimilar in essentials, whether of structural necessity or ornamentation. By a series of magnificent photographs, he illustrates the gradual rise of the Tirhut temples, as he calls them, from the simplest cell, sloped roof and porch to the most complicated Panch-mandirs, as for example, the one at Chāpra of which the lecturer says: 'This temple is remarkable not only for the clarity with which it illustrates the principles we have been discussing, but still more so for the wonderful approach it makes to European forms. . . . In architectural feeling it seems to me that the present example approaches curiously near to many ancient and famous shrines in European cities, and some here will, I fancy, be reminded of the great cathedral at Milan. . . .'

The skill with which the illustrations have been chosen and have been made to lend concreteness to his arguments is above all praise, while the conclusion arrived at, that typical Indo-Aryan architecture is indigenous and not borrowed, is a noteworthy one as tending to confirm the similar opinion come to by Mr. E. B. Havell in his epoch-making book *Indo-Aryan Civilization*.

House-building and Sanitation in Ancient India, by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D. Litt., is a very carefully drawn-up paper on the planning by the ancient Indians of their towns and cities, on the building of their dwelling houses and on their arranging their daily life under these three heads. The subject is very exhaustively treated, the authorities relied on being the *Charaka*, *Shushruta* and *Brihat Samhitas*, the *Matsya* and *Agni Puranas*, the *Bhāvaprakasha* and Vāṭayāyana's *Kamasūtra*. Mr. K. Devanadhan's paper on the same subject (though titled somewhat differently) has fairly familiarized readers of the *Mythic Journal* with its essential features, the one new thing in the present thesis being the accurate specification of different styles of houses illustrated with elaborate groundplans. Essays and studies like this by thoughtful Indians on their own civilization, before it came into contact with western ideals, do humanity a service, in that they authoritatively open the eyes of the moderns to the fact that not all the most complicated inventions of the present can add one brick to the edifice of right living reared long, long ago by their ancestors who lived whether on the banks of the Ganges, the Tigris or the Nile.

¹ Vol. II, Part 2.

Says the *Sushru-Samhita* towards its close: 'Bathing is necessary; clothing should be clean. . . . One should never talk ill of the king, gods, or his elders; one should avoid the company of bad men . . . one should avoid places where any epidemic is spreading; if one chances to sneeze or yawn among a large number of men, he should always cover up his mouth; one should not expose his chest either to wind or to sun; one should not stare at the wind or the star . . . one should never eat at the house of men or women of bad character, or of such persons as have been dismissed from their posts; one should never eat anything in which hair or fly or insects have fallen; hands and feet should always be washed before food.'

Have the twenty-five or thirty centuries since the above rules were written taught us anything which can supersede them?

In the third instalment on *Kalidasa*, Mahamahopadyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E., treats of the chronology of the great poet's works and gives us an estimate of his learning. Facts are given and arguments are advanced to prove how *Ritusamhara* was the Master's first undertaking, *Malavika-Agnimitriyam*, the second; *Meghadhuta*, the third; *Vikramorvasi*, the fourth; *Kumarasambhava*, the fifth; *Sakuntala*, the sixth; and the immortal *Raghuvamsa* the seventh and last. As for Kalidasa's learning the author proves with convincing arguments from the seven works, how to this sovereign among Indian poets, there was little, in the whole range of Indian literature before his time or of his own time, which he did not study and from which he did not draw his inspiration. The Vedas he knew thoroughly besides the *Puranas* including the great *Ramayana*; contemporary history was familiar to him, and as for geography of the world as then known to the Hindus 'he is absolutely accurate not only on the political and physical geography of the country but on the distribution of races, plants, wild animals, fruits and flowers.' He knew *Kamasutra* as a master as also the dry details of *Arthasastra*, *Gajasastra* (i.e. about elephants), *Dhanurvedya* (the art of war) the merrie science of the hound and the horn, dramaturgy, *Ayurveda*, (the science of the healing art), the *Yogasastras*, astronomy (wherein he shows he is aware of the theory of Aryabhatta that the moon's rays are only a reflection of the sun's rays from the watery surface of the moon), Sanskrit grammar, Hindu law and ritual—in fact *all* branches of knowledge which in his days held the field are shown by Mr. Shastri, to have been mastered and assimilated by that wonderful genius whose equals in the world's constellation seem to be only a Homer, a Dante and a Shakespeare.

Among other articles of interest in this number, Prof. Jadu Nath Sircar's *History of Orissa from Persian Sources* throws ample light on the middle and closing periods of Mughal supremacy in Orissa ending with the year 1725; *Santal Legends*, by the Rev. Dr. Campbell and *The Divine Myths of Mundas*, by Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., afford interesting reading to lovers of folk-lore; while, *Some North Indian Charms for the Cure of Ailments*, by Babu S. C. Mithra, M.A., B.L., affords equally interesting reading to lovers of thaumaturgy and faith-cure.

K. R.

Note in connection with the above by R. D. Anstead, Esq.

The following Note from *Nature*, vol. xcvi. No. 2450, Issue of 12 × 16, p. 131, may be of interest to the members of the Mythic Society which may be able to get the original paper quoted:—

'The problem of the origin of what he called the Indo-Aryan type of Indian temples was never completely solved by James Fergusson and later enquirers have done little to produce a solution. In the June issue of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Dr. D. B. Spooner, well known for his excavations at the site of Pataliputra, has in a great measure solved the difficulty. Beginning with the most primitive forms of shrine, little more than a square box, he shows that the desire of the Indian architect was to produce a play of light and shade by advancing the central portion a little way, and then to repeat the process, so as to produce a lower structure decorated with three miniatures. At some stage of the local architectural history, this three-fold division seems to have come prominently into notice, and the architect conceived the idea of balancing this triplicity rhythmically by a corresponding three-fold division of his tower in horizontal stories. This idea of the architectural rhythm is very ingeniously developed by Dr. Spooner, and his paper deserves the attention of architects. He closes by saying, "The people of Tirhut are to be warmly congratulated on the possession of so complete a series of temples as they now possess, a series sufficient to illustrate the whole development of this important style, and a series including many shrines of special interest and beauty. Let us hope that they will do their best to safeguard their inheritance and to maintain the temples we have seen in good condition."'

'The Riks' by Mr. T. Paramasiva Iyer

It is nearly five years since Mr. T. Paramasiva Iyer, one of the judges of the Chief Court of Mysore, published his unique work *The Riks*, the result of his patient and laborious research into the Vedic or rather Sanskrit literature. So novel and revolutionary are the conclusions he has arrived at by applying geological principles to the interpretation of the Vedic and allied Sanskrit literature that very few scholars either in the east or in the west seem inclined to shake off their old convictions and accept the new. The difficulty in accepting his new theory lies not merely in bidding good-bye to almost all our cherished religious, social, and philosophical convictions but in rewriting all Sanskrit lexicons, giving entirely new meaning to almost all the Sanskrit words that are contained in them. Whether this or something else is the reason for the silent reception which the learned work seems to have met in the world of scholars, it is, however, a work that deserves to be studied by all who love conservative India and yet desire to advance on the broad road of modern civilization, shaking off the heavy and thwarting weight of national and religious bias.

The book contains XI+199 pages and is divided into fifteen chapters. In the first chapter he explains in his peculiar lucid style how the difficulty of accepting the old explanation of the frequent conflict between Indra and Vritra led him

to geology to find a rational interpretation of the myth. In Nirukta II. 16, Yaska gives a summary of the opinions of various scholars regarding the meaning of the word Vpitra:—

तत्को वृत्रः । मेघ इति नैरुक्ताः । त्वाष्ट्रोऽसुर इत्येतिहासिकाः । अपां च ज्योतिषश्च मिश्रोभावकर्मणो वर्षकर्म जायते । तत्र उपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णाः भवन्ति । अहिवत्तु खलु मंत्रवर्णाः ब्राह्मणवादाश्च । विवृद्धया शरीरस्य स्तोतामि निवारयां चकार । तस्मिन्हते प्रसस्यन्दिरे आपः ।

'Who was Vpitra? "A cloud," say the etymologists. "An Asura, son of Tvasntri," say the story-tellers. The fall of rain arises from the mingling of the waters and of light. This is figuratively depicted as a conflict. The Hymns and Brāhmaṇas describe Vpitra as a serpent; by the expansion of his body, he blocked up the streams. When he was destroyed, the waters flowed forth.'

The following is one of the many verses describing Vpitra as a mountain blocking up the rivers:—

अदर्दः उत्सं असृजः विखानित्वं अर्णवान् बद्धधानान् ।

अरम्णाः महान्तं इंद्र पर्वतं विघट्टः सृजः विधाराः अत्र दानवं हन् ॥

V. 32-1.

'Thou Indra laying the great mountain open, slaying the Danava (Vpitra) didst loose the torrents.'

Dissatisfied with the cloud and rain theory of Yaska, Professor Hillebrandt proposed a new theory, according to which the waters are those of rivers and mountain streams; their confiner is the frozen winter, when the rivers are at their lowest level; conceived as a winter monster by the name of Vpitra or the confiner who holds captive the rivers on the heights of glacier-mountains; and thus Indra is no other than the spring or summer sun who frees them from the clutches of the winter-dragon.

Mr. T. Paramasiva Iyer goes a step further and takes Indra to be a volcanic mountain by the periodical eruption of which Vpitra, the glacier, was melted so as to let the torrents flow. The description of the features of glaciers and volcanic mountains seems to the author to be so exactly like those of Vpitra and Indra that he is driven to the conclusion that Vpitra was a glacier and Indra a volcano.

In the following three chapters, the learned author continues his geological theory and identifies Rudra with 'atmospheric electricity,' Dānu, Vpitra's mother, with snow, Maruts called also Sudānus with soft snow fields, Prisni, the mother of the Maruts, with storm-clouds, and Aditi, the mother of Indra, with a tableland.

What is most surprising is the author's attempt in the fifth chapter to identify Soma, the exhilarating drink of the Vedic poets and of the Vedic gods, with petroleum and Stomas or Sāma Chants with 'sing-song issues of gases; strange though it may appear, he goes on to identify Gāyatri, Trishtup, Jagati and other metres with marsh gas, acetylene and ethylene. Consistently with the geological principles he has attempted to apply to the Vedas, the author goes on to identify in the sixth

chapter the Adityas, the brothers of Indra, with some older extinct volcanoes and cites the following verse as an additional evidence of the identification:—

इंद्रज्येष्ठान् बृहद्भ्यः पर्वतेभ्यः क्षयान् एभ्यः सुवसि पश्यवतः ।

यथा यथा पतयंतो त्रियेमिरे एव एव तस्युः सवितः सवाय ते ॥

Rig. v. IV. 5, 4.

'Out of the great mountains, you create the gods of whom Indra is the greatest, and for these you create homes over fissures. As they flew up and settled apart, they stood helpfully to promote your creation.'

What appears to take away the breath of all Vedic commentators from Yaska down to Śāyana is the astounding discovery, which the learned author depicts at great length in the seventh chapter, of the identity of Vishnu, the constant companion of Indra in his conflicts with Vpitra, with 'basaltic lava.' It is the flow of this Vishnu or basaltic lava which, in the opinion of the author, bridged over the Red Sea for Moses and his followers, which destroyed not only such upstart volcanoes, as Jarāsandha and Śiśupāla, but also such golden-coloured crystalline schists as Hiranyakaśipu and Hiranyāksha by his overwhelming overflow.

The eighth chapter is taken up with the identification of the ten *Avataras* with volcanic mountains; the ninth chapter is devoted to the description of the exploits of Apollo and Krishna as volcanic mountains; and in the tenth chapter the *Yagnas* or Sacrifices are explained as forms of labour to prepare the earth for agriculture and human life.

Discussing chronologically at some length in the eleventh chapter the various geological forces at work in harmonizing the seasons and preparing the earth for human life, the learned author proceeds in the twelfth chapter to dwell upon the importance of the geological phenomena in enabling man to learn the elements of civilization, such as architecture, machinery, sovereignty and war, explaining at the same time the car-festival as an imitation of a volcanic mountain in action.

The necessity of the preservation of the Riks and the manner of their interpretation are pointed out in the thirteenth chapter. The last two chapters are devoted to the description of the origin of religion and morality from the source of the same geological phenomena.

Interesting, entertaining, and perhaps logical as the theory seems to be, it appears to possess one serious defect which is likely to make it unacceptable to scholars. It is the alteration of accepted meaning of the Vedic words. No Vedic commentator from Yaska to Śāyana, nor any of the western oriental scholars that have made a thorough study of the Vedic literature seems to have dreamt of the meanings which the learned author has been obliged to assign to the Vedic words in order to give a shape to his novel theory. To point out the defective aspect of the theory, I append below a list of the Vedic words with their accepted and newly assigned meanings given side by side:—

Ahribudhnya	... A star	... Bergschrund.
Aja śkapād	... A star	... Icefall.

Aditi	... A goddess	... Elevated tableland.
Rik	... A verse	... Tiny bubbles of hydro-carbon gas
Gih	... Speech	... Bubbles of gas.
Stoma	... A Sāma chant	... Steady sing-song issues of gas.
Gāyatrī	... A metre of eight syllables	... Marsh gas.
Trishṭup	... A metre of eleven syllables	... Acetylene.
Jagatī	... A metre of twelve syllables	... Ethylene.
Soma	... A plant or its juice	... Petroleum.
Vāyu	... Wind	... Steam.
Brahman	... Praise	... Hydrogen.
Ritus	... Seasons	... Warm springs.
Utsava	... Procession	... Sub-aerial flow of lava.
Rishi	... A sage	... Crude petroleum.
Aśva	... A horse	... Liquid petroleum.
Go	... A cow	... Lime.
Urja	... Strength	... Essence of peat-moss.
Isha	... Food	... Agricultural clay.

These are a few of a large number of Sanskrit words, the meanings of which our ingenious author has had to change to make his theory stand. Whether the new meanings are correct and rational or the old and accepted meanings are right, is a point which can be better left to the learned judge himself for decision.

R. S.

Kautilya's Arthasastra

By MR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THIS justly famous work, while it was appearing in instalments in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Mysore Review*, attracted no little attention from famous scholars engaged in the study of Ancient India. While as yet the complete translation was not published, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian, India Office Library, wrote in the *J.B.A.S.* for April, 1909, 'I can testify to the great value of the work, which sheds more light upon the realities of ancient India, especially as concerns administration, law, trade, war and peace, than any text which we possess, and which will enrich our lexica with an immense accession of technical and other expressions belonging to all departments of life.' This opinion was deservedly chorussed by Mr. Vincent Smith, Drs. L. D. Barnett, and J. Jolly. Such was the flood of light thrown on the recesses of the ancient polity of India, that Mr. Vincent Smith, who lost no opportunity to enrich his *magnum opus*, the *Ancient History of India*, revised a not inconsiderable number of pages of the book.

The text, after considerable care was lavished on it, was published in the Mysore Government Oriental Series, while a considerable time was given to push on the English translation. Though the translation was complete long before it was published by the liberal patronage of the Government of Mysore, the learned translator was not quite anxious for publication as he thought that it still required

revision and careful study in the light of other commentaries than the one he had, as not a few words in the original are as obscure as they are obsolete. After a considerable time had elapsed in correspondence and constant revision, to the immense delight of an eager expectant reading public, the translation was published in the early part of last year with an appreciative and sympathetic introductory note by Dr. J. F. Fleet, who had not only helped the translator with helpful criticism but also with sustaining encouragement.

It is needless for us, besides the personal touches we have given, to enter into the matter and merit of this unique work. The work, to put it in a few words, deals with the science of politics in a comprehensive way. In the language of Chanakya *Arthasastra* is the end of all sciences and, therefore, there is hardly any department of human activity with which the government of those days might justly deal which is not dealt with in this marvellous book. The formation of the village and how a king should conquer a country and rule his own may be seen dealt with in all interesting detail in the book. The law of civil procedure, the criminal procedure, the evidence act and the penal code are there. Statecraft figures as largely as domestic economy, the science of agriculture is put side by side with matters relating to the collection and disbursement of State revenue. A system of espionage defying the ingenuity of German '*kultur*' is minutely and weirdly dealt with in this archaic work. That the government was identified with the activities of the people so intimately is what strikes us with wonder. In short, one should read to understand whether a man could be gifted with such versatility as to have been the author of this book of marvels. Even magic and mystery are dealt with from a practical point of view.

Considerable doubts have been raised whether Chanakya, the Machiavellian minister of Chandragupta, is after all the author of that *Arthasastra*. The translator himself takes considerable pains to fix the authorship on him but, we may be permitted to say, with no great conviction to our minds. Though Professor Jacobi gives his weighty support to the view of the translator, Professor Keith in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, January, 1916, controverts the theory by adducing various reasons. Our own view is that there was such a reputed minister as Chanakya or Kautilya as he was afterwards called in the court of Chandragupta; that he was a minister of peculiar and strong views of statecraft; that he had a large following to whom the doctrines that are given sanction in the work had been religiously taught; and that one or other of them collected them some considerable time after and gave them in the shape of a treatise. Chanakya himself controverts or supports many schools of political thought in his time. One such school that followed the principles of Chanakya must have been responsible for keeping the memory of its master green for the publication of his work in its present form dates about the first century B.C.

In such a scholarly work as this we regret to note that there is hardly any page where the printer's devil is not in evidence, and even the copious index for which the indefatigable translator deserves the thanks of all the readers of his work is very much wanting, as a number of important references do not find mention. The book is a little too costly to secure a large reading public. We hope that

Mr. R. Shama Sastry will give us quite soon another edition free from these defects, and give us in each page for ready reference the chapter and book to which that page belongs, for it is wearisome work for one to verify references by wading through a number of pages before he can find them. As we have been informed that Mr. R. Shama Sastry himself is not satisfied with regard to the date and authorship of the work, we hope he will have collected enough material by the time of the next edition to give us the latest and most conclusive views on this much debated point.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
 2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—
 - (a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects more particularly in Mysore and South India.
 - (b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.
 3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, Branch Secretaries, one or more Editors, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.
 4. Membership shall be of two kinds—
 - (a) Honorary.
 - (b) Ordinary.
 5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons who, in the opinion of the Committee, have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.
 6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
 7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.
- Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscription

from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum. Any subscriber, on payment of rupees three per annum, will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

The activities of the Society shall be as follows :—

- (a) There shall be, as far as possible, nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.

[Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.]

- (b) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous 1st July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.

[Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.]

- (c) The Society will encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee and duly notified to those concerned.

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisitions and obtaining orders in each case.

159-4



KESAVA TEMPLE AT SOMNATHPUR

By courtesy of the Mysore Archaeological Department

159

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held, as far as possible, in July, when the report and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in the 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being :—

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161

The

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A TWELFTH CENTURY UNIVERSITY IN MYSORE

A paper read before the Mythic Society

BY DR. A. VENKATA SUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

'BELGAMI, Belgami or Belgāme is now a village in the Shikarpur Taluk of Shimoga District, Mysore, situated in 14° 24' N. and 75° 15' E., fourteen miles north-west of Shikarpur town. The population in 1901 was 1330.' Such is the information given about the present condition of the village in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Mysore and Coorg*, p. 251. To this we can now add that the population in 1911 was 1580 and that most of the people seem to be Lingāyats. For further information about its present condition and its antiquities, see the *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. ii, p. 448, *Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1910-11*, §§ 36-39, and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, *Introduction*, p. 46.

It is my purpose to give in this paper an account of the former glories of this place which was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a great city, the capital of the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province and a great University and religious centre. Before doing so, however, it is necessary that I should speak a little about the educational agencies of ancient and medieval India and about what I mean by 'University' when I employ that term in connection with Belgami.

Nowadays, we understand primarily by the term University a body corporate founded by a charter of the King or State—Government or Pope for the

purpose of carrying on 'higher' education in a country, that is to say, for founding or affiliating colleges, halls and hostels, framing syllabuses, defining and appointing courses of study, conducting examinations, granting degrees, etc. Secondly, we understand by that term a centre of learning where instruction of an advanced type can be had by all in many or all departments of human knowledge. It is in this secondary sense only that one can speak of universities in medieval India; for, in the sense of a body corporate founded by a charter of the King, Government or Pope, universities did not exist in India before A.D. 1857.

Even in Europe the universities of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries were merely centres of learning; they were not founded by the King or Pope but had grown up of themselves from the schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals into famous institutions attracting students from distant places. The getting of a charter from the King or Pope came to be regarded as of primary importance, as a *sine qua non* only later on, that is, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

This was chiefly due to a provision of the law which prescribed that all persons who wanted to follow the profession of teaching should first get a licence to do so. Such a licence was given by the Chancellor of the cathedral or some other ecclesiastic after an examination of the applicant. The 'degree', too, granted by the earlier Universities was nothing else but such a licence conferring a right to teach anywhere, the Universities asserting that their examination and 'degree' were of such a standard, that another examination and licence were unnecessary. We, therefore, find the Emperor and the Pope interfering in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in this matter and declaring, with the support of the jurists, that such degrees or licences to teach were not valid unless the Universities that granted them were first empowered by themselves to grant such degrees. The reason for interference lay no doubt in the desire to ensure that proper persons only received a licence to teach and that persons with heretical or seditious principles—that is, principles subversive of the State Government or State religion—were shut out from the profession of teaching. This claim to interfere was urged with so much force by the Emperor and the Pope that most of the Universities had to submit and to ask for a charter.

In Europe, therefore, the getting of a charter from the King, Emperor or Pope came to be regarded as a *sine qua non* of a university chiefly because of the provision of the law referred to above that insisted that a person who wanted to follow the profession of teaching should first get a licence. In India, on the other hand, there could be no such provision of the law; for, here it was the duty and the privilege of every Brahmin to teach; and Brahmins, as we know, were such because they had been born in certain families and not because they had acquired a certain standard of learning. Moreover, in India

there was no central authority on matters of theology and doctrine as in Europe, where it was the Pope who through his Archbishops and Bishops ordained and admitted people into the order of priesthood, and whose opinions therefore on matters of doctrine and theology were authoritative. In India, on the other hand, every Brahmin was a priest and there was no need of ordination to make him one. Owing to this absence of a central authority, as to religious matters in India, there was much difficulty in determining whether a certain belief, doctrine or ritual was heretical—that is, opposed to the *Śāstras* or no. The question, therefore, of taking precautions to prevent people of heretical opinions from becoming teachers and thus corrupting the minds of the young did not assume much importance in India. It must, however, have been otherwise as regards seditious principles, for about these there could not be any uncertainty or indefiniteness. But, as the Kings or Governments whose position was thus sought to be undermined were in power and could deal effectively with the propagators of such opinions, we must suppose that they did so whenever the occasion demanded it, not indeed by means of insisting on each Brahmin teacher obtaining a licence, but by means of the provisions of the criminal law in force.

Owing then to the existence of these peculiar conditions, the getting of a charter from the King or Emperor did not, in India, assume such great importance as it did in Europe. And as a consequence, the Universities here were allowed to progress in their own way without much interference on the part of the State.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY

• The subjects studied were at first¹ ten, namely, the four *Vedas*—*Rig*, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvan*, and the six *Vedāṅgas* or limbs of the *Veda* comprising Phonetics (*Śikshā*), Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), Prosody (*Chhandas*), Etymology and Interpretation (*Nirukta*), Astronomy (*Jyautisha*), and Ritual (*Kalpa*). To these were added in very early times, a few subjects, wherein, as we learn from the *Chhāndōgya Upanishad*² instruction used to be given. These were the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, forming the fifth *Veda*, *Dēva-vidyā*, *Bhūta-vidyā*, *Kshatra-vidyā*, *Nakshatra-vidyā*, *Sarpadēvajana-vidyā* and seven³

¹ This stage is reflected by the *Mundaka Upanishad*, I. i. 5.

² VII. i. 2.

³ According to the commentators. But it is possible to understand that there are only four others mentioned. These seven subjects are *Vedānam Vēdaḥ*, *Pitryaḥ*, *Rāsiḥ*, *Daivam*, *Nidhiḥ*, *Vākōvākyaḥ* and *Ēkāyanam*. The meaning of these thirteen terms mentioned by the *Chhāndōgya Upanishad*, is, according to the commentator as follows:—*Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* forming the fifth *Veda*, Grammar, Ritual of the *Śrāddha* ceremonies, Mathematics, Omens and Portents, the Science of locating hidden treasure; Logic and Dialectics, the science known as *Ēkāyana*, the science of worshipping the gods, the six *Vedāṅgas*, the Science of dominating over others, the science of Weapons, Astronomy, the science of overpowering Serpents, Music and Medicine.

1611-7

others. By about the third century B.C., however, it came to be recognized that the sum-total of human knowledge was comprised in the Fourteen or Eighteen sciences. There are thus many references to *ashtādaśa vidyāḥ*, *ashtādaśa śilpa-sthānāni* or *ashtādaśa sippa-sthānāni* in the Pali Jātaka-books and in the Jātaka-mālā of Ārya-Śūra. (See also the *Mahā-Vyutpatti s.v. Vidyā-sthānāni*).

The Fourteen Vidyās or Sciences are the four Vedas, and the six limbs mentioned above together with Mīmāṃsā (principles of Vedic Exegesis), Nyāya (Logic and Dialectics), Purāṇa (the Purāṇas) and Dharma-śāstra (Law). The above fourteen together with the four Upavēdas formed the Eighteen Vidyās or Sciences, the Upavēdas or minor Vedas comprising Medicine (Āyurvēda), the Science of Weapons (Dhanurvēda), Music (Gāndharvavēda), and the technical arts like Carpentry and Architecture (Sthāpatyopavēda).¹ These eighteen Vidyās were regarded as covering the whole field of human knowledge even about the fourth or fifth century A.D., when the Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas received their final form. These Purāṇas know of and enumerate the eighteen Vidyās, but do not know of any other branch of learning. The Padma Purāṇa² which is later adds to these the 'Kalās'—arts or sciences, Kāvya or Belles Lettres, Bhūta-tantra, Bāla-tantra and Bhairava.

The branches of learning, then, in ancient India were the Fourteen or Eighteen Sciences enumerated above as well as the Kalās or arts. This word 'Kalā' originally meant arts or accomplishments like carpentry, perfumery, weaving, reading and writing, examination of precious stones, etc., all of which probably formed part of the 'Sthāpatyopavēda' mentioned above. The word however, soon came to be applied to the Vedas, Vēdāṅgas, Belles Lettres, etc., so that there is scarcely a branch of human knowledge that is not styled 'Kalā' in one or other of the many lists³ of the Kalās that are met with in various books. New branches of learning, therefore, like the

¹ There is, however, a difference of opinion as to what the fourth upavēda is. Some writers say that the fourth upavēda is the science of Economy and Politics (Artha-śāstra) and others, e.g. the compiler of the Śabdakalpadrūpa, again, that it is Tantra-śāstra or Science of Tantras. According to the opinion most generally current, however, the fourth upavēda is the Science of Economy and Politics; compare

anṅāni Vēdāś chatvārō Mīmāṃsā Nyāya-vistarah |
Dharma-śāstram Purāṇam cha vidyā hy ślāś chaturdaśa ||
Āyurvēdō Dhanurvēdō Gāndharvāś chēti tē trayah |
Artha-śāstram chaturtham cha vidyā hy ashtādaśaiva tāh ||

There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that "Science of the Tantras" is a blunder for 'Science of Tantra', where tantra means the same as Arthaśāstra; compare the titles 'Tantrākhyāyikā', 'Pañchatantra' and 'Tantrākhyāna'; see also the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. xx. p. 81 ff.

² Op. Cit., Uttara-khaṇḍa, ch. 11.7

³ For fuller information about the Kalās, see my Inaugural Dissertation on this subject presented to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Berne; see also J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 358 ff.

Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Vēdānta, Rhetorics, Lexicons, Buddhist and Jain Philosophy, were conveniently included under this heading so that the traditional number of the Vidyās—fourteen or eighteen—remained unaltered and continued to be in vogue for quite a long time.

PLACE OF INSTRUCTION

The place of instruction, in prehistoric times, was the hermitage or settlement of sages (rishis); such settlements were known as 'kula' or 'guru-kula'—the House or the House of the teachers, and to these settlements the students or brahmachārins used to go for being instructed. The minimum period of study was twelve years and the maximum forty-eight years, while the average period was about sixteen years. The students had to live in the kula and to subsist on the food obtained by begging in the neighbouring cities or villages. In such settlements did the students live and receive instruction in the Fourteen or Eighteen Sciences; they also helped in the agricultural and other occupations that were necessary for the welfare of the settlement. Elaborate rules¹ were framed for the guidance of the students, and discipline was maintained by the 'kula-pati'² or Master of the House, who, in extreme cases, had recourse to the king and his officers and invoked their help in maintaining discipline and order.

CURRICULA OF STUDIES

It is needless, I think, to give here, the curricula of studies, the time of day at which studies commenced and ended, and the duration and occasion of vacations and holidays. Elaborate rules were framed on all these matters, and are to be met with in the current books on Dharma-śāstra, to which the curious reader should refer.³

INSTITUTIONS OF HISTORICAL TIMES

Turning now to historical times, we find that the departments of human knowledge are the same as were recognized formerly—namely the Fourteen or Eighteen Vidyās, śilpas or Sciences. Instead of the hermitage, however, situated near the town or village we now meet with settlements of Brahmins

¹ The rules laying down the dharmas of the brahmachārins; see, for example Manu-smṛiti chap. 2-4, and Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra, pāṭalas 1-4; Gautama, I. 2.

² So, for instance, we read in the Raghuramśa, that the sage Vasishṭha was the kula-pati or the Master of the House of the settlement in which he lived. In the same way, we learn from the Śākuntala that the sage Kaṇva was the Master of the House in his hermitage. It is to be noted that the hermitage of the sage Vasishṭha could be reached within one day from the king's capital, and that the two were connected by several villages which lay in the route.

³ I may mention here that these rules in many respects, do not differ to any great extent from those which are now in vogue. For example, as occasions for holidays are mentioned, among others, the arrival of distinguished visitors, death of eminent people, continuous rain, spread of virulent diseases, etc.

situated in the village itself. If the Brahmins thus settled were eminent teachers and their number was not small, the village or town inhabited by them would acquire much renown, attract many students even from distant countries and would be a great centre of learning. Such, for example, were **Takshasila** or *Taxilā*, whose ruins are now being excavated in the North-West Frontier Province, and **Varanasi** or Benares. These are frequently mentioned in the Buddhist books as centres of learning, and the Buddha, as we know, began preaching first at Benares, while Jivaka, the physician that attended upon the Buddha received his training at *Takshasilā*.

INSTITUTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

Coming down to Southern India, and, particularly, to Mysore, we can classify the institutions that disseminated 'higher' education under three heads—*agrahāras*, *brahma-purīs*, and *mathas* including temples. The Kadamba pillar inscription at Talagunda (*Ep. Carn.* VII, Sh. 176), which Mr. Rice assigns to the fifth century A.D.,¹ indeed relates that **Mayura-sarmman**, the Brahmin student who later became a king, visited with his *guru Virasarmman* every *ghaṭikā* in *Kāñchī*, the Pallava capital, in order to learn *pravachana*.² The context thus clearly shows that these *ghaṭikās* were educational institutions; but unfortunately references to them are few³ so that we are quite in the dark as to what kind of institutions they denoted—whether *brahmapurīs*, as Kielhorn contended (in the *Göttingische Nachrichten*, 1900, Heft. 3)⁴ or *agrahāras* or *mathas*. I, therefore, leave the *ghaṭikās* out of consideration and shall, in what follows, confine myself to the three kinds of institutions mentioned above.

AGRAHARAS

Of these, an *agrahāra* in these days means a row of houses built—and built alike—by a person and granted as a gift to Brahmins with the object of securing merit (*dharma* or *punya*) to the donor thereby ensuring a happy and long existence for him in the worlds that he goes to after death. With the houses are usually given household utensils, cloths, etc., and some lands. The total value of the gifts thus given naturally varies with the means of the donor; but the object in view in each case is to present as much land, household utensils, etc., as would enable the donee to live therein with his family without the need of looking elsewhere for means to supplement his income. The object of the establishment of an *agrahāra* is, as stated above, the acquisition of merit (*dharma* or *punya*) and not the promotion of education or learning.

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, *Introd.*, p. 9.

² *Adhi-jigāmasuh pravachanam nikhila-ghaṭikām vivēṣa* in line 4.

³ I know of only five places where the word occurs—*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 94; Sk. 176; Sk. 197 III Md. 113; and V Cn. 178. See note 2 in p. 8 of *Introd.* in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii.

⁴ See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, *Introd.*, p. 8, note 2.

In former times, too, one of the objects of establishing *agrahāras* was, no doubt, the same, namely, the acquisition of merit (*dharma* or *punya*). But the chief object in doing so was the promotion of education and learning; that this was so appears from the nature of the medieval *agrahāras* and the places where they were located.

Unlike the modern *agrahāras*, which are located in towns or cities, and form part of them¹ the medieval *agrahāra* formed a village or unit of itself, and was located in the country, that is, at some distance from towns or cities (where, as we shall see below, *brahmapurīs* were situated). It consisted of a community of Brahmins who formed a corporate body² having control of all the property of the *agrahāra* and administering its affairs. Such *agrahāras* were founded by kings and other rich people and the Brahmins, chosen as members thereof, were, as the inscriptions³ show us, learned in different branches of learning. Their income being thus assured, they naturally devoted their time to teaching students, which forms one part of their duty, and thus made the *agrahāra* a centre of learning and study, a university in short. The existence of such *agrahāras* is indicated to us by the many references to them and to their foundation that are met with in the inscriptions of every district in Mysore.

Thus, for example, the foundation of the *agrahāra* of **Sthanakundur** or **Talagund**, probably the oldest *agrahāra* in Mysore that is known to us is thus described in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 186:—'The king of which, [to supply, Kuntala country] the Lord of Banavase and the many other countries, **Mukkanna Kadamba**, an embodiment of kindness to the world, delighting in gifts, —seeking with desire in the region of the south (*dakṣiṇā-patha*) for the tribe of Brahmins (*viprakula*), and not finding any,—without delay went forth, and doing worship to the **Ahichchhatra agraḥara**, succeeded in obtaining thirty-two Brahmin families purified by 12,000 *agnihōtras*, whom honouring, he brought and established in the outskirts of the city, in the great *agrahāra* of **Sthanugudha**, which he founded in the tract he had noted where were the

¹ I know of at least twelve (modern) *agrahāras* in the city of Mysore.

² See, for instance, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. ix, 127-132, which record some proceedings of the *sabha*s of three *agrahāras*—Punganūr or *Trailōkyamahādevī-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam*, Periya-Majavūr or *Rājēndrasimha-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam*, and Vaṇḍūr or *Chōḷamahādevī-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam*; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. iv, Kr. 70, recording a proceeding of the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* *Saṅgamēśvarapura* or *Sindaghatṭa*; *ibid.*, Ng. 5 recording a proceeding of the *agrahāra* *Vīra-Ballōḷa-chaturvēda-bhattachārā* or *Nāgamaṅgala*, *ibid.*, Ng. 33, 40, 41 recording some proceedings of the *agrahāra* *Udbhava-narasimhapura* or *Bejjūr*.

³ See, for example, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. iii, Sr. 15; *ibid.* T.N. 63, (pages 241-4 of the Kanarese text), IV; Yd. 54; V, Ak. 130; V, Hn. 6; *ibid.* Bl. 79, and the description of the *mahājanas* of Talagund and Dalavāyī *Agrahāra* (*Rāmachandrapura Agrahāra*) and Kupparūr given below.

⁴ This *agrahāra* seems to be referred to by the words *vinidhanīyama-hōma-dīkṣhā-parair brāhmaṇais snātakais stūyamānē sadā mantra-vādais śubhaiḥ* of the Talagund pillar inscription, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 176, referred to above.

god Pranamēśvara, famous throughout the four *yugas* as set up by the pure and dexterous Chaturmmukha (Brahmā), and the *tīrttha* encircled by the five *Lingas* set up by that and other gods.¹ The motive of Mukkaṇṇa Kaḍamba in thus anxiously seeking to settle Brahmins in his country, a motive which led him as far as Ahichchhatra in North India, was evidently his desire to promote education in his country by founding an *agrahāra* of learned Brahmins therein. It is the same motive which induces rulers of modern days to establish universities in their countries.

This desire of Mukkaṇṇa Kaḍamba of promoting education in his country must have been fully realized; for an inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 178), dated in the sixteenth year of the Chālukya Vikrama era or A.D. 1091 informs us that the *agrahāra* of Tālagund, here called Tānagundūr contained '32,000 Brahmins with 12,000 *agnihōtras*, who enjoyed the income of 144 villages which had been granted to them by King Mayūravarmman as *dakṣhiṇā* in the eighteen *Aśvamedha* sacrifices which he celebrated, who were learned in the *Vedas*, *Vēdāṅgas* and minor *aṅgas*, in *Mīmāṃsā*, in the six systems of Logic, in *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas* and in Dramas, who were free from pride, hypocrisy, anger, greed and other such vices, who were the support of the good, etc.'² The same information is furnished to us by *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 177, dated in Śaka 950 or A.D. 1028; *ibid.*, Sk. 185, dated in Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157; *ibid.*, Sk. 186, dated in the Śaka year 1123 or A.D. 1200 and by other inscriptions.

Similarly, the inscription T.N. 63 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. iii, relates to us the story of the foundation of the Ramachandrapura Agrahara, better known as the Dalavayi Agrahara from the name of the founder. The epigraph is a long one, perhaps the longest yet discovered, and contains 1,390 lines, which

¹ Translation of Mr. Rice, p. 121² in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii. The inscription in the original reads as follows (*ibid.*, p. 2031, 2783):—*dēśaṅga-arasaṁ Banavase-modal enisid anēka-māṇḍa [lē] śvaraṁ Mukkaṇṇa-Kaḍamban jagad-anugraha-vigraham dāna-vinōdi dakṣhiṇā-pathadoḷu vipra-kulānam arakeyin elasi paṭeyade taṭeyade natat Ahichchhatragrahāraman āradhisi sādhisī padeda pannī-sāsirāgnihōtra-pavitra-dvātrimśad-vipra-kulumbanum mundittu tandu chatuṣ-yyuga-prasiddha-viśuddha-chaturābhīdhāna-Chaturmmukha-pratishṭhita-Pranamēśvara-pramukha-sura-pratishṭhita-paṇcha-līṅgālīṅgita-tīrttha-kṣhētradoḷu nōdi māḍida mahāgrahāram Sthānugūḍha-purada por volat ent ene.*

² *Somasta-bhuvana-samstāyamānāsēsha-lōkaika-pitāmaha-hiranyagarbha-Brahma-samsthāpitā-trīmat-traiḷōkyā-nātha - Pranamēśvara - dēvādihishṭhita - viśishṭhāgrahārādhisvarar Ahichchhatra samāgatar dvādaśa-sahasrāgnihōtra-parivṛita-dvātrimśat-sahasra-sankhyāsamētar yama-niyam-guṇōpāturu Brahmēndra-Chandra-Yamāgni - pratishṭhita-pancha - mahā-līṅga-sannihita - purā-tīrtthōdakṣvagāhana - pavitrikṛita-gātrar dharanara-satpātrar Mayūravarmma-nṛipasyāśitādātāśvamedhādihvara - dakṣhiṇōpalādha - chatuś - chatvārimśad - ullara - śatagrāmādhishṭhāyānīśāndigāha-vipula-dharmma-nirṇāyakar anēka-yajñāvabhṛitha-puṇyāmbu-mayatā bhishiktārādī mārḍhajar Mahā-tīra-vēdi-dhvajar Brahmārāja-sabhā-pūjāgragrāhigaḷ āśrita-jana-manō-ranite phala-dāyigalu vēda-vēdāṅgōpāṅga-mīmāṃsādisāstra-śat-tarkka-smṛiti-purāṇa-nāṭaka-vishay-sarōjini-bhāskarar ūdha - hṛīdaya-kumuda-vana-mukula-nikara-vikaśita - sūdhākararu dambh-darpa-kṛōdhā-lōbha-mada - mātṣaryya-durvishaya-durita-gaṇa-dūraru śishṭēshṭha-janādhraru śrōman-mahā-vaiḍa-grāma-Tānagundūra mūvattirchchāsīram.*

occupy in print 41 quarto pages. The *agrahāra*, too, an account of whose foundation is given therein, is the latest¹ example of an *agrahāra* of the medieval type, that is, of an *agrahāra* which was intended to be, and was, a centre of education and learning. It was founded on April 18, A.D. 1749, by the Mysore *Dēvarājiah* (generalissimo) *Devarajiah* on the prompting of his wife *Chelvajamamba*. The number of Brahmins that formed the *agrahāra* was 120, among whom were several who had celebrated the *Paundarika*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapēya* and other sacrifices and many professors of the *Rig*, *Yajur*-, and *Sāma-Vēdas*, of Medicine (*Āyurvēda*), of Astronomy (*Jyautisha*) and of other sciences. The *agrahāra* was founded on a very liberal scale; the *Dalavāyi* had spacious houses built for the use of the Brahmins, which were handsomely furnished with bedsteads, beds, pillows and other costly seats and carpets, with articles for the worship of the gods and for household use, with a good store of rice and other grains, oil, ghee and jaggery. In each house were stabled some milch-cows; and the donees were ceremoniously let into possession with their wives and children after the *Dalavāyi* had done them meet reverence and made presents of cotton-and silk-clothes, bracelets, necklaces and other ornaments for the women, and costly ear-rings (*kundala*) and rings to the Brahmins.² The villages granted with their hamlets were thirty in number and the revenue therefrom, may, without much inaccuracy, be safely computed as amounting to not less than a lac of our rupees. As, by the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D., there were many Brahmins settled in Mysore, the *Dalavāyi* had not, like Mukkaṇṇa Kaḍamba to go to Ahichchhatra in Northern India to get them. He had only to make a selection of 120 Brahmins from among those settled in Mysore; and the inscription informs us that he selected Brahmins, 120 in number, 'who were possessed of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, who were learned in all the sciences; who were engaged in good deeds only; who were good, possessed of self-control, and free from the six vices; who were men with families and *agnihōtrins* or tenders of the triple sacred fire; and who

¹ The *agrahāras*, which were founded at a later date, all belong to the 'modern' type; they primarily mean 'a row of houses granted to Brahmins' and not a 'village or settlement of Brahmins.' See, for example, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. iii; My. 1, 2, 3; Nj. 18.

² *grihān vidhāya vipulān vṛitti-vṛitti-vibhāgalah |
śayyōpadhāna-paryāṅka-vichitrāstaranāsanaish ||
dēvōpakaraṇair gōbhīr grihōpakaraṇais tathā |
śālī-tāṇḍula-mukhyais cha dhanādhanāyair guḍair ghṛitaih ||
tailādi-sarva-sambhārais sambhṛitāns tām grihōttamān |
pravēśya dviya-varyāns cha patnī-putra-yutān mudā ||
vastra-yugmam cha sōshnīsham kausēyam ratna-kundalā |
aṅguḷiyaka-mukhyāni kalpayitvā prithak-prithak ||
vastrābharaṇa-ḍāṅka-kāṇṭhasūtrādi-bhūṣaṇaish ||
brāhmaṇāns cha sapatnikān pūjayitvātibhaktīlah ||
sa-hiranya-payō-dhara-pūrvakam pradadāu nṛipah ||*

were thorough in the *śrauta* and *smārta* ritual.¹ These 120 Brahmins though formed into one *agrahāra* were located in three villages, so that instead of one centre of education and learning, there were actually three.

It is sad to relate that this *agrahāra*, founded on such a lavish scale did not serve its purpose for many years. It is not known exactly when the lands granted were resumed; but one cannot be far wrong if one assumes that the *agrahāra* must have fared badly when Tippu Sultan was ruling in Mysore. The latest date for the resumption of the lands would be A.D. 1806, for we find that a good portion of these were included in the Jahgir of Yelandūr which was conferred on Dewan Pārnaiya in A.D. 1807.

As another instance of such *agrahāras* may be mentioned the *agrahāra* of Kuppatur, which I shall have occasion to refer to later in connexion with the sect of the Kālamukha ascetics. No epigraph has been discovered that gives an account of the founding of the *agrahāra* itself; but there are several in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. viii, which show that the *agrahāra* was flourishing in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 249, for instance, tells us that 'the *mahājanas* of the Kuppatur *agrahāra* were perfect in *yama, niyama, dhyāna, dhāraṇa, japa, mauna, svādhyāya*, and *samādhi*,² they were proficient in the *Rig-, Yajus-, Sāma-* and *Atharva-Vedas*, the *Vedāṅgas*, the eighteen *Purāṇas* and *Smritis*, in Music, in Dialectics, in Vātsyāyana's *Sūtras*, and, in the knowledge of languages; they were [well-versed] . . . in *nāṭakas* and Rhetorics (*alankāra*) and took pleasure in offering food, medicines, asylum and knowledge of sciences; they were always engaged in discharging the Brahmins' sixfold duty;³ they were like an adamant cage, i.e. an impregnable fortress in giving shelter to those who sought their protection.'⁴ This epigraph tells us

¹ *Yōga-Vēdāṅga-sampannānt śarva-sāstra-viśārādān |*
śak-karma-nirātānt sādhanāch chhṛauta-smārta-vichakṣhaṇān |
kūlumbināḥ pātrabhūtan āhitaṅgān drījōttamān |
tāntān jīrī-śaṭ-vargān āhūya paramādarāt |

² These are technical terms of the *Yōga-sāstra*, for their explanation, refer to any translation of the *Yōga-sūtras*.

³ To wit, teaching and learning, giving and receiving of gifts; sacrificing and officiating as priests; of these six, teaching, receiving gifts, and officiating as priests, are the special duties of Brahmins, and cannot, in ordinary times, be undertaken by people of other castes.

⁴ This cannot be understood without a reference to the troublous nature of the times. In the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the villages, and towns of what we now know as the Shimoga district were constantly exposed to the raids of the aboriginal tribes living on the Western Ghats, and of the armies of different rulers—Hoysalas, Chālukyas, Kālachuris, Sōunas, Yādavas, and the Kādambas of Hāṅgal, not to mention petty chiefs—who were contending for that time. Corporations like the Kuppatur *agrahāra* felt it necessary to maintain a few retainers who would defend the village and beat off attacks of enemies. Under such circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising to find that the corporation of the *agrahāra* gave shelter sometimes to those who sought their protection. Such action must sometimes have resulted in an attack on the *agrahāra* itself.

⁵ *Yama - niyama-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maunānushīlāna-japa - samādhi-śīla-guṇa - sampannān |*
*Rig-Yajus-Sāmātharva-Vēda-Vēdāṅgānka . . . āhīdāśa-ṣṣṭi-purāṇa . . . Bharata-śrī-
Vātsyāyana . . . pākarma-bhāṣā-parijñāna-prasannānām āśā-kāvyā . . . nāṭakāṅkāra-
bhāṣa-bhāṣayya-sāstra-dāna-vinōdarum śaṭ-karma-nirātānām śarāṅgata-vajra-paṭṭān-
śrīmat-sarvaśāstram-agrahāram Kuppatur-āśā-mahājanāṅgaḥ |*

expressly that the Brahmins of Kuppatur took pleasure in offering a knowledge of the sciences to all who asked for it; that is to say, that they took pleasure in instructing others in all the sciences. Inscriptions Sb. 262 and 276 also in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii give us a similar description of the learning of these Brahmins; and the former of these says that Kuppatur was, as it were, the birth-place of all the sciences.¹

The glories of Kuppatur must have passed away before the beginning of the fourteenth century; in the inscriptions of a later date, namely, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 261, 263, 278 and 268, no mention is made of the *agrahāra* or of its learned Brahmins; and the last of the above-mentioned epigraphs, which is also the latest of them, being dated in Śaka 1551 or A.D. 1629 calls Kuppatur a mere village.²

BRAHMAPURIS

We now come to the closely allied institutions, called *brahmapuris* which were settlements of Brahmins in towns or cities. Thus, we read, for instance, in the inscriptions of Belgāme³ that that city contained seven *brahmapuris*. Being a settlement of Brahmins, a *brahmapuri* must of necessity have been a centre and a disseminator of learning. It differed from an *agrahāra* in these respects only—namely that the latter formed a village of itself while the former was part of a city or town, and that an *agrahāra*, was a body corporate possessing property, while a *brahmapuri* does not seem to have been such a body. So far as giving consent to measures of general interest is concerned, the *brah-*

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 262—

. . . *vipra-sura-citra-nikēṭana-māḥeyinde kaṇ |*
golipudu Kuppatur śakala-vidyega tān ene janma-bhūtalām | |
nēgaḍ ākhīla . . . ti-purāna-kāḍā-bahu-tarkka-tantrapā- |
ragar uchitādhvārāvabhīṭha-samanapanātipavitra-gātrār a- |
tyagaṇila-saṭya-śaucha . . . tithi-pūjana-dēvapūjeyim |
sogayipa Kuppatura-śibhu-viprar id śm bhuvana-prasiddharō | |
Ibid. : Sb. 276 :—

. . . *dhāraṇa-maunānushīlāna-japa-samādhi-śīla-guṇa-sampannānām aupāsanāgnihōtra-drīja-
guru-dēvatā-pūjā-tatpararum . . . yajana-adhyayana . . . Rig-Yajus-Sāmātharva-cha-tur-vēda-
vēdārīṭha-śivajjānarum Sarasvatī-karṇāvatamsarum nūmmaḷa-vāchā-prachandārum . . . nāṭak-
śīhāsa-mīmāṃsā-Bharata-ḡaṇila-Vātsyāyana-śakala-sāstra-pravīṇarum . . . anāḍi-agrahāram
Kuppatura-sāśirvvarum.*

² In connexion with the period of usefulness of *agrahāras*, it might be remarked that the majority of such institutions ceased to be useful—that is, ceased to be centres of learning and education after about 150 years. The reasons for such a dead-stop are various:—The first place is taken by the troubled times and the various attacks and raids made by the armies of contending princes or chiefs; in the second place, the descendants of the original grantees would degenerate and lose all the property by about the fifth generation; they would thereafter have to look about for means of livelihood. The comparatively long period of usefulness of the Kuppatur and Tānagundūr *agrahāras* must be attributed to the large number of people that formed the *agrahāra* and to their affluent circumstances which permitted them to employ a band of armed retainers for purposes of offence and defence.

³ See for instance, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. vii; Sk. 106, 108, 119, 123, Vol. viii, Sb. 276, 277.

mapurī, too, acted to some extent as corporate bodies.¹ But there is no evidence in any inscription to show that a *brahmapurī* dealt as a corporate body with any property. Differing, therefore, in these two respects from an *agrahāra*, in all other respects a *brahmapurī* resembled the latter and was like it an educational centre.

The inscriptions do not yield much information about the *brahmapurīs* and their establishment or foundation; the reason for this is no doubt the scarcity of large cities, and consequently of *brahmapurīs* which can only form part of such cities, in ancient times. It is, therefore, very interesting to find an account given of the foundation of one in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 123; this account confirms the statement made above that except that an *agrahāra* formed a village by itself while a *brahmapurī* formed part of a city, there was not much difference between the two. The inscription referred to records that the *daṇḍanāyaka* **Kesavadeva**, Governor of the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province, being counselled² thereto by the *daṇḍanāyaka* **Recharasa**, one of his officers, founded a *brahmapurī*, called *Kēśavapura* after himself, in Belgāme by building a temple to the god Kēśava and by establishing thirty-eight Brahmins in that *brahmapura*.

For this purpose, the *daṇḍanāyaka* Kēśavadēva 'acquired in the southern quarter of Balipura a tract of land fertile to produce all manner of fruit, very extensive and level as a mirror, from **Sarvesvara Pandita** of the Pañchalinga temple, and in that pleasant tract, after arranging and transforming to the utmost timber and stone as if striving to add to all the variety of forms in which Brahma had created wood and stone, the *daṇḍādhipa* Kēśirāja with exceeding devotion built for the god Kēśava an abode filled with beauty and a joy to the sight.'

'And on a large piece of land in front of that temple, this treasury of spreading fame acquired by the fulfilment of his heart's desire, built a town and named it *Virakēśavapura*. Then that jewel of *daṇḍanāyakas* gave that town, filled with commodious houses having raised seats in each chamber containing the softest cushions (of down) and all manner of vessels to a band of Brahmins. This done, that *Virakēśavapura* was everywhere praised as the birth-place of the *Kṛita-yuga*, the place where all the *Vēdas* dwelt in luxury, a mine of pure conduct and virtues, a place of the most exalted merit, and was as an anklet set with the nine kinds of gems of the earth goddess.'³

¹ See the inscriptions cited above.

² *illibhavadīya-nāmaññilav enipa Kēśavapuramuman alli Vira-Kēśava-dēva-dēvāyatanamumam nirmisidod aihikadol amaḷa-kirttiyūm amutrikadol akhiḷa-puṇya-pūrttiyūm pāramārtthikadol paramasukha-sampattiyaum akkum.*

³ Translation of Mr. Rice with some alterations; p. 94² in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii. The original text reads as follows (*ibid.*, p. 169¹):—

daṇḍanātha-chaḍā-ratnam Balipura-dakṣiṇa-dig-vibhāgaḍol . . . samihita-sakala-phala samudaya-janma-bhūmiyūm enisid ati-vipuḷa-darppana-samalaḷa-bhāpradēsamam Pañchalingad

After settling the Brahmins in the houses described above, Kēśava-daṇḍanāyaka provided for their income by giving them each a 'Vṛitti' (literally, livelihood), or some lands. The Brahmins of this *brahmapurī*, says the inscription, 'were well-endowed with all the virtues and with *yama*, *niyama*, *dhyanā*, *dhāraṇa*, *maunānushthāna*, *japa* and *samādhi*,¹ were always engaged in tending on the *aupāsana* and *agnihotra* fires, and in worshipping the gods, teachers and Brahmins and were proficient in the six systems of logic, in *Mimāṃsā* and in the other sciences. They discharged the six Brahminical duties,² and had performed the seven *Sīma-yajñas* beginning with *Agnishōma*. They were learned in many *Purāṇas*, *Smritis*, *kāvya*s, *nāṭakas* (dramas), in the *Bhāṣya* and in *Mañjarī*³ and in different kinds of witty speech and in languages; they were the support of many poets, disputants, orators and learned people. They understood the letters on stones⁴ and their bodies were the abode of all kinds of auspiciousness from their having been purified by bathing in many *avabhṛithas*.^{5, 6}

A comparison of this account of the foundation of a *Brahmapura* and of the learning of the Brahmins who dwelt therein, with the account, given above, of the foundation of the *Dalavāyi agraḥāra* and of the learning of the Brahmins

āchāryya Sarveśvara-pandita-dēvara . . . kayyol . . . padēd ā maṇḍhara-bhā-pradēśadol—
taru-pāshānādi-karmāntara-paripatiyam Padmajam lōkadol bi- |
ttarisalvōḥkum: dal end int idarole padiyachchēgi māḷittan emb ant |
ire chaltam tāḷdi dṛiṇ-mandanav enipa lasat-Kēśavāvāsamam nir- |
bhāra-bhakti-bhrajitam mādisidan eseye daṇḍādhipam Kēśirājam | |
anantarav atiprikiyim daṇḍanātha-maṇi-mandanam tat-puravaramam | |
ati-mṛidula-tāḷika-prōn- |
nata-maṇcha-lasad-viśāla-paryyāḷadi- |
sthitu-sadanōpakarana-san- |
tati-sahitam vipra-tatige koṭtan amōgham | |
antu māḷe | |
idu kṛita-kalpa-janma-nilayam dilav int idu viśva-vēdada- |
bhyudaya-nivāsav int idu pavitra-charitra-guṇākaram samant- |
idu ghana-punya-sampada-nikētanav embinaḍ oppi tōḷutir- |
ppudu sale Virakēśavapuram dharani-navaratna-nūpuram | |

¹ See note 2 on p. 166 above.

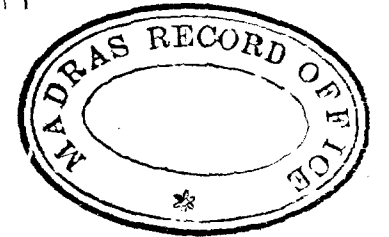
² See note 3 on p. 166 above.

³ The reference here is obscure.

⁴ A reference to stone inscriptions and to the scripts employed therein?

⁵ An *avabhṛitha* is a ceremonious bath taken after a sacrifice is over; it marks the end of the period of *dikshā*.

⁶ *Yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maunānushthāna-japa-samādhi-silā-sampannar aupāsanaḥśra-dviḷa-guru-dēvatā-pūjā-tatpararum shat-tarkka-mimāṃsāśāstra-śāstra-visāradarum yajana-yajana-dhyāyanādhyāpana-dāna—pratigraha-shatkarman-nirataruv agnishōmādi-sapta-sōma-samsthā-samavastitaruv anēka-purāṇa-smṛiti-maṇjarī-bhāṣya-kāvya-nāṭaka-nāṇa-chamatkāra-bhāṅgi-bhāṣā-vidagdhā-kavi-gamaka-vādi-vāgmi-vidvāj-jana-hṛidayāḥkṛishla-mantrā-kshararum pratipanna-silākscharu mārtilāṇḍōjvala-kirtti-yutaruv anēka-yajavabhṛithāvagdhana pavitrikṛita-sakala-maṅgalāspada-taritararum appa śrīmat—sarva-namasyada Brahmapuri-Kēśava-puradalli.*



of the *agrahāras* described above will show how close the resemblance is between the two types of institutions.

MATHAS AND TEMPLES

It now remains for me to describe the nature of *mathas* and temples. The word *matha* in these days is used of two different kinds of institutions; it means, firstly, an elementary school, especially, a village elementary school. Secondly, it means the pontifical seat of some person—not always a Brahmin—who is the *guru* or spiritual teacher of some sect of people, whose number may be large or small.

In early times, however, the word *matha*¹ meant nothing else but a hostel or hall of students; by an extension of the meaning of the word, it later came to be used of a residential college of students, and it is in this sense that we find the word used in the medieval inscriptions.

In medieval times, therefore, a *matha* was a college where students lived and received instruction; and as, in those times, instruction and religion were inseparable, all the *mathas* were attached to some temple or had some temples attached to them. That is to say, in some medieval *mathas* the college of students and their instruction took a prominent place and the worship of the gods took a secondary place; while in some other *mathas* the temple and the worship of the gods were given a prominent place, and the students and their instruction were relegated to the background. The modern *mathas* or pontifical seats of *gurus* are the lineal descendants of the former of the above two classes of *mathas*. In these modern *mathas*, too, the head of the *matha* is in charge of some images,² and there are students taught; but both these are now relegated to the background as the chief business of the head of a *matha* is now felt to be the proper guidance in matters religious and spiritual of the disciples of that *matha*. And from the latter class of *mathas* are, in the same way, descended those temples in which some instruction is, or is supposed to be, given to students.³ It also seems as if the name *matha* has been used in some inscriptions to express temples only, not having anything to do with students or teaching; but it is difficult to make a definite pronouncement on this point as sufficient details are not at hand.

¹ Compare *Amarakōśa*: '*mathaś cchātrādi-nīlayaḥ*'; but some of the *mathas* were mere rest-houses, where food might or might not have been given, for travellers, or for *vairāgins* (mendicants and ascetics).

² See, on this matter, p. 262 in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi and note 1 in that page. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri points out that it is still the custom in many *mathas* for the retiring pontiff to hand over charge of the images to his successor; and that where this is not done, disputes are sure to arise.

³ As, for instance, the big temples at Nanjangūd and Chāmarajanagar. Among the priests of these temples, are some whose duty consists of teaching the *Rigveda*, etc., to students.

Excluding those temples which come under *mathas* of either of the above two classes and where therefore the instruction of students was given a more or less prominent position, there existed in medieval times many temples in which arrangements were made for the instruction of pupils; but, these are not styled *mathas* by the inscriptions—probably, because there existed no hall or hostel where the pupils lodged. The pupils, therefore, that received instruction in the temple, must have been mostly the children of the inhabitants of the village; and the instruction, too, mostly elementary in character. As, however, certain temples seem to have offered instruction of a higher type also, I have included them among the institutions where 'higher' education could be had. In no temple, however, could 'higher' instruction have been obtained in such fulness or in so many subjects as was possible in an *agrahāra*, *matha* or *brahmapurī*. Compared with these institutions, even the best of such temples would have stood in somewhat the same position in which a small university with one or two faculties stands when compared with large universities containing the full number of faculties.

I shall now give some instances of temples which were seats of education:—

Ep. Carn, Vol. xi, Dg. 39, dated December 25, A.D. 1167, records the grant of a village to 104 Brahmins on a fixed rent of 300 *gadyāṇas* to be paid by them, by the *mahāmanjālēśvara Vijaya-Pandya-deva*. These 300 *gadyāṇas* should, the epigraph proceeds to say, be spent in the service of the god Harihara; that is to say, in buying rice, green gram, oil, ghee, fruits and vegetables, saffron, camphor and such other things as would be wanted for the temple, and in paying the salaries or wages of the temple servants. Among these servants figure six pandits who were teachers of the *Rig-veda*, *Yajurveda*, *Vedānta*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā* and the alphabet (*akṣhara-śikṣhā*); and the amount of their pay is also specified.

The elementary nature of the education provided in Harihara's temple is evident. The first part of the grant records what virtually amounts to the foundation of an *agrahāra* although the word *agrahāra* is not used here; the donees are, as usual, represented as 'masters of the *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, and of all sciences, and of good character.'

Similarly, the inscription Sk. 185 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, dated in December 24, A.D. 1151 (?) records a grant of land by *Kesava-dandanayaka* to the temple of *Pranavēśvara* at Tālgund, here called *Sthāpugūḍha-pura*. The object of the grant was that the income derived from the lands so granted should be applied to defray the expenses connected with the worship

¹ *Bhagavataḥ śrī-Harihara-dēvasya viṅśatībhoga-traikūlika-nivēdyāgrāsana-Brahmaṇa-bhōja-nāṣkharasikṣhā-vyākaraṇa-mīmāṃsā-Vedāntavyākhyāna-Rig-Yajur-veda-dvayādhyāpanārtham ēva veda-vedāṅga-paragūḍhyah sadāchāra-parēbhyaḥ sakāḷa-śāstrībhyah chaturuttara-śatēbhyaḥ Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ.*

of the god and to pay for the services of the temple servants. Among these figure six pandits—teachers of the *Rig-vēda*, *Yajur-vēda-padapāṭha*, *Sāmavēda*, *Kalpa*, Grammar (*śabdasāstra*) including *Rūpāvatāra* and *Nyāsa*, and of *Prābhākara* and *Vedānta*. To these six were granted lands on the income from which they might live and discharge their duties in the temple. The inscription then mentions two more teachers who taught the alphabet and Kannada respectively, and whose services were paid in money. Part of the income was to be devoted to feed and clothe forty-eight students—eight students in each of the six subjects mentioned above.¹

It will be seen from the above account that the instruction offered in the Praṇavēśvara temple was of a more advanced character than that in the temple of Harihara. It is not easy to understand why such an elaborate provision should have been made for education of a higher standard when the town of Tālgund was the seat of an *agrahāra* of Brāhmins. Similar instances are recorded in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Cm. 152 and Vol. iii, Tn. 27; where also provision is made for the education of students in *agrahāras*; but in these instances, the education provided for is evidently of an elementary type. We have, therefore, to conclude that the Brāhmins of the *agrahāras* gave instruction of an advanced type only.

For another example of a temple where education could be had, see *Ep. Carn.* VI, Kd 51; see also the names of donors in *ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl. 101.

As regards *mathas*, I shall give below a description of the *Kōḍiya-maṭha* which will show what sort of an educational institution it was. For other instances, see *Ep. Carn.* VI, Sg. 11, 13, etc. These show that the *mathas* in question provided instruction of an advanced type in all the fourteen or eighteen sciences mentioned above.

We see then that in the medieval period the institutions where 'higher' instruction in the branches of learning could have been had were of three kinds—*agrahāras*, *mathas* and temples, and *brahmapuris*. Of these three kinds the *brahmapuris* were few in number because large cities (wherein the *brahmapuris* had to be situated) were few; the *mathas* were somewhat more numerous while the *agrahāras* were the most numerous of these three kinds and existed in scores all over the country.

The subjects taught in these institutions were the same as were taught in ancient India, namely, the *Vēdas*, *Vedāṅgas* and *Upāṅgas*, and the *Kalās* or arts, the same fourteen or eighteen sciences (*Vidyās*) in short. Owing, however,

¹ *Dēvar aṅgabhōga-raṅga-bhōga-nitya-naimittikapūje nava-karmakkam nāḷku vēda-khaṇḍikav eradu bhata-vṛitti-Kaṇṇadaksharasikshe Rigvēda-khaṇḍika | Yajur-vēdadalli pada-khaṇḍika | kalpada khaṇḍika | Sāmavēdada khaṇḍika | śabdasāstra-rūpāvatāra-nyāsa-khaṇḍika | Prābhākara-vēdānta-khaṇḍika khaṇḍikakke chhātra 8 ra lekkade 6 khaṇḍikadal umba cheḷātraru 48 kannadad upādhyāṅge ga 5 palasiksheya śāstra-davaru.*

to the development of literature, there was a change of the textbooks that were studied. This difference will become apparent below where I shall give a description of the *K. diyamatha*. Perhaps there was a change in the time of beginning the school or college course, in the curricula of studies and in the duration and occasion of holidays; the inscriptions, however, are silent on these points, and it is futile to speculate on them. The same obscurity prevails as regards the character of discipline enforced, the authority enforcing the discipline and the length of the college course. But in all these matters, we will not be far wrong if we assume that the old rules continued to be in force with such changes only in details as were necessitated by altered circumstances.

Such then is the description of a medieval Indian University—a description which applies equally to all kinds of institutions, *agrahāras*, *mathas* and *brahmapuris*. If, therefore, I have chosen Belgāme as the subject of this paper, it is because the inscriptions give us so many details about the city itself and its handsome buildings, about the several *mathas*, the heads thereof and the subjects taught therein and about the patronage bestowed on them by governors, kings and emperors, and because we also get glimpses of the nature of the times.

To begin then with the city of **Belgame**. As stated above Belgāme was the capital of the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province. It must have been a large city§ for it contained three *puras*,¹ seven *brahmapuris*, five original *mathas*² and scores of fine temples, the chief among which were the temples of Dakṣiṇa-Kēdārēśvara, Tripurāntakēśvara, Paūcha-līṅgēśvara, Bhērūṇḍēśvara, Nakharēśvara, Agnīśvara, Sarvēśvara, Kusumēśvara, Kēśava and Narasiṃha. There were besides several Jain and Buddhist *bastis* and *vihāras*. The city must have existed from ancient times; for the tradition in the eleventh century was that it was founded by Bali, king of the Dānavas and, called Balipura after him.* The city is therefore styled *anādi rājadhāni*³ (capital from time immemorial) *paṭṭanagala tavarmane*⁴—the mother of cities *anādi-paṭṭana*⁵—the city without beginning, *mahāpaṭṭana* or *mahā-rājadhāni*,⁶—the large city or capital, etc., in the inscriptions several of which give a description of the city and of the learning and wealth of its inhabitants.

§ Sk. 118 tells us that there were forty houses (*okkalu*) of garland-makers (*mālagāra*), 1,000 houses of *tāmbāligas* (preparers of betel-leaf?) and fifty houses of *telligas* (makers of oil) in Belgāme.

¹ The meaning of this term is somewhat obscure; at first sight it looks as if by this term should be understood the settlements of merchants, who are called 'nakhara' or 'nagara' which is synonym of *pura*. But I am not quite sure that that is the meaning.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. vii, Sk. 119.

³ But the oldest inscription in Belgāme—Sk. 154, dated about A.D. 685 calls it *Vaṭṭirggāme*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sk. 92, 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sk. 100.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sk. 105.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sk. 94, 99, 109, 131, etc.

The inscription No. 100 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, for instance, describes Belgāme as follows:—

‘Among the myriads of countries the famous **Kuntala** country is the best; in which, if well considered, **Balligave**, the treasury of good people, the mother of cities, is the best, its fame being spread throughout the whole world bounded by the ocean. Being the sole abode of the learned (otherwise, the gods), it is like Amarāvati; being filled with happiness (otherwise, serpents) it is like the splendid Bhōgavati-pura; being inhabited by wealth-givers (otherwise by *Kubēra*), it is like Aṣakāvati;—thus celebrated throughout the sea-engirdled earth, what city can compare with Balligāve?’

‘To describe the qualities of its citizens:—Hospitable to strangers, of one speech, the birth-place of prudence, the dwelling place of *dharma*, a theatre for the performance of excellent poets, a simple mine of honour, performers of the pure worship of Hari, Hara, Pañkajāsana, Jina and other gods—who in the sea-encircled earth are equal to the great citizens of Balligāve? As by the bestowal of perishable articles, they can obtain neither this world nor the next, they from time to time stock their shops with the imperishable, the merchants of that famous town. Like Surapati in being the resort of the learned (otherwise, gods) like Indra’s great elephant, resplendent with great liberality (otherwise, with rut); like the moon, in being the seat of many rays (otherwise, of many arts); like the serpent king in maintaining the earth (otherwise, patience);—who in this world are equal to the great citizens of Balligāve?’

‘And there the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitarāga and Buddha, like five necklaces of the Earth, stand resplendent in that city.’

‘And there are three *purās*, like three eyes of Samagra Lakshmi or like three pearl necklaces round the throat of that fair one.’¹

¹ Translation of Mr. Rice, with alterations; the original reads as follows:—

janapada-kōṭiyō negarḍa Kuntala-dēśame sārav allī tām |
 Banavase-nādu sārav adarōḷ parihāṇise Balligāve saḷ |
 jna-nidhi pattaṇaṅgaḷa tavarmmane sārav enippa kirtitad- |
 vanavidihi mārey āge sale parvidud uruvi samasta-dhātṛiya |
 adu vibudhaikāvāsam Amarāvatiy anī atidhōgi-sōvyavanti |
 adu pesarvetku raṇḷisuvu Bhōgavati-puradante bhāvisalk |
 adu Dhanada-prasōvyav Aṣakāpura-d-ant-ene Balligāve ā- |
 vudo poḍi-pattāṇam negarḍa vārdāhi-parita-samasta-dhātṛiyō- ||
 alliya nagara-janaṅgaḷa guṇaṅgaḷam pēḷade ||
 para-hitar ākavākyar ariyōṅge tavarmmane dharmmad agaram |
 sa-rasa-kaviśvarāvaliga-kēḷigṛiham kaṇḷi pērmneg orumeyum |
 Hari-Hara-Pañkajāsana-Jinādī-vinirmala-dharmmar endod ā- |
 ddoreyaro Balligāveya mahā-nagaraṅgaḷōḷ ī-dharitriyōḷ |
 kiduv-odameyan ondane ko- |
 tī eḍe madagad iham-paraṅgaḷ emb eraduman an- |
 gadiyōḷ kidad odameyan adi- |
 gadig āṇḷipar allī negarḍa nagara-janaṅgaḷ |
 Surapatīyante sarova-vibudhāṇḷayar Indra-gaḷḍāradante bhā- |

And in Sb. 277 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, we read that the city of Balipura or Belgāme was most beautiful with merchants wealthy as *Kubēra*, with three *purās* the favoured abodes of Tripurāri (Śiva), five *mathas*, which practising the rites of their own respective creeds, were free from deceit, three medical dispensaries[†] for the promotion of *dharma*, three¹ *brahmapuris* in which the houses were as if joined together, and with numerous varied handsome mansions!² See also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 277 where the beauty of the women of Belgāme is belauded; *ibid.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 106 which praises the parks and tanks of the city and Sk. 100, 114, 123, 137 and 169 which describe some temples and images in that city.

The city seems to have had two parts or sections *Hiriya-Balligāve* (mentioned in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 276) and *Kiru-Balligāve* (mentioned in *ibid.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 96; 123).

I have already mentioned above that there were a large number of temples in this city. Of most of them, even the traces have been lost; but a few are still standing and give us an indication of how beautiful they—and the other temples—must have once been. Of these, the *Kēdārēśvara* temple is a *trikūṭāchala* or triple temple of the so-called Chālukyan style; and the *Tri-purāntakēśvara* is another fine structure with ‘exquisitely carved door ways and perforated screens.’ The *Pañchalīṅgēśvara* temple is another fine temple with a well-carved doorway. In fact, the carving in these temples is such that Mr. Rice says that in this respect the Belgāme temples are second to none in the State.³ For a description of the architecture and sculpture, see Mr. Nara-

suratara-dāna-sampad-adhikōnnatar induvinante sat-kaḷā- |
 dharar Ahirājanante nikhila-kshameg āspadar endod īgāl ā- |
 ddoreyaro Balligāveya mahā-nagaraṅgaḷōḷ ī-dharitriyōḷ ||

mattam allī

Hari-Hara-Kamalāsana-Vi- |
 tarāga-Bauddhālayaṅgaḷind intu vasun- |
 dhareg eseḷa pañcha-saradant |
 ire pañcha-maḷhaṅgaḷ eseḷuv ā-pattāṇadoḷ ||

mattam allī

mūrum purāṅgaḷ alliya |
 mūrum kaṅgaḷ samagra-Lakshmiḷ mēṇ ā- |
 nīreya koraḷōḷ nelasida |
 mūrum muttina sarāṅgaḷ embant irkku ||

[†] There is a lacuna in the text at this place, and I am unable to understand how Mr. Rice arrived at the meaning ‘medical dispensaries’ as given by him in the translation.

¹ This is obviously a mistake for seven *brahmapuris*.

² ā-Banavāse-dēśakke tīlakam ippani ippa mahāpattāṇa vinirjita-Purandara-puram Balli-puram adara-viḷḷsam ent endode |

dhanaḍōpa[ma]r enipa nagaraṅgaḷim Tripurāriḷe tīlā-nivāsam enipa mūrum purāṅgaḷim
 sva-darśanānusāri-sadāchārācharaṇadim niśāthyam enipa pañcha-maḷhaṅgaḷim dharmma-
 pravardhanakk endu mūrum . . . gaḷum mane-kattidandir oppuva mūrum brahmapurigaḷim
Ep. Carn. Vol. vii, Sh. 108.

³ *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. ii, p. 448; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Mysore and Coorg, p. 251.

simhachar's *Report* (for 1910-11) referred to above, and p. 46 of the *Introduction to Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, which also contains more than ten plates illustrating the above.

The Kēdārēśvara temple has additional interest attached to it in that it was the proto-type of the temple of the same name (now unfortunately in ruins) at Halēbid; for Abhinava-Ketala-devi the queen of Ballala II, who was associated with him was connected with the neighbouring city of Bandalike¹ and must have been familiar with the Kēdārēśvara temple at Belgāme.

It has already been seen above that at Belgāme there were five original *mathas*, dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Jina and Buddha respectively, and some which were founded later, among which the Kōḍiya-maṭha was the most important. As this *maṭha* and some other *mathas* belonged to the Kālāmukhas who had made Belgāme one of their centres, and who by means of their learning and educational activities contributed much to the importance of Belgāme, it is necessary to give here a brief account of them and their activities.

THE KĀLĀMUKHAS.

The Kālāmukhas were a sect of Śaiva devotees and are in the Mysore inscriptions described as having come from *Kashmir*.² They are mentioned in Rāmanujāchārya's *Śrī Bhāṣya* on II. 2, 36 where it is said that '*laguḍa-dhārana*' or carrying a staff was one of their characteristic practices. They were followers³ of the system of Śaiva philosophy, which goes by the name of Nakulisa-darśana or Lakulisa-darśana, Lakulāgama or Pāśupata-darśana.⁴ An extract from the *Tarkarahasyadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Shaddarśana-samuchchaya* of Guṇaratna-sūri (date about A.D. 1363) given by Mr. D. R. Bhāṇḍārkar in his paper entitled '*Lukulisa*' in the *Annual Report for 1906-7, of the Archaeological Survey of India* informs us that the Śaivas were divided into four sects—Kālāmukhas, Pāśupatas, Śaivas and Mahāvratadharas,⁵ that in each sect were people that were married (*sastrika*) and people that were unmarried (*nistrika*), i.e. celibates or *naishthika-brahmachārins*, and that the celibates were esteemed to be better than the married people.⁶

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. vii, Introduction, p. 46.

² See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. vii, Sk. 114; 19; 20.

³ See, for instance, *ibid.*, 96, 107, 123; V. Ak. 62. But the heads of the Kōṭīśvara temple at Kuppattūr are described as followers of Śivāgama, see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sk. 275, 276. It seems, therefore, that some Kālāmukhas followed the Lakulāgama and some the Śivāgama.

⁴ The Lākula or Pāśupata *darśana* is described in ch. 349 *Śāntiparva*, *Mahābhārata*; in the *Vāyu*-, *Liṅga*-, and *Kārma Purāṇas*, in the *Sūta-samhitā* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, and in the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*. It is also noticed in the commentaries of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, etc., on II. 2, 36, 37 of the *Brahma-Sūtras*.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 190.

⁶ *Ibid.*

The earliest mention in Mysore of the Kālāmukhas is in the Nandi plates of the *Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III*. This epigraph contains a date corresponding to December 18, A.D. 807; on which day a grant of a village was made by the above-mentioned king to *Isvaradasa*, the head of the temple at Nandi. This *Isvaradāsa* is styled a Kālāmukha and the disciple of *Kalasakti* in the Chik-Ballāpur plates dated A.D. 810 which record a grant of land to the former on behalf of the temple.¹

The above is the earliest date for the Kālāmukhas in Mysore; from this time they seem to have spread rapidly and to have gained influence. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries especially, they were in a flourishing condition and held the headships of many *mathas* and temples in Mysore. We find them, for example, well established in Belgāme where they held the headships of the temples (or *mathas*) of Kēdārēśvara,² Nakharēśvara,³ Kusumēśvara,⁴ Sarvēśvara,⁵ Tripurāntakēśvara,⁶ Pañchalingēśvara⁷ and Nandikēśvara.⁸ Kuppattūr which was referred to above in connexion with its *agrahāra* was another influential centre of the Kālāmukhas, perhaps more influential, so far as the Kālāmukha order itself was concerned than Belgāme. The Kōṭīśvara temple there was presided over by the Kālāmukhas; and we learn from *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 276, that to this temple were attached seventy-seven other temples and that the head of the Kōṭīśvara temple therefore directed the affairs of these other temples also. The inscription names seven of the seventy-seven temples; these were the temples of Svayambhu at Kallamulugunda, of Rāmanātha at Kuppattūr, of Jaitāpura at Devangeri, of Rāmanātha at Kiruvade, of Siddhanātha at Kabbinasirivuru of Grāmēśvara at Abbaluru and the Mūla-sthāna temple at Hangal; and we also learn from the inscriptions that in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Kōṭīśvara temple was presided over by very able pontiffs who were the recipients of the patronage of emperors, princes and governors⁹ to quite the same extent as their confreres at Belgāme. The inscriptions mention the names of four of these pontiffs—Rājaguru Sarvesvarasakti (in Śaka 993, *Sādhārana*—A.D. 1070) another Sarvesvarasakti, (in Śaka 1172, *Saumya*—A.D. 1249) his son the Rājaguru Rudrasakti and the latter's younger brother, Sarvesvarasakti the younger,

¹ See the Report of the Archaeological Department for 1913-14.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii Sk. 92, 98, 99, 100, 101, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, Sk. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sk. 112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sk. 114, 292 and 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sk. 123.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sk. 118, 119, 292 and 126.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Sk. 125.

⁹ e.g. of the Chālukyan Emperor Somesvara II Bhavanaikamalla, the Seuna Singhana, the Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Isvaradeva, the Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Dronapala and the mahā-pradhāna Mahā-devadandanayaka.

the last of these being more highly belauded¹ than the famous *Rājaguru Vamasakti* of Belgāme.

In the same way the *Kallēśvara* temple and the *Śambhulinga* temple at *Chadurugola* and *Asagoda* in Jagalur Taluk were presided over by the *Kālāmukhas*² who also had a college there for instructing students.

The names borne by the *Kālāmukha* ascetics are very characteristic and peculiar; they mostly end in *śakti* as *Śiva-śakti*, *Rudraśakti*, *Īśvaraśakti*, *Īśānaśakti*, *Tribhuvanaśakti*, *Dēvēndraśakti*, etc.; some end in *śiva* as *Kumāraśiva*, *Jñāna-śiva*, *Dharmaśiva* and *Padmaśiva*, some in *rāśi* as *Sōmarāśi*, *Nāgarāśi*, *Vamarāśi*, and others again in *ābhārana* as *Vidyābharana*, *Sūryābharana*. But while the names ending in, *śiva*, *rāśi* and *ābharana*, are sometimes borne by Śaivas not belonging³ to the *Kālāmukha* sect, the names ending in *śakti* do not seem to be borne by any but *Kālāmukhas*. They, therefore furnish a ready means of finding out whether a particular temple was presided over by the *Kālāmukhas* or not in those cases where the word *Kālāmukha* itself is not used. And judging by such names, we find that the *Kālāmukhas* were in charge of many temples and were established in many places⁴ in what are now the Hassan, Kaḍur and Chitaldrug districts and were occasionally to be found in what are now the Mysore, Bangalore and Tumkur districts; their establishments in the Kolar and Shimoga districts have already been touched upon above. They were also established at Abbaḷur, Hāngal, Gadag, the Śrī-parvata or Śrīśaila in Kurnool⁵ and generally all over the Kannaḍa-speaking country. It is not known if they had settlements in the Telugu or Tamil countries.

The *Kālāmukhas* were divided into divisions and sub-divisions called *parśhe* or *parśe*, *āvali* and *santati*. Of these we find mention made of the *Śakti-parśhe*⁶ and the *Śāleya-parśhe*;⁷ but the latter does not seem to have been a division of the *Kālāmukhas*. In the *Śakti-parśhe* we hear of the

¹ See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, pp. 93, 94.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. xi, Sb. 8, 10.

³ See Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper on 'Lakulīśa' *loc. cit.*, p. 193, and another paper by him entitled 'An Eklingji Stone Inscription' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. lxi, p. 153, foot note 1. Most of the references about the *Kālāmukhas* and *Lakulīśa* given by me above have been taken from these two papers.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V, Hn. 63, 69, 71, 72, 76, 82, 114, 116, 189; Ak. 8, 13, 17, 105, 110, 118, 119, 124, 144, 150; Cn. 204, 210, 212, 246, 248; *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, Kd. 16, 29, 30, 32, 34, 72, 77, 79, 80, 143, 154; *Ibid.*, Vol. xi, Dg. 3, 4, 23, 77, 84, 85, 86, 134, 139; Cd. 23, 33, 34, 78; *Ibid.*, Vol. xii, Ck. 35; vol. iv, Ng. 20; Vol. iii, Sr. 34.

⁵ See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 276; *Ibid.* Vol. xii, Ck. 35; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. vi, line 45 of the Gadag inscription published in p. 89 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 94, 99, 104 etc. This *Śakti-parśhe* seems to me to have some connexion with the fact noted above that many of the names of the *Kālāmukhas* ends in *śakti*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sk. 87, 106.

*Parvatāvali*¹ and *Mūvarakōṇeya-santati* in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 94, 99, 104, etc., and in Sk. 108 the *Mūvarakōṇeya-santati* seems to be called by the name of *Dēvavratamuni-santati* also. The epigraphs Sk. 153 and Sk. 316 speak of the . . . *ka-santati* and the . . . *gāveya-santati* of the *Parvatāvali*, while the epigraphs Sk. 19, 20 and 292 and 114 speak of some *Kālāmukha* teachers of the *Ittegeya-santati* (this seems to be also called the *Kāśmiradēvara-santati*) of the *Bhujāṅgāvali* of the *Śakti-parśhe*; the teacher Lakulīśvara (about whom see below) seems to have belonged to this sub-division of the *Kālāmukhas*. Besides these, the epigraph No. Ck. 35 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. xii refers to a line of teachers of the *Agastyēśvara-maṭha* in *Śrīśaila* and *Ibid.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 277 to a line of teachers of the *Nonambēśvara-maṭha* of *Arasikere*.

There seem to have existed in Mysore both kinds of *Kālāmukhas*—married as well as celibate referred to by the author of the *Tarkarahasya-dīpikā*, (see above). Not only do we hear of sons and daughters² of *Kālāmukha* priests,³ but we also have reference to *naishṭhika-tapōmārga-nirata* (devoted to celibacy) and *naishṭhika-brahmachāri-maṭha* in many inscriptions.

The epigraph Sk. 99 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. vii describes the *Kālāmukhas* as *śishya-chātaka-varshākāla-mukhar*, i.e. 'the beginning of the rainy season (in satisfying the thirst) to the *chātaka* birds the disciples' and thereby seems to imply that the *Kālāmukhas* or at least those of the *Mūvarakōṇeya-santati* were great educationists. This seems certainly to have been the fact; for, most of the colleges we know of in Belgāme belonged, as we shall see below, to the *Kālāmukhas*; and among the priests of this sect appear many who have the prefix *rājaguru* 'teacher to the king' to their names. Such, for instance, are the *rājaguru Sarvesvarasakti*⁴ (c. A.D. 1071), the *rājaguru Rudrasakti*⁵ (c. A.D. 1250) both of Kuppattūr, the *rājaguru Vamasakti*⁶ (c. A.D. 1160) of Belgāme, the *rājaguru Rudrasakti*⁷ (c. A.D. 1255) of Dvārasamudra, the *rājaguru Kriyasakti*⁸ (c. A.D. 1206) of Āsandi and the *rājaguru Kriyasakti* (c. A.D. 1368)⁹ who was the teacher or preceptor of Bukka of Vijayanagar, and of Harihara¹⁰ and Devaraya.¹¹ Of these the latter *Kriyasakti* and the latter *Rudrasakti* though not called *Kālāmukhas* in the inscriptions can be recognized as such by their names.

¹ Has this *Parvatāvali* any connexion with Śīparvata in Kurnool, where there existed a *maṭha* of the *Kālāmukhas*?

² See, e.g. *Ep. Carn.* Vol. vi, Kd. 16, 29, 143; *Ibid.* Vol. v, Ak. 104; Bl. 117, 119. In Kd. 29 are given the names of the wives also of the priests.

³ That is to say, judging by their names *Vamasakti*, etc. Some of the epigraphs do not themselves called them *Kālāmukhas*.

⁴ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. x, Jb. 10; Vol. v, Ak. 41; Vol. xii, Ck. 35; Vol. xii, Sk. 277, etc.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. viii, Sb. 276.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sb. 275.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 96, 101, 105, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. v, Ak. 108, 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, Kd. 154; Vol. vii, Ci. 64.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. vii, Sk. 281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. v, Cn. 256.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. xi, Dg. 23.

The latter of the *Kriyāśaktis* named above is the latest Kālāmukha name that is met with in the Mysore inscriptions. His name first meets us in Sk. 281, dated Śaka 1290 (=A.D. 1368) which records the foundation of an *agrahāra* named *Vidyasvarapara* by *Madhavamantrin*¹ one of the disciples of the above-mentioned *Kriyāśakti*. This record is interesting in more than one respect; in the first place it acquaints us with the fact that the donees were all Kashmir Brahmins² (*Kāśmīrān brāhmaṇōttamān*) and thus corroborates what was said above as to the Kālāmukhas having originally come from Kashmir, and as to the bearers of names ending in *śakti* being Kālāmukhas. In the second place it mentions among the donees a number of *Kaṭha-sākhādhyaṣināḥ* or followers of the *Kaṭhasākhā* of the Black Yajurvāda and thus testifies to the *Kaṭhasākhā*³ having been prevalent in the fourteenth century A.D. in that part of the country.⁴

The latest inscription where the name of this *Kriyāśakti* (or of another *guru* of the same name) is cited is *Ep. Carn.* Vol. xi, Dg. 23, dated August 11, A.D. 1410. After this time, we meet the Kālāmukhas no more in Mysore.

We do not know for what purpose the Kālāmukhas came so far south from Kashmir; their object perhaps was a missionary one to get converts to Śaivism, but one cannot for paucity of data be certain of it. In the same way, we do not know why and at what time the Kālāmukhas disappeared from Mysore; here too the possibility is that their institutions were wellnigh all destroyed by the Muhammadans; but on this matter again no information is available.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF BELGĀME

Turning now to the educational institutions of Belgāme, we have already seen above that the city had seven original *brāhmapurīs*, five original *maṭhas* dedicated respectively to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Jina and Buddha, and scores of temples. We have also seen above that the *danḍanāyaka* Kēśava founded another *brahmapurī* named Kēśavapura⁵ in Śaka 1080 or A.D. 1158.

¹ Different from the Mādhava-mantrin who was the brother of Sāyana, the commentator on the Vedas. The Mādhava-mantrin who founded the *agrahāra* is also an author, as it is he who has commented on the *Sūta-samhitā* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. Regarding these two Mādhava-mantrins, see Mr. Narasimhachar's paper on 'Sāyana and his brothers' in the *Indian Antiquary* for Jan.-Feb. 1916.

² That is to say of Kashmir descent. The names of the donees are not Kashmiri names and so one has to conclude that they were descendants of Kashmiri Brahmins—i.e. Kālāmukhas that originally came and settled in Mysore—and particularly in what is now the Shimoga district.

³ In view of the fact that there were as many as twenty-one *Kaṭhasākhīya* Brahmins settled there in A.D. 1368, it is not unlikely that a diligent search in the neighbourhood will bring to light some MSS. of that *Samhitā* and of other allied works. Prof. Schröder's edition of the *Samhitā* is, as is well known, imperfect owing to scanty MS. material.

⁴ The epigraph in addition to the *Kaṭhas*, mentions the *Chārāyaṇīya-charāṇa* and *amṇāya*.

⁵ To be distinguished from the *brahmapura* Kēśavapura mentioned in Sk. 132, dated January 23, A.D. 1072. This latter evidently must have been one of the original seven *brahmapurīs*.

Of the five original *maṭhas* referred to above, we do not know definitely which particular temples, out of so many that existed in Belgāme were included among them. The epigraph Sk. 118, dated April 10, A.D. 1054, mentions a *Chaturmukha* temple which in all likelihood seems to have been that one of the five *maṭhas* which was dedicated to Brahmā. Of the other four *maṭhas*, there are no data available that will enable us to hazard even a guess as to the identity of those dedicated to Viṣṇu, Jina and Buddha; and as regards the *maṭha* dedicated to Śiva, it seems probable that by this term must be understood one of the four following temples—that of *Chandrēśvara* mentioned in Sk. 118, dated April 10, A.D. 1054; that of the *Pañchamaṭha* referred to as '*hīriyamaṭha* Pañchamaṭha' or the old *maṭha* named Pañchamaṭha in the epigraphs Sk. 106, dated January 23, A.D. 1099, Sk. 119, dated July 26, A.D. 1181, and Sk. 123, dated in A.D. 1158; that of the *Jagadēkamallēśvara* or *Bhērūṇēśvara* similarly referred to as an 'old *maṭha*' (*hīriyamaṭha*) in the epigraphs Sk. 106 (January 23, A.D. 1099?), Sk. 118, (April 10, A.D. 1054) and Sk. 123 (A.D. 1158); and that of *Nandikēśvara* which is spoken of as the '*mūla-sthāna*' or as the original, first or oldest temple in one of the oldest of the Belgāme inscriptions, Sk. 125, dated December 22, A.D. 1017. In all probability this was the Śaiva temple which was included in the five original *maṭhas*.

It is thus clear that the temples or *maṭhas* which are most frequently mentioned in the Belgāme inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, namely, the Kēdārēśvara temple, the Pañchalinga temple, the Tripurāntaka temple, the Nakharēśvara, Sarvēśvara, Kuṣumēśvara temples, etc., are none of them included in the five original *maṭhas*. They must therefore all of them have been later in time than these *maṭhas*; and some of the published inscriptions do, in fact, give us an account of the foundation¹ of some of these temples.

Of these later temples, some as for instance the Kēdārēśvara² and the Hariharāditya³ temples are called *maṭhas* and others are not, although, as will be seen below, in some of these latter provision was made for the instruction of students. Of the original *maṭhas* dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and of the other Śaiva temples, mentioned above that were known as *maṭhas*, namely, the Bhērūṇēśvara temple, the *Pañchamaṭha* temple and the Nandikēśvara temple, we do not know how many had provision for instructing students, and how many were called *maṭhas* merely by reason of affording shelter and food to ascetics. I shall therefore in what follows give an account firstly of the *maṭhas* and secondly of temples that are not in the inscriptions styled *maṭhas* which afforded instruction to pupils; and then I shall give an account of the other *maṭhas* and other temples, some of which

¹ See, e.g. Sk. 112, 114, 118, 123, 129, 131, etc.

² Sk. 100, 102, 104, 108, etc.

³ Sk. 129.

must have provided for the education of *brahmachārins* though this fact is not intimated to us by the inscriptions that have been found so far.

Of the educational *maṭhas* at Belgāme, the *Kōḷiya-maṭha* or the *Kēdārēśvara-maṭha* was by far the most important and the most influential in the twelfth century. I shall, therefore, take this up first for consideration and come to the earlier *maṭhas* afterwards.

THE KŌDIYA-MATHA

The *Kodiya-matha* or *Kedaresvara* temple was situated in the southern quarter of the city of Belgāme near the *Tāvaregere*¹ or tank of lotuses. The temple as we saw above was a triple one (*trikūṭāchala*) and must have been in those times very beautiful. We learn, for instance, from Sk. 96 that the Kaḷachuri Emperor *Sankama* with some of his chief officers came on an excursion to Belgāme and was so much impressed by seeing 'the three-pinnaced temple of the god Dakṣiṇa-Kēdārēśvara, the harbour *maṇṭapa*, the jewels, worship, the many golden *kalāṣas*, the gifts of knowledge and gifts of food and the many religious acts'² that he thought that he could do nothing better than show his appreciation of what he had seen by making the gift of a village to the temple. The epigraphs, Sk. 100 and Sk. 92 relate similar incidents; and the donor in the latter case was so impressed that he thought that the Dakṣiṇa-Kēdāra was, in point of religious greatness and sanctity, 'double of *Vārāṇasī*'³ hundred-fold of Kēdāra, 'and a thousand-fold of *Śrī-parvata*'.⁴

Regarding the activities of this *maṭha*, we are told by the epigraph, Sk. 102 that the Dakṣiṇa-Kēdārāsthāna was 'a *kēdāra* (i.e. field) where grow crops in the shape of the hairs of the human body standing erect from joy at the worship of the *Śiva-linga*; the place appointed for the performance of the rites of the *Śaiva brahmachārīn* ascetics, the place for the study of the four *Vedas*, namely, the *Rig- Yajur- Sāma* and *Atharva- Vedas* with their *aṅgas*; the place where are expounded the grammatical works of Kumāra, Pāṇini and Śakāṭāyana, the *Śabdānuśāsana*⁵ and other such works; the place where the six systems of philosophy (*darśana*), namely, the *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Sāṅkhya*, etc., as well as the philosophies of the Buddhists and others are lectured upon; the places where the *yōga-sāstras* of Lakula,

¹ Sk. 98, 99, etc.

² *Śrīmad-dakṣiṇa-Kēdārēśvara-dēvara tri-kūṭa-prāsādāmumam latā-maṇṭapamum ratna-pūjānēkaśvarṇa-kalāṣaṅgaḥumam vidyā-dānānnadānādyanēkaśrī-kāryyamam nōḍi yathārtham dakṣiṇa-kēdāravillī nōv śnānum dharmma-kāryyamam māḍalveḷkuvendu.*

i.e. Benares, in N. India.

⁴ Kēdāra or Kēdārānāth, a place of pilgrimage on the southern slopes of the Himālayas. The Kēdārēśvara temple at Belgāme was so named by the Kālāmukhas who originally came from Kashmir because it reminded them of the Kēdāra which they were familiar with in Kashmir.

⁵ *Śrīparvata* or *Śrīśaila* is a holy place of the Śaivas in the Kurnool district. The popular belief is that a mere look at the hill is enough to lead one to *mukti* (salvation).

⁶ I am, however, doubtful as to whether a specific book named *Śabdānuśāsana* is here referred to.

Patañjali and others are expounded; the seat of the eighteen *Purānas*, of the books on *Dharma-sāstras*, of all the *kāvyas*, *nāṭakas*, *nāṭikās* and the various other sciences; the place where food is freely distributed to the poor, the destitute, the lame, the blind, the deaf, story-tellers, singers, drummers, flute-players, dancers, eulogists, the naked, the wounded, *kshapanakas* (Jain *sannyāsins*), *ekadaṇḍins*, *tridaṇḍins*, *hamsas* and *paramahamsas* (four orders of Brahmin *sannyāsins*) and other beggars from all countries; the place for the treatment of the diseases of destitute sick persons; and a place of security for all living things.'¹

And, further on, the same epigraph says:—

'Its *maṭha* is like the ancient *Kamaṭha* (or tortoise), a support of all the world; like *Narasimha* distinguished for the slaying of *Hiranyakaśipu* (otherwise, for gifts of money and food); like *Kurukshetra*, the abode of *Sarasvati*; like the *Khachara-lōka*, surrounded by *Vidyādhara* chiefs (otherwise, great men of learning); like the great *Mandara* mountain, the essence of all space-quarters; like *Vāsudēva*, rejoicing in the sound of *Akrūra's* words (otherwise, gentle words); like the abode of *Bhavānī*, filled with the holy rites of *brahma-chārins*.'²

It will be seen from the above passages that the activities of the *Kēdārēśvara*-or *Kōdiya-maṭha* were five-fold. The *maṭha* (1) afforded opportunities for the worship of the *Śivalinga*; (2) had some quarters attached to it in which *Śaiva* ascetics could live and pursue their religious observances, (3) had a hospital in which all diseased persons were treated, (4) distributed food freely to all who asked for it, and (5) gave instruction in many branches of learning to students. It is with this last form of activity alone that we are here concerned.

The subjects taught in the *maṭha* have been enumerated above, and as can be seen, are in substance the same as the fourteen or eighteen *vidyās* or sciences named above with the *kalās* added. As was pointed out above, there is a change in the textbooks studied owing to the development of literature which had occurred meanwhile. In grammar, for example, the books of

¹ *Dakṣiṇa-Kēdāra-sthanamum Śiva-linga-pūjā-puṭaka-sasyasarasa-kēdāra-sthanamum naishthika-brahmacharyya-Sivamuni-janānushthāna-nishthita-sthanamum sāṅga-Rig-Yajus-Sāma-Atharva-chatur-veda-svādhyaya-sthanamum Kumāra-Pāṇiniya-Sakāṭāyana-śabdānuśāsanaḍi-byākarana-byākhyāna-sthānāmum Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-Mīmāṃsā-Sāṅkhya-Bauddhādi-śaḍ-darśana-byākhyāna-sthānāmum Lakula-siddhānta-Pātañjalādi-yōga-sāstra-byākhyāna-sthānāmum aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-dharmma-sāstra-sakala-kāvyā-nāṭaka-nāṭikādi-vividha-vidyā-sthanamum dīnānāthad-paṇḍvandha-badhira-kathaka-gāyaka-vādaka-vāṃśika-nartaka-vaitāṭika-nagna-bhagna-kshapanakaikadaṇḍi-tridaṇḍi-hamsa-paramahamsādi-nānā-dēśa-bhikṣhuka-janānivāryyānna-dāna-sthanamum nānānāthā-rōgi-jana-rōga-bhaishajyasthanamum sakala-bhūtābhaya-pradāna-sthanamum āgi-Kōdiya-mathav irppuḍu.*

² *Ad alladeyuv ā-matham purāṇa-kamaṭhan-ante sakala-lōkādharāmum Puruṣasimhan-ante Hiranyakaśipudāna-samśōbhitamum Kurukshētrād-ante Sarasvatī-vilasitamum Khachara-lōkad-ante vidyādharaḍhīśvara-parivṛṭitamum mandara-mahā-mahādharaḍ-ante sarva-dik-sāra-bhūtamum Vāsudēvān-ante Akrūrōkti-śravaṇa-ramaṇiyamum Bhavānī-bhavanad-ante brahmachārī-sādāchāra-samśōvitamum āgiḍḍu.*

Kumāra, Śakāṭāyana and Pāṇini are mentioned and an *et cetera* added. As regards philosophy (*darśana*) also, five systems, Nyāya and others — have been mentioned and an *et cetera* added; the same is the case with the *yōga-śāstra* of which two systems are mentioned. And then follow the eighteen *purāṇas*, the *smṛitis*, *kāvya*s, *nāṭakas* — the whole of the literature produced in the meantime, in short.

The inscriptions do not give us any details as to the number of pupils that received instruction in the college, the number of professors or teachers, the names of works composed by the members of the *maṭha*, etc. The only other information regarding the *maṭha* which can, in fact, be had is the account of some acts of patronage towards the *maṭha*, and an account of the heads of the *maṭha*.

As regards the history of the *maṭha*, no inscription has as yet been found which gives an account of the foundation of the *maṭha*. As has been mentioned above, this *maṭha* belonged to the Kāṣmukhas of the *Mūvarakṣeya-santati* of the *Parvatāvali* of the *Śakti-parshe*. The earliest inscription that mentions the *maṭha* indirectly is Sk. 94, dated March 19, A.D. 1094, which speaks of **Somesvara-pandita-deva** chief disciple of **Srikantha**, who was himself the senior disciple of **Kedarasakti** of the *Mūvarakṣeya-santati*, as being the head of the Nakharēśvara temple at the time. Now these three priests are said in Sk. 98, 99, 100, etc., to have been the heads of the *Kōḍiya-maṭha*. We can, therefore, infer that in March A.D. 1093, **Sōmēśvara** was the head of the *Kōḍiya-maṭha* also and that he was the third person to hold that place. We will not, therefore, be far wrong if we assume that the *Kōḍiya-maṭha* must have been in existence about A.D. 1073; and as this *maṭha* is not mentioned in Sk. 118, dated April 10, A.D. 1054, which mentions the other *maṭhas* existing at the time, it is obvious that the *Kōḍiya-maṭha* came into existence some time later. Striking the average between 1054 and 1093, we may provisionally accept A.D. 1073, as the date when this *maṭha* came into existence.

Regarding the heads of the *maṭha*,¹ I shall first give in a table their names in chronological order with the earliest and latest dates known for them, and shall then make a few remarks about them.

¹ Dr. Fleet has, in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, pp. 218-26, collected all the information that was available at the time (A.D. 1899) about the heads of the *Kōḍiya-maṭha* and about the *maṭha* itself. My account differs from his in respect of slight details only such as presenting a better translation of the original, and giving the exact European equivalents of the dates given in the inscriptions.

Names in chronological order	Earliest dates met with	Latest date
Kēdāraśakti ...	Spoken of in the past tense by the inscriptions.	.....
Śrikantha I ...		.....
Sōmēśvara ...	March 19, 1094 ...	December 24, 1112.
Vidyābharana ...	A.D. 1128 ...	.....
Vāmaśakti I ...	Do. ...	.....
Gautama ...	December 26, 1137 ...	November 9, 1147.
Vāmaśakti II ...	January 23, 1156 ...	December 25, 1192.
Śrikantha II ...	Spoken of in the past tense by the inscription.	.....
Vāmaśakti III ...		.....
	September 8, 1211 ...	.....

The first two heads of the *Kēdārēśvara-maṭha* are spoken of in the past tense by the inscriptions; it is not therefore possible to fix a definite date for them. Of these, the inscriptions do not apply any distinguishing epithets to **Kedarasakti**, who must have been therefore comparatively speaking inferior in attainments to some of his successors. The second pontiff, **Srikantha I**, was, it is said by Sk. 94, almost omniscient and as it were, **Lakulīśa** himself in person.¹

The third head of the *maṭha* was **Somesvara** whom we first meet with in Sk. 94, which tells us that he was 'well endowed with *yama*, *niyama*, *svādhyāya*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇa*, *maunānushthāna*, *japa* and *samādhi*, and learned in *siddhānta*, *tarka* (Logic), *vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *kāvya* (Poems), *nāṭaka* (dramas), *Bharata*, and other sciences connected with *sāhitya* (belles lettres).'² For another series of laudatory epithets addressed to him, see Sk. 99; the epigraph Sk. 98 too relates of him that he was proficient in the doctrines of the Jains, Lōkayatas, and Buddhists, in *Sāṅkhya*, *Yōga*, *Mīmamsā*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*) and *Lakula-siddhānta*.³ During his pontificate, the *maṭha* was favoured with gifts by the guild of merchants and traders at Belgāme on March 19, A.D. 1093; by the *daṇḍanāyaka* **Govindarasa** on December 24, A.D. 1102, and again on December 24, A.D. 1112.

¹ śrīmat-Śrikantha Paṇḍitar vvasudheyoḥ inn-ś-māto Lukulīśar ttām ene sarvajna-kalpar esedar alumbam.

² Yama-niyama-svādhyāya japa-samādhi-śīlasampannar siddhānta-tarka-vyākaraṇa-kāvya-nāṭaka-Bharatādy-anēka-sāhitya-vidyā-praviṇarum.

³ Akāṣaṅkāmbra-mahitja-Chaitra-samayam Lōkayātāmbhōdhi-śi-
ta-karam Sāṅkhya-dharā-śiśā-radani Mīmāṃsānganā-kambukan |
tha-kanan-mauktika-bhūṣaṇam Sugata-nīrē-jāta-Chaṇḍāmsu-Tā |
rkkika-Sōmēśvara-sūri pempu-vaḍedam Naiyyāyikāgrēsaram ||

Sōmēśvara was succeeded in the headship by Vidyabharana¹ or Vadyabharana as he is also called in Sk. 103. He thought that the care and labour involved in looking after the affairs of the *maṭha* was incompatible with the studious life which he wanted to lead and therefore deputed his senior disciple Vamasakti I to manage the affairs of the *maṭha*. In his pontificate, the *maṭha* received a village and other favours in A.D. 1128 at the hands of the Chālukya emperor Somesvara III Bhulokamalla.

The disciple Vāmaśakti I of Vidyābharana, referred to above, must have died or gone away elsewhere not long after the date of the grant; for the same Sk. 100 which informed us that Vidyābharana had deputed his senior disciple Vāmaśakti to look after the affairs of the *maṭha* tells us a few lines later on that Vidyābharana deputed his senior disciple Gautama to look after the *maṭha*.² For the pontificate of Gautama, we have two dates—December 26, A.D. 1137, on which day the *maṭha-pati* Gautama made a grant of some lands for the temple of Kusuvēśvara (which, however, was administered by the heads of the *Kōṭiya-maṭha*), and November 9, A.D. 1147, on which day the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jagadevarasa* made a grant of some villages to the *maṭha*.

Gautama was succeeded by his senior disciple Vamasakti II, who was a *rājaguru* and the most illustrious of the heads of this *maṭha*. Sk. 92 describes him as being 'a very Pāṇini in grammar, a very Bhūṣaṇāchārya in

Kelabar Tarka-viśāradar kelabar āptālāpa-sambōdhakar |
kelabar mātaka-kōvidar kelabar oḷ-gabbarigaḷam ballavar |
kelabar vyākaraṇajñar inī inītumam bāppintu viśvambharā |
taḷadoḷ ballavar āṇ enalke negaḷdam Vidyābāhi-Sōmēśvaram ||
svastiyama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maunānushīḥāna-japa-samādhi-śīla-sampannam |
vibudha-jana-prasannam | nyāya-sāstra-vistṛita-sarōja-vana-dīvākaram | Vaiśeṣhika-vārdhāni-var-
dhana-sarat-sudhākaram | Sāṅkhyāgama-praviṇa-māṇikyābharanaṇam | gurucharana-sarasiruha-
shatcharaṇam | śabda-sāstra-sahakāra-vana-Vasantam | prajñādayōdbuddha-Lākuḷa-siddhān-
tam | nirupamōpanyāsa-dēvanadi-pravāham . . . śrīmat-Sōmēśvara-pāṇḍita-dēvar ||

¹ He is said by Sk. 100 to have been a 'thunderbolt in shattering the doctrines of the Buddhists, a lion in tearing to pieces the teachings of the Mīmāṃsā and a sun in closing the night-lotus of the Syādvāda or Jain teaching.'

Bauddhāty-uddhata-gaṇḍasaila-daḷana-prārambha-dambhōḷitā |
Mīmāṃsā-mata-kumbhi-kumbha-daḷana-proḍyan-mṛigādhiśatā |
Syādvāddōtpaḷa-shaṇḍa-chaṇḍakarātā yasyāsti sa bhrājātā |
Śrī-Vidyābharapaś sad-abharapaṇavan Nāyāyikānām muniḥ ||

² This passage has been wrongly understood by Dr. Fleet (*loc. cit.*, p. 224) who interprets it to mean that Vidyābharana 'censured' or came to regret the happiness of having devoted himself to the various delights of learning, because it had proved 'destructive of stability' and on that account appointed Gautama to the office of *maṭhapati*. If Vidyābharana censured, as Dr. Fleet would make out, his past studious life as having proved destructive of stability, he would have himself assumed the duties of *maṭhapati* and not relapsed again into that studious life which he 'censured.' Dr. Fleet has emended the original text needlessly by introducing an *anuvāra* after 'saukhyā' from Sir Water Elliot's *Carnāṭaca-dēśa Inscriptions* and this needless emendation has led to the above error. As a matter of fact, the lines 73, 74 express the same idea as line 64. See the text as printed in *Ep. Carn.* vol. VII., p. 1291; 1893.

philosophy, a very Bharata in the Nāṭya—and other Bharata—*śāstras*, a very Subandhu in poetical composition, a very Lakulīśvara in *siddhānta* (i.e. in the *Saivasiddhānta*) and a very Skanda in *Śiva-pada*.^{1, 2} The same laudatory *śloka* is given in Sk. 96 also with the word Māgha substituted in the place of Subandhu. And the inscription Sk. 105 contains a long string of laudatory epithets covering more than one quarto page. According to this epigraph the *rājaguru* Vāmaśakti was 'always surrounded by a troop of *brahmacārin* disciples who were firmly rooted in the eight-fold *yōga*'; he was 'a walking *kalpa* tree causing pleasure' (by fulfilling their desires) to poets, declaimers, orators, conversationalists and other kinds of learned men; purified by having arrived at the final meaning of the *Vēdānta*, *Siddhānta* (i.e. *Saiva-siddhānta*), *āgama*, the six systems of logic, all systems of grammars, the holy books on law (*dharma-śāstra*) and all the other sciences; the support of hosts of poets; engaged in offering gifts of food, gold, virgins (in marriage) cows, lands, medicines, protection and other things; the Udaya mountain for the rising of the sun of Logic; a veritable mine for the refulgent jewels named *kāvyas*; clever in explaining the origin of words; foremost in devising new metres, the one object in which centre all the thoughts and aspirations of his pupils; and a mine of light for illuminating the truth'; and continues the inscription, 'One man first makes or discovers a science; another gives shape to it by clothing the thoughts in appropriate words; while another develops the science (*this is the rule; but,*) marvellous to relate, the *guru* Vāmaśakti himself does all the above things, and even occupies himself in teaching the science to those who are ignorant of it.'³

¹ Seems to signify some book or branch of learning.

² Śabdē Pāṇini-pāṇḍitō naya-chayē Śrībhūṣaṇāchāryyakaḥ

nāṭyādau bharatē munīḥ cha Bharataḥ kāvyē Subandhuḥ svayam (v. l. kāvyēśhus
Māghaḥ svayam) |
siddhāntē Lukulīśvaras Śiva-padē Skandō mahi-maṇḍalē (v. l. Skandas svabhāvair
guṇaiḥ) |

śō yam rājagurur yvathārtha-kathitāś Śrī-Vāmaśaktir yvatiḥ ||

³ Yama-niyama . . . japa-samādhi-śīla-sampannam ashāṅga-yōga - nishīḥā-pratishṭhita-
naishṭhika-chhātra-santati-saṅghannarum . . . kavi-gamaki-vādi-vāgmi-pramukha-vividha-vidvaja-
janānanda-kāraṇa-jāṅgama-kalpa-bhūjarum vēdānta-siddhāntāgama-shaitarika-sakala-vyākaraṇa
nirṇmaḷa-dharmmasāstrādyasēsha-sāstrārtha-nirṇaya - nirṇiktarum . . . sakala - su - kavi-ni-
kurumbādhārarum anna-dāna-suvārṇadāna-gōdāna-bhūddānābhaya-bhaishayyādy - anēka - dāna
prasāṅgarum . . . ||

tarkkārkkōḍaya-bhūdharam pravāsaṭ-kāryākhyā-ratnākaram
śabdōtpatti-vivēchanē cha chaturam chhandah-kṛid-agrēśaram |
tad-vidyārthi-manōrathaika-nikaram tatva-prabōdhākaram
śrīmat-sad-budha-Vāmaśakti-yaminam samsanti sarvē budhāḥ ||
śkaś śāstram vidhattē samuchita-pada-vinyāsa-vibhāṣitārtham
tasyānyō vākyabhāvam ghaṭayati kurutē chārththa-sampattim anyāḥ |
śtach chitram vidhattē ghaṭayati kurutē bōdhayaty aprabuddhān.
śkaś śrī-Vāmaśakti-vratī-patir aparō Vyāsavad byāpīpartī ||

For this Vāmaśakti, we have several dates given by the inscriptions, most of which record grants of land and other gifts made to the *maṭha*. Sk. 104 is the earliest of these epigraphs, being dated January 23, A.D. 1156, and records a gift by the *daṇḍanāyaka* **Mayideva**, the superintendent (*heggaḷe*) of the *vaḷḷa-rāvula* and *hejjunka* in the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province which at that time formed part of the dominions of the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Kaḷachuri **Bijjana** the nominal feudatory of the Chālukya **Tailapa Trailokyamalla**. The next date is contained in Sk. 108 which seems to be dated November 16, A.D. 1164; it records a gift of a village to the *maṭha* by **Mahadeva dandanayaka**, Governor of the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province under the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Kaḷachuri **Bijjana**. The next date is given by Sk. 102,¹ dated January 17, A.D. 1162, on which day a village was given to the *maṭha* by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* *bhujabala-chakravartin* **Bijjana-deva**. The next date is contained in Sk. 92 which seems to be dated 24 March A.D. 1164, this epigraph records a grant of two villages to the *maṭha* by **Byalikeya-Kesavadandanayaka**, Governor of the Banavase province under the Kaḷachuri emperor **Raya-Murari Sovi-deva**, son of the above-named **Bijjana**. Sk. 96 dated April 22, A.D. 1175, gives us the next date for Vāmaśakti; this epigraph records the gift of a village by the Kaḷachuri emperor **Sankama** to the *maṭha*. The last date is given by Sk. 105, dated December 26, A.D. 1192, which records the gift of a village to the *maṭha* by the **Hoysala Ballala II**.

As revealed by the inscriptions alone, the pontificate of the *rājaguru* Vāmaśakti lasted for not less than forty-six years. In this period, he brought his *maṭha* to the zenith of its renown, as is testified to by the patronage of the emperor **Bijjana**, **Sankama** and of **Ballala II**. The reason for such patronage was, it is said by the inscriptions, the extraordinary scholarship and sanctity (*tapah-prabhāva*) of Vāmaśakti, compared with whom his successors must have been nonentities. And, accordingly, after the death of this Vāmaśakti² we hear of the *Kōḷiya-maṭha* but once only in Sk. 95, dated September 8, A.D. 1211, which records a gift to the *maṭha* by **Hemmayya-nayaka**, the *sunḱādhikāri* or superintendent of *sunḱa* (tolls and customs). The chief priest at that time was another **Vamasakti**, the disciple and successor of another **Srikantha**. This is the latest record that mentions the *Kōḷiyamaṭha* and its pontiffs.

¹ It is to be noted that no mention is made of the Chālukyas or their overlordship in this inscription; contrast in this respect Sk. 108 and Sk. 92 with this.

² The inscription Sk. 101, which seems to be dated November 23, A.D. 1181, mentions the *rājaguru* Vāmaśakti and his disciple *Jnānaśakti*. As we do not meet with this latter personage anywhere else, we have perhaps to suppose that he died before Vāmaśakti.

THE PANCHALINGA TEMPLE

The *Pañcha-linga* temple or *maṭha* was another institution in Belgāme which provided for the instruction of students.¹ This, too, belonged to the *Kāḷāmukhas*, not however of the *Mūvarakṛmeya-santati* of the *Parvatāvali* but of the *Ittegeya-santati* of the *Bhujangāvali* of the *Saktiparshe*. The heads of this *maṭha* appear prominently in the inscriptions of the eleventh century only, while those of the *Kōḷiyamaṭha* are prominent in the twelfth century. We can, therefore, conclude that this *maṭha* took a leading place in the eleventh century and was thrown into the background in the twelfth century by the *Kōḷiyamaṭha*. I subjoin here a table of the pontiffs of this *maṭha* :—

Names of Pontiffs in chronological order	Earliest date met with	Latest date met with
Lakuliśa ...	December 25, 1037	.....
Kāśmīra-paṇḍita-dēva or Sarvēśvara I ...	April 10, 1054	.....
Trilochana ...	January 15, 1050 ...	August 27, 1067.
Varēśvara ...	December 24, 1078 ...	December 25, 1093.
Śrikanṭha ...	January 23, 1099	.....
Sarvēśvara II ...	A.D. 1158	.....
Rudraśakti ...	June 26, 1181	.....

The temple of Pañchalinga is said in Sk. 126 to have been founded by the *Pāṇḍavas*, and thus to be of very ancient origin. This belief, however, could not have had any foundation, for the temple in question was not included in the original five *maṭhas*. We may, therefore, provisionally take it that the temple came into being about A.D. 1000.

The first pontiff we know of of this temple is **Lakulisa**, who is said by Sk. 126 to have been 'a master of Logic (*Tarka*) and all the other sciences, a lion in tearing his opponents to pieces, the uprooter of the doctrines of the *Bauddhas*, *Mīmāṃsakas*, *Lōkāyatas*, *Sāṅkhyas*, *Digambaras* and *Advaitins*,² the vanquisher of *Akaḷanka*, *Vādigharaṭṭa*, *Mādhava-bhaṭṭa*, *Jñānānanda*, *Viśvānāḷa*, *Abhayachandra*, *Vādibhasimha*, *Vādirāja*, and *Nayavādin*;³ the sole support of the *Naiyāyikas*; a river *Gangā* (Ganges) in flood in the unin-

¹ See, for instance, Sk. 126, which describes the temple as *Kāḷāmukha-brahmachāri-sthāna* a place or collage of the *Kāḷāmukha brahmachārins*; one of the objects of the grant recorded in this epigraph was to provide food and clothes for the students (*vidyārthi-tapasvigaḷ-āhāra-dānakkam*).

² For details about the doctrines of these various sects, see the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*.

³ These seem to have been famous scholars of that time; but no accounts have come down to us of their achievements.

interrupted flow of his speech; and fond of explaining things.¹ He must evidently have been, therefore, a very learned scholar; and it was no doubt the fame of this scholar that led the Chālukya emperor **Jayasimha** to make a gift of some lands to the temple on December 25, A.D. 1037, for, among other objects, providing for the food and clothing of the students that received instruction in the *maṭha*.

It was at first supposed by Dr. Fleet (*loc. cit.* p. 228) and Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. vii, Introduction, p. 19, foot-note) following him, that this Lakulīśa was the founder of the Lākulāgama or the doctrine known as the Lākula-siddhanta. But, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has in his paper entitled 'An Eklingī stone inscription' (*loc. cit.*) conclusively proved that such a supposition is untenable and Dr. Fleet subsequently endorsed this opinion in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, p. 419 ff. Mr. Rice had even before this and independently given up his first opinion; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. vii, introduction, p. 6.

The next pontiff that we meet with is **Sarvesvara** who, according to Sk. 118, dated April 10, A.D. 1054, was the *āchārya* or head of the Pañchalīṅga temple at the time. He seems to have been also known as Kāśmīra-paṇḍita-dēva; for the next pontiff of the Pañchalīṅga-maṭha, namely, **Trilochana** is represented by Sk. 19, dated August 27, 1067, to have been the disciple of a Kāśmīra-paṇḍita-dēva; the name of Trilochana is also met with in Sk. 114 and Sk. 292 as the *guru* of Varēśvara.

Trilochana was succeeded by **Varesvara** for whom we have two dates—December 24, A.D. 1078, given in Sk. 292, and December 25, A.D. 1093, contained in Sk. 114. This latter epigraph records the making over of the Sarvēśvara temple newly built by the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Sarvadevarasa** to the Pañchalīṅga temple for administration.

The names of the next three pontiffs **Srikantha Sarvesvara**, and **Rudrasakti** are given us by Sk. 106 (January 23, 1099), Sk. 123 (A.D. 1158) and Sk. 119 (July 30, 1181), which represent these pontiffs as being present on some important occasions.

Sk. 127 and 128 seem to record some donations to this *maṭha* but there are many lacunæ in the text so that the names of the donors, the date, the donee and the object of the donation, cannot be made out with certainty.

¹ svasti samasta - tarikkādi-śāstra-pārdvāra-pāragam Vādi-Rudra Vādi-bha-mastaka-nakḥā phāḍana-kisōrakṣari vādi-mahāranya-dēva-dahanam dushita-vadi-nishthura-patishtha-sārdḍāḷar Baudhābādī-badavā-mukham Mimānsaka-dhātridhara-vajram Lōkāyaka-mahātāru-vidārāḇa krakacham Sāṅkhyādhindra-rundra-Vainatēyam Advaitavādi-bhujā-kulhār in Akāṇka-Tripura dakana-Tripitram Vādigharatta-diśāpatta Mādhavabhatta-gharattam Jnānānanda-mada-bhaṇḇam Viśvānāḷa-praḷayōgrāṇaḷan Abhayachandra-kāḷanaḷam Vādi-bha-simha-sarabham Vādirāja-mukha mudra Nayavādi-diśāpattam Naiyāyika-samrakshapaika-daksham sva-paksha-pōshaṇapara-pak sha-dūshana-patukara-Viriñcham Vāgvadhū-māḇḇanon Āsthāna-Padmāsanam vivēka-Nārāyaṇaḇ gamaka-Mahēśvaran upanyāśamarāpōḇā-pravāham vyākhyānakēli-lampaka-manōharasasarasiruha bhriṅgam avadāla-kirtti-dhvaḇan omāḷina-charitram dvishṭa-darppishtha-paṇḍita-gaḷa-Kāḷe pātam Vādi-Digambara-dhūmakēttum Vādi-Rudra-nāḇḇāḇkilar appa śrīmal-Lakulīśvara-paṇḇa lōggē.

Of the many temples in the city not known as *maṭhas* the inscriptions inform us that instruction was provided to pupils in the *Siddhēśvara*, *Narasimha* and *Nakharēśvara* temples. Sk. 153, dated December 24, 1038, informs us that the Chālukyan emperor **Jayasimha** made a gift of lands to the *Siddhēśvara* temple for, among other purposes, providing food and clothing of the students. This temple too belonged to the Kālāmukhas, but of the . . . *gāveya-santati* of the *Parvatāvali*, and was at that time presided over by an ascetic named *Kriyāśakti*. Sk. 130 (January 23, 1072), 131 (December 25, 1103) and 132 (January 23, 1072) register gifts of a village and some lands to the **Kriyasakti** temple which stood near the Pergaṭṭa tank in Balligāve; the last of these tells us that there were twelve lecturers (*vyākhyatṛi*) attached to the temple for instructing pupils and that the temple was presided over by **Purnananda-bhattaraka**; and the epigraph Sk. 94 tells us that on March 19, A.D. 1093, the guild of merchants at Balligāve made a grant of certain taxes for, among other purposes, providing food for the pupils.

OTHER MATHAS AND TEMPLES

The *mūla-sthāna* *Nandikēśvara* temple is mentioned but once in the Belgāme inscriptions, in Sk. 125 which records that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Kundamarasa** renovated this temple and on December 22, 1017, made some grant to it. The presiding priest at the time was **Sivasakti**; apparently, therefore this temple, too, belonged to the Kālāmukhas.

The *Bhērūḇēśvara* or *Jagadekamallēśvara* temple is mentioned in four or five inscriptions as an 'old *maṭha*' (*hiriya-maṭha*). The names of some of the heads of this *maṭha* end in Śiva, so that this *maṭha*, too, belonged either to the Kālāmukhas or to the nearly allied sect of the Śaivas. This temple was granted a village on May 7, 1047, when the pontiff was **Anantasiva** by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Chamunda-rayarasa**.¹ Sk. 118 tells us that the pontiff in April, 1054, was **Madhukesvara-pandita** and that he had a son named **Dharmasiva**. In January, 1099, the pontiff was **Gaula-pandita**,² and in 1158 another **Madhukesvara**.³

The *Pañchamaṭha* temple or *maṭha* is mentioned in three epigraphs; one of these, Sk. 106 calls this a *mūlasthāna* or original or first temple [in Balligāve], and tells us that its pontiff in 1099 was **Honnayya-Jiya**. In 1158 the pontiff was **Dharmasiva**, who is also mentioned as pontiff in Sk. 119, dated July 26, 1181. The names of the pontiffs show that this temple, too, belonged either to the Kālāmukhas or to the Śaivas.

The *Tripurāntaka* temple or *maṭha* is mentioned in about six inscriptions; from Sk. 118, we learn that the pontiff of that *maṭha* in A.D. 1054 was **Jnanasakti**; from Sk. 106 that the pontiff in 1099 was **Chaturanana** and from

¹ Sk. 151.

² Sk. 106.

³ Sk. 123.

Sk. 123 and Sk. 119 that the pontiff was another **Jnanasakti** from A.D. 1158 until A.D. 1181. The temple belonged evidently to the Kālamukhas.

The *Hariharāditya* temple or *maṭha* is referred to in one inscription, Sk. 129, dated January 23, A. D. 1072; this epigraph relates that the Chālukya emperor **Somesvara II Bhuvanaikamalla**, being moved thereto by his officer, the *Mahāpradhāna Udeyaditya-dandanayaka* made a gift of a village to that temple, which was presided over by **Gunagalla Nagavarma**. The epigraph also relates that the temple of *Hariharāditya*, of *Yogēśvara* and of . . . *sayana* were founded in Belgāme by the above named Gunagalla Nāgavarma.

The temple of *Sarvēśvara* was built in A. D. 1093, as Sk. 114 informs us; it was at one time presided over by **Kamalasana-pandita** (Sk. 111). This temple too belonged to the Kālamukhas.

Sk. 112 relates to us that in 1137 a temple was built and a god named *Kusuvēśvara* set up in it; the temple was given to Gautama of the Kōḍiya-maṭha for being administered.

Sk. 138 records a gift by **Padmi-deva** an officer of Balāla II to the *Agnīśvara* temple on 14th November 1194. The succession of head priests is given as **Kumara-siva**, **Vama-siva** and **Vedasiva**. The temple therefore evidently belonged to either the Kālamukhas or the Śaivas.

Besides these, several other temples are mentioned by the inscriptions—the *Chandrēśvara* and *Paṭṭana-sthāna* (a Kālamukha institution; presided over by Jñānaśiva) in Sk. 118, the *Gavarēśvara* in Sk. 118, the *Chaturmukha* (in Sk. 118, 125), the *Mallikārjuna* (in Sk. 135) the *Rāmēśvara* (in Sk. 138, Sk. 170) while Sk. 107 mentions the Kālamukhas **Valmiki** and **Rudrabharana** as the *āchāryas* of some temple whose name is gone. As already remarked above some of these temples and *maṭhas* must have had provision for the instruction of students, especially those that belonged to the Kālamukhas. But as those temples and *maṭhas* find mention in the inscriptions only incidentally it is not possible to give any more information about them.

The *Tripurāntaka* and *Pañchalinga maṭhas* seem to have been in an affluent position. The epigraphs Sk. 119 and 123 mention among the notables of the city who were present on the occasion of the gift the *heggaḍes* or superintendents of above two *maṭhas* named *Venṇamarasa* and *Sāyimarasa* (*Sāyiyanna*, *Sāvi-dēva*), and the latter's *pratihasta* (deputy?) *Tippaṇa*. And as it is with those two *maṭhas* only that such influential *heggaḍes* are associated, it seems that these two *maṭhas* were more affluent than the other *maṭhas* of the city.

BUDDHIST AND JAIN INSTITUTIONS

It is, I believe, scarcely necessary to point out that what has been written so far in the previous pages concerns itself with Brahminical institutions only and does not apply to Jain or Buddhist institutions. The places of study,

the subjects of study, the length of the course etc., dealt with above thus refer exclusively to Brahminical institutions. To these institutions students of the first three castes only could have access as to the fourth caste it was not permitted to study the Vēdas or the auxiliary works that dealt with the Vēdas e.g. the two *Mīmāṃsās* or the *Prātiśākhya*s. But there was nothing to prevent a Śūdra from learning for example, Medicine, or any of the fine arts like painting, sculpture, architecture and music. Unfortunately, however, we have no record of the pupils that attended the above institutions and cannot therefore decide definitely whether the Śūdras were admitted to the benefits of higher education or no. There seems to be no question as to elementary education for which, as we saw above, provision was made in some of the temples. There are many epigraphs in Mysore that contain the signatures of Śūdras and thus testify to their knowledge of writing. But whether this knowledge was obtained in Brahminical institutions or in Jain ones we have no means of finding out.

As we already saw above, among the five original *maṭhas* of Belgāme, were one dedicated to Jina and one to the Buddha. In their cases too we do not know the identity of these institutions. We are also ignorant as to where the Jains were instructed, what subjects were studied by them, etc. The inscriptions tell us nothing on these points; they are likewise silent as to what subjects were studied by the Buddhists, where these subjects were taught etc. In view of the fact, however, that Belgāme was a centre of learning and that it contained a Jain and a Buddhist *maṭha* it is permissible for us to infer that these institutions too trained students in their respective doctrines at least if not in other subjects. As to what the books were that might thus have been taught I have already said above that we have no information.

The Jain and Buddhist institutions differed markedly from the Brahminical ones in that there was no caste system recognized by them. If, therefore, these institutions provided instruction on subjects of general culture like Logic, Grammar, Philosophy and Belles Lettres, they would have had in all probability a great number of the total Śūdra students of Belgāme.

We do not hear much of Jains or Buddhists at Belgāme in the twelfth century; but in the eleventh century, they seem to have been fairly active. Sk. 136, dated in A.D. 1068, records the gift of some lands to the *Mallikāmda ŚāntināthaJinālaya* by the Chālukya emperor **Somesvara II Bhuvanaikamalla**. This epigraph mentions besides a grant to two *basadis*—one called *Golapayyana basadi*, and the other *Nandanavanada basadi*. Sk. 124 records the grant of a village to the *Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permmānaḍi-Jinālaya* on December 24, A.D. 1077, by the Chālukya emperor **Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla**.

As regards Buddhist institutions, Sk. 169, dated in A.D. 1067 records that *sāvāsī Nagiyakka* (mentioned in Sk. 106, dated in A.D. 1099) had an image of the goddess *Tārā Bhagavatī* made; the record also mentions a Buddhist teacher . . . **prabha Bauddha-Bhalara**. Sk. 171, dated November 3, A.D.

1065, records that the *danḥanāyaka* **Rupabhattachayya** had a *vihāra* named *Jayantipra-Bauddha-vihāra* constructed and made some gifts to the temples of *Tārū Bhagavatī*, *Bauddha-dēva* and *Lokēśvara-dēva* the last named temple, too, being apparently a Buddhist place of worship.

We see then that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Belgāme was the seat of many educational institutions—*maṭhas*, temples and *brahmapurīs*—where instruction could be had in all subjects of human knowledge by students of all creeds—Brahminical, Jain and Buddhist. It thus enjoyed a deservedly high reputation as a centre of learning, and must no doubt, have been entrusted with the education of the sons of many high officers—*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* *Mahāsāmantādhipatis*, etc., and of princes of those times. This seems to be borne out by the second part of Sk. 96, which relates that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* **Tailaha-dēva** and **Yeraharasa**, coming to Baḷligāve made a gift of a village to the *Kṛṣṇa-maṭha* saying 'this is our hereditary *gurukula* (i.e. the place where we have been educated from generation to generation); we must therefore, make some gifts here' all these facts—namely, the existence of many educational institutions—Brahminical, Buddhist and Jain,—the high standard of scholarship of the heads of these institutions, and the fact that the scions of many noble families were sent there to be educated contributed to the greatness of the reputation of Belgāme, which was recognized, and at the same time further enhanced, by the many marks of patronage bestowed by many emperors and their officers on its institutions.

We have already met with, above, in the course of the history of the various institutions, with the names of several of these patrons. Among them were the Chālukyan emperors **Jayasimha Jagadekamalla**, **Somesvara II**, (**Bhuvanaikamalla**), **Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla** and **Somesvara III**, **Lalukamalla**, the Kālachuri kings **Bijjana**, **Rayamurari Sovi-dēva** and **Sankama** and the Hoysala **Ballala II**. The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* **Yeraharasa** (Sk. 96), **Tailahadeva** (Sk. 96), **Tailapa** (Sk. 100), **Jagadevarasa** (Sk. 103), **Somadeva** (Sk. 117), **Chavundaraya** (Sk. 120), **Kundamarasa** (Sk. 125) and **Lakshmarasa** (Sk. 138), the *Mahāsāmantādhipatis* **Jakkamarasa** (Sk. 111) and **Barmmadeva** with many other lesser officers, such as superintendents of *sunḥa* (customs and tolls) of *Vaṭṭa-rāvūla* and *paṇṇāya*, Governors¹ of the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province and other *danḥanāyakas*² were the patrons of one or more of the many institutions of Belgāme. These *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, *Mahāsāmantādhipatis*, governors and other *danḥanāyakas* were serving, some, the Chālukyan emperors, others the Kālachuris and others again, the Hoysalas.

¹ Among these should be mentioned the following *danḥanāyakas*:—**Byalikeya Kesimayya**, **Yareyanna**, **Mahadeva**, **Udayaditya**, **Kesimayya**, **Padmi-dēva** and **Kesiraja**.

² Among these the *danḥanāyaka* **Govindarasa** deserves special mention; so also do the *danḥanāyakas*, **Sarvadeva**, **Rupabhattachayya**, **Mayideva**, and **Hemmayya-nayaka**.

The names of these patrons is in itself sufficient to indicate to us that the Banavase 'twelve thousand' province was first under the rule of the Chālukyas, then of the Kālachuris and then of the Hoysalas. Such a change of masters could not but be accompanied with fights and battles, with skirmishes and cattle-raids. And Belgāme which was the capital of the Banavasee province could not in such times hope to be left to itself unmolested to pursue its educational and religious life calmly and peacefully. The epigraphs Sk. 156 to 163, and others give us some glimpses of the unsettled state of the times. Thus, for instance, Sk. 149 informs us that when the cattle of Belgāme were harried in A.D. 1110, Rēvayya-nāyaka fought with the enemy and died in rescuing the cows. Similarly, when the cows were being harried in A.D. 1158, Kētaṇa, son of Dāsimayya, fought with the enemy, rescued the cows and died on September 23, 1158 (Sk. 162). An undated inscription, Sk. 142, informs us that when the *danḥanāyaka* Ereyāṇa fought with Singi-dēva, Tippu-bōva the watchman of the Tripurāntaka temple fought and died. Apparently, therefore, we have to conclude that the Tripurāntaka temple was attacked in the course of the fight. Another undated inscription, Sk. 139, informs us that when Vāmaśakti, the worshipper of Dakṣiṇa-Kēdārēśvara—i.e. apparently the *rāja-guru* Vāmaśakti, the illustrious head of the *Kēdārēśvara-maṭha*, was made a prisoner by order of the *danḥanāyaka* Padmarasa, Bābeya-nāyaka fought on behalf of the *guru* and died.

The inscriptions of the Kuppattūr *agrahāra* referred to above, however, offer as many more interesting details than those at Belgāme; and so I shall give here some details elicited from these inscriptions. Sb. 253 informs us that in A.D. 1141 a fight took place between the *agrahāra* of Kuppattūr and the neighbouring village of Nēriḷige about a dispute regarding the boundaries of these villages, and that in this fight several men lost their lives. Sb. 252 mentions a similar fight between the same two villages on August 20, A.D. 1143. Sb. 255 informs us that on March 9, 1159, a fight took place between the armies of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Boppadēva and of Bammārāsa on the Kuppattūr plain and that Kēṣiga, the retainer (*besa-maga*) of the Kuppattūr *agrahāra*, which seems to have somehow been mixed up in the fight, lost his life in the fight. Sb. 256 informs us that on December 3, 1218, Bijjana-dēva-nāyaka on account of the wrong (*anyāya*) done by Jagadēva Sāhaṇi made the Brahmins of the Kuppattūr *agrahāra* prisoners, and that Dāsama . . . one of the retainers of the *agrahāra* rescued the Brahmins and died of the wounds that he received. Sb. 251 which seems to be dated in A.D. 1177, relates to us that the *danḥanāyaka* Gavuḍa-sāmi and his friends who went about attacking and seizing were apprehended and kept as prisoners by the Brahmins of Kuppattūr. In revenge, Gavuḍa-sāmi on regaining his liberty invited and brought the army of Haḍedēva of Uchchaṅgi to invest the place which it did. After surrounding the *agrahāra* the invaders fought their way in, plundered the village and carried off the women as prisoners; on this Kēteya-nāyaka charged

the enemy, killed many and rescued the women and cattle and died of his wounds. Sb. 250 informs us that the cattle of Kuppaṭūr were harried in A.D. 1236 by Sōvi-dēva of Gutti and rescued again by Māra and Kāma, two retainers of the *agrahāra*.

Sb. 258 tells us that a big tiger took shelter in a wood near Kuppaṭūr and that it was hunted and killed after much trouble by the son of Korana-Haripa. On July 11, A.D. 1183, Poḍaleya—we are informed by Sk. 153—was killed by a boar, and, we are informed by Sk. 150, that some disciples of the *rāja-guru* Vāmaśakti while journeying were set upon by highway robbers and that in the skirmish which ensued some men were killed on both sides.

These accounts show to us sufficiently clearly how life and property were generally insecure in these times. They also show that the *agrahāras* and *maṭhas* were by no means let alone, but on the contrary were often visited with the displeasure of the temporal authorities.

The latest reference to educational institutions made by the Belgāme inscriptions is that of Sk. 95 to *Kōḍiṇya-maṭha* and its *guru* Vāmaśakti III. This inscription is dated September 8, A.D. 1211. The inscriptions of a later date contain no references whatever to the educational institutions; they are mere *vīṇakals* commemorative of the death of persons who had mostly been killed in fights. But although unmentioned, these institutions could not have all disappeared by A. D. 1280, for example. In all probability, Belgāme, too, like so many other important cities, must have been plundered by the Muhammadans towards the close of the thirteenth century. The aboriginal tribes, too, living on the slopes of the Ghats might have accelerated its decline by their attacks and raids until by the end of the thirteenth century A.D., all its greatness was departed and it became reduced to a mere village.

THE HISTORY OF SRI VAISHNAVAISM

(Continued from page 118)

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SECTION III

ALAGIA MAṆAVĀLA AS JĪYAR

We now arrive at the most important period of Alāgiā Maṇavāla's life, as depicted in the chronicle we have already noted. For immediately after the completion of his *Bhāshyic* studies, he proceeded to Śrīraṅgam, and there, at the instance of his followers, resolved to spend the rest of his life. A scholar both in the *Bhagavadvishaya* and the *Bhāshya*, he now seems to have definitely assumed the championship of the new cult and openly started on a campaign against the orthodox party and their *āchāryas*. One great obstacle in the accomplishment of this aim he found in his householder's life. He, therefore, took advantage of the pollution caused by the death of a near relation of his and the consequent inability on his part to go within the precincts of the temple, to sever himself from a life which imposed such restrictions on divine worship. He, in other words, became a *sanyāsin*; and God Raṅganātha himself, we are told, bestowed on the new *jīyar* his own name Alāgiā Maṇavāla and asked him to take his abode in a ruined *maṭha* named Pallava¹ Rāya's monastery. Here Maṇavāla Mahāmuni carried out certain repairs and spent his days in the expounding of his teachings. He brought the 36,000, which had so long been in oblivion, to light. He explained and elaborated the *Vachanabhūshaṇa* and other treatises of the *Tēngalai* school. He established an image of Pillai Lōkāchārya in the *maṭha*, and celebrated the anniversary of his birth as well as that of the other saints of his school, with great pomp

¹ This *maṭha* is said to have belonged to Kandāḍai Anḍān, the contemporary of Bhāshyakār a. In his time some provision had been made for its maintenance and for the worship of the deity there. But, in course of time, owing to disunion in the Kandāḍai family, the monastery had become ruined, the worship ceased, and the endowments annexed to the temple. This was now repaired and made the seat of Tēngalaism. (See the *Yatīndrapraṇāṇabhāva*).

199

and piety. In short, from the time when Raṅganātha is said to have recognized in Maṇavāla Jiyar, the *āchārya* and given him a residence, we may date the distinct organization of Teṅgalai as a community. No *Teṅgalai* treatises speak of such a social and religious transformation; but the nature of the events they give is sufficient to illustrate the tremendous revolution which followed the elevation of Aḷagia Maṇavāla. They prove clearly that, whatever might be the capacity of the new prophet, he was certainly not wanting in tact, in statesmanship and in the power of organization. Ever watchful of bringing under his influence people of the orthodox creed, his agents tried their best to make the new *maṭha* the centre of religious life at Śrīraṅgam. In their endeavour to break the citadel of orthodoxy and to increase the adherents of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni, they adopted all means, fair and foul. They intrigued¹ and interfered with women in orthodox homes. They proclaimed and praised, in season and out, the miraculous powers of their idol. Incessant activity and prolonged panegyrics had their influence and before long, many came to the *maṭha* to acknowledge Maṇavāla as their *āchārya*.

The first of the adherents to the new cult and the new *āchārya* was one 'Tirumañjanam Appā.' This man had heard so much of his followers' activity that he made up his mind to adopt him as his *guru*. Proceeding to the Kāvēri every morning with Maṇavāla Mahāmuni, he daily bathed in such a position that the waters in which the teacher plunged his frame had necessarily to pass over him. The frequent contact of the water which had touched² the sage, caused, it is said, a new religious knowledge in the mind of the devotee, and he became, in consequence, the earliest and the most devoted disciple of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni! The next prominent convert was, it is curious to narrate, a woman, none other than the daughter of Tirumañjanam Appā. The story relating to her conversion is this. On one occasion, while Maṇavāla Mahāmuni was going, early in the morning, to the river, he was caught in an unexpected rain. He then took refuge in the verandah of a house, when, we are informed, the woman of that house welcomed him in such a most earnest and disinterested manner that she at once drew the attention and the grace of the saint. Prostrating at the feet of the *jīyar*, she had herself purified by the contact of her head with the holy waters of his feet, and sweeping the verandah with the folds of her dress, she requested him in great reverence to stay there. The *jīyar*, we are told, was so much struck with the humility and sincerity of the fair host that he inquired who she was, and found, to his intense joy and surprise, that she was the daughter of his

¹ The *Teṅgalai* writings themselves are the authorities for these statements.

² It will be noted that, throughout Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's career, it is the miracles, the visions and the personal touch of holy things that are responsible for the growth of the cult. No intellectual efforts were necessary, no other qualifications on which the traditional school insisted.

favourite follower Tirumañjanam Appā, and that her husband was a man of the great Kandāḍai family. The woman, in the meanwhile, had, thanks to the contact of the holy water, a new spiritual awakening! The lady of a highly orthodox and *āchāryic* family, she, however, resolved to become a female disciple of the saint. But her husband and her relations who belonged to the high status of *āchāryas*, would look on this behaviour with contempt and indignation, and would surely divorce her. She resolved, therefore, to accomplish her object in secret. Proceeding to her father's house, she revealed her designs and asked him to help her. The father, unaware of a better morality, and determined to resort to any means in the furtherance of his master's following, consented to the pious conspiracy. He took her, in secret, to the new *jīyar* and made him fix the marks of Vishnu's conch and shell on her arms. The *Yatīndrapravaṇaprabhāva* says that the *jīyar* was at first reluctant to interfere in a family which was so famous for its orthodoxy, but that the importunities of Appā and the stronger importunities of his daughter, reconciled him to the bold and daring experiment. It was indeed an act which naturally abashed the rising teacher himself. He was a foreigner, just come to Śrīraṅgam, and having as yet a score of followers. The Kandāḍai Aiyāṅgārs, on the other hand, were illustrious as the descendants of one of the *Simhāsanādhipatis* appointed by Rāmānuja. To meddle in such a family was a daring and reckless act; and the conversion of a member of that family was naturally an epoch in the *Teṅgalai* movement. True, the method adopted was positively immoral, and the person who was instrumental in the revolution was a woman who, in theory, had no independence of her own. All the same, the experiment was not less daring because it was not open, and less effective because it was through a woman; for the time soon came when that woman was the cause of the conversion of the other members of the family, whom she had feared and avoided so much at the time of her initiation as the disciple of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni.

It happened in this manner. Soon after the secret conversion of the daughter of Appā a ceremony took place in her house. After its performance, the fair disciple of Varavara Muni laid herself down, saying, 'I take refuge under the *jīyar*'s feet! I take refuge under Pillai's feet! Blessings on the Lōkāchārya!' Her relations, the orthodox members of an orthodox family, were surprised to overhear this. They were wondering what she meant, when an event happened, which enlightened them on the whole subject. A Brahmin, Śīṅgar Aiyā by name, came there and told the chief of the Kandāḍais that he was waiting to be received as a disciple by the *jīyar* who had newly established himself at Śrīraṅgam. They asked him why he preferred a new preceptor while there were already *āchāryas* in plenty at Śrīraṅgam. He replied that he had of late used regularly to supply vegetables to the great men of Śrīraṅgam; that on that day, he, in accordance with the advice of a

follower of the new *jīyar*, gave the vegetables to the latter; that the priests of the temple were particularly glad to hear this and honoured him; and that God Rāṅganātha himself appeared to him in a dream, and saying that the *jīyar* was an *avatār* of His Ādi Śēsha, asked him to enter into his order of disciples. An account, so wonderful and so convincing, could not but be effective! The Kandāḍai Aiyāṅgārs realized that Maṇavāla Mahāmuni must be really a great man! They soon had a more direct proof of this fact. The story goes that the head of the family, known as Kandāḍai Anṇan, had a dream to the effect that he was whipped on the ground of unrighteousness by a Vaishṇava and taken by him to the presence of another Vaishṇava, who was a *sānyāsin*; that the latter also beat him with his *tridaṇḍa*, but soon relented, and told him that he was the great Bhāshyakāra himself; that the other Vaishṇava was Mudaliāḍān, his own ancestor; that he was whipped, because of his not becoming a disciple of the Jīyar Alāgia Maṇavāla who, the visionary Bhāshyakāra said, was himself born again; and that Kandāḍai Anṇan should therefore immediately become Maṇavāla's disciple. A more rational inducement than this was hardly possible, and so Kandāḍai Anṇan came entirely to agree with his kinswoman and the stranger Śīṅgar Aiyā! It happened that all the other members of the family had the same dream, and so a still greater proof of Alāgia Maṇavāla's greatness was obtained. The result of all this was that Kandāḍai Anṇan¹ made up his mind to sacrifice his *āchāryic* dignity, a dignity which had been bestowed on his ancestors centuries back by Rāmānuja, and become the disciple of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. He at the same time took steps to persuade the other Kandāḍai Aiyāṅgārs to join him. Proceeding to the houses of his brothers, cousins, and other relations, he argued with them and impressed on them the greatness of the new *āchārya*. These preparations over, he started, in the midst of a crowd of devoted Kandāḍais, to the *jīyar's math*, formally to acknowledge him as the spiritual leader. The news of this strange arrival reached the *jīyar*. He was then engaged in teaching his disciples, when one of them told him that a large crowd of Kandāḍai Aiyāṅgārs were coming. Instantly seized with the fear that an attack was going to be made upon him, the teacher hid himself, with characteristic timidity, in the back-yard of the *math*; but fortunately, he soon learnt from his woman disciple, the real cause of the arrival. He then came out of his refuge and gave the strangers a most kind and cordial welcome. He took them to the *matha*, preached to them the meaning of a

¹ Anṇan's son Kandāḍai Appan wrote the *Peria-Tirumūḷiāḍaivu*, a biographical sketch of the *Āḷvārs* and *Āchāryas* from the *Tēṅgalai* standpoint. There is a copy of this work in the *Govt. Oriental Mss. Library*. It should not be forgotten that all the members of the Kandāḍai family did not become the followers of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. There were some who adhered to the orthodox school and their descendants even now are *Vadagalais*. It was the attitude of these loyalists that made Maṇavāla Mahāmuni organize the *Saptagōṭras*.

passage in the *Tiruvāymoli*, and formally recognized them,¹ though hesitating to last moment, as his disciples. With that tact which was his secret of success, and with that want of self-confidence which always characterized him, Varavara Muni asked his favourite disciple and lieutenant Rāmānuja *jīyar* of Vānamāmalai, to bestow the sacred marks on some of the new converts. Cousins and relations, men and women, the Kandāḍais numbered in all 120 souls; and their adoption of Tēṅgalaism was the most startling event of the day.

After the conquest of the Kandāḍai Aiyāṅgārs, Alāgia Maṇavāla Mahāmuni proceeded on a tour to the south of the Peninsula to establish the *Tēṅgalai* cult, on a firm basis. After visiting various shrines on the way, he reached Tirunagari, and stayed there for some time, in the contemplation of the great Ālvār who, he believed, was the friend and saviour of mankind, and whose works were more holy and important, in his opinion, than the Vēdas themselves. The sincerity of the great *jīyar*, his deep knowledge, and his mastery of the *prabandhas* gained him admirers and disciples in large numbers, and the idea spread that he was an incarnation of the Bhāshyakāra. It was at this time that an incident happened which led to the spread of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's teachings to Mysore. Happening, it is said, to find some difficulty in understanding a passage of the *Āchāryahridaya*, he desired to consult a great scholar of Tirunārāyaṇapuram known as Dēvarāja. Fortunately for him, Dēvarāja had heard much of his greatness and left his native place on a journey to the south to see him. Both met on the way and Alāgia Maṇavāla returned with him to Tirunagari, and there had his doubts cleared up. The temporary preceptor, however, saw in the learner an incarnation and so stayed for some time in his company! Meanwhile the people of Tirunārāyaṇapuram had mistaken his long absence for death and so annexed all his property to the local temple. When Dēvarāja returned, he was, far from being aggrieved, in a state of jubilation. Gladly taking the vow of poverty, he devoted himself to the work of garland-making for the Lord, and to the spreading of the teachings of the *Āchāryahridaya* in his country.

Maṇavāla Mahāmuni next converted a local chief² named Śāthagōpādāsa, and made him construct the Kālamāṅga-Maṇṭapa, Alāgia Maṇavāla Maṇṭapa, etc., in the Śrīraṅgam shrine. He then proceeded to Tirukkurun-gudi, and converting a Brahmin there and making him construct several works in the local shrine, he returned to Śrīraṅgam. The next great conversion was that of Erumbi Appa, the *jīyar's* old friend and admirer. A Vaishṇava going

¹ Nothing is so curious in the life of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni as the timidity he displayed on this occasion. More than once he expressed his fear to interfere in a highly orthodox family, but his followers goaded him on to do it by giving plausible arguments. Incidents like this give a clear and unmistakable proof of the innovating nature of Tēṅgalaism; and yet writers like Mr. Gopinatha Rao maintain that the Tēṅgalai school is the traditional one. A grosser misreading of original materials is hardly possible.

² The *Yatīndrapravaṇaprabhāva* does not say of what place he was the chief.

to Tirupati saw him at Erumbi and told him of the activity of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni and the wholesale conversion of Kandaḍai Aṇṇan's family. Actuated by the desire to imitate them he proceeded to Śrīraṅgam and got himself introduced, through Kandaḍai Aṇṇan, to the saint. The yearning proselyte admired the scholarship of the rising *āchārya*, whom he found to be a better Sanskrit scholar than reputation represented, but was shocked by his invitation to dinner—an act prohibited on the part of a *sanyasin*.¹ Disgusted with the *jīyar*'s breach of an ordinary rule, he returned to his native place, but was ordered by his tutelary deity, we are told, to go back and beg pardon of the *jīyar* as he was an *avatār* of Adīśeṣha! So Appā came back and was received into the fold of Teṅgalaism. At the instance of the *jīyar*, Aṇṇan bestowed the *Tiruvilacchīnai* and the *Mantrārtha* on him, and the *jīyar* soon raised him to the list of his devoted adherents. The conquest of Erumbi Appā was followed by the conquest of another great scholar Appillān. The latter was an authority on the Viśiṣṭādvaitic philosophy and had distinguished himself in many a controversy with Advaitins in the north. Time was when he had the intention of engaging the *jīyar* in disputation and overthrowing his doctrines, but he had been prevented from doing so by the persuasion of Erumbi Appā. And now that Erumbi Appā himself was an adherent of the *jīyar*, he became the agent of the other's conversion. The *Yatīndrapravāṇaprabhāva* describes, with becoming detail, the acquisition of this scholar to the new party, and rightly considers it an epoch-making event.

Maṇavāla Mahāmuni was now becoming a power in the land. Even those who held him in contempt, who disputed his right to be an *āchārya*, who scorned his attainments, felt compelled to acknowledge his unique and growing triumph in the very heart of Śrīraṅgam. The spectacle of the daily addition of even great scholars like Erumbi Appā and Appillān had its effects, and success led to further success. The new converts, the Kandaḍais in particular, however, were in a difficult position. Held as apostates by the mass of the Vaiṣṇava cult they had a good deal of difficulty in their social intercourse. Men refused to enter into marital alliances with them and otherwise put them to trouble. The *jīyar*, therefore, in accordance with the advice of Erumbi Appā, introduced a new organization among them. He divided them into seven communities of seven *gōtras* and ruled that inter-marriages should take place among them. The Kandaḍais and their relations came to form, as a result of this, a community among themselves which was so self-sufficient in social and marriage matters that there was no necessity to depend on an unwilling class of outside men. The descendants of the *Sapta-gōtra* are

¹ Here we have got another proof of the unorthodox and innovating nature of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's teachings.

characterized even now by an *esprit de corps* of which the genius of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni was the author.

But it was not by a new social organization alone that Maṇavāla Mahāmuni ensured the permanent adherence of his followers to himself. He attracted them by his literary and religious works as well. His works were indeed not original but simply commentaries on the works of his predecessors; but the work of expounding was, it was believed, the necessity of the day. The *rahasyas* and writings of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, in particular, were in the form of 'Sūtras' and good glosses on them were necessary, and Maṇavāla Mahāmuni supplied the defect.¹ The *Śrīvachana bhūṣhaṇa*, the *Tattvatraya*, and the *Rahasyatraya* of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, the *Āchāryahriḍaya* of Aḷagīa Perumāḷ Nainār, and the *Gūṇasāra* and *Pramēyasāra* of Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emberumānār were in this way expounded. Besides, he wrote the *Pramāṇa-ttiratṭus* of the Iḍu, the *Tattvatraya* and *Vachanabhūṣhaṇa*. He further annotated the *Tirumoli* of Periaḷvār. His original works were the *Upadeśa-ratnamālai*, a poem of 73 stanzas in *venba* metre on the dates, the birth-places and works of the *Alvars* and *Āchāryas*; the *Tiruvāymoli Nūttandādi*, a poem of 100 stanzas in the *venba* metre giving the gist of the 100 *padikas* of Nammāḷvar's *Tiruvāymoli*; the *Ārtiprabandha*, and the *Yatirājavimśati* on Rāmānuja. He also wrote a small treatise on the method of daily worship in home. Almost all these works are in *Maṇipravāla*. Limited indeed is their range in style as well as in thought, in diction as well as profundity; but Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's work should be judged not from his literary efforts but from his practical life; not from what he *did* but from what he *was*; not from the quality or quantity of what he *wrote*, but from the skill with which he won over men and organized them into a distinct community.

Maṇavāla Mahāmuni now felt himself to be successful enough to engage in proselytizing tour. To visit the different sacred places and to establish institutions which could spread his teachings was his object. At Conjeeveram, for instance, where he constructed a *math*² he made Kōyil Kandaḍai Aṇṇan the head. He then visited Tirupputkūḷi, Ghaṭikāchalam, Erumbi, and Tirupati. In no place did he fail to get new adherents, and no place did he leave without leaving some to carry on the work of proselytism. Every spot of his travel became characterized thus by a permanent memorial of his advent, and a wonderful scheme of organized action was thus provided for. At Tirupati he appointed a *jīyar* to carry on his mission. By way of Triplicane, Tiruvallur and Conjeeveram, Maṇavāla Mahāmuni then came to Madhurāntakam and

¹ See Prof. Rangacharya's *Trien: Catal.*, 1913 (Tamil) for reviews of all these works. They have all been printed.

² See *Yatīndrapravāṇa prabhāva*, p. 85. Aṇṇan was very sorry to part with the *Jīyar* and the latter thereupon converted an old copper vessel of his into two idols of his own, and gave them to Rāmānuja *Jīyar* and Aṇṇan, and asked the latter to proceed to Conjeeveram. Aṇṇan had now the satisfaction of worshipping Maṇavāla's image, and so reconciled himself to the new position. ..

Chidambaram. From there he proceeded to the various shrines of the Chōla country, Tiruvāli-Tirunagari, Tirukkannapuram, Kumbhakōṇam, etc. Going to Tentiruppērai and other shrines in the south, he ultimately came back to Śrīraṅgam. The *Yatīndrapraṇāprabhāva* points out how the *jīyar* brought with him costly jewels, umbrellas of silk, *chāmaras*, flags and colours, carpets, cushions and quilts of silk, and presented these to the deity, and how the temple authorities honoured him by escorting him in pomp to his *maṭha*.

After his return from his tour, Varavara Muni continued his old career of teaching and lecturing. With that tact which always characterized him, he was on friendly terms with Prativati Bhayāṭikaram Annan, so that the Bhāṣyic erudition of the latter might be at his disposal. Similarly he authorized Śuddha Satva Annan of the Kāṇḍāḍai family to lecture on the *Bhagavad-Vishaya*. He welcomed, with the same view, Erumbi Appā to Śrīraṅgam, and placed so much value on his companionship that the latter, in the depth of his gratitude and the profundity of his admiration, immortalized his name by the composition of the *Dināchārya*,¹ a treatise describing his daily habits. Surrounded by an array of admirers Varavara Muni now felt that the time was come for an authoritative exposition of the 36,000 in the presence of the deity, so that it could equal the Bhāṣya in sanctity. A liberal donor of riches to the shrine, and the centre of a determined and active set of men, Varavara Muni easily gained his object. The priests in the name of the Lord, we are told, solemnly issued an order asking the *jīyar* to expound the *Prabhandas*, and for the space of a year Maṇavāla *jīyar* gave an elaborate and thrilling series of lectures based on the 6,000, the 9,000, the 12,000, the 24,000 and the 36,000. The Lord is said to have been exceedingly pleased. He considered Himself to be a disciple and the *jīyar* to be the *āchārya*; and He, therefore, wanted to immortalize this relationship to the world. The way in which this was accomplished was very curious. At the end of the course of his lectures Maṇavāla Mahāmuni was once being honoured in the temple with the holy gifts, etc., when a five-year-old son of the priest, Raṅganātha by name, became inspired, and thrusting himself, in the face of opposition, into the midst of the assembled company, gave vent to a verse, meaning² 'I bow to Aḷagia Maṇavāla Muni, the devotee of Yatīndra, (i.e. Rāmānuja), the ocean of virtues like intelligence, devotion, etc. and the object of Śrī Śailēśa's grace.' Repeating this, the boy ran away. All the people assembled there were astonished to see this phenomenon. They saw what a beautiful verse it was, under what circumstances

1. It is very commonly read now. It shows curiously enough that the teacher led a life not in strict conformity with an orthodox sanyāsin as the description in the *Dināchārya*, for instance, of his costly sleeping cot, soft silk cushions and bedding with perfumes, etc. shows.

2. श्रीलेश्वरदयावात् धोमक्त्यादि गणार्णवं ।

यतोद्भूतं वन्दे रम्यजामातरं मुनिं ॥

it was uttered, and by whom; and concluded that the Lord himself appeared for the time in the guise of the boy and gave utterance to the verse. And very soon a demonstration of this divine theory was obtained. The boy was brought back and pressed to say how he got hold of the verse, but he found himself unable to explain; he in fact was unconscious of any exploit on his part! A wonderstruck audience then realized that the real author of the verse was the Lord and adopted it from this time onward as the holy verse to be uttered by every Vaishṇava of Maṇavāla's following before religious study or worship. At the request of the assembly, we are told, the boy, being a Tamil scholar³, broke⁴ forth into a benedictory verse in Tamil, blessing the disciple of Tiruvāymoḷi Pillai, blessing his *Prabandhic* lectures, blessing his lotus-feet, his robes, his shoulders, his navel, his chest, his sacred thread, his holy stick, his eyes, and his frame, and praying that he might yet live, for the sake of the world's good, for a century more! Every part of the verse was faithfully taken, and together with the Sanskrit Pātra above mentioned, came to be repeated by the adherents of the Prabandhic school on occasions of study and worship. The *Yatīndrapraṇāprabhāva* gives a large number of miraculous occurrences in different shrines of the south in which dreams play a prominent part and which led to the recognition of the teacher and the repetition of his *taniyan* and his *Vāḷittirunāmam* during worship. The proselytizing efforts of the growing party were not confined to the south. Rāmānuja Jīyar himself undertook a tour as far as the Badarikaśrama and introduced the cult there, after gaining over a certain Ayōdhya Rāmānuja dāsa and other Vaishṇavites of that place!

It is highly fortunate that the *Yatīndrapraṇāprabhāva* gives a clue to the date of the first lecture of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni on the *Iḷu*. It says that it took place in *Paritāpi*, *Śrāvāṇa* 31, *Śuklachaturdasi* Friday, Svāti corresponding to Friday, August⁵ 29, A.D. 1432. The performance ended evidently in *Ananda*, *Ani* 24, *Māla*, Sunday, *Purnami*, corresponding to June 20, A.D. 1434. I have already pointed out how Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's final settlement at Śrīraṅgam should have taken place about 1425. More than six years had to pass before he could undertake his propaganda in the temple itself, before he could create such an opinion as to make his innovation appear harmless; and he, thanks to his organizing genius, succeeded. It was indeed an accomplishment and the permanence of the *Teṅgalai* faith was assured for ever.

¹ The celebrated *Vāḷittirunāmam*. It will be seen that the *Pātram* and the *Vāḷittirunāmam* were imitated from those of Vādānta Dēśika, but without meaning. In the one case, moreover, the wisdom, the character and the spiritual greatness of the *Āchārya* are alluded to, while in the other, the shoulders, the navel, the chest, etc.!! Even the expression 'a century more,' so fitting in the case of Dēśika, is senselessly repeated though Maṇavāla Mahāmuni lived only 74 years.

² Here *Chaturdasi*, says Mr. Svāmikanu Pillai, is a mistake for *Chaturthi*. See *Journal of the S. India Association*, June 1914, p. 260.

Varavara Muni was by this time struck with disease and old age, and he made the last arrangements for his departure. He authorized Appā and Annan to carry on his lectures in the *Bhāshya* and *Bhagavadvishaya*. He sent Tōlappa to Tirunārāyaṇapuram to carry on his work there. He appointed Rāmānuja Jiyar the guardian of his creed in the south, and Bhaṭṭar Pirān Jiyar at Śrīraṅgam. He despatched Erumbi Appā to his native place where he celebrated the name of his teacher by composing the *Varavaramuni-śatakam*, the *Varavaramuni-prabandham*, the *Varavaramuni-pāñchāśat*, the *Varavaramunistavam*, the *Varavaramuni-maṅgalāśāsanam* and the *Varavaramuni-gadyam*. He appointed Appillai, Appillān, on similar missions. All these who formed the *Aṣṭa-diggajas* popularized the creed of their teacher, thanks to the support of stray kings and chiefs, and thus introduced a socio-religious change which was of a revolutionary nature.

These arrangements over, Maṇavāla Mahāmuni set out on a tour to the south. At Madura he was welcomed by king Mahābalivānada¹ Rāya who not only received the *panchasamskāra* from the teacher but gave him all royal paraphernalia, lifted his palanquin and endowed the village of 'Muttarasan' or Aḷagia Maṇavālanallūr. After visiting Tiruppullāṇi, Tirunagari, Śrīvilliputtūr and Tirumālirunjōlai (which was in ruins and which he repaired through the generosity of Mahābalivānada Rāya), he returned to Śrīraṅgam. With that remarkable foresight and energy which made him attractive to men he used even this journey to gain new adherents. He is said to have converted a Tuḷuva² prince under the designation of Rāmānuja Dāsa. An even more tactful achievement was the conversion of Śingarācharyār of Eṭṭur who was a descendant of the great Peria Tirumalai Nambi Tātāchārya, and whose conversion must have caused a sensation throughout the *Vaiṣṇava* world. The apostasy of Śingarāchārya placed him in difficulties similar to those which the Kandaḍais had formerly felt, and Maṇavāla Mahāmuni therefore added his family to the *Saptagōtras*. The accession of Tōlappa to the ranks of Teṅgalaism and of a chief Appā Rāya were two more achievements of these last days of the *Jiyar*.

The great *Jiyar* had accomplished his mission by this time and on the

¹ Chiefs who had this title ruled over Madura in the 15th and 16th centuries. Inscriptions, 585 and 587 of 1902 at Kālayārkōvil, for instance, refer to a Sundarattōḷuḷayān Māvalivānadarāya in S1452 (A.D. 1530) and S1454 (A.D. 1532). Similarly inscriptions, 109 and 113 of 1903 at Tiruppullāṇi refer to him in A.D. 1528 and 1518. The Vānadarāya who met Maṇavāla Mahāmuni was earlier than this chief, as the latest year at which he could have been met him was A.D. 1473. And two such earlier chiefs have been discovered by epigraphy. An inscription in the Appāḷ temple at Śrīvilliputtūr mentions an Uringāvilidāsan Mahābalivānadarāyar in A.D. 1453. Another inscription of the same place mentions a king of the same name, the son of Tirumālirunjōlai. Māvalivānadarāya, in A.D. 1475. It is this last-mentioned prince that evidently became the disciple of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. See *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, I, 46 and my *Hist. Naik. King. Madura in Ind. Antiq. Feb.* 1914.

² It is difficult to identify this prince.

Krishṇapaksha dvādasi day of *Māsi* of year *Rudhirōḷgāri*¹ in his seventy-fourth year, he bade farewell to his disciples and his worldly life. It was indeed a life well led, a life of momentous significance to thousands of the present and millions of the future. His work was so thorough and so admirable to his followers and admirers that he was none else than an *āvatār*. The story runs among them that originally the Lord commanded his vehicle Ananta to proceed to the earth and incarnate there as man for the sake of man for two centuries; that he accordingly took his birth on earth as the celebrated Rāmānuja; that after the lapse of a century and a quarter, he felt the separation from his heavenly abode so keenly that he returned thither; that the Lord commanded him to be born once again as man and fulfil the original object; and that, in consequence, Rāmānuja came once again in the form of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni.² Many a miracle is given by the biographers of the saint to prove his incarnation. He was, it is said, of an extremely white complexion,—the complexion of the moon and the milk-ocean. Later on, when Maṇavāla was a renowned teacher and an object of profound admiration and worship, he incurred, it is said, the enmity of some jealous men who resolved to take revenge on him by setting fire to his hut at Tirunagari. The hut was burning when, to the surprise and satisfaction of the spectators, the sage came out through a hole in the form of a serpent. It was an achievement, possible, his admirers contend, for an *avatār* of Śeṣha alone. On another occasion, we are informed, one of his original detractors, Erumbi Appā by name, could not, in consequence of his indifference to him, open the door of his domestic shrine. Much agrieved at the non-performance of the *pūja*, he laid himself down at night without eating anything, when he had, it is said, a vision to the effect that Rāmachandra, the object of his worship, appeared before him, rebuked him for his opposition to Maṇavāla, and proved his greatness and identity with Ananta by showing his image alternately with Ādiśeṣha, with Rāmānuja, and with Lakshmaṇa! The deity ended his interview with the assurance that he would receive worship at his hands only in case he repented his past and sought forgiveness at the hands of the saint; and Erumbi Appā, we are told, promptly obeyed his God's mandate, and proved to the world by his own history the greatness of the great *Teṅgalai* saint. One of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's disciples, again, the well-known Uttama Nambi, is said to have seen the sage in his true serpent form at a moment when, in the absorbing nature of his contemplation, he had temporarily renounced his mortal coil. On another occasion, a woman is said to have

¹ This date corresponds to February. A.D. 1444.

² See Appillai's *Sampradhāya Chandrikai*. He is a very recent and obscure writer. The verse relating to Maṇavāla is:—

ஆதிவிலை யாவதென யழைத்தாங்கர் அவனிவிலை யிருநாறுண்டி டிருக்கென்ன
பாதிவிலை யுடையவராய் வந்ததோன்றி பாம்பத லுடியவர் போலென்னென்,
சீதியாய் அன்போலே சிற்சநாடி சிறுவைத்தோ சிறைவேற்றி வாருமென்ன.
சாதாரணமெனும் வகுத்தன்களில் தனித்துவா மூலநாடான் வந்தோ.

seen him as a thousand-headed cobra while engaged in *yogic* meditation. The followers and professors of the *Valagalai* sect have disputed the right of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni to be considered an incarnation of Ananta or Rāmānuja. They consider these stories to be myths, and contend that the white complexion of the *Tengalai* sage was the sign of disease. It existed, moreover, they say, not from the time of his birth, but was a later acquisition, the product of his unpardonable disrespect to the *ālvārs* whose writings he 'falsely' expounded, to Rāmānuja whose teachings he neglected, and to Vēdānta Dēśika whose treatises he did not care to understand. The oppressing pain of his disease he tried, it is said, to soothe by the *unsanyāsic* food of cold rice and certain prohibited vegetables, but in vain. At length he propitiated the prophets whom he had wronged and whose displeasure he had incurred by composing the *Tiruvāymoli Nūrrandādi* (சிருவாய்மொழி நூற்றந்தாதி.); *Yatirāja Vimsati* (பதிராஜவிம்சதி), and *Artiprabandha* (ஆர்திப்பரந்த), and by studying Vēdānta Dēśika's works at the feet of Kḍāmbi Nainār. It was after this, the *Valagalai* version continues, that he became free from disease, though not from his paleness. Not contented with this damaging picture, they have given their own theory of the real personality of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni and his mission on earth. He was in reality, they say, Kali, the spirit of the false modern age, who came to the earth to undo the labours of Rāmānuja, Vēdānta Dēśika and others. The story of the circumstances under which he was born, as given by them, is at once a proof of their ingenuity and their prejudice. In this they take advantage of an event in the last days of Rāmānuja related in the *Gūṇuparamparas* of both schools, about the appearance of Kali before them in human shape. The great Rāmānuja, they say, was at the point of death when Kali visited him, acknowledged his distress so long as Rāmānuja lived, and asked him, as he was going, to permit him to return once again to the world. Rāmānuja refused, and Kali vowed to find some opportunity for his advent. At first he used as his instruments men whose expoundations of the Viśiṣṭādvaitic philosophy were against the stringencies of Śāstraic discipline, as a result of which 'the *Gita* perished, the true path was left far behind, the *Smṛitis* and commentaries were neglected, the *Purāṇas* vanished, and the way to salvation, to *Mōksha*, was destroyed.' To check this catastrophe, to undo the evil and to save the world by the restoration of the true religion, the story continues, the Lord sent His bell to be born as a teacher and repair the disaster. Thus it was that Vēdānta Dēśika was born in K. 4370, A.D. 1269. The ideal teacher and saint, he restored the system of Rāmānuja to its full vigour and was in consequence an object of terror and aversion to Kali, and so long as he lived and taught Kali had to hide his head. But no sooner was Vēdāntāchārya dead than that infernal spirit, resolved to incarnate himself on earth and achieve the object of his heart, was born in the guise of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni! The ingenuity of malice invented stories to belittle

even the constellation—it was *Mūlam*—in which the *Tengalai* prophet was born. The constellation of *Mūlam* and two others immediately preceding and following it, had been purposely removed by the anger of Viśvāmītra who had, centuries back, foreseen that it would give place to Kali as against his own descendant, Vēdānta Dēśika, so that the constellation of the latter (Śravaṇa) would not be separated from that of Nammālvār (Viśākha) by a Rākshasic constellation like *mūlam*,—an incident the proof of which exists even to-day in the separate existence of *Mūlam* and its immediate constellations in the south!

Such are the controversies which have gathered round the person and purpose of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. No person has ever been the object at once of so much praise and so much condemnation. The critical historian need not pause to inquire into these childish wranglings and vituperative myths. It is sufficient for him to note that, if Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's claims raised an outburst of indignation in the ranks of the orthodox school, they satisfied a larger number of people whose religious enthusiasm or interest permitted or inspired the largest amount of credulity. To the *Tengalais*, especially the converts from the lower classes, his *Iḷu* is more valuable than the *Bhāshyas*, and even a feeble expression of doubt as to Maṇavāla's divinity is a rank heresy. Nor is it surprising that their attitude was such. They had an interest in his elevation, for in his elevation they felt their own social and religious elevation. It was to him they owed their new cult, their new social status, and in their gratitude they naturally paid to him the adorations due to a divinity. By doing it they were placing themselves on a more secure basis, because with his rise they rose, and with his fall they fell. It is not surprising that, while some did not hesitate to call the *Tengalai* seer a blasphemous and impostor, there were others, far more numerous, who celebrated him as a trusty servant of God and saviour of men.

(to be concluded)

A NOTE ON THE SUPPOSED IDENTITY OF VĀTSYĀYANA AND KAUTILYA

By R. SHAMA SASTRY, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

Now that the *Arthaśāstra* is widely known to scholars, the one important question that is engaging their attention is one that relates to the names and date of its author and the authenticity of the work itself. Few are the authors of ancient Sanskrit works, whose date and personality are well known to us, and fewer still are the Sanskrit works, the authorship of which is authenticated beyond doubt. Leaving the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic works which are all ascribed to God himself, there is hardly any *Sūtra* work, the date and authorship of which are not disputed. The same is the case with almost all the *Purāṇas*, *Kāvya*s, dramas, and philosophical works. Kauṭilya, the reputed author of the *Arthaśāstra*, is no exception to this rule of chronological doubt. Hence any attempt to ascertain his times and personality most necessarily depend upon the scanty materials that can be gathered not merely from the *Arthaśāstra* itself, but also from the works of contemporary or later authors. The bearing of these internal and external evidences on the decision of the question of the date and authenticity of the *Arthaśāstra* has been elaborately discussed by eminent scholars in the pages of English and German Oriental journals. Prof. K. V. Rangasami Iyengar of the Travancore Educational Service has also discussed the question in some detail, attempting to refute the recent criticisms of Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, in his Madras University lecture entitled, "Considerations on some aspects of Ancient Indian Polity." These discussions have brought a new question to the front. It is about the plurality of the names of Kauṭilya as given out in the *Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra, 1088—1172 (p. 34, verse 833, Bombay edition) and the *Vaijayanti* of Yādavaprakāśa, A.D. 1100 (ed. Oppert 1893, p. 96), which has been engaging my attention for the last two years. The verses run as follows :—

(1) वात्स्यायनो मल्लनागः कौटिल्यश्चकात्मजः ।

द्रामिकः पक्षिकस्वामी मल्लनागो गुल्लोऽपि च ॥

Hemachandra

(2) वात्स्यायनस्तु कौटिल्यो विष्णुगुप्तो वराणकः ।

द्रामिकः पक्षिकस्वामी मल्लनागो गुल्लोऽपि च ॥

Yādava

'The meaning of the verses is this :—

Vātsyāyana	...	Vātsyāyana.
Mallanāga	...	Kauṭilya.
Kauṭilya	...	Vishṇugupta.
Chapakātmaja	...	Varāṇaka.
Drāmila	...	Drāmila.
Pakshila	...	Pakshila.
Swāmi	...	Swāmi.
Vishṇugupta	...	Mallanāga.
Angula	...	Angula.
(Hemachandra).	...	(Yādava).

These are synonymous names of one and the same person.'

Almost harmless and perhaps useless as these lexicographic verses seem to be like those of a hundred or thousand names of Vishṇu and other Hindu gods, they contain two charming names, Vātsyāyana and Mallanāga, which are likely to add unlimited fuel to the burning question of the authorship of the *Arthaśāstra*, for Vātsyāyana known also as Mallanāga is believed to be the author of two famous works, the *Kāmasūtra* and the *Bhāshya* or commentary on the *Nyāyasūtra* of Kaṇāda. Now the question that crops up is this :—Is Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra* and of the commentary on the *Nyāyasūtra*, the same as Kauṭilya, the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, and is the authority of Hemachandra and of Yādavaprakāśa unquestionably reliable? In addition to this apparently authoritative assertion of the two lexicographers, the style and parallel passages of the *Kāmasūtra* are said to lend support to the same conclusion. But the dates, so far assumed on the strength of internal and external evidences of the two authors, Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya, are, however, at conflict with each other. As I have already pointed out in my preface to the translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Purāṇas* as well as Dandi are unanimous in making Kauṭilya a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya whose prime minister he was and for whom, as stated by Dandi, he wrote his *Arthaśāstra* of about six thousand *śloka*s in prose. From this evidence of Dandi and the *Purāṇas*, earlier and therefore more credible than that of the later writers, Hemachandra and Yādavaprakāśa, it is clear that the date of Kauṭilya is nearly the same as that of Chandragupta Maurya, 327 to 320, B.C. But from what Vātsyāyana says in his *Kāmasūtra* he appears to have lived somewhere about the second or third century of the Christian era. While describing the

1 J. R. A. S. for January 1916, pp. 180-7.

2 See the preface to my translation of the *Arthaśāstra*.

dangers attendant on excessive indulgence of sexual pleasures, Vātsyāyana mentions the name of Kuntala Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty as an instance in point. This is what he says (II 7, p. 154) :—

कर्तर्या कुंतलशतकर्णशतवाहनो महादेवो मलयवती (जयान).

Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty, King of the Kuntalas, slew with scissors Malayavati, his queen.

The Śātavāhanas to whose line Śātakarṇi belongs are believed on the strength of epigraphical evidence to have ruled over the western parts of India from A.D. 137 to 209. Accordingly Vātsyāyana must necessarily have been either their contemporary or their immediate successor, as the incident he has mentioned seems to have been fresh in his memory, and not taken from history or tradition. He cannot, however, be later than the sixth century, since Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, makes use of his *Kāmasūtra* and his name *Mallanāga* for the purpose of his usual puzzles in words.

Thus while the dates of the two authors are at variance so as to disprove their identity, the style and diction of Vātsyāyana's Commentary on the *Nyāyadarśana* seem also to render the assertion of Hemachandra and of Yādavaprakāśa utterly unreliable. Though the peculiar way in which Vātsyāyana makes quotations in his commentary from the *Arthasāstra* confirms his acquaintance with that work and leads us to suppose that he may perhaps be identical with Kauṭilya, still his acquaintance with the grammar of Pāṇini, the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* of Jaimini and the sciences of astronomy, astrology, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga, none of which seems to have been known to Kauṭilya in the form in which they are quoted by Vātsyāyana points to the conclusion that the two authors cannot be identical. The first quotation made from the *Arthasāstra* in the commentary runs as follows: (I. 1, 1, p. 8) :—

प्रदोषस्सर्वविद्यानामुपायस्सर्वकर्मणाम् ।

आश्रयस्सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १ ॥

Here preserving the metrical form, the last quarter of the verse is so altered as to give the name of the section in which it is contained in a different form in the *Arthasāstra*. In the section, turned *Vidyoddeśa* or end of sciences, of the *Arthasāstra*, the last quarter of the verse runs as 'शश्वदान्वीक्षकी मता'. The word *prakīrtitā*, signifying 'is defined', in the quotation may mean that Ānvikṣhikī was so defined either by himself or by somebody else.

The second quotation runs as follows: (I 1, 4).

परमतमप्रतिषिद्धं मनुमतमिति हि तत्रयुक्तिः ।

¹ *Arthasāstra* I 2, p. 7.

Here the word *Tantrayukti*, 'plan of a treatise,' is the name of the last section of the *Arthasāstra*; and here, too, nothing is said about its author.

The third quotation is as follows: (I. 2, 55).

पदसमूहो वाक्यमर्थपरिसमाप्तो ।

Here, too, nothing is said either of the work or of its author. One that is not acquainted with the *Arthasāstra* from which the above quotations are made is likely to presume that they are the words of Vātsyāyana himself. Whoever might be the author of the *Arthasāstra*, either Vātsyāyana *alias* Kauṭilya or a different person under the name Kauṭilya, it is not easy to guess why Vātsyāyana omitted to name the work or its author. Still the acquaintance which he shows with the works that are evidently later than the *Arthasāstra* inclines me to believe that there was a wide interval between Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya. In I. 2, 16 he shows his thorough acquaintance with Pāṇini's grammar and its commentaries and freely quotes from it as follows:—

(1) वृक्षस्तिष्ठतीति स्थितौ स्वातंत्र्यात् कर्ता ।

Pāṇini

स्वतंत्रः कर्ता ।

I 4, 54.

(2) वृक्षं पश्यतीति दर्शनेनासुमिष्यमाणत्वात् कर्म ।

ज्ञोप्सिततमं कर्म ।

I 4, 49.

(3) वृक्षेण चंद्रमसं ज्ञापयतीति ज्ञापकस्य साधकतम-

साधकतमं करणम् ।

त्वात् करणम् ।

I 4, 42.

(4) वृक्षायोदकमासिंचतीति आसिच्यमानेनोदकेन

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदा-

वृक्षमभिप्रैतीति संप्रदानम् ।

नम् ।

I 4, 32.

(5) वृक्षे वयांसि संतोषाधारोऽधिकरणम् ।

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ।

I 4, 45.

His learned commentary on II. 2, 41 where he cites the diverse views which grammarians held regarding phonetic changes and quotes Pāṇini's aphorisms, अस्तेर्भूः (I 4, 52), वुवो वचिः (I 4, 53) still more clearly proves that not only Vātsyāyana, but the author of the *Nyāyadarśana* also was thoroughly familiar with Pāṇini's grammar and its commentaries. The same is the case with his commentary on II 5, 7-8 where he quotes three of the fourteen *Māheśvara sūtras* on which Pāṇini has based his peculiar *Pratyāhāra* system

¹ *Arthasāstra* II. 10, p. 72.

for brevity. Consistently with his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, his commentary and also his *Kāmasūtra* are, as can be expected, entirely free from all traces of grammatical errors and absolutisms with which, as I have pointed out in the preface to my Translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, the latter work abounds.

In I. 1, 29; III. 2, 1; IV. 1, 40; and IV. 1, 42; and IV. 2, 46 he refers to the school of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Dvaita philosophy and in I. 1, 39 he mentions another commentary on the *Nyāyadaśana*.

In II. 1, 56-64 both the author and the commentator manifest their acquaintance with the *Mīmāṃsā sūtras* of Jaimini.

In II. 1, 67 Vātsyāyana mentions such huge periods of time as Manvantara and Yugāntara, which Kauṭilya does not seem to have been aware of; for while defining a Yuga of five years in II. 20 of his *Arthaśāstra*, he would not have omitted to notice them also, had those huge divisions of time been known to him.

Furthermore his reference to the school of atheists in his commentary on III. 2, 65 and to the Vedānta Philosophy also in IV. 1, 61 points to his having been one of the forerunners of the revival of Brāhmanism and Sanskrit literature—an event of far-reaching changes in the customs and religion of the Brāhmins, which happened during the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, whereas Kauṭilya's description of customs and manners of a bygone epoch in the *Arthaśāstra* establishes beyond doubt his priority to the period of the renaissance of Sanskrit literature.

Moreover the thorough familiarity which Vātsyāyana seems to have had with astronomy and astrology in their later form (*Kāmasūtra* I. 2; I. 3; II. 10, pp. 19, 29, 179), the geography of India, and the customs and manners of men and women of different nationalities (I. 1, p. 5; II. 4, p. 118; II. 5, pp. 129-131; II. 6, p. 144; II. 9, 172), such as Pāṭaliputra, Gauda, Dakṣiṇātya, Māhārāṣṭra, Madhyadeśa, Bāhlika, Avanti, Mālava, Ābhira, Sindhu, Aparānta, Lāṭa, Āndhra, Drāvida, Chola,¹ Pāṇḍya,² Kūptala,³ Vāṇavāsika, Kosala, Strīrājya, and Śaurasena—which existed in India at his time and many of which, though perhaps in existence, do not seem to have been so well known during the time of Chandragupta Maurya, is scarcely discernible in the *Arthaśāstra* and it is a point leading to prove its priority.

Besides this, there is also reason to believe that if Vātsyāyana had been identical with Kauṭilya, Yaśodhara, the learned commentator on his *Kāmasūtra*, would never have passed it over; for it is too important a fact to omit; nor can it be said that he had no occasion to mention it, for he deals with the very nomenclature of Vātsyāyana and also makes, as we shall see, quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*. When in accordance with

^{1, 2, 3} *Kāmasūtra* II. 7. p. 154, Bombay edition, 1900.

Kauṭilya's principle that the 'citation of another's view implies its acceptance when not contradicted,'¹ Vātsyāyana cites his own view, appending his own name after mentioning the views of others on a question at issue for the first time in *Kāmasūtra* I. 2, p. 17, Yaśodhara says that Vātsyāyana was his *gotra* or family name and Mallanāga his sacramental name. I doubt not that if there had been any truth in the supposed identity of the two authors, Yaśodhara would not have omitted to mention it in this connexion. It should also be noted that as *gotra* or family names, Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya belong to different *gotras* or families,² a fact which goes far to prove that the persons bearing those names must be quite different. The other occasion when he should have noticed the identity is where he quotes from the *Arthaśāstra* in support of Vātsyāyana's opinion. Instead of prefacing the quotations as Vātsyāyana's own statements contained in the *Arthaśāstra*, he introduces them by saying, 'Accordingly it is said (तथाचोक्तम्)'; and he seems to imply thereby that the *Arthaśāstra* is the work of a different person. The passages which he has quoted from it run as follows:—

- (1) संवरणमात्रं हि तयो लोकावाविदः ।

Kāma. I. 2, p. 21; *Artha*. I. 2, p. 6.

- (2) देवं मानुषं हि कर्म लोकं पालयति ।

Kāma. I. 2, p. 23; *Artha*. VI. 2, p. 258.

- (3) मेषशृंगोत्प्लवाभियुतो गुडप्रतीवापः पिप्पलीमरिचसंभारस्त्रिफलायुक्तो मद्यो मैरेयः ।

Kāma. I. 4, p. 54; *Artha*. II. 25, p. 120.

- (4) तत्र पूर्वं धर्म्यश्चत्वारः ।

Kāma. III. 3, p. 208; *Artha*. III. 2, p. 151.

- (5) न शोधनमशुद्धस्य विशेषाणां भसश्चरेत् ।

कदाचिद्विप्रदुष्टस्य नाधिगम्येन भेषजम् ॥

Kāma. V. 6, p. 303; *Artha*. I. 10, p. 17.

- (6) शौर्यममर्षता शोघ्रता दाश्यं चोत्साहगुणाः ।

Kāma. VI. 1, p. 309; *Artha*. VI. 1, 255.

While explaining Mlechchhitavikalpa, one of the sixty-four arts given by Vātsyāyana, he mentions Kauṭilya, i. e. Kauṭilya's contrivance as an artificial

¹ *Arthaśāstra* XV. 1.

² See *Gotrapravanirnaya*, Mysore Oriental Literary edition.

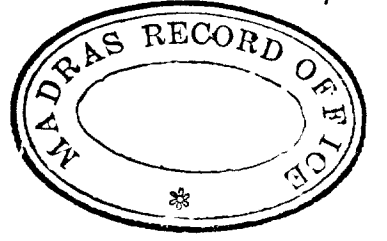
language contrived so as to hide the meaning, and quotes the following verse to explain it (*Kāma*. I. 3, p. 39):—

कौटिल्यं यदि क्षांतेः स्वरयोर्द्वयसदोर्षयोः ।

विंदुष्मणोर्विपर्यासादुर्बोधमिति संज्ञितम् ॥

When (in the words formed of alphabetical letters) ending with *ksha*, the meaning is made unintelligible by interchanging short and long vowels, and nasal sounds and sibilants, it is called Kauṭilya or Kauṭilya's contrivance (for the purpose of keeping state matters secret)—गूढवस्तु संज्ञार्थम्. What is frequently mentioned as gūḍhalekhyā (I. 12, p. 21), cipher writing, in the *Arthaśāstra* seems to have been called Mlechchhitavikalpa and enumerated as one of the old sixty-four arts in the *Kāmasūtra*. In none of these places does Yadhara refer to the identity of Vātsyāyana with Kauṭilya, and it is needless to say that if Vātsyāyana had been identical with Kauṭilya, he would not have omitted to mention it while explaining Mlechchhitavikalpa as an artificial language invented by Kauṭilya. It follows, therefore, that either he was not aware of the identity or he did not believe in it.

Hence I conclude that Vātsyāyana who, as shown above, seems to have lived during the period of the renaissance of Sanskrit literature in the second or third century of the Christian era is a different personage from Kauṭilya who, according to the *Purāṇas* and Dandī and others, was the prime minister to Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century before Christ and that as almost all the writers from Kāmandaka down to Mallinathasūri, the celebrated commentator on famous *kāvya*s, are unanimous in ascribing the *Arthaśāstra* to Kauṭilya, it is a genuine work of Kauṭilya himself dating from the fourth century B.C.



MĀDHAVĀCHĀRYA AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS¹

BY V. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, ESQ., B.A.

MĀDHAVĀCHĀRYA, distinguished as 'The Establisher of the Karnataka Kingdom' of Vijayanagar, with whose name that of Mādhvāchārya is sometimes confounded by western writers, is known in the world of letters, by his literary or spiritual title 'Vidyaranya', i.e. 'Forest of Learning', probably intended to be suggestive of his wide range of studies and scholarship. He is, however, associated in the popular mind with the Advaitic or Non-dualistic school of Philosophy as one of its foremost teachers, while Mādhvāchārya, who is also well known, was the founder, or more accurately the greatest exponent, of a different school of thought the Dvaitic or Dualistic. Of Vidyaranya's life no authentic account exists. And this circumstance has naturally made his life a mine of great value to students of historical research. Tradition has handed down biographical scraps, upon which have been based a few Vernacular and Sanskrit sketches, the accuracy of all of which, as may be expected, is questioned by such critics. But it is indeed in the highest interests of historical truth that traditional accounts should be so challenged. And it is a matter for sincere congratulation that so eminent an authority on Indian Archæology as Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimhachar, M.A., has investigated this subject which has not merely a literary significance but also considerable historical importance, relating as it does to the Karnataka Kingdom of Vijayanagar in some of its palmiest days. As the result of his extensive researches he has just given to the public two articles on 'Mādhavāchārya and His Younger Brothers', in which he has brought together a deal of exceedingly interesting and valuable archæological facts, for which the public cannot but be deeply indebted to him.

With regard to the inferences he draws from them, however, there is, of course, room for wide divergence of opinion.

His conclusions briefly are—

(1) In the latter part of the fourteenth century, during the reigns of Bukka I and Hari-Hara II of Vijayanagar, there existed two distinct

¹An article contributed to the Indian Antiquary of January and February 1916, by Rao Bahadur Praktana Vimarasa Vichakshana R. A. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., Director of Archæology in Mysore.

Madhavamantris or ministers, one of the 'Angirasa' family and the other of the 'Bharadwaja' family, both of them, ministers in the court, both known as Madhava *Amatya* or Madhava *mantri*, both great authors.

(2) Madhava of the Bharadwaja family was an Advaitic teacher: he was known also as 'Vidyaranya'. But he was neither warrior nor conqueror, nor the author of all the works attributed to him. This Madhava, Mr. Narasimhachar designates Mādhavāchārya, as distinguished from the other one whom he calls Madhavamantri.

(3) Madhava of the Angirasa family had younger brothers who were also scholars and authors; and one of them, Sayana, was also a minister under four kings.

This last or third item is easily disposed of inasmuch as what the learned author says about the brothers, Sayana and Bhoganatha, contains little that is controversial. The literary and historical information brought to light is of great value to those interested in the history of one of the largest of the Hindu Empires of the past. Further, Mr. Narasimhachar has proved beyond a doubt that Sayana was not identical with Madhava, who was his brother, a point the ignorance of which was a source of confusion to many students of Sanskrit literature, not only in the west but even in the east.

Turning to the rest of the essay, we find in it one central theme, which may be considered the main issue, namely, that while tradition points to but one Madhavamantri, Mr. Narasimhachar argues the existence of two such *mantris*. The rest of the issues are auxiliary ones intended to explain and support the central.

The very first observation that one is compelled to make on reading the essay, is that while it is entitled 'Mādhavāchārya and His Younger Brothers,' and while the most prominent topic in it is made to appear, to be Mādhavāchārya, there is no attempt to make out who Mādhavāchārya, the great Advaitic teacher of Sringeri was. One may read the article from end to end; one will not find in it any light beyond the single dogmatic assertion: 'We may call this minister Madhavamantri to distinguish him from Mādhavāchārya, as though Mādhavāchārya's identity had been pre-established. All that the author has done is to start with an assumption that Bharadwaja Madhava alone was Mādhavāchārya. But we find in *Tatparya deepika* that Angirasa Madhava was also called 'Mādhavāchārya,' and yet this point is not discussed.

Letting alone, however, the title of the essay and Mādhavāchārya, for a moment, and coming to the central position, the existence of the two Madhavamantries, we find ourselves first of all confronted by the great fact that there is no information as to the places of birth and death, as to their exact dates of birth, of their assumption of the office of minister, of their retirement from public service, of the taking of the holy orders. In the absence of such data, one cannot help questioning the validity of the essayist's inferences.

That there should have been two ministers of the same secular name Madhavamantri, and of the same spiritual name Mādhavāchārya; at the same period of history, in the same court, under the same kings, both of similar attainments in the same school of philosophy, both scholars and authors, both religious propagandists, both Brahmins, belonging, as the evidence available in Sringeri shows, probably to the same sect or community, and both having died at about the same time, is, to say the least, a most miraculous coincidence.

The entire assumption hangs upon the single thread of Gotra, and parentage. One Madhava is said to be of Angirasa Gotra and the other of Bharadwaja, each having had parents with different names. This is the only point that appears to be worthy of serious consideration. The other argument based upon the difference in the names of Gurus or upon their number is of little consequence, since one may have any number of teachers, who may be referred to in different connexions under different names, as has been pointed out by the author himself.

Now as regards the evidence bearing on Gotras, we find that the literary alone refers to Bharadwaja, while the epigraphical alone mentions Angirasa. I exclude the Conjeevaram inscription, as it does not refer to Madhava directly but to Mayana. The essayist does not weigh the relative merits of the epigraphical and the literary pieces of evidence here. The authenticity of the Shikarpur inscription and Bhau Dajis, Goa copper plate, is certainly incontestable, and they distinctly say that 'Angirasa' was the Gotra of Madhava. Whereas the reliability of the information contained in the verses he quotes from literary authors is not above question. They have to be sifted and proved to be no interpolations and that they have not been fathered upon wrong authors, which, as he knows, is no rare phenomenon in Indian literature. Again, if their real authors were not contemporaries of this Madhava, how far their testimony can be relied on has also to be decided. For, if they were separated by centuries, they could not have been free from the traditional confusion to clear up which is the very aim of these articles.

If, however, the evidence of the literary compositions be reliable as Mr. Narasimhachar himself believes it is, all that he can succeed in establishing is, that there were two Mādhavāchāryas, but not two Mādhavāmantries or ministers, and certainly nothing regarding 'Vidyaranya' or the Advaitic Guru of Sringeri different from the traditional account.

On what grounds then, does Mr. Narasimhachar say that Bharadwaja 'Madhava' whose existence is proved by literary evidence was also a Madhavamantri different from the Angirasa Madhavamantri.

Though I am no epigraphist, yet I believe it stands to reason to infer that, if the author had any epigraphical authority to support him, he would certainly have produced it. And as for his literary data, his quotations do

not countenance his theory, inasmuch as there is no reference in them to any Bharadwaja *Madhavamantri*. There might, however, be literary evidence *other than that adduced* in the essay to justify his inference. But to it he makes no allusion, and much less does he indicate how far such evidence has been sifted and found reliable.

It is, we fear with no credentials whatever, that this new theory of two different *Mantris* has been, in this light manner ushered into the world. Nevertheless, it could be welcomed as a reasonable hypothesis, if, at least, it explained the connected facts. Granting that Bharadwaja Madhava was a *Mantri* different from the Angirasa Madhava *Mantri*, we find ourselves landed in a series of hopeless difficulties. What historical events of the times could Bharadwaja Madhava's administration be distinctively associated with? His tenure of office is said to have been a very long one. We know that the period of Vijayanagar history to which he belongs, was an epoch making one. And yet was there not a single public act of his worthy of being recorded on stone or metal? Did he not perform even ordinary deeds of charity? Were his days an entire blank? If not, why do we not find even a single scrap of epigraphical evidence relating to Bharadwaja *Madhavamantri*?

Mr. Narasimhachar, having once committed himself to the theory of two *Mantris*, is obliged to connect his Bharadwaja *Mantri*, with at least some non-secular or non-political events. He says, therefore, that a warrior, a conqueror and a builder of an empire could not have been a *Sanyasi*, the head of the Sringeri Mutt, to boot, and that a less significant minister would answer the latter purpose better, and this must be Bharadwaja Madhava.

Our first enquiry then is, which of the two Ministers was the Advaitic Guru of the Sringeri Mutt? He says that it was Bharadwaja Madhava, whereas his data point to Angirasa Madhava. Here is an analysis of the evidence:—

Bharadwaja Madhava

As MINISTER

1. No indication of his connexion with regions about Sringeri.
2. No evidence of title 'Acharya' having been bestowed on him; yet was called Madhavacharya.
3. No evidence of propagandist work.
4. No evidence of Vedantic authorship.

Angirasa Madhava

As MINISTER

1. Had influence in Thirthahalli, Shikarpur, Banavasi, Western Coast and regions about Sringeri, as the inscriptions and grants show.
2. Was given titles 'Acharya' and 'Guru', as in Upanishanmarga Pravartakacharya, etc., and was called Madhavacharya.
3. Was an active propagandist also built Saiva temples.
4. Was the author of one of the most important works on Adwaita-Vedanta: *The Tatparyadeepika*.

5. No evidence of Vedic scholarship, but was the brother of a great Vedic scholar.

6. No evidence of his having given away lands, etc., to Brahmins in his capacity as minister.

7. No evidence of having achieved anything worthy of the title: Establisher of the Karanataka Kingdom.

5. Was a Vedic scholar himself.

6. Gave many villages to Brahmins and in regions bordering on Sringeri.

7. Was one whose political achievements, were worthy of the title, establisher of the Karnatak kingdom, which the Sringeri Gurus even now hold.

Here, the Madhavamantri that became the Advaitic teacher must evidently have been the one who was well known in and about Sringeri, the seat of the great Advaitic teacher, the one whose grants and inscriptions are found in Thirthahalli, Shikarpur and Banavasi. And this minister who was warrior and conqueror, who is definitely known to have had the title, 'Guru', and 'Acharya', and who definitely calls himself Madhavacharya in his own *Tatparyadeepika*, must surely have been the Madhavacharya of Sringeri.

Again, any one that is acquainted with the literature of the Advaita Vedanta knows that one of the most fundamental works on the system is *Suta Samhita*. Sankaracharya himself is said to base some of his strongest arguments on it. It is also definitely asserted that he studied it a number of times before writing his famous commentary on the *Vedanta Sutra*s. On such a work it was that Angirasa Madhavamantri wrote a commentary known as '*Tatparyadeepika*.' Further, it is Angirasa Madhavamantri that bears the title 'Upanishanmarga Pravartakacharya or Pratisthaguru'. The other, Bharadwaja Madhava, was not the sole author of even *Panchadasi*, a manual of Vedanta. And he wrote it only after he became 'Vidyaranya' that is, a *Sanyasi*.

Supposing, then, that there were two Madhavamantries, which of the two, the author of the commentary on one of the most important works and the distinguished possessor of the title 'The Propagator of the Upanishadic Faith' the one connected with the regions about Sringeri, who gave away lands to Brahmins; or, the one who was no sole author of any work on Vedanta, one with no pretensions to any public marks of honour and one unknown as the champion of any faith, the minister that had no acts of public charity to his credit, would have been honoured by the name of the great 'Acharya' or 'Guru' of the Advaitins?

(2) Next, which of the two ministers was Vidyaranya? Nor, here, does the new theory appear to be on perfectly logical grounds, when it argues that the title 'Vidyaranya' was conferred on Bharadwaja Madhavamantri.

It has been pointed out that both the mantris were known as 'Madhavacharya'. And when the question is asked to whom the title 'Vidyaranya' belongs, the reply given is one that serves as a good illustration of the fallacy of 'Arguing in a Circle'. Who is Vidyaranya? Madhavacharya. Who is Madhavacharya? Vidyaranya. We get no farther. Even this fallacy could be overlooked if at least, Madhavacharya could be shown to be identical with Vidyaranya. In all the essay is to be found not even a scrap of proof from the inscriptions regarding their identity. Mr. Narasimhachar himself says, 'I do not remember to have come across any inscription that states explicitly that Madhavacharya and Vidyaranya were one and the same individual', 'A few references to Vidyaranya', he adds, 'in inscription and literary works seem to point to the identity of the two'. But among the literary works, that he quotes from, there is not even one which says that Vidyaranya was Madhavacharya. And the inscription of 1386, the only one cited in this connexion, it must be observed, seems to point to a conclusion the very reverse of Mr. Narasimhachar's. He says that Vidyaranya was Bharadwaja Madhavamantri but not Angirasa Madhavamantri. Now, as the Shikarpur, Banavasi and other inscriptions show and as our author himself admits Angirasa Madhavamantri was the minister of Harihara II. This prince gave in the presence of Vidyaranya a grant to three scholars. Who could this Vidyaranya be? Angirasa Madhavamantri was the propagator of the Upanishadic faith, and the author of religious works. The three scholars were 'the promoters of the commentaries on the Vedas'. Now, while epigraphical evidence says that this Madhavamantri was a Vedic scholar also, Mr. Narasimhachar holds that it was not this Madhavamantri, but the other whom he calls Madhavacharya, that must have had a hand in this literary work and must, therefore, be identical with Vidyaranya. But, where is the evidence to show that it was not Angirasa Madhava, the mantri of Harihara II, who was also called Madhavacharya, that is referred to here as Vidyaranya?

On the other hand, the fact that Vidyaranya bore the secular and political distinction, 'The Establisher of the Karnataka Kingdom' and that it has been inherited by every one of the Sringeri Swamis, his successors, during the last six hundred years unchallenged by any secular or political ruler of Karnataka, or by the other sectarian mutts keenly alive to its importance, leads to the inference that Vidyaranya was Angirasa Madhavamantri, the distinguished empire builder, not Bharadwaja Madhavamantri, so wrapt up in inexplicable obscurity.

(3) Nor again does the next inference of the essayist appear to fare better from a rational standpoint. He says that the Advaitic teacher was not a warrior, because, he says that 'it is unthinkable that a Sanyasi and the author of Dharma Sutras should have exchanged the mendicant's staff for the sword'. And with this single observation, he dismisses the evidence of a number of writers, who declare that Vidyaranya was a soldier. Our author

admits that Vidyaranya was a minister before he became an ascetic. And why could he not have been a warrior when he was a minister, like the other Madhava, who was an equally pious Brahmin? And which *Dharma Sutra* says that a Brahmin or a Guru like Dronacharya should not be a warrior?

(4) As for Vidyaranya's defeat in a theological controversy, I should have gladly admitted it as a piece of satisfactory evidence for scientific purposes had it come from purely secular sources. Discussions based on sectarian data are more likely to rouse passion, which invariably clouds judgment than to lead to, the ascertainment of truth. For that matter, there are, on the other side, a number of stories current regarding Vidyaranya's dialectical victories over his opponents. Such sectarian material, though they may serve the purposes of propagandistic work, are of little historical value, unless corroborated by independent and authentic evidence of which there is not a modicum in this case.

(5) Turning to the statement that some of the works, such as the commentary on the *Suta Samhita*, which are attributed to Vidyaranya, are not his, our critic's arguments do no more than adumbrate a doubt. Inasmuch as it has not been proved that Vidyaranya was different from Angirasa Madhavacharya, the doubt that the author has raised appears to be of no logical value whatever, though as regards other works, the author's views may be entitled to considerable weight.

All that we should, therefore, be justified in deducing from the data furnished in the articles is—

(i) That Bharadwaja Madhava, Sayana's brother, was a great scholar and author, and was called Madhavacharya, that he lived in Vijayanagar during the days of Bukka I and Harihara II, that his brother, Sayana, was a minister under four kings and that his brother Bhoganatha had considerable influence in the Vijayanagar Court.

There is no evidence to prove that Bharadwaja Madhava, Sayana's brother, was either Vidyaranya or a minister or a religious propagandist or the Sringeri Guru.

(ii) That Angirasa Madhava was a *mantri* or *Amatya*, a warrior (*vira*) author and scholar; religious propagandist, bore the titles '*Acharya*' and '*Guru*,' was known also as Madhavacharya, was connected with the regions of Thirthahalli, Shikarpur, Banavasi and other places on the western coast bordering on Sringeri and therefore was *Madhavacharya* of Sringeri, and, as one worthy of the political or secular title that Vidyaranya held was Vidyaranya'.

We have thus, attempted to point out in this review that there existed not as Mr. Narasimhachar says in his essay two *Madhavamantris*, but two *Madhava Acharyas*, one undoubtedly a *mantri*, and another not a *mantri*, but a great author and scholar, and a contemporary that lived in Vijayanagar.

It is possible that the works of these two Madhavacharyas were mixed up by those that lived long after them, so that one Madhava was mistaken for the other.

Thus far, on the supposition that the trustworthiness of the literary evidence is unquestionable may we go. But, as has already been pointed out, it is not easy to accept it as trustworthy till it is properly sifted.

We now see that even if we grant the new hypothesis of *two mantris* to be true, we find that it does not fit in with the facts of history. Nor is it free from contradictions. And the hypothesis in itself has no sure foundation to stand on, except the one fact of the difference in *Gotras* and names of parents, which, after all, does no more than point to two Madhavacharyas.

But can this difference in *Gotras* and parentage be explained? The temptation is very strong indeed to find a way out of this conflict between literary and epigraphical evidence by supposing that there was only one Madhavamantri, as tradition has it, but that he was adopted from one family or *Gotra* to another. Angirasa and Bharadwaja are not altogether unconnected *Gotras*. 'Angirasa, Bharadwaja, Barhaspatya' form one of the 'Triarsheya' groups, which admit of intra-adoption from one to another. Nevertheless, I cannot venture to offer this as a solution, with confidence, as the evidence before us is clearly far from being adequate. More definite data are absolutely necessary.

We are living in an age in which 'doubt' plays a most remarkable part. It has been questioned whether Shakespeare was the author of all the plays attributed to him, whether Valmiki or Kalidasa ever wrote the works said to be theirs and whether a Christ or a Buddha ever existed. It is true that scientific enquiry and knowledge begin with doubt. Doubt is the parent of intellectual progress. Descartes sanctified doubt. Darwin, Huxley and all the roll of accurate and scientific thinkers swear by him. But the great Descartes also added that he would not relinquish what he held, though he doubted its validity, till he should lay hold on something that was beyond a doubt. One would therefore, like to err, if error it be, with Descartes, the father of modern scientific thought and stick to the traditional belief that there was only one Madhava known as Madhavamantri and also, as Madhavacharya and Viṭṭaranya, though it be not free from doubt, rather than embrace the new unproven conjecture that there were two different *Madhavamantris*, whatever evidence there may be as to the existence of two or even more *Madhavacharyas*.

REVIEWS

The Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I (1910-13) and Part I of Vol. II (1916)

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It is somewhat late in the day to review the above volumes some of whose numbers have been before the public for the last five years. The object of the above series is to publish the inscriptions that have been found in the Travancore State; and the various numbers of the two volumes before us accordingly contain the texts and translations of about eighty inscriptions besides many plates giving facsimiles of the inscriptions. Each inscription is preceded by an introduction touching upon the points of interest contained therein as regards paleography, history, geography, interpretation, grammar, etc. It is, however, unfortunate that the editor has given no transliteration of the original texts. He has thus preferred to follow the editors of South Indian inscriptions in this respect and not the editors of the *Epigraphia Indica*, without, however, giving any reasons for such preference. It is also inexplicable why he has chosen to write *Trevandram* in vol. i, No. 5 while he has in other places written *Trivandram*.

The inscriptions thus collected are of much value for the construction of the history of Travancore. Most of them belong, as might be expected, to local kings and chieftains that once held sway in that part of India, namely, the rulers of Malaināḍu, of Vēnāḍu, of Travancore and of Cochin. The inscriptions also bring to light some rulers of the hitherto unknown line of Āy chiefs; while No. 10 of vol. ii, which is an extract from a *Kāvya* gives the genealogy of the rulers of the Mūshika country, who were likewise hitherto unknown. And as Travancore was overrun and conquered by the Pāṇḍya King Vira-Pāṇḍya, by the Chōja Rajaraja I and by the later Pāṇḍyas, there are many inscriptions in this collection that belong to these kings; of these, those of the latter Pāṇḍyas are specially valuable for constructing their history.

The western coast of India is the nearest place of call for ships from Europe, Syria, Arabia, Persia, etc. It was here, on the Malabar coast, that in the early centuries after Christ, the Roman ships used to call and it was also here that the Moorish and later the Portuguese and Dutch ships called to take in eastern merchandise. Two of the inscriptions that have appeared in the above collection refer to such western traders. The first of these is No. 3 of vol. i, which records a treaty between the Raja of Cochin and the Dutch East India Company and is

227

dated March 22, A.D. 1633. The other is No. 3 of vol. ii, which records certain privileges and concessions conferred on a Christian trader Maruvān Sāpir Īṣō by the governor of Vēnādu, (1) for carrying on trading operations at Quilon and (2) on behalf of the *palli* or Church that was there erected by him; it belongs to the ninth century A.D. This inscription is very interesting, but it contains a number of words whose significance is doubtful; besides, one cannot agree with all that Mr. Gopinatha Rao has to say about it. Thus, for instance, he says on p. 76 (in vol. ii) that the privileges and concessions conferred on Sāpir Īṣō made him practically a political head. This seems hardly to have been the case and the original inscriptions do not warrant such a statement. The concessions and privileges too were conferred not with the object of bestowing favours on Sāpir Īṣō but in order to promote trade and commerce and in order to help in maintaining a place of worship. For analogous instances, see *Ep. Carn.*, vol. ix, Bn. 61; v. Hn. 82, etc. In the same way, Mr. Gopinatha Rao's opinion that the town of Quilon was built by Sāpir Īṣō does not seem to be very probable. It is not likely that foreign merchants that came to trade with India would have chosen to build warehouses and shops in a place where nobody was living before. Similarly, it is improbable that the Kollam era was reckoned from the founding of Quilon by Sāpir Īṣō.

The numbers before us are full of all kinds of interesting matter of which it is possible to touch upon a few only in a review. No. 1 in vol. i, for instance, records the establishment of a *Sālai* (Sanskrit: *śāla*) containing seats for ninety five śaṭṭars (Sanskrit: *chhatra*), the inscription contains details as to the allotment of the seats among the followers of the Taittiriya, Talavakara, Bhavishya (sic) and other *charanas*, about the conditions of entrance into the *śālai*, about the course of instruction, the discipline to be enforced, etc. These details are interesting and should be compared with those on *mathas* which are given in the paper appearing above. pp. 181-5 give a history of Pallippuram, a small village which was given by the Raja of Cochin to the Portuguese, captured from them by the Dutch and sold in A.D. 1789 by them to Travancore in order to preserve it against the encroachments of Tippu Sultan. It is interesting to observe that even at the present time this village belongs partly to Travancore, partly to the British and partly to Cochin. Pp. 283-303 give a history of the development of the Vattejuttu alphabet, and pp. 201-50 of the Tamil and Grantha alphabets. In pp. 1-4 of vol. ii, Mr. Gopinatha Rao has attempted—in my opinion without success—to determine the meaning of that difficult phrase that occurs in the inscriptions of the Chola King Rājarāja I, *Kandalār-chchalai Kalam-arutt-arulī*; in pp. 9-11 he has attempted to show, again as I think unsuccessfully that Rājasēkhara the author of *Karpūra-māñjarī* was a ruler of Malai-nāḍu.

Excepting, therefore, these and other such matters about which it is possible to hold other opinions, one has nothing but whole-hearted commendation for the way in which Mr. Gopinatha Rao has executed his task; and one awaits with interest the issue of the numbers which are to follow.

R. V.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register for October, 1916

THE third instalment of *The Jesuits in Ceylon* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gives us the rapid progress of Christianity in some of the parts of the island which necessitated the establishment of missions in the outstations. The provincial of Malabar paid constant visits. Chilaw, Caimel, Cardivo, Calpetty, Malwana, Matigama and Macandure were the chief centres of mission activity. The inevitable tale of martyrdom had to be recited. Two pious priests who were good friends were done to death by fifty Ceylonese soldiers in revenge for the death of three Buddhist priests of which the murdered missionaries were blissfully ignorant. A copious appendix gives translations of Jesuit letters from 1610 to 1617.

The next article of importance is by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., on 'Some notes on archæological matters.' These relate to the ruins of the Portuguese Fort on the shore opposite Fort Hammenaiol. It was originally called Fort Eyrie. How this name was given nobody knows. The probable date of construction is about 1669. One interesting feature is another Portuguese Fort in the neighbourhood of this fort, which is said to have been according to local tradition built by the heroine of the popular drama Aliyarasani. Vishnu worship was not unknown in the northern provinces visited by the writer. Of the four shrines dedicated to the god one is situated in the village of Vallipuram. There are many other places of interest in the northern province which abound in precious relics of Buddha. A very interesting article is the one on marriage and its attendant customs among the low country Sinhalese by Mr. G. A. Galpin. The article must be read in the original to be appreciated. We earnestly wish that the Colonial Government would take up the question of publishing at an early date monographs of the customs of the several classes of people living in Ceylon, which otherwise are likely to fade out of memory.

In the contribution on Ceylon Gypsies by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retd.) an interesting comparison is made between them and the Indian Gypsies.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for October 1916

OF the six articles given in the Journal, two are of peculiar interest to the Indian reader, one on the Sarada alphabet by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S., and the other on Salivahana and the Saka era by Dr. J. F. Fleet, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D. C.I.E. The Sarada alphabet is based on the same system as that of the Nagari alphabet, and is most nearly allied to certain systems of alphabet in vogue in the Punjab. It is so called because of its being in use in Kashmir which is called the Sarada Kshetra, another way of accounting for the name being that it is so called in honour of one Saradananda who is said to have first reduced the Kashmiri language to writing. In reference to the name, is it probable to think that, as the early settlers had found a convenient home in the Punjab valley and spread about, any system of reducing their language to writing would naturally be identified with the goddess of learning Sarada. One point of interest would be to inquire which is the earlier form the Sarada or

the Nagari, or if both had a common origin at about the same time. Sir George takes considerable pains to prove that each letter of the alphabet represents some mystic object of worship in the Kashmiri Saivism, the vowels representing the various Saktis, the consonants and the other letters the higher and lower tattvas, while Koa represents the prana bige or life seed. It is really an interesting study how the letters of the alphabet were quite early identified with worship and how their significance was entirely religious. That the Saiva cult was more prominent is another positive inference we make from Sir George Grierson's study of this alphabet system.

The next article of supreme importance is by Dr. Fleet on Salivahana and the Saka era. Our readers know that there are two eras much in vogue amongst the Hindus, the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. in Northern India and the Saka era of A.D. 78 in Southern India. There is absolutely no objection to calling the latter era the Saka era, but Dr. Fleet proves that it is all a fiction to father the era on the glorious and victorious king Salivahana, though he admits that there are some grounds for this use of the name of Salivahana. He in the main agrees with Professor Kielhow who has also made a special study of the question that the name of Salivahana, as that of a personage famous in Southern India was prefixed to the ordinary Saka and Saka-varthe in the Saka year simply in imitation of the name of Vikramaditya. At the outset we might say that Dr. Fleet is very exacting in always demanding epigraphic proofs, or proofs quite as satisfactory. The absence of any such proof, we may be ventured to submit, does not vitiate any theory we hold, till proof to the contrary is indubitably given. But anyhow as far as Dr. Fleet goes he is thorough. He takes for a critical study six inscriptions all after the eleventh century and proves how each is unreliable for the purpose of connecting the Saka era with King Salivahana. With the reservation that we have not as yet exhausted all the epigraphic material either to prove or disprove a theory, we will not quarrel with him when he proves that A.D. 1354 of the copperplate record of the time of King Brikkaraya I of Vijayanagar is the only one where the earliest known certain instance of the name of Salivahana is to be found. After an elaborate inquiry into the question connecting a King Salivahana with the Saka the doctor concludes that the name was introduced in the first part of the fourteenth century by the Court Pandits of the kings of Vijayanagar who rose to power in the person of Harihara I, an elder brother of Brikkaraya I closely about 1335. How far this negative evidence can stand the test of future revelations it is too soon to say but that people should have slept over a thousand two hundred years before connecting Salivahana with the era passes our comprehension, and we cannot satisfactorily account for the sudden inspiration that made them do so. It was surely not surely the vanity of Vijayanagara kings. They were too noble to commit that conscious error.

The Indian Antiquary September and October 1916

WE have received with pleasure the above two numbers. In the September number besides the continuation of the articles reviewed already, we find a short

note on Mujjur, the English equivalent being Thornton by our eminent archaeologist Lewis Rice C.I.E. It is a pleasure that he still keeps up his interest in a field peculiarly his own unabated. Mujjur is the name of a village in the north of Coorg of some historical interest. It was a chief place of the Kongalva kingdom, founded by the Chola King Rajaraja about A.D. 1004. The Kongalvas were Jains, and the place derives its interest at the present day from a group of ruined *basadis* or Jain temples intimately connected with them. The last mention is in 1390 after which there is no historic record of the place.

The credit of removing a literary puzzle belongs to the indefatigable scholar Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi, B.A. of Surat. Though his conclusions are correct that the *Sutras* attributed to Valmiki are not the production of the immortal bard of the Ramayana, but of another sage of the same name, yet it is regrettable that Trivedi should have based a part of his argument on a very slender basis. His dictum that 'since the opening verses embody a salutation to Valmiki, the verses cannot be taken to have been composed by Valmiki himself'. He does not seem to be aware that there are countless instances in Sanskrit and other literature where the devoted pupils of the author have some prefatory verses which gradually came to be embodied in the original work itself. Panini's grammar gives us an example of the kind. The third article in the periodical is a continuation by Mr. V. Rangachari, M.A., L.T. of Madras of his *History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura*. He gives us a vivid pen portrait of the great Tirumal Naik the builder 1623 to 1654, and of the magnificent palaces built by him. The same contribution is continued in the October number where the other great achievements of the Naik are described in detail. The Mysore War should be of particular interest to the Mysore readers of the Journal.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for September, 1916

As usual the number gives us a substantial fare. Most of the articles are of ethnological and anthropological interest. But one article by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar is an erudite article of great historical value. There is all the difference between other historians of India who rely too much on historical documents, or, in other words, historians of the documentary school and the Professor. He makes the dry bones of history live. His Persian sources of which he is the greatest exponent stand him in good stead and have helped him to give an intelligent idea of the connexion between the Mughals and the tributary princes of Orissa in the seventeenth century. The chapter on revenue collection gives us very interesting details. Besides the annual tributes, there were succession fees and *nazar* at intervals of two or three years. Severe measures had to be taken with the Revenue Collectors and Zamindars lest they defrauded the Government of its dues. Not unoften they were put in chains or imprisoned. There are reasons to believe that in Mughal times the revenue of Orissa was collected in the form of rice. Some incidental light is also thrown on the state purchase of local industries. The revenue collection for a century varied from thirty *lakhs* to one crore of rupees, the variation being accounted for by the fact

that the area under imperial rule varied considerably from time to time and secondly because the Persian statistical books are very badly written. The Diwans of Orissa were a bad lot on the whole. They were either inefficient, slack or dishonest. Hence their rapid succession and dismissal. In eight years from 1657 to 1665 there were as many changes in these imperial officers. The pro-Islamic ordinances of Aurangzeb were rigidly enforced in Orissa. At the end of the sixteenth century Orissa, like many other parts of Eastern India was notorious for the castration of children and their sale as eunuchs by their mercenary parents, though occasionally the Muhammadan Viceroy put an end to this cruel system. The Muhammadan rulers were free in the grant of lands rent-free to the holy men and scholars of their faith.

A very interesting 'miscellaneous contribution,' is from the pen of Prof. Vincent A. Smith on the Bodh Gaya. Plaque, and a reply to his observations by Dr. D. B. Spooner. Mr. Vincent Smith maintains as against Dr. Spooner that the temple depicted on the famous plaque could not be identified with that of Bodh Gaya as argued by Dr. Spooner, and that it does not agree with Hiuen Tsang's description of that building and that there is no sound reason for believing that the representation on the plaque is the oldest drawing of the temple. Dr. Spooner modestly but convincingly replies that it is true that the temple cannot be identified with perfect certainty, though he does not share the full measure of Mr. Vincent Smith's doubt, and that still he considers the temple on the plaque is, in all probability actually the temple which we know in *modern form* (italics ours) at Bodh Gaya.

Berlamatimarga (The way of the Childish)

THIS is a neatly got up brochure by one aerial personality presumably called Shri Advaitacharya written down and rendered into English by the author of 'The real tolerance'. We may at the outset say there are books enough and to spare acknowledged by all to be the works of sages without our book world being overloaded by 'inspired' sayings. All religions believe that the age of miracles has not ceased, and accordingly know that our mundane activities are controlled and directed by supernatural forces. But all the same our activities for a healthy progress do not require the guidance of inspired sayings however worthy they may be. At best they are no better than weak echoes, and the book under review is no exception to the rule. Truisms there are plenty in the book and it would do nobody harm to read them once again. London firms would do better to have an editorial board to publish books of the highest wisdom and the greatest popularity by authors ancient or modern who are acceptable to all creeds and castes.

The Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, July, 1916

THIS *Journal* well maintains the reputation it has acquired for itself in the Indian archaeological world. Sir John Marshall's remarks on the monuments of the Dekhan is given the place of honour. It is a brilliant address, and many archaeologists will be glad to have it in the permanent form which it has secured to itself in the pages of this *Journal*. This is followed by a chatty paper on 'The *Paradesi* or Meandering in Bahmini History,' by the Rev. G. E. Brown, M.A. Next comes Dr. H. H. Moulton's address on Dr. Spooner's now famous paper on 'The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History.' Dr. Moulton thinks that there is some basis for Dr. Spooner's speculations. But it would have been more satisfactory if he had devoted more attention to tangible evidence for the point of view he suggests. However, we would not press hard our argument on him since he adds, in a postscript, that critics should note that a better version of his lecture appears in a small book entitled *The Teaching of Zarathustra* in which he says he gives 'much additional matter.' This apart, perhaps, it is permissible to point out that Dr. Moulton would have done well to omit his disparaging references to Dr. Keith and his scholarship. Recriminations are always to be avoided, especially by scholarly critics. Dr. Keith may not have done any digging unless it be in his own garden, but he is, perhaps, one of the very few scholars left to us in the British field of Orignalism. His knowledge of the Veda is perhaps as profound as that of Dr. Moulton in the Avesta. To say that he has no right to speak in a matter like the one adumbrated by Dr. Spooner is to deny to one of the best Sanskrit scholars in the world his say on a matter of universal importance. He surely speaks not as an expert in archaeology which role he would be the first to disclaim, but as an expert in Sanskrit,—in the Vedas (The *Atharvana* comes in for attention at hands of Dr. Spooner) and in the literature of the pre—and post—Buddhist epochs. Independent testimony *aliunde*, literary and other is what Dr. Spooner wants and who else but scholars like Dr. Keith can offer it? It is past understanding to us that Dr. Moulton should lightly criticise Dr. Keith on a matter like this— and much less call his competency to offer any remarks at all on it into question.

To resume our review. Mr. T. Srinivas has a superbly illustrated article on 'Rajkonda and its remains.' It is an entirely creditable paper. Equally able is the paper of Mr. E. H. Hunt on the 'Hyderabad Cairns.' We should like to see Mr. Hunt devote more of his talents in the direction of pre-historic archaeology. The Government of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad can well take the hint and help to organize a genuine pre-historic survey of its Dominions so full of these remains. Mr. Hunt's paper shows that they have in their midst a man full of zeal for such a work as that.

Before concluding we would draw attention to the short but touching 'In Memoriam' that appears in the number. To Sir Alexander Pinhey belongs the credit of having inaugurated the Hyderabad Archaeological Society. His love for Archaeology was apparently an in-born one; what is more, it proved to be infectious.

in Hyderabad. The Hyderabad Society bids fair to be his monument in the Dekhan.

H.

The Story of the Buddha'

By EDITH HOLLAND

THIS little book gives a very interesting and fairly full account of the life of Gautama Buddha and his gospel. It is addressed to English school children, and is written in a very easy narrative style. To an Indian reader, the manner in which this country and its conditions are described appears quaint and in some cases the picture seems overdrawn. But considered as an inspirational study for children and for those who have little time for matters extramundane, the book ranks high and deserves wide patronage.

South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses

By RAO SAHIB H. KRISHNA SHASTRY

THE web of Indian history is woven in religious texture, and it is because most books on Indian history ignore this fact that they read dry and dreary. The conquests of kings and the triumphs of dynasties, the invasions and internecine wars are but the frame-work and can never stand for the finished commodity itself.

The task of writing a history of the Indian people still remains undone and among the preliminary work in this connexion, the study of the evolution of religious thought will take the foremost place. All research work in Indian history and allied subjects stands or falls according as it subserves the above end or not; and it is from this standpoint that we welcome the book before us.

Rao Sahib Krishna Shastry deserves the best thanks of all those interested in the subject for this comprehensive and interesting work. The book gives not merely 'illustrations of and information about the images one commonly sees in temples and museums in Southern India' but attempts also, in some cases to trace how the deities came to be included in the Indian theology. We in Mysore have cause for gratification in learning that his 'chief source of information was an excellent work entitled *Tattva nidhi* compiled by His Highness the Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur.'

The author strikes the true note when he observes that 'round the village temple in India centres the corporate civic life of the community which lives in it.' But his statement that 'temples must have existed in Southern India from time immemorial' appears to require testing in the light of further researches, especially as the earliest inscriptional evidence of the existence of temples takes up back only to the fourth century A. D.

1G.G. Harrap & Co., London, W.C. *Heroes of Old Time* series, Indian Agents. P. T. I. Book Depot, Bangalore City.

We learn from this book that there is inscriptional evidence to prove that in the Ceded Districts, certain classes of Muhammadans were devoted to Hanuman, and that in the past, the worship of Jyestha, now ignored as the goddess of ill-luck and misfortune, was quite familiar and shrines were dedicated to her. Space forbids our going more into details.

The book deals also with the several mystic charms and symbols found in temples and with the instruments used in worship. Four plates giving the pedestals, postures, etc., and a copious index bring to a close this highly interesting and valuable work.

A. V. R.

Archaeological Survey of India (Part I, 1914-5)

THE volume before us deals as usual with the administration of the department during the year 1914-5, and makes but brief references to the several discoveries made throughout India during that year, detailed discussions being given separately in Part II of this report and of the reports of the various archaeological circles. But it helps to focuss attention on the essential features of the work and is also amply illustrated.

The more important results of the year's activities consisted in the conservation of two elaborately decorated carved and well-proportioned façades in wood used for the decoration of house fronts in Ahmedabad; the unearthing of a stupa of imposing dimensions at Taxila, which Hiuen Tsang described as being more than 100 feet high and the sides of which disclose a delicate concave curvature suggestive of the Hellenic principle of entasis; the discovery at Sirkap of 'the first Aramaic inscription that India has yet produced; and of a rare coin of Azes I at the Dharmarajika Stupa; the laying bare of a certain tank or theatre in the part of Pataliputra popularly known as Mauni Pokhar; the find of certain specimens of the so-called Early Cast Coins in the Bulandi Bagh, Patna, and of certain interesting fragments of stone columns below the property known as Kallu Khan's Bagh, Patna, suggestive of some important Mauryan building; the discovery of three *Yajna-kundas* or sacrificial pits amidst the ruins of old Vidisa and a find of Naga coins and ancient sculptures ranging from the first to the tenth century A.D. on the site of the ancient city of Padmavati in Gwalior State; the recovery in Sarnath of a number of large and excellently preserved Buddha images of the Gupta period, two of which mention a certain king Buddhagupta, hitherto unknown; the excavation in the western area of Sarnath of successive layers of remains, each pertaining to a different period, and lastly an epigraphical discovery of more than usual interest and importance, namely, that of an Asoka Rock Edict on the Maski Hill in the Nizam's Dominions, which is unique as referring to Asoka both by his title Devanampuja and his proper name Asoka.

The epigraphic research of the year included also the valuable Planetary Tables computed by Professor Hermann Jacobi of Bonn, which serve to calculate the position of planets for any date between A. D. 300 and 2000, in order to verify the constellation of the planets or a horoscope, given in any inscription or other

document, a contribution of much interest by Professor Padmanaba Vidyavinoda on the Nidhanpur plates of Bhasharavaman, King of Kamarupa (Assam) and a contemporary of Harshavardhana and Hieun Tsang, and the collection of references regarding the Golconda ministers Akkanna and Madanna.

The year was thus one of considerable activity and progress, and the gratitude of all well-wishers of India is due to Dr. Sir John Marshall and his noble band of enthusiastic workers who are thus steadily helping in the reconstruction of her past.

A. V. R.

Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities

The Foote collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities—notes on their ages and distribution—by R. Bruce Foote, F.G.S., F.R.A.I., M.V.I., Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. With a preface by Mr. J. R. Henderson, M.B.C.M., F.L.S., Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. (Madras Government Press, Madras. 2 Vols., price 14s. 8d.)

These volumes sum up the late Mr. Bruce Foote's vast knowledge of the prehistoric antiquities of India. Over ten years ago he published a catalogue of the prehistoric antiquities collected together in the Madras Government Museum since its foundation. That volume was reviewed by the present writer in the *Indian Review* at that time. After that he became personally acquainted with the late Mr. Foote whose lamented death occurred on December 29, 1912, at the age of seventy-eight years. Dr. Henderson in his preface to these volumes explains the circumstances under which the collection catalogued in these two volumes came to be got together by Mr. Foote and the stage at which the volumes themselves lost the personal attention of their author. The late Mr. Foote was a most enthusiastic worker in the field of prehistoric research in India. His wide travels in India as a geologist had early impressed him with the virgin soil still awaiting exploration in this time of research. He was, to speak the truth, quite opposed to what he called mere 'Architectural Surveyors' opening these remains and adding to the difficulties of elucidating an already difficult subject. He was keen on having a scientific survey undertaken so that the whole field might be systematically covered by expert prehistoric explorers. The volumes now under review show why he proposed such a survey. It ought to be plain even to those who take a cursory glance through these two volumes that a systematic survey is a necessity. Such a survey may well be organized on suitable lines by the Indian Archaeological Department what is wanted is not only adequate funds but also a sufficiency of men with something more than a mere working knowledge of prehistoric archæology. If the work of the late Mr. Bruce Foote results in some such undertaking as this—after the war—it would help to place our knowledge of the early history of India on a far more satisfactory basis than now. If alive, Mr. Foote would not, I think, have wished for anything better than that.

We would add a few words in regard to the two volumes themselves. The first is a descriptive list of the objects in the collection arranged according to the districts and localities in which they were found. The second includes the author's notes on the ages and distribution of the antiquities, the plates and map, the general index and certain addenda written by Mr. Foote shortly before his death. This is a very satisfactory division; for the actual worker will want the first one for constant use in his travels and if loaded with extraneous matter it is likely to prove cumbersome. The second the man in the study will want. Both together make up a complete whole, which all interested in the subject will require. The general reader is likely to interest himself in Volume II which contains Mr. Foote's introduction and notes to both the volumes. To these two we would devote a little attention before closing this all too brief review. Mr. Foote thinks that there is no evidence in India of the supposed eolithic people, the predecessors of the palæolithic people of India. He says he cannot explain as yet why we have no evidence of this people in India. It is, he says, 'a puzzle hard to explain.' He, however, adds, that 'possibly the type will yet be found'. Mr. Foote supports Sir John Evans's theory of a hiatus between the palæolithic and neolithic ages. He points to the evidence available in India as to this. As regards the neolithic people of India, the work is really a veritable mine of information. The same must be said of the people of the Iron Age of India. Those interested in these peoples would do well to peruse Mr. Foote's volumes and the plates appearing in them. Of prehistoric pottery, Mr. Foote writes with ample knowledge. No old pottery sites have been met with in India. This is one reason why we cannot explain many of the difficulties now felt in determining the relative ages of the pottery sherds so largely to be seen in this country. One other point about prehistoric pottery may be noted and that is the entire absence of human figures on the vessels unearthed so far. In the Deccan, very few positive representations of any natural objects have been met with. We might incidentally add here that Mr. Foote found at Maski—where an Asoka Edict was recently discovered—some very interesting pottery remains. Among these was a melon bowl with fillet of raspberries—see plate 59, Vol. II. This bowl must certainly have been a distinctly handsome vessel. The articles he found there, Mr. Foote sets down to 'the early iron age or very late neolithic'. As regards the distribution of the prehistoric peoples of India, Mr. Foote has some exceedingly interesting remarks to offer. We regret we have no space for these here, except to state generally. From the wide distribution of the localities where the remains have been found, Mr. Foote infers that they were 'widely distributed over the country'. He, however, excepts the mountain and the great forest regions of the west of the Peninsula, where no traces so far have been found of the palæolithic race or races.

II.

Indian Architecture¹

Part I—December, 1916

THE first part of *Indian Architecture* is now before us. It is neat and attractive and leaves nothing to be desired both as regards its artistic get up, and the matter it embodies. No apology is needed for its introduction to the notice of the public. There has been no work published till now that embodies between its covers the main features of all the styles of architecture in India and the principles underlying their design, with suitable illustrations from existing types. The importance and magnitude of such a work is obvious.

2. Indian Architecture may be said to comprise the following main heads:—

- (1) Dravidian including Chalukyan.
- (2) The Buddhist or Mongolian.
- (3) Saracenic.

Add to this, there are the numerous permutations and combinations of these. The variety and number of styles evolved from these is quite apparent. Such examples are met with all over India. It is very seldom that one meets with styles of architecture in their chaste purity. Good combinations are none the less pleasing and artistic.

3. The scope of the work is very comprehensive. The details of the various styles of *Indian Architecture* will be treated and illustrated with examples of many of the important edifices in India. The book will be issued in three sections of eight parts each.

4. Section (1) will explain the ancient literature on architecture and trace its evolution in theory and practice in all countries from the earliest times to the present day.

Section (2) will explain and illustrate the different types extant in India and outside.

Section (3) will deal with modern architecture in all its phases.

5. The appearance of the work is quite opportune. Oriental style is becoming more and more popular in the west. The Government of India have weighed all the pros and cons when they decided to build the imperial capital of Delhi in oriental style.

6. We congratulate the compiler and the editor and wish them success in their efforts in such a worthy cause.

The Kesava Temple at Somanathpur²

THE charming volume before us is the first of the Mysore Archæological Series: *Architecture and Sculptures in Mysore* and has appeared not a day too soon.

¹ Published A. V. T. Iyer & Sons, Mallaswaram, Bangalore.

² By Praktana-Vimarsa-Vichakshana, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore. Price, Rs. 2 or 3 shillings. Government Book Depot, Bangalore City.

It was a long standing complaint that the Mysore Archæological Department had mostly contented itself with its annual reports and ponderous volumes of inscriptions, and that it had not bestirred itself sufficiently to present in easily readable monographs descriptions of, and information about, 'the extraordinary wealth of the artistic products (and may we add, historical material) of Mysore.' Till now, we owed most of our assimilable information about these to European scholars and travellers. The general public of Mysore is still woefully ignorant of a good part of Mysore history and Mysore antiquarian and artistic riches and the Mythic Society has been working single-handed to dispel this ignorance to the best of its power in the limited sphere open to it till now. It is, therefore, a matter of no small gratification to us to welcome the present volume which is sumptuously provided with photos of all that is best and most interesting in the supremely beautiful and captivating edifice at Sōmanāthpur.

This village is situated about twenty miles from Seringapatam, on the Seringapatam—Sasale Talakad Road and is on the banks of the Cauvery. The Kesava temple in Sōmanāthpur was completed in the year A. D. 1268 under the orders of Sōma, or Sōmanātha, a high officer under the Hoysala King Narasimha III (A. D. 1254 to 1291). The temple is situated in the middle of a courtyard about 215 feet by 177 feet, surrounded by an open veranda. It stands on a raised terrace, about three feet high which closely follows the contour of the structure, and is supported at the angles by figures of elephants facing outwards and elsewhere by free images representing Vishnu and other gods and goddesses. It is a *trikūṭachala* or three-celled structure and the three-cells are surmounted by three most elegantly carved towers identical in design and execution. The front of the temple with its three towers presents a feast of imposing beauty and has often been selected as a model for caskets. (See frontispiece)

On both sides of the entrance, runs along the front hall a *Yagati* or railed parapet, which is divided into six horizontal friezes containing (1) elephants, (2) horsemen, (3) scroll work, (4) scenes from the epics and the Puranas, (5) turretted pilasters with small images and lions between them, and (6) a rail divided into panels by double columns containing figures. From the corners where the raised parapet ends, begins, in the middle of the outer walls, a row of large images with various kinds of ornamental canopies, and continues round the remaining portion of the temple. Below these images also there are six horizontal friezes. Above this row runs a fine cornice ornamented with bead work and above this, again, a row of miniature turrets over single or double pilasters, surmounted by ornamental eaves. The scenes depicted in the fourth frieze of the *Yagati* are mainly illustrative of the story of Prahlāda, but those in the fourth frieze of the rest of the building are from the Rāmāyana, the Bhāgavata-purāna and the Mahābhārata.

The three cells were originally dedicated to Kēśava, Janārdana and Vēnugōpāla, respectively, but as irony would have it, the main shrine had long been empty and the images in the other two cells alone have survived. Judging from the execution

of the latter, the chief image, i. e., of Kēśava must have been of exquisite workmanship and its loss cannot be too greatly deplored.

Space forbids our following the author through his description of the other images, and we shall content ourselves with noting a few special features of this temple. As in most other Vishnu temples in the Hoysala style, special prominence is given to Ganapati and Mahishāsūramardini in this temple and their images once occupied the two fine niches at the sides of the central cell or garbha-griha. It is also worthy of note that many of the large images on the outer walls bear inscribed on their pedestals the names of the artists who executed them. Such labels have also been deciphered by Mr. Narasimbachar in a few other temples such as those at Bēlūr, Halēbid, Nuggihally, etc. It is also interesting to learn that the artist Mallitamma who announces himself to us on forty images in this temple is also responsible for several images on the north wall of Lakshmīnarasimha temple at Nuggihally. Several other artists are also introduced to us in this fashion, and it is this interesting habit of the Mysore sculptors that has enabled Mr. Narasimbachar to refute the theory that Jakanāchāri represented an individual artist and to prove that, in fact, the word is merely a corruption of the Sanskrit *Dakshinacharya*, i. e., a sculptor of the Southern school. The next peculiarity of this temple is that the *Garudagamba* (or stone pillar with a figure of Garuḍa sculptured on it) is not exactly opposite the entrance as usual, but a little to the north-east. This peculiarity has given rise to the following curious tradition. 'When the temple was completed, it looked so grand and beautiful that the gods, thinking that it was too good to be on the earth, wanted to transport it to Indra's heaven. Accordingly, the structure began to rise from the earth. Jakanāchāri was amazed at the sight and, in his eagerness to avert the calamity, set about mutilating some of the images on the outer walls, whereupon the building descended and occupied its present position.' Still another special feature consists in the elaborate inscription on a slab in the entrance porch—a long one of ninety-one lines—informing us of all the details about the construction and the consecration of the temple and the endowments made for its maintenance. This and other inscriptions found in Sōmanāthpur are published as Tirumākudlu-Narsipur, Nos. 97, 98, 99 and 100 in Volume III of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

But the main interest of the work is in its illustrations and the book, which is priced cheap, deserves the study of all Mysoreans and all Indians. By the courtesy of Mr. Narasimbachar, we present our readers with a photograph (of the temple.) No one who studies the illustrations in the book can fail to feel increased pride for the country which possesses such treasures and for the race which produced such artists. Indeed books of this kind help to fan the fire of patriotism and quicken national revival, and we cannot be too grateful to Mr. Narasimbachar for the very valuable volume he has presented to his countrymen. We hope that the Mysore Government will make it possible for him to bring out the other volumes of the series quickly, and we appeal also to the Government in this connexion for the early enactment of an Ancient Monuments Act in Mysore to ensure the better preservation of our numerous antiquarian and artistic treasures.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
 2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—
 - (a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects more particularly in Mysore and South India.
 - (b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.
 3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, Branch Secretaries, one or more Editors, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.
 4. Membership shall be of two kinds—
 - (a) Honorary.
 - (b) Ordinary.
 5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons who, in the opinion of the Committee, have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.
 6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
 7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.
- Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscription

from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Any subscriber, on payment of rupees three per annum, will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

The activities of the Society shall be as follows:—

- (a) There shall be, as far as possible, nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.

[Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.]

- (b) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous 1st July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.

[Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.]

- (c) The Society will encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee and duly notified to those concerned.

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisitions and obtaining orders in each case.

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held, as far as possible, in July, when the report and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in the 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being:—

The President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer.

A. V. RAMANATHAN,
General Secretary.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Patron

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I.

Honorary Presidents

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SOME DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES, AND THEIR SEQUEL

A paper read before the Mythic Society

BY F. J. RICHARDS, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.

CONTENTS

- I. The Aryan Bubble.
- II. The Races of Europe.
- III. The Races of India.

- IV. The Heliolithic Culture.
- V. Who were the Aryas.
- VI. Conclusion.

I AM occasionally fated to read a book which throws all my ideas into a new perspective. Professor Ripley's *Races of Europe*, is such a work, but I should not trouble to elaborate on this change of view were it not that certain recent investigations, based on entirely different data, seem to point to the same conclusions that my interpretation of Professor Ripley's theses has led me to.

Before I proceed to discuss Professor Ripley's views, however, it is necessary that I should touch briefly on what is called the 'Aryan Controversy.'

I. The Aryan Bubble

In the fifth century of the Christian Era Western Europe was overrun by hordes of Huns and Germans, and civilization ceased to be. It is true that the darkness of the weary millennium that followed was sporadically brightened by a flicker of culture, kept alive by the Church of Rome, but it was not till the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (A. D. 1453), and the dispersal westward of Byzantine scholars, that the peoples of western Europe began to rouse themselves from their intellectual coma. The 'Revival of Learning' was primarily a revival of the study of Greek and Latin Literature. Inevitably, therefore, the culture of modern Europe is dominated by a literary

bias. The influence of Literary Tradition, an influence intensely conservative, I might also say reactionary, is a very potent factor in human history. The strangling of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War, the assassination of Julius Caesar by the Oligarchs of Rome, the judicial massacres of the French Revolution, were alike inspired by literary precedent, and orators and tractarians of the cheaper kind still reiterate, with almost gramophonic faithfulness, the commonplaces of Demosthenes or Lucan.

It was in 1786 that Sir William Jones first announced his discovery that the similarities between the languages of Hindustan, Persia, Greece, Rome and Western Europe could only be explained on the hypothesis of their common parentage. Fifty years later (1833-5) Bopp placed these affinities on a scientific basis. The cult of letters was at that time supreme, Literature was the sole criterion of knowledge, the 'Golden Past' was monopolized by Greece and Rome. The marvellous civilization of Egypt and Mesopotamia was an unopened book, the splendour of Minoan Crete undreamed of. The tyranny of letters was so absolute that the preposterous fallacy that identity of Language proves identity of Race seems almost excusable.

This fallacy took other fallacies in its train.

(a) The fact that the only ancient cultures familiar to the literary world were those of Greece and Rome led to the assumption that the civilization of Europe owed everything to the 'Aryans' and nothing to any other race, that outside the pale of 'Aryanism' no culture worth the name of culture ever existed.

(b) The fact that the nineteenth century was a period of the rapid expansion and world-wide dominance of the 'White Race' led to the assumption that all that is best in human civilization is the monopoly of the 'White Race'. Unfortunately, by one of those freaks inseparable from purely academic research, it was also presumed that the purest type of the 'White Race' was to be found in the region of the Caucasus, which is, in fact, perhaps the most heterogeneous *officina gentium* in the world¹ and the ridiculously inappropriate word 'Caucasian' came to be adopted as synonymous with the 'White Race', and tacitly associated with the 'Aryans.'

Philologists busied themselves with the study of root words, and on this basis of 'Linguistic Palæontology' attempted to reconstruct the idyllic culture of the ideal 'Undivided Aryans', and to locate their early civilization geographically. The conclusions arrived at on these data are too diverse to carry conviction. Here are a few of them; the Pamir plateau; the Aral-Caspian depression; between the Ural, Bolor, and the Hindu Kush; Siberia; Armenia; the steppes of Southern Russia; the plains of Northern Germany; 'somewhere in Asia'; all Northern Europe between latitudes 45° and 60° from

¹ See Ripley, p. 430 sq.

the Ural Mountains to the Atlantic (Ripley, p. 482). 'Linguistic Palæontology' is useful and suggestive within its proper limits, but its limits are narrow. The data are few, the same root word may be applied to one thing in one place and quite a different thing in another place (e.g., *aes*=copper and *eisen*=iron),¹ and, on the other hand, the thing designated by a root word might itself migrate; there may have been lions in Europe, though there are none there now (Ripley, p. 484).² Holding as they did the dogma that 'all-things bright-and-beautiful' must be of 'Aryan' origin, the scholars of Western Europe claimed, each for his own nation, the completest purity of 'Aryan' descent.

Now it so happened that, so far as anthropometric research had then advanced, the typical Frenchman was believed to be round-headed, short and dark, and the typical German long-headed, tall and blonde, and the controversy as to which of these types the 'Undivided Aryans' belonged to became an international affair. The crisis became acute when in 1871 De Quatrefages propounded the theory that the Prussians were descended from the Finns. Professor Virchow of Berlin at once set himself to disprove a theory which was deemed an insult to the dominant people of the Empire (Ripley, pp. 219, 220), and the German Government authorized a census of the hair and eye colour of six million school children.

With the expansion of anthropometric investigation it was soon found that accepted generalizations were based on insufficient data. In fact, the population of Germany contains a substantial element of the short dark round-headed type, and the population of France contains a substantial element of the tall blonde long-headed type. The truth came slowly to be recognized that the boundaries of race cut at all angles the boundaries of language and nationality. After all it does not follow that a man's hair must be blonde and his eyes blue, because he is inflectional in speech, nor does it follow that, because a people early hit upon the knowledge of bronze and learned how to tame horses and to milk cows, they also invented the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs (Ripley, p. 456). The Negroes of the United States of America speak English, but they are not Anglo-Saxons. The Normans who conquered England spoke a Latin tongue, but their grandfathers came from Scandinavia. Even Max Müller, High Priest of the 'Aryan Fallacy' in England, realized in his declining years that most of his dogmas were foolishness, and declared that 'an ethnologist who speaks of an Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or brachycephalic grammar'. (Ripley, p. 255.)

¹ Similarly the beech (*fagus*) of the Romans became the oak of the Greeks.

² So in Denmark during the human period the pine gave place to the oak, and later, in historic times, the oak gave place to the beech.

II. The Races of Europe¹

So obsessed were scholars with the idea that the origin of civilization must be looked for in Europe or Asia, that it was regarded as positively shocking that Sergi should claim to have found it in Africa.

Sergi bases his conclusions primarily on the shape of the human skull viewed from above, but these conclusions tally well with the evidence of cranial indices. He shows that a striking uniformity exists in general physical structure, particularly in head-form, among the races, commonly called 'Hamitic,' who extend along the North of Africa from Somaliland, Abyssinia and Egypt to the Canary Islands. This uniformity is shared by the main population of Greece, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, and extends through France to Great Britain. It is of African origin, and approximates, on the one hand to the Negro, on the other to the tall blonde 'Nordic' Scandinavian. The establishment by Sergi of the uniformity of the Mediterranean Stock marks an epoch in the history of European ethnology. Working on this foundation, Professor Ripley has sifted and summarized the available evidence (1899) on the Races of Europe, and with his methods and conclusions I shall briefly deal.

After indicating the relative influence of heredity and environment (Chapter I) Professor Ripley warns us (Chapter II) of the unconformability of Language, Culture, Nationality and Race, which rarely coincide. He then discusses the evidential value of the three race criteria on which he relies.—

- (1) Head Form (Chapter III).
- (2) Pigmentation of skin, hair and eyes (Chapter IV).
- (3) Stature (Chapter V).

(1) Head Form

The Cephalic Index, i.e., the percentage proportion of the maximum breadth of the human head to its maximum length, is held by Professor Ripley to be the most constant and trustworthy criterion of all.

A world map showing the distribution of the Cephalic Index reveals in the Old World a sharp line of demarcation between long-headedness and round-headedness, coinciding nearly with the southern edge of the great mountain belt which passes from the Pyrenees, *via* the Alps, Balkans and Asia Minor, to the Himalayas. South of this line long-headedness prevails, north of it round-headedness. To the west, however, the long-heads spread through France to the British Isles, Scandinavia, Iceland, and the great Plain to the south of the Baltic, while the round-heads dominate Indonesia and permeate the Pacific Islands. Papua and Australia are long-headed. The aborigines of the Americas are fairly homogeneous in type, and intermediate; except the Eskimo who are among the longest headed people on earth.

¹ This section of this paper is a *résumé* of Ripley, and those who are familiar with Ripley should skip it.

The parallelism between the geographical distribution of head form types and that of types of flora and fauna is remarkable. 'The whole matter is reducible at bottom to terms of physical geography, producing areas of characterization.' It is not necessary to suppose that physical environment has generated these characters; but geographical isolation undoubtedly preserves individuality, while, in areas which are freely open to migration, varieties are merged into a conglomerate whole compounded of all immigrant types alike.

The most important point established by this survey of the cranial indices is that the so-called 'White Race' of Europe, so far from being physically uniform, presents the most extreme and sharp divergencies. Two distinct varieties of man are mixed up in that little continent; the round-heads predominate in the heart of inland Western Europe, and throughout the eastern half of the continent, while the long-heads fringe its western shores and islands, together with the African and peninsular shores of the Mediterranean. The old theory of a single 'White Race,' 'Aryan,' 'Caucasian' or 'Indo-Germanic' must be rejected.

(2) Pigmentation

It is hardly necessary to follow out in detail Prof. Ripley's survey of blondes and brunets, because true bloneness is unknown in India.

- Roughly mankind may be divided by colour into four groups:—
- (1) Coal black; found chiefly along the southern border of the Sahara Desert and in Papua and Melanesia.
- (2) Brownish; the Negroes, the Australians and the 'aborigines' of India.

(3) Yellow; Mongolian Asia, the northern third of Africa, and Brazil, and isolated peoples, such as the Lapps, the Eskimo, the Hottentots, the Bushmen, and most of the people of Malaysia.

(4) White; often almost brown or yellow. Except for the Ainus of Japan, the very light shades are confined to Europe and the Mediterranean littoral of Africa, but light-skinned peoples are to be found also in South-East Asia (Arabia, Persia and Hindustan).

It is not known exactly on what causes dark pigmentation is dependent. Some scientists suggest heat, others humidity, others the rays of a tropical sun. These theories are not borne out by facts. It is true that the colour which appears in 'tanning' or freckles is similar to the pigment which forms in the skin of the darker races, but it is not hereditary. On the other hand, the Jews of Central Europe, in spite of the fact that they have for centuries observed a sedentary indoor habit of life, are shades darker than their neighbours who spend most of their time out of doors. The characteristic bloneness of North-Western Europe does not follow the parallels of latitude,

but seems to radiate from a centre somewhere near Copenhagen, the waves sweeping in a circle near Vienna, across mid-Switzerland and through the middle of the British Isles. In Britain itself blonde and brunet are mixed in a way that precludes environment as an explanation, while the contrast between blonde Normandy and brunet Brittany is still more instructive. Professor Ripley adduces evidence to show that bloneness is somehow favoured by a mountain environment,¹ and he sums up with the inference that 'coloration is due to a great number of combined influences working through physiological processes, none of which can be isolated from the others'.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that dark-skinned races are better fitted for exposure to a tropical sun than those with fair complexions. Blondes, in short, are sterile after two generations in the tropics, unless they intermarry with the people of the country, and it is obvious that the darker offspring of such mixed marriages must stand a better chance of surviving than children who 'take after' the blonde parent. Hence, under natural selection, there is an irresistible tendency for the progeny of fair-skinned immigrants who marry and settle in the tropics to revert to the type of their environment.

(3) Stature

Stature Professor Ripley describes as 'rather an irresponsible witness' of race, as it is very susceptible to influences other than hereditary. It is undoubtedly affected by environment, and scarcity or uncertainty of food limits growth.² For similar reasons the populations of mountainous tracts are shorter, as a rule, than those who inhabit the fertile plains. Yet the evidence is not unanimous, for while the inhabitants of moderate altitudes often seem physically depressed by their surroundings, it sometimes happens that the dwellers in regions of extreme elevation are above the normal stature. Only the robust can withstand the rigors of a severe climate. 'Artificial' selection, too, affects the stature of a community; it is the biggest and most vigorous men who bear the brunt of war, and are the pioneers of a migration, it is the weaklings and the under-sized who stay at home and breed. Habits of life and nature of employment are also disturbing factors. Professional men, porters, firemen, policemen, are above the average in Europe; weavers, tailors, shoe-makers are far below. 'Civilization too protracted' also tends to stunt a race.

It is hardly to be wondered at that a world map of stature presents little uniformity. The only homogeneous groups are the African Negroes, whose environment is quite uniform, and the peoples of Indonesia and the Pacific. The Malays are always short and the Polynesians tall.

¹ See p. 235 for bloneness in the heart of the Black Forest; see also p. 76.

² For example the Bushmen as contrasted with the Hottentots, and the Fuegians as against the Patagonians.

Variable as stature is, it is not, however, without its uses as corroborative evidence of race. It should be noted here that Professor Ripley discounts the value of facial features as evidence of race. Facial features are governed, according to him, by 'sexual', or, as he calls it, 'artificial' selection, and he gives (p. 50) several instances where facial features belie altogether the cranial evidence; e. g., the Eastern Eskimo, who retain to perfection the ideals of beauty characteristic of the extremely round-headed Mongolians, though their head form is the opposite extreme to the Mongolian type.³

Applying his criteria (Chapter VI) Professor Ripley discriminates his three European Races:—

1. Nordic (Teutonic); long-headed, tall, with very light hair, blue eyes and narrow nose.
2. Alpine: round-headed, of medium height and 'stocky' build, with light chestnut hair, hazel-grey eyes, and a nose rather broad and 'heavy', but variable.
3. Mediterranean: long-headed, of medium stature and slender build, with dark brown or black hair, dark eyes and rather broad nose.

Professor Ripley then proceeds (Chapters VII to XVI) to examine in detail the distribution of these racial characters in the principal countries of Europe, and (Chapter XVII) summarizes his conclusions as to European origins in four clearly expressed propositions.⁴

1. *European races are of secondary origin, intermediate between the extreme primary types of the Asiatic and Negro races* (p. 457).

The races of Europe present all extremes of human variation in Head Form, Stature and Complexion. In one physical characteristic only they can claim homogeneity, and that is in the texture of their hair.

Human races can be roughly grouped into three classes according to the texture of their hair—

1. Ulotrichi, with woolly or frizzly black hair.
2. Cymotrichi with wavy hair of all shades.
3. Leiotrichi, with straight black hair.

The two extremes are the woolly hair of the Negro and the straight hair of the Mongolian.⁵

The difference in texture is due to a difference in morphological structure; the cross-section of Negroid hair is flattened and ribbon-like; that

³ See Ripley's remarks (p. 262) on the 'insidiousness of the Mongolian features'; cf. however, pp. 330-1.

⁴ I omit reference to the remaining chapters; XVIII Race and Culture, XIX and XX Social Problems, and XXII Acclimatization, because the first-named takes no account of the subsequently discovered Aegean civilization, and the others have no bearing on my problem.

⁵ It should here be noted that some scientists contend that the human Race is of dual or multiple origin (diphyletic or polyphyletic) like the horse, and not descended from one single proto-type. See Duckworth, *Prehistoric Man*, p. 133.

of the Mongolian is rounded or cylindrical. These features are constant, and do not vary within the Race, but a mixture of blood between these two races imparts a wavy character to the hair, and its cross section is intermediate between a flattened oval and a circle. A world map illustrative of hair texture shows the flat cross-section in Africa south of the Sahara and in Papua and Melanesia, the circular cross-section spreads over the whole of the Americas, and the whole of Asia exclusive of India, Persia, Arabia and Asia Minor, and extends westward into Europe up to a line drawn from the Caspian to Lake Ladoga, and thence along the eastern and northern shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, and across to the North Cape. Sandwiched between these areas is the area of 'intermediate' type, extending throughout Western, Central and Southern Europe, North Africa, Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia and India, omitting Indonesia and bifurcating eastward to the north and south of Melanesia, the northern branch including Micronesia and Polynesia, and the southern branch Australia and New Zealand.

The distribution of woolly and straight hair corresponds in a remarkable way with that of head form and colour. Roughly speaking, the round-heads are round-haired, and the black long-heads have flat-sectioned hair.

Scientists are agreed that the frizzly Melanesian type was the primitive occupant of the Pacific Archipelago as well as Indonesia, and that the Polynesian and Australian types are derived from an intermixture of the Melanesian type with straight-haired Asiatics. In the Malays the Asiatic element predominates, in the Australians the Melanesian influence is stronger; the Polynesian and Micronesians exhibit both elements in about equal proportions.

The three Races of Europe have hair of the 'intermediate' type.

II. *The earliest and lowest strata of population in Europe were extremely long-headed, probably akin to the Mediterranean Race of to-day* (p. 461).

The theory which held the field in the middle of the nineteenth century was that the 'pre-Aryan' population of Europe was broad-headed like the Lapps and Finns, but the evidence since unearthed proves to the hilt that the European both of the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods were uniformly long-headed, even in areas such as Bavaria and Auvergne which are now markedly broad-headed, while in the present day long-headed areas, such as Britain, Spain, Scandinavia, and the Caucasus, long-headedness was far more pronounced in the Stone Age than it is to-day. The best evidence of all (p. 352) comes from the tumuli (*kurgans*) of European Russia, which prove beyond all doubt the complete submergence of a long-headed race, taller than the Russian of to-day, by a shorter intrusive race of round-heads, who have raised the average cephalic index of Russia well above 80. Only in the Higher Alps is evidence of this primitive long-headed race lacking, and it would seem that the Higher Alps remained uninhabited till a later period.

253-1A
253-1A



Blondeness, as a dominant racial characteristic, is virtually confined to North-Western Europe, while brunetness is widespread. It is incredible that ninety-nine per cent of the human species should vary from a blonde ancestry, while the flaxen haired Nordic type alone remained true to its primitive characteristics, and it would follow from this that the primitive substratum of the Races of Europe was brunet. Moreover, in stature this primitive race was nearer the medium-sized French and Berbers than the 'relatively gigantic' Scandinavians, and, though rather taller than the northern Italian or Spaniard, it is probable that these latter have been stunted by 'too protracted civilization'. The probabilities therefore practically amount to proof that the earliest races of Europe belonged to the Mediterranean type.

III. *The Teutonic Race of Northern Europe is merely a variety of the primitive long-headed type of the Stone Age, its blondeness and stature were acquired during a long period of isolation in Scandinavia, through the influence of environment and artificial selection* (p. 467).

Professor Ripley's argument here turns on the instability of pigmentation. Brunetness varies with age in the same individual, a fact which indicates its impermanence. There is evidence that environment in mountainous or infertile tracts increases the proportion of blonde traits. Whether this is due to climate or defective nutrition is immaterial. In the distribution of lower forms of life the effect of an increase of 250 ft. in altitude is equivalent to that of a removal of one degree of latitude from the equator. Hence the higher the latitude, the more pronounced should be the blondeness.

But climate alone cannot account for the blondeness of the Nordic Race, for brunetness increases, not only southward, but also eastward, from the Scandinavian area. This is no doubt partly due to the westward migrations of brunet round-headed Slavs of the Alpine type. But a more powerful factor in this differentiation may be found in 'artificial' selection. Tallness and blondeness are the pride of the Nordic Race, and the 'Upper Classes' in France, Germany, Austria and the British Isles are distinctly taller and more blonde than the peasantry. The prestige which goes with a fair complexion is not confined to the Indian 'varna' (=caste=colour). The same idea is popular in modern Spain, in the Icelandic Eddas, in mediaeval sacred art. If fairness connotes nobility, the whole force of social and sexual selection would strive to perpetuate it.

IV. *After the partial occupation of Western Europe by a long-headed Africanoid type in the Stone Age, an incursion of a broad-headed race of Asiatic affinities took place. This intrusive element survives in the Alpine Race of Central Europe* (p. 470).

The broad-headed layer of population in Western Europe was not contemporary with the earliest stratum, for its remains are found superimposed on it geologically. In France especially, where several layers of human remains

are found, the long-headed type is quite unmixed in the lowest stratum; and gradually the broad-headed type becomes more and more frequent, until it outnumbers its predecessors utterly.

The Alpine type entered Gaul by two routes, neither of which followed the usual channels of immigration. The broad-heads followed the uplands and the mountain chains. From the north-east they entered the Ardennes plateau, from the High Alps they penetrated to Auvergne. They overflowed the valley of the Seine and swept into Brittany. They invaded Britain for a time, but were exterminated or absorbed before reaching Ireland. They settled in the Netherlands (Zealand), in Denmark, and on the south-west coast of Norway. In Eastern Europe their occupation was complete, save for the lower Danubian plain.

This broad-headed migration in Western Europe was not a conquest, but an infiltration. 'A gradual peaceful immigration, often merely the settlement of unoccupied territory'. No displacement of the earlier population seems necessary. The broad-heads settled in the inhospitable highlands which the earlier long-heads had never occupied. 'From the earliest remains of the lake dwellers; before bronze and iron were known; before many of the simpler arts of agriculture or domestication of animals were developed; man has in these Alps remained perfectly true to his ancestral type. We can add art after art to his culture, but we cannot till very recent times detect any movement of population, after the first occupation, in a state of relative savagery, by this broad-headed race.'

The Alpine type is found in the peoples of the Pamirs, the Galchas, the mountain Tadjiks, and their fellows; it extends uninterruptedly westward over Asia Minor and into Europe. The area of their first occupation of Europe was once far broader than it is to-day. It spread widely at first, and then had to recede.

The reason which Professor Ripley assigns for this contraction is economic rather than military or cultural; he finds the explanation in the 'fundamental laws which regulate density of population in any given area'. The north of Europe is unfitted by nature to provide sustenance for a large population. When the round-heads began to percolate from the East, there was yet room for the primitive inhabitants to yield ground to the invader. But later on the natural increase of population would saturate the northern area, and, to relieve the pressure of population on the soil, a steady southward migration would ensue. This southward movement, sometimes in the form of peaceful percolation, and sometimes in the form of a military cataclysm, has dominated the history of Europe since history began, and it still continues, the Germans pressing into Northern France, the Swiss and Austrians into Northern Italy, and the Balkans, the Siavs into the Balkans and Caucasus, the Danes into Germany, the Swedes into Russia.

III. The Races of India

So much for the Races of Europe. What about the Races of India? Let us assume for the sake of argument that the principles and conclusions of Professor Ripley are correct. Can his formula be applied to India?

Ripley's conclusions are based on the examination of over 25 million subjects (p. 34). On the other hand, in the whole of South India, Mr. Thurston's investigations, as recorded in his *Castes and Tribes*, total a little less than 3,000, a splendid achievement for a single-handed effort, but considerably less than one in 10,000. The number of subjects dealt with in Risley's *People of India* is not quite 12,500, or about one in 24,000 of the total population (in 1901), of 294 millions. It cannot, therefore, be said that the Anthropometric Survey of India has been exhaustive or adequate, and the data available are seriously defective in that little count has been taken of sub-caste and locality,¹ two factors of immense importance.

The anthropometric evidence must therefore be accepted with caution, but it need not be rejected on that score. I propose to assume for the sake of argument that this evidence is correctly recorded. Let us see to what conclusions it points. A glance at Ripley's World Map (p. 42) of the Cranial Index shows that long-headedness prevails over the greater part of India, in sharp contrast to the pronounced round-headedness of the Mongolian area which adjoins it on the north and east. This long-headedness is practically continuous with the long-headedness of the Mediterranean region, of the Atlantic seaboard of Europe, of Africa, and of the Pacific Islands.

Turning next to the Ripley's World Map of Hair Texture (p. 459), we see that the hair of Indians is essentially 'wavy', of similar quality in fact to that of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic seaboard, and one grade less 'curly' than that of Arabia, the North of Africa and Somaliland.

If one of these maps be superimposed on the other, the only possible conclusion must be that the races of India are intermediate between the Mongoloid and Negroid extremes, and that they bear the closest affinity to either (1) the Mediterranean Race or (2) the Nordic Race or (3) both.

A closer examination of the Indian data, as given in Risley's map, reveals a broad belt of long-headedness stretching from Kashmir and the Punjab along the Gangetic plain and southwards to Cape Comorin.

The North-Western and North-Eastern Frontiers are, however, foci of round-headedness, the influence of which permeates Bengal and the East

¹ Mr. Thurston's enquiries are confined to

- (1) the Madras-Chingleput area;
- (2) the West Coast;
- (3) Bellary District;
- (4) the Nilgiris and adjoining parts of Coimbatore;
- (5) the Shevaroya (Malayalis only).

Coast as far as Cuttack, and Sind and the West Coast as far as Coorg and Mahé.

The Eastern area Risley attributes to Mongoloid influence, the Western to what he calls Turko-Iranian and Scythian elements.

The inference as to Mongolian percolation is undoubtedly justified by geographical facts. The Turko-Iranian and Scythian theories are pure conjectures which cannot be taken as proven by evidence. Our attention must, however, be concentrated on the long-headedness which Risley classes under three heads—

- (1) The Indo-Aryans in the Punjab, Kashmir and Rajputana.
- (2) The Aryo-Dravidians of the Gangetic valley, between the Nepal foot-hills and the Vindhyan Highlands.
- (3) The Dravidians, whose domain stretches from the Vindhyan Hills to Cape Comorin.

At this stage it would be as well to define what I mean by 'Dravidians'. Risley assumes that the aborigines of Northern India were Dravidians, and Mr. Crooke, in his able article on the Northern Dravidians in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, adopts the same view. The connotation of the term 'Dravidian' is linguistic and not racial, and modern research has established the fact that the Munda group of languages (formerly and wrongly called 'Kolarian') spoken by the people of the Central Indian Uplands are quite distinct from the Dravidian tongues, and are allied to the great 'Austric' group of languages, which are spoken by the people of Indo-China and right across the Pacific Ocean. (Gait, C.R., 1911, p. 324). Whether the Munda speaking people are racially akin to those who speak Dravidian is a question which I do not propose to discuss. By 'Dravidians' I mean the peoples who now speak Dravidian tongues.

Though the term 'Dravidian', however, is primarily linguistic, it is equally important and useful by virtue of its being, in effect, topographical. The Dravidian speaking people number 63 million, and the speakers of 'Aryan' languages nearly 233 million, the two groups totalling over 295 (or over 91 per cent) of the 313 million inhabitants of the Indian Empire.

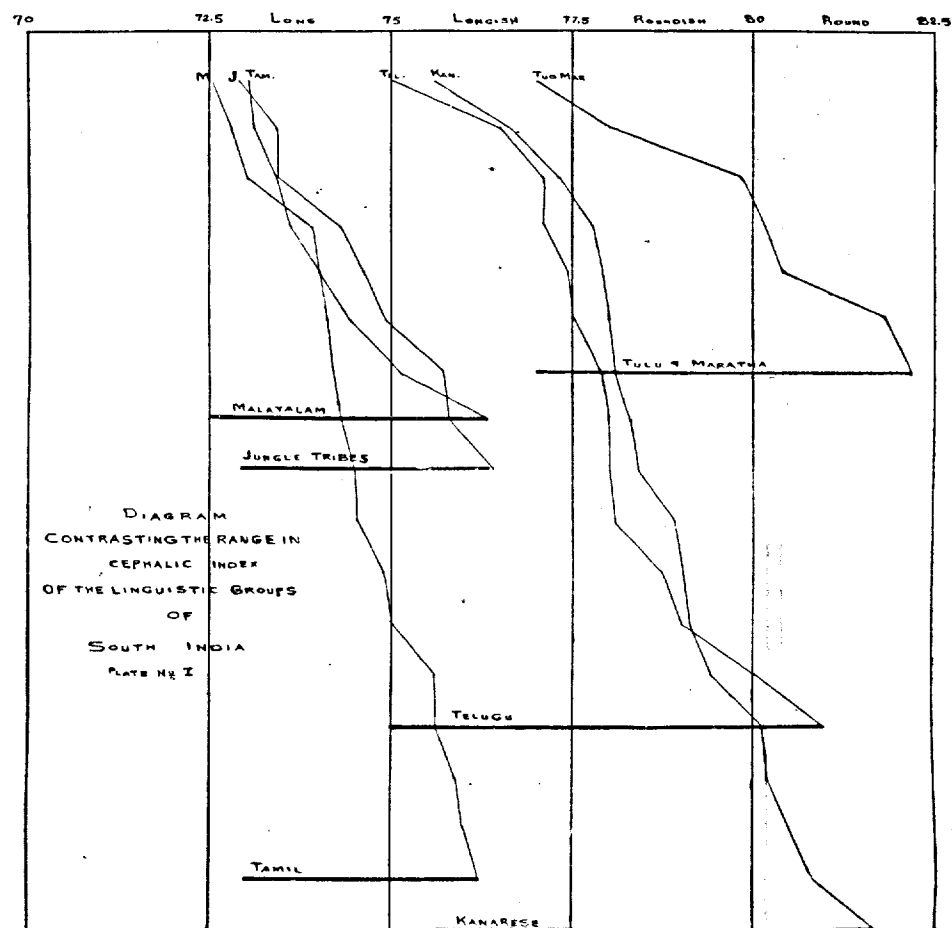
Most of the people included in these two groups are long-headed (as are also the majority of the Munda speakers, who number nearly 4 million), for, with the exception of the Bengalis, they monopolize the most densely populated areas of the Continent. But language in India, as elsewhere, is by no means co-extensive with Race, and the Dravidian speaking Brāhūis of Baluchistan present no racial affinities whatever with other Dravidians.¹

Let us examine the long-headed races of India a little more closely.

¹ The Brāhūis have a cephalic index of 81.5, and a nasal index of 70.9. There is nothing to touch this nasal index among other Dravidians, and so high a cephalic index is only approached on the borders of the 'Scytho-Dravidian' tract. The Brāhūi stature averages 1659.

255-17

2507-17



(1) Cephalic Index

In dealing with the Cephalic indices I shall adopt the following standards:—

- ‘Ultra-round,’ 85 and over.
- ‘Round,’ from 80 to 84.9.
- ‘Roundish,’ from 77.5 to 79.9.
- ‘Longish,’ from 75 to 77.4.
- ‘Long,’ from 70 to 75.

Now accordingly to Risley the average indices of the tribes and castes he classes as ‘Indo-Aryans’ vary from 72.4 to 74.4, a range of two points only, and distinctively ‘long’. A variation, or ‘range’ as it is called, of two points only, is a very narrow limit, and suggests that the Indo-Aryan group is extremely homogeneous.

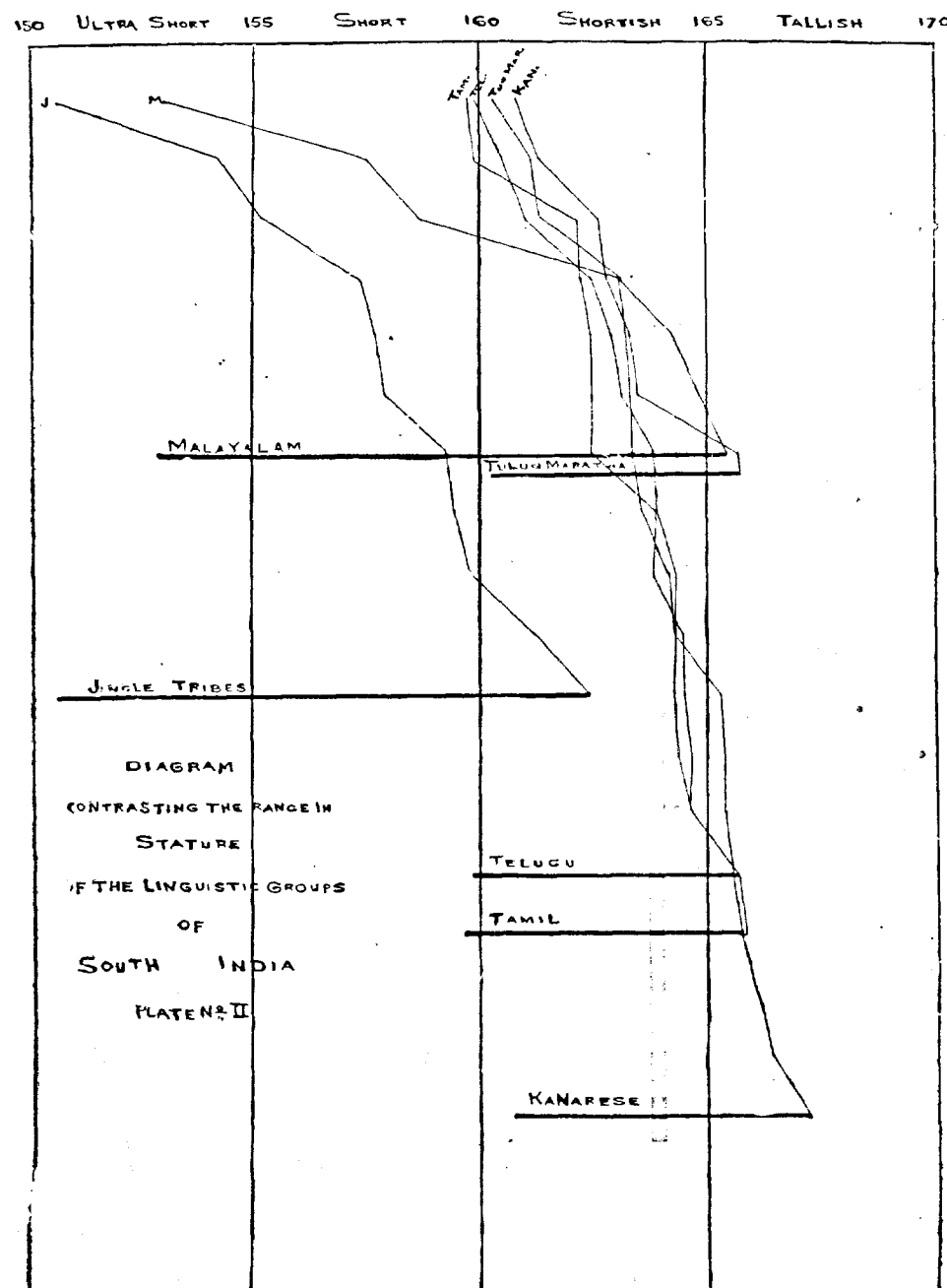
The ‘Dravidian’ averages, on the other hand, vary from 71.7 to 76.6, very nearly 5 points, and the ‘Aryo-Dravidians’ vary from 72.1 to 76.7, a range of 4.6 points. These larger ‘ranges’ which lap over into the ‘longish’ ‘intermediate’ grade suggest racial heterogeneity and admixture with a round-headed element.

Referring now to the data furnished in Mr. Thurston’s *Castes and Tribes* (Volume I), we find a marked difference between the various linguistic groups of Southern India, which, be it remembered, are also topographical. I tabulate below the highest and lowest averages in each group:—

Group	Minimum	Maximum	Range
Jungle Tribes	... 72.9	76.4	3.5
Malayalam	... 72.5	76.3	3.8
Tamil	... 73.0	76.2	3.2
Telugu	... 75.0	81.0	6.0
Kanarese	... 75.6	81.7	6.1
Tulu	... 78.0	80.4	2.4
Marathi	... 77.8	82.2	5.2

To make the point clearer, I exhibit the averages of the several communities examined diagrammatically (Plate I). I have purposely excluded as exceptional the Badagas, Tōdas and Kōtas of the Nilgiris. From these facts the following inferences are apparently deducible.

(1) The southern Tamil, Malayalam and ‘Jungle’ groups present little internal variation, and differ little from each other. They are without exception ‘long’ or ‘longish.’ Other things being equal, one might think them homogeneous, but, as will be seen later, this apparent uniformity is deceptive.



(2) The more northern Telugu and Kanarese groups are heterogeneous, and betray a strong dilution of round-headedness. None of them are truly 'long;' they range from 'longish' through 'roundish' to 'round.'¹

(3) The Tulus are distinctively roundish, and appear homogeneous, but this homogeneity also is deceptive.²

(4) The Marāthi speaking people of the Deccan are heterogeneous, the Dēsastha Brahmans being 'roundish,' and the lower castes distinctively 'round.'

(2) Colour

'Colour' Risley has ruled out from his data, on the ground that it is 'indefinite' (p. 13). The criteria of bloneness and brunetness in hair colour and eye colour, as applied by Ripley, are meaningless in India, as black hair and dark brown eyes are almost universal throughout this Continent. As for skin colour, it is an elusive character which it is almost impossible to standardize, and Broca's chromatic scale has failed in practice, as no two persons can, apparently, apply it with consistency. Even if a scientific gradation of skin colour could be arrived at, its value would be slender, for complexion varies with environment and habitual occupation, and children of mixed marriages, even children of the same parents, vary in a way that defies scientific investigation.

There are, however, a few points in this connexion which deserve notice.

(1) There are contrasts so marked between the colour of the higher castes of Southern India and the 'Jungle Tribes' and lower castes, that they can only be explained as due to racial differences.

(2) A combination of blue eyes, auburn hair and reddish blonde complexion is met with on the North West Frontier, and grey eyes occur occasionally in Peninsular India and particularly among

(a) Konkānasth Brahmans,

(b) Ayyangār Brahmans, and

(c) the people of Malabar (Risley, p. 15).

Unfortunately the distribution of grey eyes among the various castes of India has not yet been systematically investigated.

(3) A strong feeling of social prestige is associated with a fair skin throughout India. This feeling is far from modern. The pride which certain classes of Indians took in the fairness of their skins is noted by Herodotus, Ktesias and Arrian, the latter describing them as 'white like the Egyptians;' and the very caste system itself, as the word *varna* indicates, is founded on differences of complexion.

¹ See the detailed analyses of Kapu and Vakkiliga on pp. xxxix, sq. of *Castes and Tribes*, vol. i.

² See analyses on pp. xxxix and xliii of *Castes and Tribes*, vol. i.

³ See H. G. Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, pp. 21 and 31; Hdt. III 102.

(3) Stature

I shall adopt the following terminology:--

'Tall' = over 170 cm.

'Tallish' = from 165 to 169.9.

'Shortish' = from 160 to 164.9.

'Short' = under 160.

Risley's 'Indo-Aryans' are 'tallish' or 'tall'; the lowest average is 165.8, the highest 174.8, the range is only 9 cm. His 'Aryo-Dravidians' are much shorter (159 to 165), the tallest being practically the same as the shortest 'Indo-Aryan'. The range is only 7 cm.

The 'Dravidian' averages, on the other hand, range from 150.5 to 167.2, the variation being 16.7 cm. This large variation confirms the inference drawn from the cranial index that the Dravidian peoples are of mixed race.

Let us now examine the data provided by Mr. Thurston. The averages of the communities comprised in each linguistic group are summarized in the subjoined table.

Group.	Minimum	Maximum	Range
Jungle Tribes	... 150.5	162.5	12.0
Malayalam	... 153.0	165.2	12.2
Tamil	... 159.7	165.8	6.1
Telugu	... 159.9	165.7	5.8
Kanarese	... 160.8	167.2	6.8
Tulu	... 163.2	165.7	2.5
Marāthi	... 160.3	163.4	3.1

These averages are exhibited diagrammatically in Plate II.

It will be noted that the Jungle Tribes and the Malayalam speakers present rather wide variations, and that these variations are incompatible with the homogeneity that might otherwise be inferred from the evidence of the cranial index alone. The Jungle Tribes, indeed, are distinctively 'short'. Only two of them average over 160. The Malayalam averages start from the very low figure 153 cm., and range right through the 'shortish' grade.

The Tamils, Telugus and Kanarese, on the other hand, are all very much on a par. They are distinctively 'shortish' (i. e., between 160 and 165), but not 'short', and overlap slightly with the 'tallish' grade.

It would appear from the diagram that the Malayalam speakers comprise two racial elements, one approximating to the Jungle Tribes and the other to the Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese castes. A glance at the detailed list of communities comprised in Mr. Thurston's survey supports this inference. The only two jungle tribes that average over 160 cm. are (1) the Chenchus of the Nallamalais, and (2) the Malasar of Cochin and Coimbatore. The Chenchus are certainly a mixed race, the Malasars probably so. On the other hand, of seven Malayalam castes examined, three are well below 160 cm.

and the others are well above that figure. The three 'short' Malayalam communities (Pulayans, Cherumans and Kanikars) are, as might be expected, among the lowliest. There is little to distinguish them from the Jungle Tribes.

(4) *Nasal Index*

As already stated, Ripley rejects the evidence of facial features as worthless. Risley, on the other hand, lays great stress on nasal index, i. e., the percentage proportion which the breadth of the nose bears to its length.¹ It is true that variations in breadth of nostril are ascribed by some to climatic conditions, broad nostrils being unsuited for cold climates because they let too large a volume of cold air into the lungs (Ripley, p. 566). It is quite likely that atmospheric temperature, as well as altitude and climatic conditions generally, do contribute to variations in the shape of the nostrils, but I do not think that the nasal index in Southern India can be altogether ignored as a test of race.

My chief reason for holding that the nasal index is a useful criterion of race is that the application of Mr. Thurston's data in Southern India yields extraordinarily lucid and consistent results.

I may add that, though the emphasis laid by Ripley on what he calls 'social selection' (and what Darwin calls 'sexual selection'), in the formation of a racial type of beauty may be perfectly valid in Europe or America where marriage is voluntary, its force is seriously discounted in a country like India where the blissful state of matrimony is, by social opinion, compulsory.

Risley claims (p. 29) that social status in India can be expressed in terms of the nasal index, the two varying in inverse ratio. This dictum is strongly disputed by Mr. Enthoven, who proclaims the bankruptcy of anthropometric data on the ground that the nasal index would class the Kōli along side the Konkanasth Brahman, and that the Dēsasth Brahman and the Kunbi would rank below the Kōli and the Lohar.

No doubt Risley's dictum cannot by itself be seriously regarded as an infallible test, but I do not think that Mr. Enthoven's argument is conclusive, for it is quite possible that a closer examination would show that some or all of these caste groups are racially complex. The best test of the validity of a criterion is consistency, and I do not consider that the evidence so far collected warrants the rejection of the nasal index test on this ground.

A nasal index of 85 and over is called 'broad', of less than 70 'narrow'. I shall sub-divide the intermediate class into

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| (1) 'Narrowish' | 70 to 74·9. |
| (2) 'Medium' | 75 to 79·9. |
| (3) 'Broadish' | 80 to 84·9. |

¹ Risley also took account of the *Orbito-Nasal Index* (p. 30) as a test of relative flatness of face, but such indices have not been collected in Southern India.

259-8

261

The nasal indices of Risley's 'Indo-Aryans' vary from 66.9 to 75.2, a range of 14.3; those of 'Aryo-Dravidians' from 73.0 to 88.7, a range of 25.4. The Dravidian indices according to him range from 73.1 to 94.5 (range 21.4).

Let us now examine Mr. Thurston's data. I subjoin a tabular synopsis of the communal averages of his various linguistic groups, and have exhibited his conclusions diagrammatically in Plate III.

Group.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Range.
Jungle Tribes	... 80.1	95.1	15.0
Malayalam	... 71.1	81.2	10.1
Tamil	... 72.4	81.5	9.1
Telugu	... 72.8	80.8	8.0
Kanarese	... 71.2	79.4	8.2
Tulu	... 72.2	72.6	0.4
Marathi	... 72.0	75.8	3.8

The most striking feature of these figures is the fact that the Jungle Tribes begin where the rest leave off. It is true that the Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu speakers overlap slightly with the Jungle Tribes, but if we omit (1) the Malayalam Mūkkuvans¹ and Kānikars, (2) the Tamil Irulas and Pallans, and (3) the Telugu Mādigas, we are confronted with the fact that the narrowest index among the Jungle Tribes is broader than the broadest of any of the other Dravidian groups, which are either 'medium' or 'narrowish.'

It is hardly necessary to discuss in detail the individual castes covered by Mr. Thurston's Survey, but it should be noted that the Nāyars and Tīyans of Malabar, the Tamil Vellalars, Agamudaiyans and (pastoral) Idaiyans, the Telugu Kāpus, Baliyas and (pastoral) Gollas, and all the Kanarese, except the Bēdar-Boya (hunter) group, the Toreya fishermen and the outcaste Holeya, are 'narrowish'; and that these 'narrowish'-nosed castes are numerically large, and socially of relatively high status.

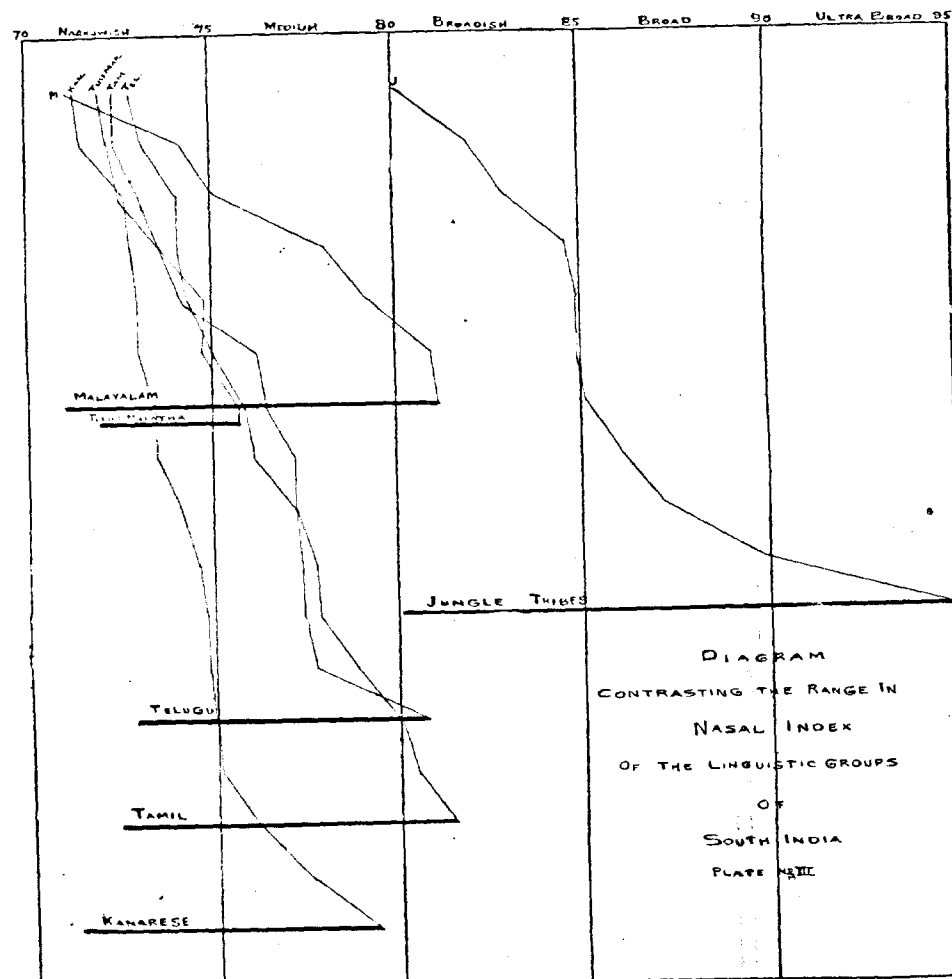
It would be hazardous in the face of these facts to contend that the nasal index is of no significance as a criterion of race.

Let us now recapitulate briefly

(1) Mr. Thurston's survey discloses the fact that the majority of the speakers of Dravidian languages belong to a long-headed race, 'shortish' in stature, and with 'narrowish' noses, very variable skin colour and wavy hair.

(2) The Tamil and Malayalam groups contain a number of castes which approximate to another long-headed race typified in the Jungle Tribes, 'short' in stature, and with 'broad' or 'ultra-broad' noses, and dark skins. Their hair, as a matter of fact, tends towards curliness, but, be it noted, it is never of the 'peppercorn' woolliness which characterizes the true Negro or

¹ The exceptionally wide range in the cranial and nasal indices and in the stature of the Mūkkuvans suggests that they are racially composite.



Negrito. The tendency to 'broad' noses is evident in some of the lower castes among the Telugu and Kanarese groups.

(3) The Telugu, Kanarese and Tulu groups are diluted with a round-headed racial element of unknown origin, but probably akin to the Bengalis on the one hand and the people of Sind on the other. So far as the evidence goes, this round-headed element is 'shortish' in stature, of 'narrowish' nose, and not particularly dark.

It is probable that each of these three racial elements is complex and 'intermediate' in character.

The round-headed element is probably derived from more than one source. Its distribution indicates that it is a foreign and relatively late intrusion. Round-headedness is not a fundamental feature of the Dravidians, and we need not waste time in looking for 'Dravidian Origins' in a round-headed people.

The short, dark, broad-nosed race of long-heads, on the contrary, was almost certainly in occupation of South India at an earlier date than the great mass of the Dravidians. Its relegation to hills and jungles, and its abject serfdom when in contact with other Dravidians, are conclusive on this point. It is tempting to ascribe to them kinship with some pigmy, frizzly-haired Negrito race, such as the Andamanese, but unfortunately the Andamanese are distinctively *round-headed*. It is certain that the earliest substratum of humanity in Eastern Seas was a short, dark, 'peppercorn'-haired race; the now extinct Tasmanians were of this type, and there are traces of it among the Melanesians. But it would be unwise to dogmatize, and the safest course seems to be to regard the Jungle Tribes of South India as an 'intermediate' race (in Ripley's sense of the word), and to call them '*Pre-Dravidians*'.

'Pre-Dravidians' I call them advisedly, and not 'Proto-Dravidians,' because I believe that the whole trend of ethnological investigation in South India has been perverted by the failure of anthropologists to discriminate between the two perfectly distinct long-headed racial elements comprised in the Dravidian speaking people. This fundamental duality is the pivot on which the hypothesis I am about to formulate hinges.

Hitherto it has been customary to regard the South Indian Jungle Tribe as the pure type of Dravidian. Prof. Deniker, for instance (*Races of Man*, pp. 410-11), speaks rather offensively of the 'five half-civilized Dravidian peoples,' the Telugus, Kanaras, Malayalam, Tulus and Tamils, and classes them with the Jungle Tribes and 'Kolarians' as one race under the head of 'Melano-Indians' (*ib.* 408). Risley himself lumps together the Tamil and Malayalam castes and the Jungle Tribes of Madras, the 'Moormen' of Ceylon, the Bhils of Rājputana and the Munda-speaking people of Western Bengal, as if they were all one homogeneous Dravidian Race. The Sholaga

(Plate XXXIII) and the Kādir (Plate XXXIV) he figures as 'Pure Dravidians,' and he names the Male Paharia, the Paniyan, the Munda and the Oraon as 'typical Dravidians.'¹

Now it is quite true that the Munda and Dravidian-speaking Hill Tribes of the 'Central Belt' do bear a striking physical resemblance to the Hill Tribes of Southern India. Whether they are racially identical does not concern my present contention. Probably they are. But two facts remain of no small importance:—

(1) That a nasal organ of greater breadth than length is *not* characteristic of the great mass of the Dravidian-speaking population of South India, except among the lowest castes;

(2) That the typical Jungle Tribe of South India does not speak a typical Dravidian tongue, but a grotesque caricature of it.

In other words the main ethnic stratum of Southern India does not consist of the broad-nosed, 'ultra-short,' Jungle Tribe element, though it is sometimes diluted with it. The typical Dravidian is long-headed, 'shortish' in stature, and possessed of a 'narrowish' nose.

To what races of mankind do these 'shortish,' 'narrowish'-nosed long-heads belong. They are closely analogous to Risley's so called 'Aryo-Dravidians' of the United Provinces. But to say this is not to answer the question, though it is certainly curious that Risley, in recognizing a racial duality in the United Provinces, failed to see that his own data pointed to a closely analogous duality in his Dravidians. I have suggested at the outset of this section of my paper that Prof. Ripley's World Maps of Hair-Texture and Cranial-Indices indicate *a priori* that the Peoples of India are akin to one or other of the two long-headed Races of Europe. To the Nordic Race the Dravidians assuredly do not belong; their 'shortish' stature and the evidence of bloneness is against such a theory. If there be anything in Professor Ripley's arguments, the Dravidians should claim kinship with the *Mediterranean Race*.

IV. The Heliolithic Culture

I have formulated my hypothesis, but I am fully aware that the anthropometric evidence available is too slender to bear its weight unaided.

In defiance of the proprieties of scientific enquiry, I shall now proceed to look for facts to fit the theory. Several obvious cultural links between South India and the Mediterranean area at once rush to one's mind; serpent worship,² for instance (the sacred serpent was revered alike in ancient Egypt and in

¹ Mr. Thurston, be it noted, was under no delusions on this subject. See *Castes and Tribes*, p. iv.

² Note also the complete similarity between the caduceus of Hermes and the intertwined cobras on the *stelae* to be seen in almost every Indian village.

263

Mediterranean Crete), or the cult of the Mother Goddess, presiding deity of every Dravidian village, consortless like the Great Mother of the Gods, *Mā* or *Ammās* as she was called, in Asia Minor, proto-type of the *Magna Deum Mater*, whose cult, with that of *Isis* (also a Mother), at one time dominated the Roman Empire; or the worship of stocks and stones, carved and uncarved, the bane alike of Muhammad and of the Prophets of Israel; or the east-and-west orientation of churches and temples; religious ceremonies connected with boundaries; votive offerings, a little model of eye or limb from one who is stricken with disease, or a ship from a storm-tossed mariner (Marseilles), or the wealth of a woman's hair; fear of the Evil Eye and prophylactics against it, blue beads round the pony's neck, the symbols of the horn and the crescent; the written or recited spell; ithyphallic dummies to guard the crops (Egypt); drums, trumpets, bells and obscene vituperation to scare evil spirits on occasions that should be auspicious; the coin placed in the mouth of a corpse; the ceremonial use of red ochre; blood sacrifice and the common sacrificial meal; the garlanding of the victim and the victim's shiver, a necessary prelude to its death-blow, alike in the cult of *Apollo* and that of *Māri-amman*; the sacred beasts of the Egyptian temples, vultures, monkeys, crocodiles, geese, carp, tortoises, etc., in short a most comprehensive menagerie; bull-baiting; games, such as 'cat's cradle,' or *pachis*, the proto-type of back-gammon; matrilinear succession (*marumakkattāyam*) recorded by Herodotus (I. 173) of the ancient Lycians; asceticism, relic worship, belief in the transmigration of souls; lucky and unlucky numbers; there is not one of these cultural facts which is not common to Dravidian India and the Mediterranean Race, and the list seems inexhaustible. But I need not weary you by protracting this enumeration, for I find that the work of establishing cultural relationship between South India and the Mediterranean has already been done for me by far abler brains.

At the meeting of the British Association at Manchester in September, 1915, a discussion was inaugurated by Professor G. Elliot Smith on the *Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization on the World's Culture*. Professor Elliot Smith puts forward four theses:—

(1) That the ancient civilizations of India, Further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania and America owe their essential elements to mariners, whose oriental migrations began with commercial intercourse between India and the Eastern Mediterranean about 300 B. C.

(2) That the culture spread by these mariners was derived mainly from Egypt of the XXIst Dynasty (c. 1100 B. C.) and partly also from

- (a) The Phœnician civilization of the Eastern Mediterranean,
- (b) East Africa and the Soudan,
- (c) Arabia,
- (d) Babylonia.

¹ See especially *Folk-Lore*, 1908, pp. 211-24.

(3) That the civilization of Burma, Indonesia, the eastern littoral of Asia and Oceania was in turn modified by Indian influences.

(4) That this complex stream of culture, with additions from Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, as well as from China and Japan, for many centuries 'played upon' the Pacific littoral of America and there 'planted the germs' of pre-Colombian civilization.

Now with these theses themselves I have no immediate concern, but the facts put forward in support of them are of startling interest. I must quote the Professor's own words, for his summary admits of no abridgement.

'The reality of these migrations and this spread of culture is substantiated (and dated) by the remarkable collection of extraordinary practices and fantastic beliefs which these ancient mariners distributed along a well-defined route from the Eastern Mediterranean to America. They were responsible for stimulating the inhabitants of the coasts, along a great part of their extensive itinerary;

(1) 'to adopt the practice of mummification, characterized by a variety of methods, but in every place with remarkable identities of technique and associated ritual, including the use of incense and libations, a funerary bier and boat, and certain peculiar views regarding the treatment of the head, the practice of remodelling the features and the use of statues, the possibility of bringing the dead to life, and the wanderings of the dead and its adventures in the under world;

(2) 'to build a great variety of megalithic monuments conforming to certain well defined types, which present essentially identical features throughout a considerable extent or even the whole of the long itinerary, and in association with these monuments, identical traditions, beliefs and customs;

(3) 'to make idols, in connexion with which were associated ideas concerning the possibility of human beings or animals living in stones, and of the petrification of men and women, the story of the deluge, of the divine origin of kings, who are generally the children of the sun or of the sky, and of the origin of the chosen people from incestuous unions;

(4) 'to worship the sun, and to adopt in reference to this deity a complex and arbitrary symbolism, representing an incongruous grouping of a serpent in conjunction with the sun's disc, equipped with a hawk's wings, often associated also with serpent worship, or in other cases, the belief in a relationship with or descent from serpents;

(5) 'to adopt the practices of circumcision, tattooing, massage, piercing and distending the ear-lobules, artificial deformation of the skull, and perhaps trephining, dental mutilations and perforating the lips and nose;

(6) 'to practise weaving linen, and in some cases also the use of Tyrian purple, pearls, precious stones and metals and conch-shell trumpets, as well as the curious beliefs and superstitions attached to the latter;

(7) 'to adopt certain definite metallurgical methods, as well as mining;

(8) 'to use methods of intensive agriculture, associated with the use of terraced irrigation, the artificial terraces being retained with stone walls;

(9) 'to adopt certain phallic ideas and practices;

(10) 'to make use of the *svastika* symbol, and to adopt the idea that stone implements are thunder-teeth or thunderbolts, and the beliefs associated with this conception;

(11) 'to use the boomerang;

(12) 'to hold certain beliefs regarding the heavenly twins;

(13) 'to practise *couvade*; and

(14) 'to display a special aptitude for and skill and daring in maritime adventures, as well as to adopt a number of curiously arbitrary features in boat building.'

Thanks to the courtesy of Professor Elliot Smith and of Mr. W. J. Perry, who is collaborating with him, I am in possession of a wealth of evidence in support of their contentions, and, incidentally, of my hypothesis. But it is hopeless within the limits of this paper to discuss them. Each one of the fourteen headings requires at least a separate monograph, if not a separate volume.

Some of the most important links in the chain I have indicated in the Map, which is based on three maps published in the *Manchester Memoirs* (Volumes 59 and 60) and shows the geographical distribution of the following items:—

(1) Terraced Irrigation.

(2) Megalithic monuments.

(3) Mummification.

(4) Sun-worship.

(5) The *Svastika*.

(6) Serpent-worship.

(7) Head-deformation.

(8) Ear-piercing.

(9) Legends of a Deluge.

(10) Tattooing.

(11) The *Couvade*.

It must be admitted that some of this evidence has but a very indistinct bearing on South India. The cult of the 'Heavenly Twins', for instance, is conspicuous by its absence, though it appears in the Asvins of the *Rig Veda*, and is perhaps suggested the Dyads, or dual deities, of the Vedic Hymns. The South Indian evidence for the preservation of the dead by mummification is defective, though funeral rites yield a host of analogies with the West. The evidence for *couvade* in India is confined to a very few communities,¹ and it cannot, therefore, be described as characteristic. Circumcision among Hindus is confined to a section of the Kallars, and is also recorded of the Bédars of Mysore, both military castes. It is an open question whether the practice should not

be ascribed to Muhammadan influence, in the case of the Kallars to the Madura Sultanate which followed Malik Kafur's invasion in the fourteenth century, and in the case of the Bédars to Haidar Ali. As for the Boomerang the use of which is confined to the Kallars and Maravas of the South, and the Kolis of Gujarat, evidence is wanting to show that the weapons used in India and those used in Egypt, Australia and Arizona are of common origin.

The analogies between the Egyptian pylon and the Dravidian *gōpuram* or between the Babylonian *ziggurat* and the Dravidian *vimānam*,¹ are open to two objections; in the first place there is a most disconcerting chronological *lacuna* between the date of the earliest Dravidian *gōpuram* or *vimānam* and the latest alleged proto-type; in the second place the evolution of *gōpuram* and *vimānam* has been very satisfactorily accounted for by Fergusson and others on indigenous lines. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the rigorous exclusion of the arch from the religious architecture of Egypt, Greece and India alike is most suggestive.

Again some of the customs cited by Professor Elliot Smith are of such universal distribution among both Negroid and Mongolian peoples, to say nothing of the 'Intermediate' races, that they seem to prove little more than that mankind was originally of one blood, a conclusion of no interest for our present purpose.

Leaving these minor points out of consideration, we find, in association with Megalithic Monuments throughout the world, a 'culture complex' the most characteristic features of which are

(1) Sun Worship, (2) Serpent Worship, (3) Phallic Worship, (4) the Worship of Sacred Stones, both carved and plain, and (5) Terraced Cultivation, together with such practices as tattooing, ear-piercing, the use of the *Svastika* and of shell-trumpets, a superstitious regard for the sanctity of the human head, an aptitude for navigation, and a mass of rites and beliefs too numerous to detail.

This Megalithic, or 'Heliolithic' ('Sun-and-Stone'), Culture seems to preserve remarkably consistent uniformity, and it seems to underlie the ancient culture of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Sabaean Arabia, Crete, Asia Minor, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and if the evidence adduced by Professor Elliot Smith be accepted, it has girdled the world.

It must, however, be admitted that the maps themselves, which illustrate so graphically the distribution of this Mediterranean culture are apt to be a little misleading. 'Mercator's Projection', it is needless to point out, grossly exaggerates the superficial area of the higher latitudes, and minimizes those of the equatorial regions. Then, again, it so happens that the bulk of the symbols in the maps cluster in the regions where population is densest, and consequently

¹ Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, pp. 547-51.

¹ See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 70.

most mixed. Again, it may be argued with some truth, that the distribution shown in the maps is confined to the seaboard, and that it therefore merely represents the distribution of a maritime culture, which, from its very nature, is more continuous and more coherent than inland cultures can possibly be.

The last criticism, of course, supports Professor Elliot Smith's argument, so long as that argument is confined to 'Cultural Drift' only, but I would at this point ask the question, 'is it possible for the migrations of a few mariners to affect the customs of indigenous peoples as deeply and minutely as the evidence indicates?'

I confess I am rather sceptical as to the soundness of the view that the period of migrations can be definitely dated. Professor Elliot Smith gives the date about 800 B. C. as the beginning of the great migrations, he contends that the carriers were Phoenicians, and he traces the culture which they disseminate to Egypt of the XXIst Dynasty (about 1100 to 950 B. C.), 'not earlier'.

I am not for a moment questioning the statement that the influence of Egypt of the XXIst Dynasty can be traced in Eastern Seas, and the expansion of commerce after 800 B. C. between India and, at least, Babylonia is entirely consistent with the authoritative conclusions of Mr. J. Kennedy (*J.R.A.S.*, 1898). But I cannot help thinking that the world-wide manifestations of this Heliolithic Culture are too complex, too profound, and too intimately domestic, to be the work of a few generations of Phoenician traders. I believe that the 'Drift' was not merely 'Cultural' but also 'Racial', and that the eastward extension of the Heliolithic Culture is due to continuous eastward expansion of the Mediterranean Race, not necessarily by sea only, but perhaps also by land, and dating back, not merely to 800 B. C. or the XXIst Dynasty, but possibly right away to the middle of the Neolithic Age, when the taste for constructing Stone Monuments first made its appearance in the Mediterranean area.

I confess that this view is inspired largely by those resemblances between Dravidian and Mediterranean Culture which I have sketchily recounted, and which Professor Elliot Smith has not considered. I am biassed, in fact, by the Indian evidence, and I limit my generalization to South India. The extension of the Heliolithic Culture to the far east and across the Pacific, and the part played by India therein is a fascinating subject which I hope to examine more closely on some future occasion, in the light of Dr. Rivers' great work on the Melanesians. The 'Drift', as it went eastward, was probably increasingly 'Cultural', decreasingly 'Racial', for I notice that the anthropometric data of the Pacific shores of America yield very different results to those of India. Links between India and the Pacific Islands undoubtedly exist, not only in the Austronesian languages, but also in the use of arecanut and betel, in the classificatory system of relationships and in the practice of burying in a sitting posture. But I must refrain from further comment.

The Mediterranean Race itself is, according to Ripley, of 'secondary origin, and it has many branches or sub-races, of more or less mixed blood, and of many tongues. I have little doubt that several such sub-races exist in India, but their fundamental unity, if proved, should account for many things. The round-headed and broad-nosed elements in the Dravidian population are of little moment. The resemblances between Dravidian India and the Mediterranean area are too numerous and essential to be ignored. I think Professor Elliot Smith will prove a good deal more than he intended to prove; the evidence he adduces points to the identity of the Dravidians with the Mediterranean Race.

V. Who were the Aryas?

But if the main body of the peoples of India are of one blood with the Mediterranean Race, who were the Aryas, who introduced the Aryan languages?

The linguistic evidence seems to indicate a succession of migrations through the Kabul Valley, spread over a great length of time. It is inferred that there were two series of migrations, the later arrivals entering the Punjab 'like a wedge', and forcing their way through the earlier settlers to the Gangetic Doab, to the *Madhya-desa* or 'Sacred Middle Land,' where they formed the nucleus of Sanskrit culture. The modern Aryan vernaculars, however, are not derived from Sanskrit, but they and it have a common origin. The languages of the earlier settlers displaced by the Midlanders are known as the languages of the 'Outer Band.'

The Midlanders expanded from *Madhya-desa*, or *Āryā-varta* as it came to be called, and took with them their language. The further from their centre, the weaker the influence of the Midland language, and the stronger that of the 'Outer Band' till the traces of the Midland speech disappear altogether. The languages of the 'Outer Band' are more closely related to each other than any one of them is to the language of the Midland. Later on the peoples of the 'Outer Band' expanded in their turn, and we find Marāthi in the south, and Bengali, Oriya and Assamese in the east, quite unaffected by the speech of the Midland.

In the extreme west and north-west, on the other hand, is another group of Aryan languages, which are supposed to represent the earliest influx

¹ The word *Ārya* means 'Kinsmen', according to Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 152, no 'noble', as is commonly supposed.

² The country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains, extending from the eastern to the western sea was called *Āryā-varta*.

Madhya-desa was that part of *Āryā-varta* which lies between the same two mountain ranges, and is bounded on the east by Allahābād, and on the west by the place where the river Saraswati loses itself in the sand.

Professor Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 50-1.

of all, a 'spill', through the passes, of the 'Aryans' before they were differentiated into their Indian and Iranian branches. The influence of these earlier languages formerly extended to the western Punjab and Lower Sind, and is still traceable on the Lower Indus, though they now survive only between the Punjab and the Hindu Kush. These earlier settlers were despised by the true 'Indo-Aryans'. Their languages are very archaic and closely akin to Vedic.¹

So much for the linguistic evidence and the theories founded thereon. Let us now turn to the earliest document we have of the Vedic 'Aryas', the Rig Veda.

The Āryas of the Rig Veda were settled in the Punjab. They know nothing of India outside the Punjab. It was only at the very end of the Rig-Vedic period that they spread as far as the Jumna, and the Ganges is only mentioned twice. Their southward movement did not extend beyond the point where the rivers of the Punjab unite with the Indus. The ocean was apparently unknown, except by hearsay. The Vindhya and the Narmada are nowhere named.

The Yajur Veda marks a complete change. The centre of political gravity has shifted altogether from the Punjab, and is to be found (a) in the land of the Kurus (the eastern portion of the plain which lies between the Sutlej and the Jumna), and (b) in the land of the Panchālas, the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges.

In discussing the question who were the Āryas, I do not think it is necessary to follow up further the history of the Middle Land, or to attempt to correlate the linguistic evidence with that of Vedic Literature. It is evident that a very large chronological gap must be allowed for between the Rig Veda and the Yajur Veda, and it is equally certain that the Rig Veda was not compiled in a day, but covers a period of several generations, or perhaps centuries. The key to the origin of the 'Āryas' must, therefore, be looked for in the Rig Veda.

It would be difficult deliberately to invent a contrast more striking than that between the culture of the Āryas of the Rig Veda and the Brahmanic culture which we have come to regard as typical of India.

The Āryas of the Rig Veda, like so many of the militant races of history, were primarily a pastoral people. Cattle-breeding was their chief economic interest, apart from war, and agriculture was but a secondary consideration. They knew nothing of irrigation or of rice. As is usual with pastoral peoples, domesticated cattle were held sacred, and milk was their chief article of diet; but cattle were killed and eaten on ceremonial occasions; the slaughter of kine was a feature of the wedding ritual. The cow was the economic unit of

¹ The foregoing account is based on the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. i, pp. 351-78:

value, as it was in barbarous Europe, and still is in savage Africa. Cattle raiding was the favourite mode of getting rich.

Horses were essential for the war chariots, the chief arm in warfare, but the art of riding was unknown. Chariot-racing was a favourite pastime. The horse sacrifice was the most efficacious of all the public sacrifices, and this survived till late historic times. The elephant and the tiger are never mentioned.

Ordinarily the Āryas of the Rig Veda wore beards¹ though the tonsorial art was occasionally resorted to. Their garments were of woven sheep's wool, their ornaments of gold; silver is never named. Their weapons were presumably of copper, for there seems little doubt that *ayas* (which means reddish) was not iron, and there is no evidence that the Āryas knew of bronze.² In war they wore coats of mail and metal helmets; their weapons were bows and arrows, spears and axes, but swords apparently were not used.

The political unit was the tribe (*jana*) which consisted of a group of settlements (*vīs*), which comprised groups of villages (*grāma*). Government was monarchical, each tribe having its own *Rājā*, sometimes hereditary, sometimes elected, whose power was limited by the tribal assembly (*samiti*). On the eve of battle, and on other important occasions, the king himself offered sacrifices on behalf of the people. There was no hereditary priesthood, though sometimes the sacrifices were performed for the king by a domestic chaplain called *purohit*. The position of the wife was one of honour, and she shared with her husband the performance of sacrifice. She exercised control, not only over servants and slaves, but also over the unmarried brothers and sisters of her husband. Post-puberty marriage appears to have been usual, and girls might without reproach remain unmarried and grow old in their father's house.³ The veto on widow remarriage was unknown.⁴

It would be hard to paint a picture of Society more 'un-Indian' than this, but when we turn to religion the contrast becomes still more bewildering.

The religion of the Rig Veda is clearly composite, and seems to be in a condition of rapid disintegration. That Vedic Theology was in unstable equilibrium follows, I think, necessarily from the 'indefiniteness of outline and the lack of individuality' which 'mark the Vedic conception of the Gods.' Many of the characteristics of the several deities are interchangeable, and their delineation is utterly wanting in consistency. 'Certain great cosmical functions are predicated of nearly every leading deity individually . . .

¹ See Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 242.

² Philologically *ayas* = Latin *aes*, 'bronze', and German *eisen* (English 'iron'). This itself shows that the word has been transferred from one metal to the other.

³ This account is extracted from Professor Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature*.

⁴ Risley, p. 182.

271

Nearly a dozen gods are described as having created the two worlds, and rather more are said to have produced the sun, to have placed it in the sky or to have prepared a path for it. Four or five are also spoken of as having spread out the earth, the sky or the two worlds. Several . . . are lord of all that moves and is stationary' (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 15). But I need not elaborate on this theme. Such fluid theology could have little permanence.

As for its composite character, it is obvious that in the Rig Veda a number of distinct cults, or groups of cults, appear to be commingled. For instance;

- (1) an Earth-and-Sky Cult (Dyaus.—Prithivi);
- (2) a Sky-God (Varuna);
- (3) Cults of Atmospheric Phenomena; e.g., Indra and the Maruts (Storm-Gods); Vayu, the Wind God; Parjanya the Rain God; Ushas the Dawn; Rudra, a composite deity embodying several of the more awe-inspiring aspects of Nature;
- (4) five different Sun Gods; Mitra, Sārya, Savitri, Pushan, Vishnu;
- (5) a Fire Cult (Agni);
- (6) the Cult of an intoxicating beverage called Soma;
- (7) Cults of Mountains and Rivers;
- (8) Cults of Animals, Plants and Inanimate Objects;
- (9) Cults of Spirits beneficent and malevolent (angels and devils);
- (10) Cults of Heroes and Saints;
- (11) Cults of Creator Deities, Prajapati, Visva-Karma;
- (12) the Cult of Ancestors (*Pitris*) and of Yama the God of Death.

How much of this congeries has survived into Brahmanic Hinduism? Almost nothing in its Vedic form, at least as a living cult, except perhaps the worship of Ancestors and Saints. It is true that traces of animal and plant worship are abundantly found in modern India, but unfortunately the Vedic Flora and Fauna differed materially from that of India. Spirit cults exist, but the Spirits now worshipped differ materially from those of the Rig Veda.

It is true that Fire Worship and Sun Worship are important ingredients in Hindu ritual, and Indra, Vāyu and Yama in legend, but as cults they no longer exist. The cult of the river Sarasvati has been transformed into the cult of a Goddess of Learning, consort of the post-Vedic Brahma. The intoxicating Soma somehow became identified with the Moon. Vishnu survives in name, but in the Rig Veda he is of quite minor importance; his three strides and his general beneficent temperament are Vedic, but the story of his Avatars and his symbol the chank shell were then unknown. Rudra, also a minor deity in the Rig Veda, is the proto-type of Siva, but most of the conceptions associated with Siva are post-Vedic accretions. As for Brahma the Creator, Subrahmanya, Vignēśvara, Lakshmi, Pārvati, Hanumān and other members

of the Hindu Pantheon, the Aryas of the Rig Veda knew nothing of them. Even Metempsychosis and the doctrine of Karma find no place in the Rig Veda, and, perhaps the most significant point of all, the very idea of sacrifice seems fundamentally different, for Vedic sacrifice is a 'gift' to the god, whereas in the sacrifices of Brahmanic Hinduism, as in that of the Dravidians, the idea of 'communion' with divinity seems paramount.

One fact stands out clearly in all this chaos. Hinduism, whatever its origin, owes very little to the Aryas. But what was this very 'un-Indian' culture that brought to India the Aryan tongues? Let us seek an analogy in the West.

In the Aegean area, centring in Crete, a wonderful civilization ran its course concurrently, and occasionally in contact, with the civilization of Egypt, from the Neolithic Age to nearly the end of the second millenium B.C. The Minoan civilization enjoyed a period of great prosperity in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C., which ended in about 1400 B.C. with the sack of the capital Knossos. The fourteenth and thirteenth centuries were a period of turmoil and disaster. Hostile hordes began to press in from the north. Egypt herself has to face invasions in about 1225 and again about 1200 B.C. The first onset was repulsed by Meneptah, the second by Rameses III. The names of the invading hosts recorded in Egyptian inscriptions suggest their identification with Sardinians, Sikels, Achaeans, Lycians and Etruscans, and in the second onset, which moved through Asia Minor and Syria, and desolated the Hittite Empire on its way, we find Philistines and Danai. It is interesting to note, however, that some of the hostile peoples fought in the ranks of the Egyptian army, just as the Barbarians of Central Europe took service in the army of the Roman Empire. From the death of Rameses III (c. 1165) till the seventh century B.C. an age supervened as dark as the Dark Ages in Western Europe which followed the fall of Rome, and our knowledge of the history of the Aegean area is almost blank. At the end of this period the Aryan-speaking Hellenes emerged, 'united in blood and speech, religion and customs'. Hdt VIII.144, cf. *Enc. Brit.*, s. v. Greece, p. 444) in sharp antithesis to 'Barbarians'.

Fortunately we possess in the Iliad and Odyssey two lucid documents which throw a flood of light on this dark transition period.

It has been customary to speak of the besiegers of Troy as 'Greeks' or 'Hellenes.' The term is misleading and involves a *petitio principii*. The words 'Hellas' and 'Hellenes' are never used by Homer as general terms for what we call 'Greece' and 'Greeks;' the term he uses is '*Achaeans*.'

¹ I extract the following from Liddle and Scott:—
Hellas.—

1. A city of Thessaly (Il. 2. 683.)

2. All that part of Thessaly in which the Myrmidons dwelt (also called Phthiotis).

3. Northern Greece, as opposed to Peloponnesus. (Od. 1. 344; 4. 726, etc.)

Hellen.— (2) The Hellenes of Homer are the Thessalian tribe of which Hellen was the reputed chief. Il. 2. 834 (therefore Aristarchus rejected the line of Il. 2. 530 in which the Greeks are called Panhellenes). Cf. Hes. Op. 526.

The Achaeans of Homer tenanted part of the area covered by the Aegean civilization. It is pretty certain that they had a hand in its overthrow. It is equally certain that they did not destroy utterly this civilization, but they assimilated it in much the same way as the Normans assimilated the culture of Sicily and France.¹

It is very clear that the Achaeans felt no prejudice towards the peoples they had subjugated; there is nothing in Homer corresponding to the contempt of the classical Greeks for 'Barbarians'.² Moreover, there is reason to believe that the Trojans themselves were of the same stock as the Achaeans. Mr. Walter Leaf points out that all Homeric Heroes trace their pedigrees to some god or other, and that these pedigrees do not go back more than two or three generations. He suggests that when an Achaean chieftain is made son of Zeus it is because he has no more authentic lineage to show; and that a son of Zeus means in fact a self-made man.³ In other words the Achaeans were soldiers of fortune who had entered the Peloponnesus two generations or so before the Trojan War.

I need not describe in detail the Achaean Culture, but a word is necessary on their Religion. Homer names two Vedic deities:

(1) Zeus = Dyaus, the Sky-God, but in Homer his position as paramount deity and 'All Father' is utterly different from the insignificant position he occupies in the Rig Veda;

(2) Eos = Ushas, the Dawn, named freely enough, but never the direct recipient of worship.

There is little doubt that the Achaean Zeus has appropriated a large heritage from the pre-Achaean cults of the Aegean area. As for the other High Gods of Olympus, they are the same as the High Gods of Classical Greece. But there is a curious antagonism among the Homeric gods, which indicates that the process of syncretism, though advanced, was not complete. For instance, Aphrodite, Ares and Apollo persistently favour the Trojans, while Hera, Poseidon, Athene and Hermes are devoted to the cause of the Achaeans. The cult of Artemis certainly belongs to the Aegean, and so does that of Aphrodite. Both are portrayed with cynical levity by Homer, Ares never became truly Hellenic. Apollo's attitude, in spite of his Delphian origin, is strongly pro-Trojan, and his position in Classical Greece is probably the result of events that happened after the power of the Achaeans had vanished. Athene is plainly a virgin goddess of the Aegean type, but she is one of the first to be absorbed by the Achaeans; and Hera too, the pre-Hellenic deity of Argos, is thoroughly Achaeanized by the time of the Trojan War.⁴ As for ritual, the

¹ The culture of the Achaeans is very near the culture we call 'Mycenean,' if not identical with it.

² Similarly the Romans expressed no racial antipathy towards the Carthaginians or Numidians.

³ *Homer and History*, pp. 12-14 and 257.

⁴ My authority for the above is Dr. L. R. Farnell.

Achaean religion had no idols, the priesthood enjoyed but little power and was not hereditary, temples were of little importance, prayers were simple and addressed direct to the gods, without ceremonial form or priestly intermediary, and sacrifice seems to have lost its ritualistic aspect of 'communion' and to be of the purely 'do-ut-des' type.

The Trojan War seems to have been a last effort; when the veil lifts again the Achaeans have disappeared from History. A big event, the Dorian invasion, has supervened. Though the Dorians of Lacedaemon seem to have assimilated less of the indigenous culture than did the Achaeans, they form part of a new civilization, the civilization which we call 'Hellenic'. Causes, at which we can only guess, have infused the complex of Aryan-speaking communities in the Aegean area with a sense of unity, based on community of language, blood, and religion, and yet we find that this new culture embodies, as a whole, much more of the spirit of the culture that it supplanted than did that of the Achaeans; and the protagonist of Hellenic civilization, Athens, is the very member of the Hellenic world which preserved most completely the traditions of the Aegean past. In Athens the leaven of a new and energetic race aroused afresh the dormant spirit of Minoan Crete.

Does Homer afford a clue to the origin of the Āryas? I think he does.

It is impossible for me, in the limits of this paper, to examine in detail the analogies between the culture of the Rig Veda and the culture of Homer, but there are a few points to which I should like to invite attention.

(1) In about the sixteenth century B. C. there began a catastrophic movement of peoples from the north, similar in character to the wanderings which preceded and followed the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. The fact that in the fifteenth century the Mitanni, in Upper Mesopotamia, worshipped Gods with Rig Vedic (and Iranian) names (Indra, Varuna, Mithra) seems to imply that the movement which overthrew Minoan civilization had some connexion with the appearance of Aryan-speaking invaders in India and Persia. The inference is strengthened by the fact that two or three Rig Vedic deities are included in the Homeric Pantheon.

(2) The Āryas plumed themselves on their bloneness. I think (with all respect to Sergi, pp. 18-21) that the Achaeans did so too. The aristocracies of Western Europe are distinctly fair, and, like the Āryas and the Achaeans, they preserve strongly their military tastes.

(3) The Āryas had no deep religious convictions. This may seem a wild statement in view of the fact that the Rig Veda is essentially religious, but no other hypothesis can explain, to my mind, the rapidity with which the Rig Vedic Theology disintegrated. The Āryas, it is true, did not handle their gods so flippantly as Homer did, but India and Greece alike owe most that is sincere and stable in their religion to the renaissance of the culture which the northern invaders temporarily submerged. And the analogy holds good, too

in the history of Scandinavian religion, composite as we know it, materialistic and rather flippant in tone, and in comparison with the religious conservatism of the Mediterranean Race, somewhat easily uprooted.

(4) With the Rig Vedic Āryas are associated (a) Cremation, and (b) Fire-Worship.

(a) Cremation was distinctive of the Achaeans, and also of the Scandinavians of the Bronze Age and of the Nordic Barbarians who overthrew Rome, though in contact with other races the practice tended to disappear.

(b) Fire-Worship became a dominant feature in the Iranian culture; the sacredness of the hearth-fire was of supreme importance in Classical Greece and Rome, in the domestic ritual, in the cults of Hestia and Vesta. To dwellers in colder latitudes the preservation of the hearth-fire is a matter of grave domestic importance. This clue deserves further investigation.

I cannot help thinking that Cremation in India is a legacy of Nordic Races and perhaps Fire-Worship is too.

(5) The Achaeans undoubtedly had a genius for Epic and Saga, a genius shared by them with the Nordic Races. Is not the same true of Vedic Literature, and of the Sanskrit Literature that it inspired, particularly the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*? Surely the habit of memorizing poetry, and the analogies between the Court Bards of Homeric Kings and the Court Bards of India, between the Rhapsodists, to whom we probably owe the preservation of the Iliad and Odyssey, and the Bhāṭas of India, are more than chance coincidences. It will be inferred, from what I have just said, that I incline to the view that the Āryas and Achaeans were representatives of Nordic Races. Of course there are obvious differences in the analogy I have drawn. The Achaeans had absorbed the culture of the people they conquered to a far greater degree than had the Āryas of the Rig-Vedic period. On the other hand, the culture of Minoan Crete was almost certainly of a higher grade than the culture of India before the advent of the Āryas.

I do not for a moment contend that the Āryas or the Achaeans were homogeneous and of pure Nordic descent. We know that the Barbarian hordes that overthrew the Roman Empire of the West were of very mixed composition, and so were the hordes that swamped the civilization of the Aegean. Probability is consonant with the evidence of the Vedas, the Āryas were divided against themselves, and assuredly accumulated all sorts of accretions on their road to India. The receptivity of the Normans and Achaeans, their readiness to assimilate the culture of those they come in contact with, is a strong racial characteristic, and there is no reason to doubt that the Āryas possessed the same faculty.

Sergi contends (p. 263) that the Aryan languages were disseminated by the Eurasiatic Alpine Race. Ripley (pp. 451 and 417) formulates a like

theory, though at the same time (in consonance with my main hypothesis), he describes (p. 450) what he vaguely calls 'Hindoos' as the eastward extension of the Mediterranean Race. The objection to these 'round-headed' theories of Aryan languages is the overwhelming 'long-headedness' of all the peoples who inhabit the vast tract of Hindustan, which, beyond all doubt, is the centre of diffusion for the Aryan languages of India from the Punjab to Patna. I think this objection is fatal. On the other hand, my Nordic hypothesis is supported by the affinities of the Finns to the Nordic Race (Ripley, p. 365), if there be any truth in the theory that the Aryan languages were developed from a language of the Finnic type.¹ A Nordic hypothesis also explains the occurrence of the Nordic traits of bloneness, tallness of stature and narrowness of nose which are so marked in the Punjab. More than this cannot be expected, for the Nordic Races are doomed to die out in subtropical latitudes unless they mix their blood with an acclimatized race. That the Āryas did mingle with the indigenous races is certain,² and in spite of their contempt for them they were not ashamed to welcome them as allies in those internecine struggles which remind us of the Saxon Heptarchy.

As for this racial contempt, it is true enough that the Āryas reviled the dark skins and flat noses of the Dasyus in terms that to a modern Englishman seem intolerably vulgar, but, though they undoubtedly came in collision with several broad-nosed tribes, it by no means follows that all the indigenous inhabitants of that period were platyrrhine. Racial contempt of this kind is absent with the Achaeans, perhaps because no broad-nosed type existed in the Aegean area. But race feeling, acidulated with the virus of social and political animosities, was prominent in Classical Greece,³ as in Norman England and 'caste ridden' India, and there is reason to believe that in each of these three cases the antagonistic parties were racially akin.

But it will be asked, if the Āryas were absorbed by the indigenous population, how comes it that Aryan languages overshadow all others in the Indian Continent?

The question demands an answer, and an explicit answer is not easy to formulate, for the 'Biology of Speech,' by which I mean the causes that determine the life history of languages, their expansion and contraction, their vitality and decay, is a complex science, little understood. Let us look for analogies elsewhere. The vast continent of the Americas was unknown to Europe till a little over four centuries ago. It is now almost monopolized by people who speak Spanish, Portuguese or English.

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica* s.v. *Finno-Ugrian*, p. 390.

² See Crooke in *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 270-80, and Weber, *Vedic Literature*, pp. 77, 110.

³ Particularly against 'Barbarians', but also between the different sections of the Greeks themselves.

Now Spanish and Portuguese are dialects of Latin, which 2,500 years ago, was itself a local dialect of a little district in Central Italy, and the Angles were some 1,500 years ago, an obscure tribe of savages, who lived 'somewhere' in the south-west corner of the Baltic.

It does not, however, follow that all Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Americans are lineal descendants of the Latins of Latium, or that all English-speaking Americans, particularly the Negroes, are the progeny of that single Baltic tribe. As for the American aborigines, though they number little more than ten million, they speak between them over 1,000 languages, included in nearly 200 'families'. Contrast Europe with its sixty languages and four 'families',¹ inclusive of Finnic, Turkish, and Basque.

The vernaculars of India number 220, and they represent only five 'families'.²

A similar unevenness of distribution is evident on a closer examination of the Dravidian languages. Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam account for some fifty-eight million. On the other hand, the little district of the Nilgiris can boast of five vernaculars of its own, only one of which is spoken by more than 3,000 persons. (Badaga 38,000, Kurumba 2,900, Irula 2,300, Kōta 1,200, Tōda 727).

The Aryan languages seem to possess a special vitality, a special aptitude for ousting languages with which they come in contact. No other family of languages has met with such success, though the Semitic and Dravidian groups have been partially successful in their resistance. I do not think that the dominance of Aryan languages in India need vitiate my hypothesis, in view of the fact that, though the language of so many early Mediterranean nations withered and vanished on contact with Aryan speech, the people themselves preserved their racial integrity unimpaired.

VI. Conclusion

I must briefly recapitulate my main conclusions.

Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar³ traces four distinct ethnic elements in the population of the Tamil districts, (1) Negritos, (2) a mixed wavy-haired race allied to the Veddahs of Ceylon and the aborigines of Australia, whom he calls Nagas, (3) the Dravidian Race, and (4) the Aryans.

¹ A 'family' is a group of languages, which, so far as available evidence goes, can reasonably be regarded as descended from one original tongue.

² Of the total population, 75 per cent speak Aryan languages, and 20 per cent Dravidian. The remaining 5 per cent speak languages of the Austro-Asiatic (Munda and Mon-Khmer) and Tibeto-Chinese families. The fifth 'family' is Malayo-Polynesian, and is spoken by only some 6,000. Account is not taken of the Gipsy languages or Andamanese.

³ *Tamil Studies*, pp. 56-7.

I should be inclined to regroup these elements as follows, leaving out of account the round-headed ingredients in the Telugu, Kanarese and Tulu Dravidians, which may be either Alpine or Mongolian, or both:

(1) A broad-nosed 'Pre-Dravidian' race akin to the Jungle Tribes, (and to the Munda-speaking races? and Melanesians?), probably composite in origin, compounded perhaps of Negroid and intermediate (? Mediterranean) elements.

(2) The Dravidians properly so called, being the main body of the population of South India, and composed of many different strata of the Mediterranean Race in varying degrees of purity, and including the snake-worshipping 'Nagas' of tradition.

(3) A faint Nordic element, evidenced by an occasional 'throw-back' to a fair-skinned light-eyed type.

I believe that the Aryan influence was far more 'Cultural' than 'Racial,' and that even the 'Cultural' influence was far less than is generally supposed, for there is good reason to believe that most of the characteristic features of Brahmanism and the caste system are either of pure Dravidian (i.e., Mediterranean) origin, or else the direct outcome of the impact of Nordic hordes on the indigenous cultures. Buddhism, at least, was admittedly a revolt of the masses against the priestly classes, and Buddhism has exerted a vast influence on post-Buddhist Hinduism.

I shall briefly examine two racial puzzles in the light of the foregoing summary.

(1) *Nambūdrī Brahmins*.—It is commonly said that the Nambūdrī Brahmins of the Malabar Coast are the purest surviving type of the original 'Aryans.' Considering that they differ from orthodox Brahmins in observing sixty-four irregular customs, it seems to me ridiculous to describe them as typical of anything but themselves. Moreover, their whole culture, whether orthodox or otherwise, stands out in violent contrast to the culture of any non-Indian Aryan-speaking race; its closest analogue perhaps is to be found in ancient Egypt. It is certain that they are immigrants into Malabar, and that their culture is saturated with Sanskrit philosophy, and incidentally they afford an instructive example of the influence that a small aristocratic class of aliens can exert on the language of the people, for to no other source can we ascribe the intense Sanskritization of Malayalam. But I think their peculiarities are explained on correct lines by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, who conceives them as an immigrant, intensely Brahmanized community,¹ which has adapted itself to the institutions of the indigenous Dravidians for reasons of convenience, partly domestic, mainly economic. Moreover, the Nambūdrīs exemplify a fact of crucial significance, which has not received from ethnologists the

¹ *Tamil Studies*, pp. 340-376.

attention that it deserves, namely, that the most important and brilliant sections of the Brahmans of South India *are not priests*.

(2) *Tōdas*.—The mention of Nambūdris suggests to me the question, Who are the *Tōdas*?

It is a general principle that the hills contain 'the ethnological sweepings of the plains.' On the Nilgiris we may expect to find types in primeval purity. The *Tōdas* are long-headed (73.3), but the range is large (68.7 to 81.3 = 12.6). In stature and nasal index they present a very marked contrast to the Jungle Tribes. Their average stature is 169.8, which is well above that of any other Dravidian community examined by Thurston. The range is from 157.6 to 186.8 (29.2). Their nasal index averages 74.9 (just within the 'narrowish' group) with a range of 27.9 from 61.2 to 89.1). The wide ranges suggest that they are a composite race, an inference which might also be drawn from the duality of their social organization. They are a pastoral community, and, like so many pastoral communities, they enjoy a marked prestige among their neighbours. They show not the faintest trace of Brahmanic influence. Dr. Rivers points out that their practices seem to indicate affinities with the people of Malabar, but it cannot be said that their religion is typically Dravidian, for their socio-religious instincts find almost their whole expression in their exaggerated 'dairy ritual.' They must be immigrants to the Nilgiris; to suppose that they have been 'evolved' from any of the jungle tribes would be absurd. Yet evidence is wanting to affiliate them to the Mediterranean Race. They remain a standing puzzle and a warning against hasty generalization.¹ They corroborate what I have already emphasized, that in the Dravidian races there are many strata.

¹ it is of interest to compare the *Tōdas* with (1) the *Nāyars* and (2) the *Tiyan*s, the former partly influenced by Nambūdrī blood, the latter certainly not.

Cephalic Index		Average	Maximum	Minimum	Range
<i>Nāyar</i>	..	74.4	81.9	70.4	11.5
<i>Tiyan</i>	..	73.0	80.3	68.5	11.8
<i>Tōda</i>	..	73.3	81.3	68.7	12.6

Stature

<i>Nāyar</i>	..	165.2	179.0	152.2	26.8
<i>Tiyan</i>	..	164.2	171.6	155.2	16.4
<i>Tōdas</i>	..	169.8	186.8	157.6	29.2

Nasal Index

<i>Nāyar</i>	..	71.1	79.7	54.4	24.3
<i>Tiyan</i>	..	74.2	85.7	61.5	24.2
<i>Tōda</i>	..	74.9	89.1	61.2	27.9

If my hypothesis be established, it may well be asked, What follows from it? In the first place, a new interpretation may have to be given to a number of facts familiar to ethnologists. The idyllic 'all-things-bright-and-beautiful' vision of the 'Undivided Aryans' must go, and it would be well to abandon for ever the use of the term 'Aryan' in any but a linguistic sense. It is advisable also to re-examine, and perhaps to revise, the current theories of 'independent evolution,' which explain cultural resemblances as due to 'psychological' coincidences, to convergent 'modes of thought.'¹ I do not deny the possibility of 'independent origins' in matters ethnological, and I agree with the principle that analogies should be regarded as analogies, and not promoted to the status of homology lightly and without evidence. But I fear that the hypothesis of 'Spontaneous Generation' is apt to become in Ethnology an obsession as obstructive as it was in the days of Darwinian controversy.

I may be permitted to illustrate the possible bearing of my rather venturesome hypothesis by a few examples.

A. Folk Tales

(Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth*.)

It was part of the life's work of the late Andrew Lang to destroy the preposterous theories of the 'philological school' of mythological interpretation, particularly the absurdities of Max Müller's explanation of the irrational element of Myth as the result of a 'disease of language.' The value of Lang's services to the science of Anthropology cannot be overrated, and I believe his explanation of Myths² as the 'rough products of the early human mind, not yet characterized by the differentiations of race and culture' is not likely to be impugned. Lang's writings were polemics, and it is perhaps unfortunate that he adhered to the terms 'Aryan' and 'non-Aryan'. Lang saw clearly enough

I subjoin a table comparing the *Tōda* with the Denbighshire Upland type of Messrs. Thomas and Fleure, *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, pp. 67-8, omitting, however, the last individual on the list as altogether abnormal.

		HEAD LENGTH (cm.)			HEAD BREADTH (cm.)			INDEX			STATURE (cm.)		
		Average	Maximum	Minimum	Average	Maximum	Minimum	Average	Maximum	Minimum	Average	Maximum	Minimum
Wales	..	19.6	20.9	18.6	15.3	15.9	14.0	76.8	82.0	69.6	168.9	186.0	158.0
Tōda	..	19.4	20.4	18.2	14.2	15.2	13.3	73.3	81.3	68.7	169.8	186.8	157.0

¹ See Mr. Hocart's remarks in *Man*, 1915, No. 51.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v., *Mythology*, p. 131.

the absurdity of speaking of any particular Myth as 'Aryan' or 'non-Aryan,' but he did not seem to realize that the boundary lines of language cut those of race and culture at all sort of odd angles. The Fairy Tale of which the story of Jason is a type is found, not only among the Greeks, Scotch, Russians and Italians, but also among the Algonquins of North America, the Finns, in Madagascar and in Samoa, and bits of it are known to Zulus, Bushmen, Japanese and Eskimo. Lang cites this distribution to prove the inadequacy of the 'Aryan hypothesis.' In view of the fact that the Folk Tale is the most easily transmitted of all cultural phenomena, the distribution of the Jason Myth is perfectly consistent with my Mediterranean hypothesis.

B. Metempsychosis

The doctrines of the transmigration of souls through a cycle of existences and of the sanctity of animal life, and its logical sequel, the veto on flesh diet, are common to the philosophy both of Buddha and Pythagoras. Associated with Buddhism are celibacy, monasticism, asceticism, and relic worship, practices as familiar in the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean as in India. Controversy has raged as to whether Greece or India was the borrower. Pythagoras lived from about 582 to 500 B.C., Buddha from about 518 to 488 B.C. They could not have exchanged ideas. The hypothesis of borrowing is untenable.

These coincidences between East and West are usually lightly explained¹ as due to the survival and independent evolution of the 'primitive' beliefs of 'pre-Aryan' peoples. All of them are foreign alike to Homer and the Rîg Veda. Yet there is abundant evidence that they ante-date Buddha and Pythagoras, in both areas, by many centuries. To describe them vaguely as survivals of savagery is to my mind inadequate. These beliefs and practices indicate surely an elaborate and organized culture. Is it not at least probable that they are the hall-marks of one race?²

C. Names

Ask a little Tamil boy his name, and the chances are he will reply 'Tātā-pēr' 'Grandpapa name'. The practice of naming a child after his father's father is not confined to India. For four centuries the Kings of Denmark have borne alternately the name Kristian and Frederik. The XIIth Dynasty of Egypt is an alternate series of Senwosri (Useratesen) and Amenenhē, just as the XVIIIth Dynasty varies between Tethmosis and Amenophis. So in the

¹ See *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 133.

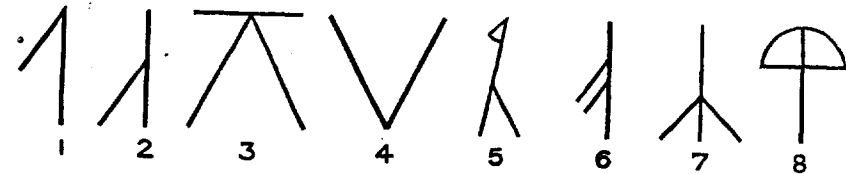
Chōla Dynasty the Kings are alternately entitled Parakēsarivarma and Rājākēsarivarma, and, among the Hoysalas, Narasimha and Ballāla in turn recur¹.

D. The Art of writing

The scripts of Southern India are traced to two sources: (1) Brāhmī, (2) Vatteḷuttu. Brāhmī is supposed to have been derived from a Semitic original, but whether its proto-type is to be looked for in the Northern Semitic area or in Southern Arabia is still, I believe, disputed. The origin of Vatteḷuttu is a problem which as so far defeated all research.

Vatteḷuttu existed in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. side by side with Grantha, a derivative of Brāhmī. In the extreme south of India a number of rock-cut Brāhmī inscriptions exist in a language which no one has yet been able to interpret, though the letters are plain enough. These inscriptions are believed to date from the third century B.C., and are taken as indicating the existence of 'Aryan' influences in South India at that period.

In his monograph on *Hyderabad Cairns* (published in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society* for July, 1916), Dr. E. H. Hunt has referred to certain incised linear marks some of which are constantly recurring on the cairn pottery. Eight of these marks he figures.



On p. 306 of his little book on *The Mediterranean Race*, Professor Sergi figures the characters of the Etruscan Alphabet which no one yet has been able to decipher.²

It is rather startling to find that numbers, 1, 2, 4 and 7 of Dr. Hunt's signs are identical with letters of the Etruscan alphabet, while No. 8 is extremely like another of them. No. 7 recurs in Archaic Hebrew (p. 303 of Sergi's book), and also in the Cretan, Proto-Egyptian, and ancient Libyan scripts (*ib.* p. 198, from Evans; cf. the figures on pp. 294 and 295, and the markings on ancient Egyptian pottery on p. 293, taken from De Morgan). As for No. 3 of Dr. Hunt's symbols, it differs from one of De Morgan's (p. 293 of

¹ See *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 167. Salamevan and Siri Sang-bo of Ceylon.

² I cannot resist the temptation in this connexion, of pointing out the analogy between the combinations of the consonants *nd* (cerebral) and *nd* (palatal), which are two of the few combinations permissible in Tamil. (Caldwell, 1913, p. 183), and the terminations *-ndos*, *-nthos* in certain Greek words and place-names in the Aegean area, which have been ascribed to non-Aryan and pre-Hellenic sources. This coincidence would be hardly worth noting but for the facts that a similar combination is distinctive of certain Etruscan names and words, and that, according to tradition, the Etruscans came from Asia Minor. (See H. R. Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 299, and other references to Krietschmer and Fick therein quoted; also Hogarth's *Ionica*, p. 103.)

Sergi) only in the absence of a vertical line from the apex downwards, while No. 6 is a replica of a sign which recurs on French dolmens (Sergi, 290).¹

It is rash to generalize from such slender data, but, if the script of a civilization which perished about 1000 B.C. was known in South India, we may have to revise our ideas as to the origin of both Brahmi and Vatteluttu.²

E. Ritual

(Sir Laurence Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*.)

In this little book, written in 1892, long before the Cretan discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans, Sir Laurence Gomme sought to show that the Folk-Lore of Great Britain comprised two strata of culture, Aryan and non-Aryan. The non-Aryan element he held to be identical with the culture of savages and with the non-Aryan culture of India. Two items he works out in some detail, viz., (1) the Cult of the Grāma-Dēvata and (2) Well-Worship.

(1) Grāma-Dēvata

After transcribing *in extenso* an account by Sir Walter Elliot of the festival of a village goddess in South India (p. 6) Gomme proceeds to give instances of the survival of analogous rites in various parts of England, and in the cult of Dionysus in Greece (p. 28). The rites he traces are these: (p. 34).

- (1) The decoration of the victim with garlands.
- (2) The killing of the victim by the community.
- (3) The place of the ceremony, on lands belonging to the community, and at a stone pillar.
- (4) The struggle for pieces of flesh by members of the community.
- (5) The time of the ceremony, before daybreak.
- (6) The sacred power of the piece of flesh.
- (7) The festivities preceding the ceremony.
- (8) The origin of the ceremony as a sacrifice to the god of waters.
- (9) The sanctity of the head of the sacrificed victim.
- (10) The procession of female votaries clad only in leaves, a ritual device for bringing rain common in India, the best known English analogy being the progress of Lady Godiva through the streets of Coventry (pp. 36-9).³

¹ Compare also the articles in *Encyclopædia Britannica* under *Alphabet* and *Etruria*.

² The script does not of course exhaust the archaeological evidence. For instance, the head-rest found by Bruce Foot at Narsipur in Mysore State (*Indian Prehistoric Antiquities*, 1916, p. 69), and the gold 'diadems' of Adittanallur (A. Rea, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*, 1915, p. 7 and plate I) are of distinctly of Mediterranean type. (See Hall *Aegean Archaeology*, 1916, p. 237) as is also the glazed pottery, black inside and red without, so common in the dolmen-tombs of South India. (Compare the types in Mr. Ræ's *Catalogue* with those on page 75 of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xi, s.v. *Egypt*). The whole question of the affinities of this 'prehistoric' South Indian Art, demands searching investigation.

³ See Hartland's *Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 70-92.

(2) Well Worship

In describing the various rites connected with the sacred wells in Great Britain, Gomme enunciates the following points: (p. 105).

A. The presiding deity is in England usually a saint, sometimes a fairy, but in Wales, Cornwall, Ireland and Scotland he gives instances of an animal *genius loci*; in some cases fish, in another a fly.

B. The offering in England is ordinarily a garland, but offerings of pins and coins are common in the West and North and also in Wales. While in the north-east of England, in Scotland and Ireland the practice prevails of hanging bits of rag to the bushes or trees that adjoin the wells. In one place in Wales a cock is offered, but not sacrificed, and in a Cornish case human sacrifice is indicated.

C. The 'Form of Worship' in the East and South-East of England, the Isle of Wight and the West Midlands is simple reverence for the sanctity of the well. In the West and North England, and in all the Celtic countries, the wells cure diseases, madness, epilepsy, sore-eyes, rickets, and in the same tracts the wells are frequented for the purposes of accomplishing the fulfilment of a wish, or for divining the future by bubbling (p. 89), by the direction in which a floating wooden dish revolves (p. 99), by the floating or sinking of a bit of rag (p. 84), by the survival or death of a cock (p. 87), or the movements of a fly (p. 100). In Ireland and Scotland the cult of wells is associated with the control of wind and rain, and in all the 'Celtic Fringe' the influence of Sun-Worship is evidenced by the practice of thrice circumambulating the sacred spot (well or stone) 'sun-wise.'

Other practices worthy of note are:—

- (1) Throwing water over a stone (pp. 86, 94).
- (2) Enforced silence (p. 99).
- (3) Taboo on looking backwards (p. 99).
- (4) Taboo on saluting any passer-by (p. 99).
- (5) Taboo on the vessel, in which the water is carried, touching the ground (p. 99).
- (6) Throwing the offering over the left shoulder (p. 99).

It should also be noted that some of the wells in the Celtic countries are in charge of an attendant (usually a wise woman) who plays the part of *pūjāri*.

Now Sir Laurence Gomme contends that the local distribution and variation of these customs indicates the extent to which Aryan influence has overridden non-Aryan culture; in the South and East of England and to a less extent in the West, the Midlands and the North, i.e., in what we may call the Teutonic area, the pre-historic cults are vague and shadowy, while in the Celtic Fringe they persist with greater vitality. His conclusions are vitiated,

however, by the fallacy that language indicates race. Nowhere, be it noted, does Sir Laurence discriminate between 'Celtic' and 'non-Aryan'. The 'Celts' of Britain speak languages as Aryan as that of the Teutons, but, if the Cranial Index means anything, they are of the Mediterranean stock, while Teutonic England is mainly of Nordic race. It is hardly necessary to point out to you that almost every one of the customs above enumerated is closely analogous to customs of other branches of the Mediterranean stock, and to those of the Dravidians.¹ What Sir Laurence has proved is, I think, that the Nordic invasions of Britain have overridden and weakened a culture which is identical with that of South India, the culture, in other words, of the Mediterranean Race.

I fear, however, that my hypothesis may be condemned as subversive of the prestige of the Aryan scriptures and of Indian civilization generally.

I submit for your consideration that its logical sequel should have quite the opposite effect.

In the first place, if the identity of the Dravidians with the Mediterranean Race be established, the civilization of India must be regarded as of Indian origin, and not an alien importation of Rig-Vedic times as is commonly supposed, and the term 'Hinduism' will not be the misnomer that current theories make it.

In the second place, my hypothesis implies that the multitudinous peoples of India possess far broader and stronger elements of racial unity than the theories accepted hitherto allow, a circumstance that should hearten those who aspire to national unity.

Thirdly, my theory involves kinship between the great mass of Indians and the greatest of all Human Races, the Race which has produced the cultures of Egypt, Assyria and Persia, of Greece, Rome and Arabia, and is the parent of all that is best in Western Europe.

Not one of these consequences can possibly be regarded as derogatory to India in any sense. But please do not imagine that I ask you to accept my theory as proved. To prove or disprove it is a task too vast for a paper like this. I am only toying with the fringe of the subject. Whether I am right or wrong, the fact remains that the cultures of India and the Mediterranean area, past and present alike, are characterized by a mass of facts which are common to both cultures, which date back to remote antiquity, and which were unknown alike to the Achaeans of Homer and the Aryas of the Rig Veda. I have indicated a possible grouping of these facts, a possible field for research. What I have propounded is not a dogma, but a hypothesis.

¹ Those who are sceptical on this point, I would refer to Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India*, in the light of Mr. Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* and of Mr. Thurston's works.

A FEW INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ANCIENT KINGS OF ANEGUNDI

BY R. SHAMA SASTRY, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

DURING the Christmas vacation of 1916, I paid a visit to the ruins of Anegundi, the scene of the once flourishing empire of Vijayanagar, and happening to see inscriptions carved on huge granite rocks, I took as good a copy of some of them as my unassisted eye could permit. It is probable that my reading of the inscriptions may be faulty here and there. Still I consider my time well spent and my trouble well rewarded, if it enables others to identify them more easily and take a correct impression of them, for which I had no necessary instruments.

The inscriptions, eleven in all, are given below together with a summary translation of each.

From the first of the inscriptions, it is evident that long before the Gajapati kings of Vijayanagar came on the scene, Hampe and Anegundi formed part of the famous Chalukya empire in the tenth century of the Christian era. From the second and third inscriptions, it is also clear that some Jaina kings ruled over those parts, though the dynasty to which the kings, Rayaraja and Narêndradêva, mentioned in the inscriptions, belonged cannot now be identified. The disagreement between the Vikrama era and the Cyclic year mentioned in the second and third inscriptions may be due to some mistake on the part of the carver or of the composer of them. Both from the style of the inscriptions and from the human figures, carved at the top of the inscriptions to represent, perhaps, the Tirthankaras of the Jains, it goes without saying that those inscriptions are of Jaina origin.

The rest of the inscriptions from IV to IX refer to the kings of the celebrated empire of Vijayanagar, and the last two appear to have originated from some ministers of Vijayanagar kings. Inscriptions are likely to be found to fill up the gap between the Chalukya and Jaina kings that ruled over Anegundi in the tenth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era. My thanks are due to Mr. B. Krishna Iyer, Private Secretary to the Raja Sahib of Anegundi, for pointing out the following inscriptions:—

I

On a prepared stone, now kept as a stepping stone to ascend from the Pampā tank to the Lakshmi temple two miles from Anegundi—

1. Svasti Samasta-bhuvanāśraya-Śrī pri
2. thvi-vallabha-mahārajādhirāja-parameśva
3. ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Satyāśraya
4. kulatilaka-Chalūkyābharāṇa-Śrīma
- ?
5. dāhavamalla devaru Tungabhadreya
6. tenkaṇa taḍiya Pampeya bidinalu
7. Samasta rājyapravardha māna-vija
8. Ya . . . tri . . . tāraparam . . .
9. . . . Sakavarsa 910 neya savvadāri samva
10. tsara maggasira su. I hongalāgi
11. maha
12. Matya padavivirājamāna—Śrī maha
13. Maṇṇa mayyangal
14.
15.
16. 11
- ?
17. 12 khandiya
18.
19.
20. . . . i dharmama alipida . . .
21.
- up to
32.

II

On a rock to the north-east of Krishnarāya Mantapa of sixty-four pillars in the midst of the Tungabhadra river where it flows to the north in Anegundi.

1. Svasti Śrī Vikrama sam 1274 neya nan-
2. dana samvatsarada vaiśakha Śu 10 Manga-
3. lavāradalu Śrīmadrājādhirāja guru
4. Mangalāchāryaru pūjya Śrī lalitaki
- ?
5. rti badhara kālagutti Sakarandrama
6. sihdha samsiddhi hondidaru.

III

On a rock to the right of the stonesteps leading to the cave temple of Ranganātha in Anegundi.

1. Svasti Śrī Vikrama Varsa 1288 neya rakkasa samvatsarra Śrāva
2. na sudda 1 lu Śrīmāla sandarsanaguṇa granyarāda
3. Śrī narendra devarugala priya bandhugalu manaya
- ?
4. da laja ja . . . ra Maniyada Gautamarayara
5. Nisadi

IV

On a rock on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river and to the left of the road leading to Anegundi after crossing the river.

1. Svasti Śrī vijayottunga Śālavāhaśakāntare
2. Chandrānalanabhoveda sakhyābdeshvati pātishu
3. Rudhīrodgarīnamābde Mahodayavidhūdaye
- ?
4. Vādanyebhe deka sapatmya subhe
5. Kumārakampa bhūpālāḥ Śrīmān hariharātmajaḥ
- ?
6. Vyadatta Tungabhadrayaḥ Sopanasamatikramam

V

On a rock on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river and to the south of Mahishāsura mardini temple in Chintamani in Anegundi.

1. Kāri samvatsarada margasira-su-
- ?
2. Āiana maga immaḍi Kabadevara devarige
3. Siddhi

VI

On a prepared stone in a paddy field to the left of the road leading to Gangavati from Anegundi.

1. Svasti Vijayadya-sa
2. kavarusha 1358 ne
3. samvatsarada baya-
4. sakha I Mangalavarada
5. lu Śrīmadrājādhirāja
6. rājaparamēśvara Vira
7. prauḍha pratāpa devara
8. ya

9. Mīs araganda rayaru
10.
11. A-
12. neya gundiya baya-
13. rava devarige appisida
14. Mangala mahā

VII

On a prepared stone in a paddy field to the right of the road leading to Gangāvati from Anegundi.

1. Śubhamastu
2. Namstunga śirśchumbi chandra chāmara chārave.
3. Trilokya nagarārambha mūlasambhāya Śambhave
4. Svasti Śrijayabhyu
5. daya Śalivahana Śaka varsha
6. 1455 neya Vyijaya samvatsarada
7. Jyeshtha Śu 15 lu
8. Śrīmanmahā rājadhira
9. ja rāja paramēśvara Śrīvira
10. pratāpa Achyuta devarā
11. ya mahārāyaru prithivī
12. rājyam geyuttiralu
13. Anegundiya māguniya
14. Timmarasayya navaru pu-
15. nyatithiyalu Achyuta
16. rayarige punya vāgubeken-
17. du Śrī mahesana gudige
18. naivedyake gudiya baliya
19. na volannu biṭṭu
20. koṭṭu ī Āṇa
21. barasidaru
22. katti moharu

VIII

On a rock on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river and to the left of the road leading to Anegundi after crossing the river.

1. Svasti Śrijaya Śalivāha śakasam
2. 1478 neya Ānanda samvatsara baya
3. sa śul. guru Śrīmantara Śrī sadāsiva
4. rayaru

IX

On a rock to the left of the road leading to Mallapur and other villages from Anegundi.

1. Śvasti Śrijayavijayābhyudaya-Śalivāhana Śaka varusha 1481 neya Virodhi samvatsarada.
2. Chayatra-ba-5 lu Srimanmahā maṇḍaleśvara Rāmarāja Tirumala-rāja devaru.
3. . . . Jangamyā namātha . . . Anegundiya maganiya Ramaghaṇṭige.
4.
5.
6. . . . innūru honnugalige holannu
7.
8.
9. . . . Aravattigeya dharma
10.
11.

X

On a rock near the head sluice of the dam across the Tungabhadra by the deserted village, Shāṇāpūr.

1. Viśvāvasu samvatsarada
2. Margasira-śu 8-Nara-
3. sanāyakaru sidda
4. devarige mādisida
5. mānyakke āru Varāha
6.
7. maha sannadu

XI

On a rock in a paddy field to the left of the road leading to Shāṇāpūr and close to Ānjaneya-gudda.

1. Śubhamastu
2. Svabhanu Samvatsarada Margasira
3. ba 6. budhavaradalu Śrīmahā.
4. Anjanā dēviya Hanumanta devanige
5. Anegundiya haniya Nāgaṇṇa devaru
6. Vanduva binnaha Anjanadevi Hanumanta devara
7. Anuta parige bhatamanyada dara
8. Rāmāpurada ūra holada kolaga 18
9. . . . khandagada manya bhūmiya

10.	.	.	.	dāreya neradu
11.	.	.	.	.
12.	.	.	.	.
13.	.	.	.	.
14.	.	.	.	.
15.	.	.	.	.
16.	.	.	.	.
17.	.	.	.	barada sanuda naya.

TRANSLATION

I

Peace! The refuge of the whole world, the lord of the earth, Mahā-
rajādhirāja parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka, the ornament of the family of
Satyāśaya, Āhavanalladeva of the Chalūkyā dynasty, by Pampe on the
southern bank of the Tungabhadra river, the first day of the light half of the
month of Mārgaśīra of the year, Sarvadhāri of the Śaka era 910 having elapsed,
made a land grant to his prime minister Maṇṇamayya.

II

Peace! On the tenth day of the light half of the month of Vaiśākha of
the year Nandana of Vikrama era 1274, the Venerable Maṅgālāchārya
Lalitakīrti, the teacher of Rāyarāja, attained to heaven.

III

Peace! On the first day of the light half of the month of Srāvaṇa of the
year Rākṣaśa of the Vikrama era 1288, the leader of those who are capable
of witnessing the Śrīmūla, a close relation of Narendradeva
attained to heaven.

IV

Peace! There having elapsed 1304 years in the era of Śālivāhana, head-
ed by Vijaya, on the seventh day of the light of the month of
the year, Rudhīrodgāri, Prince Kampa bhūpāla, the son of Harihara, provided
the Tungabhadra river with stepping stones.

V

On the first day of the light half of the month, Mārgaśīra of the year
Vikāri, Kapadeva, the second, the son of Ājana, attained to heaven.

VI

Peace! On Tuesday, the first date of the month of Vaiśākha of the year(?)
of 1358 of the Śaka era, Rajādhirājarāparameśvara-Vira prauḍhapratāpa
devaraya made a land grant to God Bhairava of Ānegundi.

VII

Be it well! Obeisance to Śambhu, beautiful with the fly-brush in the
form of the moon on his elevated head, and the foundation pillar in the
construction of a city composed of the three worlds. Peace! Of the year 1455
of the era of Vijāyabhyudaya Śālivāhana, on the fifteenth day of the light half
of the month, Jyeshṭha of the year, Vijaya, Mahārājādhirājarāja parameśvara
Śrīvīrapratāpa, Achyutadevarāya being the ruler of the earth, Timmarasayya
of Ānegundi, on an auspicious date, for the wellbeing of Achyuta devaraya
made a land grant for the worship of God Mahesa.

VIII

Peace! In the year 1478 of Śālivāhana, on Thursday, the first day of the
light half of the month of Vaiśākha of the year of Ānanda Sri, Sadāśivarāya

IX

Peace! In the year 1481 of the Śaka era of Jayabhyudaya Śālivāhana,
on the fifth day of the dark half of Chaitra of the year, Virodhi, Mahāmanda-
leśvara, Rāmaraya and Tīrūmaladevarāya made a land grant for the purpose
of distributing water, etc., to passengers.

X

On the eighth day of the light half of the month of Mārgaśīra of the
year, Viśvāvasu, Narasanāyaka made a land grant of six Varāhas in value for
the worship of the god, Siddha

XI

Be it well! On the sixth day of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīra
of the year, Svabhānu, for the worship of Hanumantadeva of Anjanādevī,
Nāgaṇṇadeva of Ānegundi submissively made a land grant of eighteen Kolagas
in value

THE HOYSALA EMPIRE

BY S. SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

FIRST PART

THE Hoysalas or Hoysala-Ballalas were a Kannada line of kings ruling at one time considerably more than the whole of modern Mysore with Dórasamudra for their capital. They were also called the Yadavas of Dórasamudra in contradistinction to the Yádavas of Devagiri. These Yádavas or Yádava-Ballalas probably came from the north and settled among the hill-tribes in the Western Ghats (Malepas); gradually conquered them and assumed the title of Maleparolgonda (lord among the Malepas); then advancing from the Ghats slowly extended their territory in the east and, about the commencement of the eleventh century had acquired some territory.

Early in the eleventh century, the Cholas under Rajendra Chola in the reign of Raja Raja the Great, entering their country with a powerful army, drove the Gangas from their territories to seek protection of the Hoysalas. About the same time the Pallavas also being subdued, the Cholas remained the sole important power in the country surrounding Mysore that threatened the onward march of the Hoysalas. But even the Cholas could not long contend for supremacy single-handed with the advancing Hoysalas who, in course of time, expelled them from Mysore, establishing themselves there in the beginning of the twelfth century.

For more than a hundred years after their rise to power, the Hoysalas preferred to be feudatories of the western Chalukyas. The Hoysala inscriptions from Vinayáditya to Vira-Ballala II acknowledge their allegiance to the Chalukyas. Vinayáditya, Vishnuvardhana and Narasimha I were rulers of 'Gangavadi Ninety-six Thousand' under them and Ereyanga was also a general in the western Chalukya army. There is abundant evidence of the yeomen service rendered by these rulers who called themselves 'Mahámandalesvarás' to the western Chálukyas in their wars against the Chólas early in the eleventh century.

Dr. Fleet says that the Hoysalas were at first feudatories of the Kalachuryas and mentions that some inscriptions of their kings Sankama and Ahavamalla exist at Halebid (Kanarese Dynasties, p. 64). In 1177 Vira-Ballala II was unsuccessful in the war against Sankama. In 1179 a battle is

recorded between the Hoysalas and the Kalachuryas. But by 1184, Brahma, a general of the Kalachurya army, was signally defeated by Ballála Deva and the Kalachuryas had disappeared from the history of South India. No inscriptions of Sankama and Ahavamalla are to be found at Halebid, nor do the Hoysalas anywhere in their inscriptions acknowledge Kalachurya supremacy. It is worthy of remark that even in this period there is evidence from the inscriptions of a tacit, if formal, acceptance by the Hoysalas of Chálukyan overlordship. Besides, Sankama and Ahavamalla were kings only in name and contemporaries of the greatest of the Hoysala kings—Vira-Ballála, who extended the Hoysala Empire in all directions and threw off even his shadowy allegiance to the Chálukyas. He is sometimes described as 'an impetuous Ballála sweeping down from the Ghats and succeeding in subverting the ancient dynasties of the plains.' He was the first Hoysala king to be styled 'Emperor of the South.' If to this is added the fact that the Kalachuryas reigned in the south for a very short period, viz. between A.D. 1151 and 1182, it is least likely that when the Kalachuryas conquered the western Chálukyas, the Hoysalas were obliged to submit to them, even temporarily, as suggested by Dr. Fleet and also by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.¹

It is important for us to remember that, after the western Gangas, the Hoysalas are the only indigenous and powerful dynasty in Mysore whose power and influence was felt between the River Krishna and Setu. For instance, according to Belur 77, Vira-Ballála 'moistened his sword with the blood of the Pandya King, whetted it on the grindstone the head of Bhillama and sheathed it in the mouth of Jaitugi' while, according to Arsikere 23 and 104, 'on the east he had shaken Kanchi, on the west he had made the ocean roar, while the great Chera country rose up and fled and the whole of the Pandya kings took refuge in forests entering even those with fear.' Vishnuvardhana was the 'preserver of his country from the Chólas' and Ereyanga 'trampled down the Malwa army, burnt Dhara and laid it in ruins, dragged down Chóla and plundered his camp, broke and ruined Kalinga' (Sravana-Belgola 464).

The Hoysala dynasty reigned according to the Telingana Records for eighty-seven years. Their genealogical list as furnished by Capt. Mackenzie extends from A.D. 1077 to 1313. Dr. Buchanan's informant at Halebid says that Belál-Rayana and his successors, nine in all, ruled for ninety-eight years above and below the Ghats, and for another 111 years below the Ghats, on the whole for two centuries. The Channabasava kalajana begins with Hoysala Ballála Ráya in A.D. 984 and ends with Vira-Narasimha in A.D. 1309, thus covering a period of over 300 years. According to *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii, p. 131, 'from Saka 777 (Bháva) Hoysala Ballála kings were Jaina Kshatriyas ruling

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. ii, p. 120.

over Hoysala country' and Saka 777 corresponds to the year 855 of the Christian era. Another authority says that 'Hoysala Ballálas arose on the ruins of Kongu kings' (*L.A.M.*, vol. ii, p. 161) and 'they conquered Kongu Desa in A.D. 1080' (*Ibid.*, p. 189). Saka 995, Sobhakritu (A.D. 1073) would be the year when Sala came from the north to Sasakapuri and founded the empire if we are to trust the account given in the Halebid Kaifyyat, a Kanarese manuscript in the Oriental Library, Madras. The one reliable, historical evidence, viz. the inscriptions, so far as they are available to us, range from A.D. 1022 to 1348, the earliest historical mention of the Hoysalas being that of a Chóla grant of A.D. 1004. Unquestionably, then, the Hoysalas ruled for over three centuries.

SALA

The founder of the Hoysala dynasty was Sala, of the Yadu race and Soma Vamsa. By identifying 'Hoysala Ballala Raya' with Sala, Channabasavakalajñana apparently says that he reigned from A.D. 984 to 1043. Although the precise date of this king is not yet determined, the name cannot be mythical. The traditional account of the Hoysalas given in the Halebid Kaifyyat is that Sala came from the north in Saka 995, Sobhakritu and settled at Śāsakapuri (Angadi, Mudigere Taluq), two miles from the ruins of an ancient capital of the Yadavas. Madhusudana, a descendant of the Yadava Krishna, left Indraprastha in Saka 890 (Pingala) on a pilgrimage to Ramesvara, and halted for a day near Halebid. In the night Pushpagiri Mallikārjunaswāmi appeared before him in a dream and asked him to build a town and stay there. This he did and called it Dváravathi after his own city in the north. While he was ruling here, in Saka 920, Sarvajitu, the king died owing to a curse of Rishi Sringa and the fort went into ruins. We might treat this as a cock-and-bull story inasmuch as Sasakapuri is very far from Halebid and the ruins can only be identified with Dorasamudra because of the specific reference to the Pushpagiri Mallikārjunaswāmi near modern Halebid or the ancient Dórasamudra while Saka 995, Sobhakritu given as the date for Sala is clearly an afterthought in the light of the historical testimony in the shape of the inscriptions going as far back as Saka 944 and even Saka 922. Whether the name of Madhusudhana is mythical or based on historic fact cannot possibly be said. The exploits of one Madhusudhana, a feudatory of the Chálukya Trailokyamalla (A.D. 1042 to 1068) are described in an inscription at Nagai in the Nizam's dominions. On the occasion of the *Uttarayana Sankranti* on Tuesday, the fifth lunar day in the dark fortnight of Pushya of Subhakrit (Saka 984) he is said to have obtained a gift of some lands and, proceeding on his journey, to have encamped on his way for many days at Benneyadandu. If the Madhusudhana mentioned in the Halebid Kaifyyat were to be identified with this Madhusudhana of the inscriptions, we have to account

for the difference of fifty-four years in their respective dates; if, on the other hand, we were to identify the Madhusudhana of the inscription with Sala, the Kaifyyat is eleven years later in dates and there are also other inscriptions belonging to the descendants of Sala of earlier date, for instance, an inscription of Nripa Kama Hoysala belonging to the year A.D. 1022.

Another record of the same place belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla says that Bachiraja slew the Dhóra and Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar suggests whether this is the Hoysala King Dhóra that is referred to. I am not aware of any Hoysala King of that name. There was a Rashtrakuta King, Dhóra who had imprisoned a powerful Ganga King, and I find Kanarese Poets mentioning King Dhóra *Dore-roya Dore-royana-Sabheyolu* and the like. If it can be discovered that there was a Hoysala King by the name of Dhóra, this find will be a landmark in the history of South India. It will clear up the mystery surrounding the origin of Dórasamudra and to me, personally, the discovery will be most welcome as it fits in with my theory of the origin of the Hoysala Capital, that it was named after a King Dhóra, possibly the Rashtrakuta King of that appellation and not as Dvárasmudra or Dvaravathi as it is attempted to be made out by the learned in the subject.

The name Hoysala is pronounced in a variety of ways as, Hoysana, Hoysala, Poysana; in Tamil Hoyichala, Pochala and even Háychala. The origin of the name and the adoption of the Tiger as the dynastic emblem of the Hoysalas are variously explained; but, according to the account given in the inscriptions, it is briefly thus:—'While Sudatta, a Siddhamuni of the prosperous town of Śāsakapuri (Śasaka = hare, puri = town) was one day making penance in the Vasanti temple, he happened to notice his royal pupil Sala observe a hare being pursued by a tiger and, apprehending an attack, he ordered Sala to kill it—"Adam poy Sala". Sala immediately pounced upon the tiger and with his iron rod or cane slew it. Then, hoisted upon the Seje, the tiger swinging on the point of the rod looked so wonderful that it became his banner and the famous Sala became celebrated in the world under the name "Hoysala".' Out of gratitude for this timely rescue, Sudatta permitted Sala to collect from the villagers one fanam (= 4a. 8p.) for every kandy of grain produced and to raise an army therewith, while he himself prayed to the Goddess Padmavathi, hereafter known as Vasantika, to bestow a kingdom on Sala.

There are but few glimpses of Sala himself and his deeds in the inscriptions. Some persons, of course, call him a raja, others represent him as a cowherd. According to a few others, he was a village headman who undertook to protect the villagers from the dreaded animal which rendered their life insecure and carried away their sheep and cattle, demanding in return an annual subsidy of a quarter fanam on every kandy of grain grown by the villagers which was gradually increased to fourteen fanams. With the money thus collected he raised a force and, in course of time, founded Śāsakapuri and

established his power. As Capt. Mackenzie suggests, he was probably a Zamindar in the Carnatic under the Chólas. By prudence and ability, he slowly carved unto himself a virtually independent kingdom and became the founder of a dynasty.

NRIPAKAMA

Sala was succeeded by Nripakama who must have reigned for at least seven years. Inscriptions of his bear the dates A.D. 1022 to 1027. A few inscriptions insert a certain Kári between Sala and Vinayádivya while a number of inscriptions mention Káma as the successor of Sala and as the father of Vinayádivya. Possibly Kári was another name for Sala.

There is evidence of Káma's achievements in the field of conquest. In 1022 he repelled an attack on his capital by Kannama, a general of the Kongalva King of Coorg and neighbouring territories in Mysore. In 1026 this Kongalva, who was a Chola feudatory, again attacked Káma at Manne and claimed a victory over this 'base poysala.' It is also stated that about 1023 the Hoysalas overthrew the Kongu kings and seized their territories. If this be true, it was probably Káma that effected this conquest. In 1027 we find him going to the help of Banavase. According to Mg. 19, an Uggihalli inscription belonging to his seventh year, he was *Raja permadi yenipa nripa Kama Hoysala*—King Kama Hoysala, styled Raja permadi. The latter is a Ganga title and it is inexplicable how he came by it unless he was the son of a Ganga princess or had conquered the Gangas assuming their title.

Káma was the patron of Echiga, the father of the famous general Ganga Raja who captured Talakad.

VINAYADITYA

Nripakáma's son Vinayádivya is the first Hoysala King of whom some definite account can be gleaned from the inscriptions. His reign extended from A.D. 1060 to 1098, possibly 1100 according to the inscriptions. It is not impossible that he began to reign as early as A.D. 1047 and continued as a crown prince for about a dozen years.

Vinayádivya was born in Śaśakapuri. After becoming king he ruled from there. He was a feudatory of the western Chálukya King Vikramádivya VI and also a general in his army. He finally subdued the Malepas, assuming the title of *Maleparoluganda*. He is often described as the establisher of the Hoysalas'. Conquest and expansion of the Hoysala kingdom began with him and within a few years of his accession, he had considerably extended his dominions. As early as 1062 Vinayádivya was governing Gangavadi 96,000, his son Ereyanga being associated with him. It is said that the Hoysala Ballalas conquered the Kongu *desa* in A.D. 1080;¹ possibly this conquest will

¹ L.A.M., vol. ii, p. 161.

have to be attributed to Vinayádivya. In his reign the kingdom of the Hoysalas comprised all that lay between South and North Kanara, Talakad (under the Chólas), Heggadadevanakóté (Mysore District) and Savimale (in Dharwar). Vinayádivya was ruler of one half of the Ganga empire with the other half under the Chólas. He was a terror to his neighbours and was looked upon as a giant crushing every one who ventured to withstand his aggressions. This is probably the explanation of the name Rakkasa Poysala on his banner after 1062. Mr. Rice, however, suggests that it may refer to a connexion with the Ganga King Rakkasa, but with great respect, it has to be pointed out that the appearance of this name on the king's banner after he began to govern Gangavadi can only be explained in the way I have suggested.

His wife Keleyabbe, by bringing about the marriage of her sister with Dandanayaka Mariyane, in 1039, established a close relationship between the Hoysala kings and the family of Mariyane. This alliance which was cemented time and again by further marriages was of very great political importance in the succeeding generations. The Mariyanes became lords of Sindigere and trusted ministers and generals of the Hoysala kings. The Hoysala kings were also related to their Suzerain, the Chalukya Sómesvara Trailokya-malla (A.D. 1040 to 1069) whose queen in A.D. 1047 was a princess Hoysala Mahadevi.

EREYANGA

Vinayádivya's son was Ereyanga. It is difficult to say whether he ruled as king at all. If, as Mr. Rice says, Vinayádivya reigned till A.D. 1100, then Ereyanga was all through his life a Yuvaraja and never King. Chennabasava-Kalajñana says that he ruled between A.D. 1073 and 1114 but this date, though adopted by Mr. Fergusson in determining the age of Belur and Halebid temples, is not authentic. Vinayádivya reigned till Saka 1010, i.e. (A.D. 1088) according to the Halebid Kaifyyat; if so, Ereyanga must have been king. But whether Ereyanga is the Anganrupala referred to as the son of Vinayádivya, born in Saka 1048 it is not possible to say even though he is referred to as the father of Ballala, Vishnuvardhana and Ádivya because Saka 1048 corresponds to A.D. 1126. An inscription (Kd 142) represents him as a Yuvaraja till A.D. 1095 while according to another inscription (Cn 148) he was ruling in 1093. The latter must have been as a Yuvaraja considering that inscriptions only after 1094 call him an emperor with the usual Hoysala titles. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri says: 'Ereyanga ruled probably from 1095 to the earliest date known for him as Yuvaraja to 1100'.¹ If Vinayádivya reigned till A.D. 1098 or 1100 and his son Ballala I ruled from A.D. 1100 or 1101 to 1106, we will have to take it that Ereyanga was not Mahamardalesvara but only Yuvaraja

¹ Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. ii, p. 116.

as suggested by Mr. Rice, although it should be noted that 'Tribhuvanamalla Poysala' should be interpreted more as a royal designation referring either to the father, son or grandson rather than specifically to Vinayaditya though he was, as a matter of fact, called 'Tribhuvanamalla'. Existence of inscriptions in Ereyanga's name is then accounted for by the fact that, in olden times, as we know right up even to the days of the Moghuls, it was usual for the Yuvaraja, after attaining majority, to take part directly in the administration of the country, by assuming charge of the governance of some distant province. He would be known as prince, raja or king. Of course, it is not uncommon that this prince has questioned the authority of the sovereign as we see later even in Hoysala history and there would be virtually two kings in the land at one and the same time. This certainly causes great confusion in determining the dates of these rulers and explains the uncertainty of dates in the Indian chronology.

Ereyanga led victorious expeditions to Malwa, Chola and Kalinga kingdoms. Dhara, Capital of Malwa, was captured. Jagaddeva, the Santara King of Patti Pombuchcha or Hombucha attacked the Hoysala in Dorasamudra itself but was repulsed and driven back by the three sons of Ereyanga. His army was destroyed, the central ornament of his necklace and his treasury being taken.

About A.D. 1094 Ereyanga was governing Gangamandala, probably as a crown prince, where he gave a grant to his guru Gopanandi. He was the right-hand man of the Chalukya King Vikrama and, as a general in his army, subdued the Cholas and put down other powerful kings. He is said to have made the Chola King 'to wear leaves'. Could it be that he conquered the other half of the Gangavadi which was now in the possession of the Cholas?

His wife Echala Devi, a Chola princess of the Solar race, bore him three sons, the second of whom Vishnuvardhana shed a lustre upon the whole dynasty.

BALLALA I

On the death of Ereyanga, his eldest son Ballala I succeeded to the Hoysala Kingdom but his reign was short. Inscriptions of his extend from A.D. 1101 to 1106. Immediately after ascending the throne he said to have paid a visit in A.D. 1100 to Sasakapuri, the original home and capital of the dynasty. This probably means that, after Sala, Sasakapuri was only nominally a Hoysala capital while the kings generally resided in the important city of Belur.

In A.D. 1103 he married, in one day, the three accomplished daughters of Mariyane and confirmed the old grant of Sindigere to his father-in-law. This Mariyane was the second of that name of Dandanayakas and the marriage alliances in the succeeding reigns between this trusted family of ministers, generals and treasurers and the kings continued.

In A.D. 1104 Ballala I led an expedition against Chandalva Deva. Jagaddeva is said to have suffered a defeat at his hands. Possibly this campaign is the one referred to in the previous reign. The ability and vigilance with which Ballala administered his territories thwarted the ambitious schemes of his suzerain Jagadekamalla and the neighbouring rulers against him.

VISHNUVARDHANA

On the death of Ballala I, his younger brother Vishnuvardhana (Bittideva) became king. His reign is in marked contrast with the uneventful and practically unimportant reigns of his predecessors. The times of Vishnuvardhana are politically of momentous importance in the fortunes of the Hoysala dynasty. One of the greatest of them, Vishnu stands out pre-eminently as a most important character in South Indian History. Having rescued the country from the Cholas and established the independence of his dynasty, he bequeathed a large, powerful and united kingdom to his successors.

As regards the date of his accession to the throne, according to an inscription (Kd. 164) he was ruling in A.D. 1100. With Channabasavakalajana, Mr. Fergusson says that his reign commenced in A.D. 1114 and ended in A.D. 1145. Inscriptions of his range between A.D. 1101 and 1141 or 1145. Strangely enough, Mr. Venkayya supported by Mr. Sewell gives his dates as A.D. 1115 and 1137. According to Mr. Krishna Sastri and Hn. 114, it may be safely presumed that Vishnuvardhana's rule extended from A.D. 1106 to at least A.D. 1139. As inscriptions of Ballala extend up to A.D. 1104 and even A.D. 1106, might it not be that Vishnu was joint ruler or crown prince between the year A.D. 1101 and 1104 or 1106? According to Cm. 96 Vishnu died in 1141 at Bankapura, his body being removed to Mudigere. But, this cannot be reconciled with a later inscription of A.D. 1144 which mentions an engagement between Permadi I and Vishnu. We may take it, under these circumstances that he was associated with Ballala I between A.D. 1101 and 1106 as Yuvaraja and afterwards reigned as king till A.D. 1141, if not longer.

Even before his accession to the throne, as a crown prince, Vishnu had taken a prominent part in the wars with Jagaddeva and other neighbouring princes. These wars had filled him with great ambition and he now evinced great interest in extending the Hoysala dominion taking active steps therefor.

The first necessary step to begin an era of conquest was a secure and fortified capital. Belur gave place to Dorasamudra which had been for a very long time an important centre. A strong fort was built and Dorasamudra was rendered fairly impregnable.

Taking A.D. 1106 as the date of his accession, for about a decade after becoming king, Vishnu did not enter upon his career of conquest. Probably the fortifications of his capital, the arrangement for the internal administra-

tion of his little state and the recruitment and training of his army engaged his attention during this period. It is worthy of note that his conquests began after his conversion to Vaishnavism in A.D. 1116. This fact coupled with traditional authorities must have induced Messrs. Venkayya and Sewell, and Mr. Ferguson before them, to adopt the year A.D. 1114 for his reign. Explanation of Vishṇu's silence for a dozen years after his accession is thus dispensed with and the existence of inscriptions in the period referring to him is easily accounted for as relating to his Viceroyalty as crown prince. It may possibly be that in his change of religion lies the probable explanation of his keeping quiet for a dozen years. Considering that his conversion was partly the outcome of some domestic troubles and that Vishṇu took an active part in the religious controversies of the time, it may be contended that his zeal for Vaishnavism after his conversion in A.D. 1116 must have formed an additional force which gave expression to his forward policy. No doubt love of military glory and a desire to throw off the yoke of subordination to the western Chálukyas were in themselves sufficient motives to spur him on to an aggressive wave of conquest. He was, however, also surrounded, on all sides, by Jain principalities against whom his victorious armies were led with the supposed intent to convert or destroy their little chiefs. Once he began, wave after wave of conquest followed, and Vishṇu carried it on in right earnest, as it were, for its own sake. His overmastering passion for conquest made him in a very short time the master of one-half of the Chóla kingdom, the Nilgiris and South and North Kanara. Indeed he had grown so powerful by A.D. 1122 that he led an army against his suzerain, the great Vikramāditya himself.

Vishṇuvardhana first turned his attention to the adjoining province of Gangavadi under the Chólas. The Ganga Empire had long ceased to exist as a separate entity. The western portion of the empire was conquered by Vinayāditya and absorbed into his dominions; while the eastern half had fallen into the hands of the Chólas. It has been observed that the Gangas had at one time been forced by the Chólas to seek protection of the Hoysalas. Then there was, as we know, some existing relationship between the Gangas and the Hoysala rulers. But more than either of these, the Hoysalas regarded themselves as the natural and rightful successors of the Gangas in Mysore. Under these circumstances, Vishṇu would not tolerate the continuance of Gangavadi as a Chóla province and was bent upon exterminating the Chólas at the first opportunity that presented itself. Ganja Raja, a famous general of Vishṇuvardhana, marched against Talakad, the capital of Gangavadi, routed the Chólas and burnt it. The Chólas were driven out of Mysore. Narasingavarman (probably a Pallava prince), Adiyama and other Chóla feudatories in South Mysore were forced to seek refuge elsewhere. Thenceforth, Talakadu became one of Vishṇu's capitals and he assumed the

title of Talakadukonda (capturer of Talakadu). A number of inscriptions refer to him hereafter, i.e. after A.D. 1116 as Viraganga without even mentioning his name. Mr. Rice suggests that the conquest of Chóla Gangavadi, enabled him to assume his independence and in E.C. IV, 19 that '1116 is the date when he assumed the dignity practically of an independent king.' However, after this conquest in A.D. 1116, Vishṇu was also known as Bhujabala Viraganga or Viraganga simply. In the same year Kolar, which was another of the famous Ganga capitals, was made the centre from which he effected his eastern conquests.

In the same period, Lakkigundi in Dharwar was subjugated. In A.D. 1116 (Cm. 99) a general Chāma Dēva, a son of the Orissa King, Chóla Ganga and born in the Mysore country, attacked the Pandyas of Uchchangi and defeated them in a battle at Dumme, on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts. In A.D. 1117 took place the conquest of the Nilgiris by Punisa Raja, another of Vishṇu's generals. The mention of his having frightened the Todavars first introduces their name into history. 'About this period or possibly before A.D. 1111-2 Vishṇuvardhana defeated King Somesvara and captured his capital Chakragotta, identified to be in the Bastar State in the Central Provinces.'¹

An inscription of A.D. 1117 (Ch. 83) describes him as ruling in peace in Talakad and Kolar having under his sole umbrella the kingdom of the Gangavadi 96,000 including Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore). The extent of the Hoysala dominions in 1117 is described as follows:—East—Lower Ghat, Nanguli (Mulbagal Taluq, Kolar District); South—Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore), Cheram (Cochin and Travancore) and Anaimalai; West—Baraknur (South Canara) and the Ghats of Konkan; North—Savimalai. Another inscription gives the southern limits as Rāmesvara (Ak. 30) while, according to Hn. 119 the empire of the Hoysalas was surrounded by the three oceans on east, west and south, the Heddore forming the northern boundary. At all events, it may safely be assumed that the empire at this period comprised the whole of the present province of Mysore, Coorg, the District of Dharwar and at least a portion of the Bellary District.

Several other victorious expeditions were directed from Talakad. Nalambavadi was subdued temporarily at least in A.D. 1118. By 1128 it had been absorbed as an integral part of the Hoysala country as evidenced by the appellation of Nalambavadiganda assumed by the Hoysala ruler. King Irungola who claimed to be of Chóla descent and had his capital at Henjira (Hemavathi, Anantapur District) was forced to submit. The conquest of Rodda (on the River Pennar in the Anantapur District) is also ascribed to this period. These conquests being completed Vishṇu left Talakad in A.D. 1118 and lived at Dōrasamudra.

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. ii, p. 118.

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In the interval after his return to Dórasamudra and before he undertook to wage his war of independence against his suzerain, Vishṇu seems to have been occupied in organizing the administration of the conquered territories. The army must also have been strengthened and trained further in order to be placed on an efficient footing for the emergencies of his epoch-making enterprise. In a couple of years, after taking some breathing time on the completion of his extensive conquests, he commenced his aggressive campaigns against the suzerain power, of the western Chálukyas, campaigns which extended off and on till the time of his grandson Vira-Ballala II.

Attention may be called to the fact that even as early as the times of Ereyanga, attempts had been made to become independent of the Chálukyas and Vishṇu and his brothers had taken no small part in this affair. The attack of the Santara chief Jagaddeva on the Hoysala capital at that period suggests as though the Hoysala ruler was a disturbing element and, an obedient feudatory as Jagaddeva was, he was instructed to march on Dórasamudra. Possibly, Vishṇuvardhana with his brother Ballala and the Kakatiya King Prōla against both of whom Jagaddeva, on behalf of Vikramāditya VI had led his armies, were some of the unruly subordinates who were adventurous enough to attempt to throw off the imperial yoke. Vishṇu was supposed 'to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Malava, Jagaddeva and others sent by the emperor (*chakrin*)'.¹ Again in 1116, Vishṇu had driven away the Chálukya army which had encamped at Kannegala (near Hassan). Evidently, the Chálukyas had attempted to humble the refractory ruler of the Hoysalas when his attention was elsewhere directed but had failed. These little successes, small as they were, had filled Vishṇu's ambitious soul with an ever-increasing passion to throw off the Chálukyan overlordship and declare himself independent. After his preparations were complete, in A.D. 1122 Vishṇuvardhana marched against his master Vikrama VI and attacked him but suffered a reverse at the hands of his general Achugi Deva II. Vishṇu, however, showed great valour in battle which excited admiration and wonder in the hostile camp. Vikramāditya himself was so much struck by the energy displayed that he complimented the mighty king of the Hoysalas with the remark—'Know that of all kings, Hoysala is alone unconquerable.' Nothing daunted by this defeat, Vishṇu fitted out another expedition and resumed his attacks within a year. However, he was not destined to achieve his most cherished desire—to free himself from the Chálukyan overlordship—but his repeated attacks overpowered the Chálukyas gradually and led to their final overthrow by his grandson Vira-Ballala. The western Chálukyas appear to have tried their utmost to keep the Hoysala ruler in check, for evidently Vishṇu continued his attacks till practi-

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. ii, p. 117.

cally his last days. In A.D. 1144 a Sinda feudatory of Jagadekamalla II, named Permadi I, appears to have 'seized the royal power of the Hoysalas, penetrated into his mountain passes, besieged the city of Dórasamudra, pursued him as far as Belur which he took and followed him beyond that.'¹

These expeditions had, however, one immediate result. The Hoysala dominions were extended in the north and comprised the territory lying between the rivers Tungabhadra and the Krishna, the latter of which long remained its northern boundary. The king is even described by an inscription of A.D. 1125 as ruling the country from the Krishna as far as the Southern Ocean with his capital at Talakad. Vishṇu must have experienced considerable difficulties in consolidating these conquests. His hold on these territories was temporary and it was only after repeated campaigns that his grandson Vira-Ballala II was able finally to amalgamate them with the Hoysala empire. As mentioned above, Jagadekamalla II, the successor of Vikrama resisted its occupation by the Hoysala as that would certainly endanger his own position as a western Chálukya King and the overlord of the Hoysala and led a series of expeditions into the Hoysala country, at one time, even pursuing Vishṇu as far as Dórasamudra and Belur.

In A.D. 1134, Vishṇu's general Boppa Deva subdued the Kongus. They had been defeated by Nripakāma and Vinayāditya before but occupying the hilly country round the Nilgiris and on the fringe of the Ghats, they seem to have had great vitality in them. They would bow before the wind, but once it passed away, would rise again. Vishṇu was not completely successful in his attempts to crush them and it was left to Vira-Ballala to complete their conquest.

About A.D. 1135 the Kadambas of Goa under Jayakesin II were defeated and Halasige in Dharwar was captured. In the same year, the Kadambas of Banavase and Hanungal were put down, both of them being absorbed into the Hoysala empire. But owing to frequent risings in the newly conquered north and east, Vishṇu was unable to keep an efficient control over the whole of the conquered territories, and it was only after the lapse of more than half a century that the empire was consolidated with a settled form of Government.

Inscriptions of 1137 also refer to Vishṇu's conquest of the Nilgiris. Vishṇu had, after his conquest of the Nilgiris, founded a city there to commemorate his victory, probably also to mark the limit of his empire at the time.

There is a chorus of praise for Vishṇu and his deeds in all the inscriptions. He ruled over Kongu, Nangili, Talakad, Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavase, Hanungal, Huligere, Halasige and Belvala. He is described as burning to emulate the Sauvira Kings, 'as having trodden the earth to

¹ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 575.

dust with the squadrons of his Cambhoja horse' and 'overwhelmed his enemies as if the great deep had been broken up, the courses of the sun broken away in a deluge, and all the points of the compass filled with the sounds of his neighbouring' (Rice). 'The lion the Hoysala King's valour, having sported in plunder at Talakad, attacked the lofty elephant Uchchangi, calmly marched by Banavasi, daringly seized on Belwala, and sprang forward with joy to the Perdore, planting his feet on Hapungal' (Kd. 69). He is 'the emperor of the world who by the might of his arm cut down the evil-doers up to the boundary of Kanchi in the east, the noted Kongu on the south, the shore of the Ocean on the west and the Krishna on the north.' Setting up piles of stones as marks of the permanent limits of his kingdom, by his *balam* (army) he brought it into subjection and was celebrated for the sports of his bravery. Vishnuvardhana is also compared to Srikrishna and said to have been born with the set purpose of exterminating the Danujas. Born in the Yadukula of his own free will, he conquered the whole world and took tribute. He was Tribhuvanamalla (=lord of the three worlds) and Vira-Ganga (=warrior Ganga).

Of his ministers Ganga Raja was the most celebrated. He was a scion of the ancient and illustrious Ganga family and was Vishnu's ablest general and most trusted minister; indeed, the king's confidence in his valour was so great that before the march of the army, Ganga Raja was prospectively invested with the Government of Gangavadi. Ganga Raja, of course, justified this confidence and drove the proud Chólas out of the territory. He is said to have been also instrumental in Vishnu's endeavouring to shake off the Chálukyan supremacy. It may be observed that he was the brother-in-law of the senior Dandanayaka Mariyane to whom the Hoysalas were allied by marital ties and his father Echga was living in the times of Nripa Kama so that it may be said that Ganga Raja's family also had continued from the early Hoysala days to render meritorious services to the dynasty. Ganga Raja was a staunch Jain and restored several Jain temples and *bastis*, making liberal contributions to them. He is also credited with rebuilding ruined towns. After his death in A.D. 1133, his son and nephew held high offices and were beloved by the king. Vijayaparsvanatha *basti* was built in memory of this great general and his *dharma* continued by his wife and son.

Another of Vishnu's famous generals was Punisa Raja who 'conquered the Nilgiris, frightened the Todas, drove the Kongas under ground, slaughtered the Poluvas, put to death the Maleyalas, terrified King Kala . . . made himself master of Kerala, etc.' He was generous to the fallen enemy and he utilized all his wealth in raising Jain structures and making Gangavadi Shine loke Koppal in the Nizam's dominions.

Of Vishnu's queens, Santaladevi assumed the crown with royal permission in A.D. 1117. She gave several grants to Jain temples and also erected

at Sravanabelgola the Savathi-Gandhavarana *basti* to which in 1123 she made certain donations. The grant of Santigramma was also in her name. She died at Sivaganga in A.D. 1131. Vishnu survived her at least another ten years. In A.D. 1132 he married Lakshmidēvi who gave birth to the next Hoysala King. He is also credited with another queen, a Pallava princess Bommala-devi. Vishnu died in A.D. 1141 at Bankapura (Cm. 96), his body being removed to Mudigere. Of course this cannot be reconciled with later inscriptions which clearly refer to him and to some engagements which are alleged to have taken place in his time but are clearly after A.D. 1141. We can only leave it at that simply mentioning the fact.

This period marks an important stage in the history of the Hoysalas, certainly politically, more especially in religion. We may advantageously take here a brief survey of the condition of Jainism in the early Hoysala period before Bittideva's conversion to the religion of Rámānuja and make an attempt to estimate the political importance of that conversion to the empire.

From their earliest days the Hoysalas were Jains in religion. It is recorded in *Indian Antiquary* (vol. ii, p. 131) that Chamundaraya's family princes about the beginning of the seventh century built small temples at Halebid. Whether this refers to the Jain temples cannot be said. Another sentence on the same page of the same volume is significant though inexplicable. It says 'from Saka 777 (Bhava) Hoysala Ballala kings were Jaina kshatriyas ruling over Hoysala country'. Does it mean that the date marked the beginning of Jainism in Dórasamudra or wherever the Hoysalas might then have been? Anyhow Dórasamudra was filled with numerous Jain *bastis*; even as early as the reign of Vinayáditya numberless Jain *bastis* were to be found in Halebid. Possibly, the Jain structures in the Hoysala capital before their advent was due to the Gangas and the Chálukyas who were great supporters of the Jain religion. Under Chálukyan patronage, the Jains were increasing everywhere and numerous grants were given in several parts of the country for the support of Jain *bastis* and the like. The *guru* of the founder of the dynasty of the Hoysalas was a Jain and probably, Sala was also a Jain—and there must have been a close alliance between the Hoysala king and the Jain *guru*. Being Sala's *adivser*, Suddatta must certainly have done his best to strengthen with the royal help that he could obtain the Jain influence in the country. There is evidence that the alliance that was thus set up between the Hoysala King and his Jain *guru* continued in the succeeding reigns. A great number of Jain structures were built by Vinayáditya and his successors and large grants given for the maintenance of Jain *gurus*.

Jainism attained the zenith of its influence in the early years of Vishnuvardhana's reign. He built a number of Jain *bastis* at Dórasamudra itself—a recognition by the King of Jainism as the State religion. His ministers and generals were all Jains. Ganga Raja, as has been observed, was a great Jain

patron and, for the first time, obtained a munificent royal endowment to Gomatanatha at Sravana-Belgola. In A.D. 1115, only one year before Vishṇu's conversion, Ganga Raja's wife erected a tomb in memory of a Jain Tirthankara. Vishṇu's wife Santalādevi remained a staunch Jain to her death in A.D. 1131. Many ruined Jain *bastis* were restored by Ganga Raja himself and Punisa Raja, Vishṇu's general, it has been mentioned, employed his wealth mainly in restoring Jain *bastis* throughout the kingdom. It may thus be presumed that Jainism was undoubtedly the most predominant and the prevailing religion in the State finding favour both with the king and his people. It is, therefore, hard to explain Vishṇu's conversion by Rāmānuja in A.D. 1116.

We have a number of stories relating to this conversion. The story as recorded in Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Travels* (vol. ii, pp. 801) may be briefly summarized in the first instance. Rāmānuja, being unable to endure the persecution by the Chōla King any longer, determined to flee his kingdom and undertook a journey to the Hoysala capital. It happened that, at Dērasamudra, circumstances were particularly favourable for his reception. A female devil known as Brahma Rakshasi had possessed the king's daughter who had consequently become very foolish without any control over her senses. Bittideva (later, Vishṇuvardhana after the conversion) had taken her to all the temples and consulted the priests therein but no priest could effect a remedy. Rāmānuja, who was now at Dōrasamudra, being also consulted as a last resource, offered to cure her completely of the malady. He administered some *tulasi* leaves to her and sprinkled some holy water over her head, and she was instantaneously rid of the devil. This incident was followed by Bittideva's conversion. Moreover, 'in eighteen days of public disputation, he refuted the Jain doctrines and convicted them of heresy; those who would not after this submit being ground on oil mills' (Rice). Then, according to a *Sthalapurāṇa* at the chief Jain stronghold in South India, Sravana-Belgola, the taunts of his favourite concubine were the cause of his change of religion. To follow it up with a third story, narrated in the Mackenzie collection of Mss. (p. 65), Bittideva had recently lost a finger and an insolent Jain *guru* refused to take his meals in the palace in consequence, because the Jains enjoined upon every true Jain that he should not, on pain of excommunication, receive alms of a person with any the least defect in any part of his body. Resentment of this conduct of a Jain priest induced Vishṇu, at the instance of his favourite wife, to adopt Vaishṇavism.

The stories above recounted have all some glimpses of the true facts in them which no doubt led Bittideva to become a follower of Rāmānuja, but, by themselves, they cannot be considered to be sufficient. We may roughly assign the following causes for his conversion:—

(1) Bittideva resented the growing insolence of the Jains which was certainly due to their increasing power.

(2) He was convinced of the venality of the Jain *gurus* and the inaptitude of the Jain tenets to the conditions of his day.

(3) Rāmānuja's arguments were convincing and held their ground in public disputation against the Jain tenets.

While the Jain *gurus* were too bigoted and uncompromising to meet the growing conditions of the day in anything like a sympathetic spirit, Vishṇu found Rāmānujāchārya a very sincere worker for the welfare of the masses. Excepting his own Chola King who was a bigoted Saivite, wherever he went and preached his doctrines, Rāmānuja found no opposition. He preached the 'all-merciful fatherhood of Vishṇu and the all-loving motherhood of Lakshmi. This breathed a most loving sympathy to the people and carried to the masses the idea of a personal God whom they could understand and to whom all people, high and low, alike bowed in implicit faith. When, in addition, Rāmānujāchārya defeated the proud Jain *gurus* in public disputation, the king—the great scholar that he was—who was already angry and disgusted with the insolence of the Jain *gurus*, easily yielded to the powerful and convincing arguments of Rāmānujāchārya and became his pupil, henceforth bearing the name, by which he is famous to history, of Vishṇuvardhana.

After becoming a follower of Rāmānuja, Vishṇu did much to propagate the Sri-Vaishṇava cult. The means he adopted to secure this object are supposed to have been not always fair. Capt. Mackenzie even accuses him of great religious intolerance. He is, however, praised elsewhere for his toleration of other religionists. The specific charges against him are that he destroyed about 720 Jain *bastis* in Dōrasamudra, out of the materials of which, the great tank of Tirumalasāgar overlooking the Hoysalesvara temple, was built and, secondly that the Jains who did not become Vaishṇavas were ground in oil-mills. Mr. Rice also confirms this statement but he, however, is forced to add 'the succeeding kings professed both the Vishṇu and Siva cults; but there was much religious toleration and the Jains were often the recipients of royal favour' and further explains that the Jains were too influential to be ignored.

The strongest indictment against him is to be had from the *Sthalapurāṇa* of Sravana-Belgola itself. It gives a long story of his persecution of the Jains' his discontinuing or abolition of all Jain *inams*, destruction of *bastis* and his setting up of Narayana temples, the most famous of them being located at Belur. A great *mutt* was established by Rāmānuja at Melkote under his patronage. There was, however, an end even to this persecution. Because the same *purāṇa* tells us, further on, that Vishṇu had to cease persecuting the Jains and allow Jain temples to resume the grants for the following reason. 'After he had continued in this course (of persecution) for some time, unable to bear the *deva drōha*, the earth opened and all the lands near Adaguru (in the Belur Taluq) were swallowed up. When the news thereof reached the king he called

together his wise men and inquired of them why this thing had come to pass. The learned men told him that it was because of the Jain persecutions. He then called together all castes of people and offered *Santi* to the gods, all in vain. The people then said that a remedy should be sought from the Jains alone. But the king having changed the religion would not ask them for a remedy. He tried again to remove the evil by going to great expense but it was of no use. Fearing that further delay would cause the ruin of the country, all the people went to the king who thereupon went to Belgóla and earnestly requested the Jain *guru* to find a remedy.' Subhachandrachári, the *Guru*, spurned their address at the first instance but, on repeated requests, he exacted a promise, as a first and preliminary condition, for the restoration of all Jain grants. This done, the *guru* sent for 108 pumpkins, chanted some *mantrams* and ordered that one fruit should be thrown into the gap every day. The gap was finally filled up after the priest had received the promised rewards. Now, in this fashion we might no doubt explain away Vishṇu's later kindness to the Jains, but we cannot seriously maintain, however, that Vishṇu persecuted them relentlessly throughout, or that he was anything but perhaps indifferent to them. After all, it is only natural that for some time immediately after his conversion, Vishṇu might have given vent to his feelings against the Jains, which probably led him on in the heat of the moment, to a few persecutions. But this could not have lasted for anything more than a very short time because there certainly existed other influences to check his persecuting tendencies. Having been once a Jain, he could not forget their chief tenet—*Ahimsá paramó Dharmah*. His Jain queen Santaladevi must have exercised a very soothing influence on her lord. Moreover, as mentioned before, his chief advisers Ganga Raja and his son Boppa and his general Punisa Raja, being the principal supporters of Jainism could not have failed to stay his destroying hand.

There is besides ample evidence to show that Vishṇu very soon overcame his aversion and hatred for the Jains. In A.D. 1129 he gave a grant to a Jain temple, Mallijinalaya. In A.D. 1133, on the death of Ganga Raja, his son erected a *basti* in memory of the father and sent the consecrated food to Vishṇu. Highly pleased with it Vishṇu granted endowments to it and called the *basti* itself the 'Vijaya parsvanathabasti.' His toleration of other religions is also shown, for example, by his erection and endowing of the Gangadharesvara temple at Sivaganga. About A.D. 1134, Echa, Ganga Raja's nephew, erected another Jain *basti* for which Vishṇuvarhdhana conferred large grants. Though he was conciliatory to the other religions he doubtless did much to further the Vaishṇava cult by setting up a number of Vaishṇava temples and giving grants of *Agrahars* and *inams* to the followers of Rámánujáchárya.

Vishṇu's successors, though at first Vaishṇavas were later on both Saivas and Vaishṇavas with marked toleration for other religions. All grants to Jain

temples and *bastis* and Jain *gurus* were continued by them. In the reign of Narasimha I, his minister Hulla, a devout Jain, erected the Bhandara *basti* at Sravana-Belgola with rich endowments from the king. Vira-Ballala II made several grants to Siva temples and confirmed the grants to Gomata deva. Jainism, however, was slowly declining. The Chólas were rigid Saivites and never tolerated the Jains. Notable among them was Rajáditya who destroyed many Jain temples and compelled a number of Jains to become Saivites or put them to death. The rise of the Lingayats as attested by the voluminous literature of the period must have also contributed its share towards the decay of Jainism. Harassed and persecuted by the Chólas and unable to bear the questionings and taunts of the Saivas, the Jains were already tottering. The appearance of Rámánuja and the conversion of Vishṇu to his religion fairly completed their destruction. From this time onward their influence began to wane, and by the end of the thirteenth century the Jains had dwindled into a handful in and around the town of Sravana Belgola, which to this day remains a most important Jain centre in South India.

Throughout the existence of the Hoysala empire, Jainism may be said to have been more or less a living religion. At times it suffered an eclipse and certainly after Vishṇu's famous conversion, it must have ceased to be what it was before, the State religion. But its influence had been great and prominent Jains could not be neglected at any time. To the end of their days, the Hoysala kings, whatever their religion, continued to patronize them. Narasimha III even had a Jain *guru* who was called Raja *guru*.

(To be concluded).

'THE LOST CITIES OF CEYLON'

A STUDY BY S. SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

'THE Lost Cities of Ceylon,' by Mr. G. E. Mitton is replete with numerous illustrations and contains four maps. This book, intended for a handy guide to the ruins of Ceylon, invites us to the antiquities of the little island, famed as the abode of the great Ráksasa chieftain Rávana who was eventually subdued by the celebrated hero of the Rámáyana, after erecting a bridge across the ocean and marching upon the island. The oldest historical record in Ceylon, the Mahávamsa which, by the way, is not merely a sacred writing but a history of his native land, recorded in orderly sequence by a priest of the royal house, goes back to 500 B.C. Lieut. Fagan's articles written in 1820 for the *Ceylon Gazette* and all the extant literature on the subject are laid under contribution by the author in bringing out the present volume. We can only make a passing reference to some interesting features in the book which are of absorbing interest to the Mythic Society.

Throughout its history we hear of raids carried on by the Tamils of South India upon the island. We are told that the Island took its name from 'Sipha', son of a lion, and that his grandson Wijaya came over from the mainland of India and established himself in 543 B.C. and that Wijaya's followers intermarried with the original inhabitants, 'Yakkho' or demons. Whether it is possible to connect this account with the traditional conquest of Lanka by Ráma and the establishment of the power of Vibhishana in Simhala is more than could be suggested. As we know, however, the Chólas and Pándyas swarmed over to the island in search of booty in increasing numbers time and again. While the Pándyas occupied the extreme south of the Peninsula, the Chóla kingdom extended from the Pándyan border as far north as Mysore. One of their capitals was Uraiyúr, now a suburb of Trichinopoly, and later on Kánci. The Tamil Literature tells us that a Chóla king led a conquering expedition to the island of Lanka, and established himself there. According to Mr. Mitton, 'the first recorded regular invasion (of the island of Ceylon) was that of one Elala (or Elaro), a Chólyan who, with an army from Mysore, arrived with force and succeeded in establishing himself as king of Lanka (205 B.C.)'. During his long reign of forty-four years this Elala established a liberal Government in the country and, though not a

¹ By G. E. Mitton, published by John Murray, London, pp. 255.

Buddhist himself, did much to improve the national religion and continued many useful works. Justice was rigorously enforced. At the head of this king's bed there was a bell, with a long rope ready to be rung by the seeker for redress. We hear that once the king's son when on a hunting excursion to the Tissa tank ran his chariot over a full-grown calf, and its mother the cow immediately rushed to the bell-rope and pulled it by falling on it, whereupon the king appeared and on hearing of the incident struck off the head of the royal prince with the same wheel. The rule of this Solomon in the island of Lanka did not extend to the country of the Rohuna across the Mahawelliganga. It is next mentioned that Gemuna, a member of the Royal line of Wijaya was, even as a lad, fretting at his exile from power and vowed revenge. He marshalled a faithful rally of ten strong men and finally killed Elala in 161 B.C. The details of this Homeric combat are vividly described in the Mahávamsa. This slain hero, Elala lies embalmed in a tomb which the monarchs to this day cannot pass by with music. It is singularly unfortunate that there is no reference on this side of the ocean to the part played by Mysore in this connexion.

There is splendid testimony to the existence of Hinduism side by side with Buddhism in Ceylon, as he who runs may read in the temples at Dambulla, the Hindu ruins in the vicinity of Abhayagiriya, Siva Devale, Thuparama and the like. As regards Buddhistic structures themselves, 'Ceylon alone of all known countries possesses a series of Buddhistic monuments extending from the time of Asoka to the present day.' Most of these are to be found at Anurádhapura, a city which was founded about 437 B.C. by Pándukábhaya and named after the constellation Anurádhá. The story of this king Pándu is as full of exciting incidents as that of Krishna, and the attempts of his uncle Kamsa to destroy him with this difference that king Pándu was himself an usurper to the throne after his destruction of his maternal uncle, while Krishna's killing of Kamsa was to save mankind from a tyrant. This city which became the capital in 267 B.C. is famous for the conversion of its king by Mahinda into the present religion of the island. We are thus led on to the famous bo-tree, the oldest historical tree in the world planted in this place by Mahinda. It is common knowledge that Princess Sangamitta followed her brother in 288 B.C. with a branch of the bo-tree under which Buddha sat and received revelation. This twig has stood in Ceylon for over twenty two centuries, older than the oldest tree in the world by at least a century, and 'green for ever', in any case attaining sanctity on its own account and exciting and inspiring the most careless with a passing feeling of reverence. The other ruins of the place are:—(1) the Peacock Palace, a collection of leaning columns and carved capitals, (2) the Ransimalakaya and (3) the Lohopasada or the Brazen Palace, a group of 1,600 columns built by Dutugemunu in the second century B.C. The next object of attention, the dagaba

of Ruanweli is a huge pile of stones erected in the shape of an inverted bowl and solid but for a tiny passage to a sacred chamber which contained a relic. West of it is a *vihara* approached by a moonstone and carved steps which arrest our attention. These moonstones in Ceylon have a distinctive feature of their own, though they are clearly influenced by Indian thought and follow Indian ideas to some extent. The moonstone is a semi-circular slab of stone, set at the foot of a flight of entrance steps and wonderfully carved. It is divided into concentric rings, first and outermost a narrow, conventional design, then a wider band in which a procession of animals—elephant, horse, lion and bullock—follow one another round, two complete sets of these animals and the elephant being thrice repeated. Elephants are exquisitely executed, full of fire and life, differing from each other in detail. Inside it is another floral scroll of artistic design and within it, a row of *hansas* or sacred geese while in the centre is a half of a conventional lotus flower. The slab is hewn from a solid rock and the figures are worked from left to right. The carving appears quite fresh and is alive with the spirit of the artist whose hand fashioned the life-like elephants and bullocks, the strange horses and the still stranger lions which run incessantly after one another in a race which began some 2,000 years ago and stretches into infinity.

In the moonstones of Polonnaruwa there is a ring of floral design on the outside, then comes a row of small sacred geese and thirdly a most spirited row of elephants following each other trunk to tail and then a semi-circle of galloping horses with tasselled collars and unduly depressed bodies, resting on a further scroll which is broad and encloses the lotus centre. Curiously, bulls or lions do not appear in these stones and it may be remarked that the lion is not a native to the soil. Fa Hian had about A.D. 400 heard of a temple in India, five storeys in height, with 'elephant figures, lion-shapes, horse-shapes, ox-shapes and dove-shapes,' the last of which probably representing the sacred geese. To compare these with the friezes in the temples of Hoysala Architecture, the elephant frieze with riders and equipments comes below a frieze of *sardilas* or tigers, the Hoysala emblems; then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design. Above them the frieze of horsemen, and then a scene from the Hindu mythology. Next come celestial beasts and birds and so on. It has to be noticed that the bulls are not found in these friezes. In Tissa-Wuva there is a curious circular diagram filled with mysterious symbols and having a procession of figures scratched on the circumference, representing the scientific knowledge of some man who lived close upon a thousand years ago may be, and the meaning of fish, scorpion, tortoise and other sketches which suggest but do not follow the signs of the zodiac. Is it one of the earliest maps of the world founded on the Buddhist cosmogony? The diameter of the circle is six feet. There is a double ring round the edge in which fish and crustaceans are represented, being undoubtedly the ocean

ring. The concentric circles with their wide interspaces at the centre of the ring refer to the Sakvala, in the centre of which rises the Mahameru surrounded by the seven seas and walls of rock which shut in the fabulous mountain. The sun and the moon lie on either side of the Sakvala in the second strip. Roundabout in space are scattered numerous other worlds represented by quadriseded circles. Below and around is the world of waters in which swarm gigantic uncouth denizens—fish, turtle, crab, chank and other marine fauna. If we now turn round to the Buddhist cosmogony itself for a while we find Meru as its central point, and at various heights from it the six blissful seats of the Devas followed by sixteen seats where the perfect dwell. Beneath the earth there are eight hells and thousands of smaller ones and girdling the earth are to be observed the seven hills and the seven seas. There are four islands in the southern on most of which men live and there are five hundred smaller ones occupied by heretics.

Now, with these facts before us, looking at the Buddhist cosmogony and the curious looking map of the world as described on the rock at Tissa Wuva on one side and the disposition of the four beasts in the moonstones carved in a particular order on the other, can we not possibly trace some connexion between these and point to some astronomical significance even in these moonstones and boldly say with the author that the four beasts in these stones occupy the four cardinal points in the earth, viz. lion in the north, horse in the south, elephant in the east and bull in the south? Of course, we may dismiss the idea that these moonstones were used for hypnotism, being called yogi-stones, though possibly there is a prevailing superstition to that effect in the island. It is interesting to notice in this connexion that in Ceylon as well as in modern Hindu temples, where the animals friezes are to be seen, the succession of the animals is the same—*makara, naga and hamsa*.

We pass on to a short notice of other interesting scenes in the island of Lanka. The tooth relic in the Temple of the Tooth (Dalada Maligawa) was brought to Ceylon in A.D. 311 by a Brahmin Princess, and is held peculiarly sacred. The vicissitudes of this interesting and sacred relic surpass the history of Kohinoor which adorns the crown of our august sovereign, and the adventures of the Golden Fleece. It was carried away for safety during the worst Tamil raids. Even then it was stolen and actually removed to India in the fourteenth century A.D., but Parakrama III went to the mainland, pleaded for it in person and brought the relic back. 'From golden caskets set with jewels, raised above bowing, swaying, adoring multitudes, to the hair of a princess's head or the saffron folds of a priest's robe as places of hurried concealment,' 'from temples of granite, decorated with gold and silver, to windy caves on bare hillsides and holes in depths of jungles' the tooth has wandered. Sage Khema rescued it from the funeral pyre of Buddha, and it was eventually brought to Ceylon concealed in the hair of a princess,

who was of Kalinga lineage, a race that gave more than one king to Ceylon'. Thuparama, the supposed original receptacle of this sacred 'collar-bone' is a huge dagaba whose chief beauty is found in its slender columns, some of a great height, which spring from the platform encircling it. There are four rows of these, 14 feet to 23 feet in height. These pillars, 176 in number, were constructed in the reign of Tissa (307 to 267 B.C.) Its decoration and improvement went on in the succeeding centuries, and it was treasures of this kind which repaid the Tamil hordes that invaded the island.

The Tamil invasions of Ceylon did not cease with the death of Elala. There was an expedition in the eighth century, and we have it in the Dewan's address delivered to us last year, that a Mysore king was reigning in Ceylon in that century. It has not been possible for us to identify the prince referred to above, nor can we find any trace of him either in Mysore history or in the volume under review. Possibly a Mysore ruler attempted to emulate the example of Elala and other chieftains of the mainland and carried an expedition into the island and ruled from there, being successful. The Tamil incursions continued for another three to four centuries. In one of these raids Polonnaruwa was captured and the conquerors ruled from there till A.D. 1065, when Wijaya Bahu reconquered it for the natives of the island.

To return from the digression, the Lankarama District to which we are next introduced is a world of marks. The guardstone at the elephant stables is the most wonderful yet unearthed with a canopy five feet in height and a most perfectly designed elephant on the outer side. We will proceed now to the two greatest dagabas of Jetawanarama and Abayagiriya. The beauty of the former consists in the splendid platforms of hewn blocks from which the ruin rises and the bits of carving on steel and stones near the altars. Here are also found the most graceful human figures and floral designs of great delicacy and finish. This dagaba was built in 88 B.C. by a sect of monks in rivalry with the older community of the chief monastery of Anuradhapura, of which the Brazen Palace was the head-quarters. It was enlarged by Gaja Bahu I between A.D. 113 and 125 and reached a height of 315 feet. King Mahasena (A.D. 275) exalted this by pulling down the Brazen Palace. A few centuries later, the monks were punished and in the eighth century following in A.D. 787, Mahinda II rebuilt this at a cost of 300,000 pieces of gold, setting up an image of Buddha out of 60,000 gold pieces. Jetawanarama was originally supposed to have been 160 cubits high. Stone railings in the parts are met with in a style more appropriate to wood and possibly intended as a magical protection against evil spirits, resembling those at Sanchi.

In the west of Anuradhapura are rocky sites where rock is worked into the building, being allowed for and adapted. There are two platforms, an outer and an inner built with geometrical exactitude and linked by a big and ponderous stone. There are also two tiny gold images of the Sedant Buddha

excavated in the Block down the leafy arch in the group of ruins at the junction of Arippu and the outer circular roads, full of absorbing interest. One of them follows the local pattern and is of solid bronze coated with gold, three inches high, with hands lying palm upward in the lap one above the other. The other is a fragile shell of gold, half the size of the former, of unmistakable Burmese character with Mongolian features represented with the right hand drooping over the knee in Burmese style. We must pass by in rapid review the ruined mass called Burrow's Brick Building erected by Nissanka, where is found a dwarf stone of unusual size, Vijayarama which once possessed a preaching hall of an exceedingly beautiful design in addition to its present living attractions, the carved stones decorating the wall of the platform, from which a flight of steps led on to the main building from this half which contains panels with differing figures, male or male and female standing beneath a carved makara canopy where the figures face each other open mouthed with a human or animal figure in their jaws suggesting as it were cannibalism in the island, Puliyankulam which resembles Vijayarama but has no stair case and come to the Medina of the Cinghalese Buddhists with folded hands and whispering humbleness. This Mihintale or the sacred Hill is the scene of king Tissa's meeting with the great apostle of Buddhism and his subsequent conversion. It is eight miles from Anuradhapura and on one of the highest plateau rest the bones of the great missionary. 'In the recollection of Mihintale's hill and ruins, carried away by the ordinary visitor, the sights begin and end with the long stairways, the stone-boats and inscription-flanked Vihara-ruin, the picturesquely placed Ambastale dagaba, ringed in by graceful columns mid cocoanut palms, bringing to mind the similar Thuparama and Lankarama dagabas of Anuradhapura; the bold roundness of Maha Seya Dagaba which crowns Mihintale kanda, the rock-cut Naga Pokuna, with, may be, Sidis Placeat, if the guiding gods are complacent! descent to that cool rock retreat, "Mahinda's bed" so called, and a cursory look at the ornamental, but far less ancient "stone-bath" fatuously connected with the same Apostle of Buddhism, near the half-way terrace.' The highest stair-case at Mihintale is beautiful. 'Overhanging trees throw green shadows on the worn stone and the shifting golden lights between may well betaken for the angel visitants.' 'Visions of the mighty Buddha overshadowing the island with his presence and of Mahinda his apostle, alighting on the topmost crag which towers up into the azure sky far overhead' recall to mind the familiar vision of Jacob.

The next place of interest, Sigiriya or a palace on a rock, 400 feet above the surrounding jungles, was built by king Kashyapa I (A.D. 477 or 511) as a bulwark against his brother's wrath and there is a gallery named after him. The frescoes on the cave represent the ladies of his court with their attendants carrying offerings. They compare most favourably with the paintings at Ajanta which they resemble, but the figures at the Sigiriya cave are all females

and of three quarter lengths. The outlines are full and rich without the least trace of anæmic tendencies.

'While Anuradhapura was the proud capital between 500 B.C. and the ninth century of the Christian era and never lost its glamour of peculiar sacredness, Polonnaruwa, to which the seat of the government was transferred owing to the incursions of the Tamils, remained the capital till the middle of the thirteenth century.' The royal palace was built by Aggabodhi III in A.D. 623, and even this was not safe from the Tamil invasions directed from the mainland of India. It was conquered by the Tamils who remained there till A.D. 1065 when Wijaya Bahu reconquered it and rebuilt the city. We might refer the reader to the volume before us for the enchanting epic of Parakrama, the citadel of Polonnaruwa, the necklet of architecture, Dalada Maligawa, Thuparama, Wata dagé, the Nissanka late Mandapaya or floral hall, Gal Vihara, a flower in stone or the lotus bath which is a lotus flower of granite 24 feet 9 inches in diameter, consisting of five concentric lamina of eight petals gradually diminishing into a stamen and reversing the order of nature by pressing the petal rings into a concavity, Demala Mahasaya where the paintings rival the best at Ajanta, the rock cut figure supposed to be of Parakrama who was crowned in 1164 but really representing a holy man, 11 feet 6 inches high, possibly a Hindu guru judging from the Brahminical *uttariya*, and just describe a few interesting details which give us an insight into the social life of the Cinghalese of those times.

The lion bath is an open air bath, beautifully carved, 'where a robust and most pugnacious lion, 7 feet 4 inches ramping on his hind legs, holds up the stone work.' The pool of the five-hooded cobra was built by Aggabodin I in A.D. 564. The work of these public baths suggests animal and serpent worship of the wild tribes influencing royalty just as much as is found to be the case in the mainland of India. Principles of sanitation were not neglected in those early days. Urinal or *mutragala* in Block D is highly decorated and sculptured suggesting art even in structures erected for meeting the prime necessities of man. A deep and wide moat, built of stone, filled with water, kept the living rooms on either sides cool and pleasant. There was a hospital with a stone-boat for preserving medicines. A grant was given for the maintenance of the hospital and 'any one who takes by force what has been provided for this (hospital) will become a goat slaying Rakkasa.' Near Jetawanarama there was a great monastery of fourteen buildings provided with a refectory, both house and the rest. A stone-boat near Thuparama 44 feet by 3 was intended to hold rice. Labour was paid for as may be seen presently. Ratana-Maha-Pasada or elephant stables in the Lankarama District was rebuilt at a cost of 300,000 pieces of gold. This shows that the country was fertile, rich and prosperous as is also evidenced by the large amounts spent in architecture and painting and also by the rich jewellery worn by the people. Coronets, tiaras, aigrettes crowned the head; flowers and ribbons were used

for the hair while the ears, neck, breast, arm and wrists were full of jewels and waist upward were covered in a filmy gauze ending at the neck. Nor was public welfare forgotten. The conduct of monks was strictly regulated by legislation. It has also been mentioned how a king had a bell-rope in his room for dispensing justice followed by an Indian Potentate at Delhi in this matter in the fourteenth century. Parakrama built tanks and carried out other irrigation works. Abhayagiriya revealed brick at a depth of 26 feet on a bed of concrete and shows the solid foundations then laid for temples. Parakrama also devoted his attention to planting and sowing. The arts of war were carefully kept up and the army was developed into an efficient fighting force. Possibly it was due to this that the Tamil raids fairly came to an end about the fourteenth century.

In fine, the volume before us repays careful perusal by all lovers of antiquity, and it is hoped that as many as possible will pay a visit to the far-famed island with a copy of the volume under review for their guide.

319

MĀDHAVĀCHĀRYA AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS

A REPLY BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IN the last issue of the journal (pp. 217-24) has appeared a review by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, B.A., of my article 'Mādhavāchārya and His Younger Brothers' contributed to the January and February numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1916. My article gives briefly a few new facts gathered in the course of my investigations about Mādhavāchārya and his younger brothers Sayana and Bhāganātha, supporting them in every case by either literary or epigraphical evidence. It proves among other things the existence in the fourteenth century of two Mādhavas—one of them the son of Śrīmāti and Māyana of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and the disciple of Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratīrtha, and the other the son of Māchāmbika and Chaundibhaṭṭa of the Āṅgīrasa-gotra and the disciple of Kriyāśakti—both of whom were ministers under the early Vijayanagar Kings, and gives some strong reasons for the identification of Mādhava of the Bhāradvāja-gotra with Vidyāranya.

In his review Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer has not produced a particle of evidence, either literary or inscriptional, in support of his assertions, though he has been pleased to apply such expressions as 'dogmatic assertion' and 'unproven conjecture' to my well-supported conclusions. Any scholar who goes through my article and the review dispassionately will at once see that the assertions made by the reviewer have no base to stand upon.

I shall first proceed to show that the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer are wrong and then say a word or two about some other details in the review. The two important conclusions of the reviewer are (1) that Mādhava of the Bhāradvāja-gotra was not a *mantri* or minister, and (2) that Mādhava of the Āṅgīrasa-gotra was identical with Vidyāranya. In order to avoid the frequent repetition of the gotras in distinguishing one Mādhava from the other, it may be convenient to name Mādhava of the Āṅgīrasa-gotra as Mādhava A and Mādhava of the Bhāradvāja-gotra as Mādhava B. That Mādhava B was a minister is a well-known tradition to prove the correctness of which we need not go beyond the *Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, which is admitted on all hands to be a work by Mādhava B.

The colophon at the end of this work, which runs thus :

इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराजमहाराजराजपरमेश्वर वैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक श्रीवोरवृक्षभूषण साम्राज्यधु-
रंधरस्य माधवाचार्यस्य कृतौ पराशरस्मृतित्याख्यायां.

makes the clear and indubitable statement that the work was composed by the minister (*amātya*) Mādhava who was the bearer of the burden of the sovereignty of King Bukka. Further in the opening verses, given below, of his *Purushārtha-sūdhānidhi*, Sayana, the younger brother of Mādhava B, clearly tells us that his elder brother was the hereditary preceptor and minister (*mantri*) of King Bukka just as Brihaspatī was of Indra, Sumati of Nala, Mādhātīthi of Śaibya, Dhaumya of Dharmasuta, Svanjas of King Vainya, Gautama of Nimi, and Vasishṭha of Rama.

..... श्रीवक्त्रं पृथ्वीपतिः ॥

इंद्रस्यागिरसोनस्य सुमतिः शैब्यस्य मेधातिथिः ।

धीम्यो धर्मसुतस्य वैद्यवृषतेः स्वौजानिमेरीतमः ॥

प्रयदृष्टिरंधतोसहचरो रामस्य पुण्यात्मनः ।

यद्वत्तस्य त्रिभोरभूकुलगुरुर्मन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥

We have thus the testimony of Mādhava B himself and of his younger brother Sayana as regards Mādhava B having been a minister.

With regard to the reviewer's identification of Mādhava A with Vidyāranya, the following facts go to show that this identification is quite wrong :—

(1) According to orthodox tradition Mādhava B acquired the title of Vidyāranya after he renounced the world. But the reviewer, though eager to stick to the traditional belief that there was only one Mādhava, finds it convenient to brush aside the above tradition as also the tradition that Mādhava B was a minister. Let this pass. In my article I have quoted a record from the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*¹ which gives A.D. 1391 as the date of Mādhava A's death, while a copper plate inscription in the possession of the Śrīngēri *matha*² gives A.D. 1386 as the date of Vidyāranya's death. (2) According to a record at Śrīngēri³ Vidyāranya died at Hampi; but according to the above-mentioned record in the Bombay Journal Mādhava A died on the west coast. (3) Another record at Śrīngēri⁴ says that King Bukka brought Vidyāranya to Śrīngēri and directed Madarasa, i.e. Mādhava A, to grant lands in Kikunda-nādu and Hiriya Koda-nādu, which belonged to the province under his rule, for the livelihood of the ascetics and disciples in the *matha* of Vidyāranya. (4) The above-mentioned record in the Bombay Journal registers the grant by Mādhava A who was on

¹ Volume iv, p. 115. ² *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1916, para. 97. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*, paras. 94 and 95.

his death-bed of a village which was named Mādhavapura after the donor. This shows that Mādhava A was not Vidyāranya even at the time of his death; else the village would naturally have been named Vidyāranyapura. The Śringēri inscription referred to above as giving the date of Vidyāranya's death records the grant by King Harihara II of a village named Vidyāranyapura after the departed sage.¹ These facts can lead to but one conclusion, namely, that Mādhava A was not Vidyāranya. The fact of the matter is that Mādhava A was only a provincial governor and he died as such. He was never a *sanyāsi*.

I shall now say a word or two about some other details in the review. Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer takes me to task for not giving more information about Mādhavāchārya, the subject of my article and for calling Mādhava A Mādhava-mantri. In writing this article my object was simply to bring to the notice of scholars a few new facts; so I have abstained from repeating well-known traditions and from referring to matters already published. I know that both the Mādhavas had the affix *āchārya* affixed to their names; but the reason why I have called one of them Mādhava-mantri is because his name occurs more frequently in that form in the inscriptions. Again, the reviewer doubts the reliability of the literary evidence that I have produced about the parentage etc., of Mādhava B. The quotations that I have given are all from the works of Mādhava B and of his younger brother Sāyana who may very well be trusted to give correctly the names of their parents. The review also contains some more details which do not call for any notice.

¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1916*, para. 97.

REVIEWS

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January, 1917

THE January number of this journal has reached us only in April, perhaps owing to delays in communication caused by the war. Of the many contributions very learned, though not interesting to all, the one of greatest interest to the Indian readers of this journal is *Viśvamitra, Vasiṣṭha, Hariṣchandra and Sunahṣepa* by that tried orientalist Mr. F.E. Pargiter. It is really unfortunate that a caste importance is attached to this story, and that the personal conflict between the so-called Kshatriya Viśvamitra and the real Brahman Rishi Vasiṣṭha is made much of. Western scholars writing on eastern subjects, particularly on religion, run to the other extreme, blissfully ignorant as they are that the historical side of the question is not all in all, but that there is also another side, the religious side, which embodies in it a spiritual meaning. It would be too long to discuss the matter here and convince such writers that Vasiṣṭha was never opposed to Viśvamitra because the latter was a Kshatriya moving heaven and earth to become a Brahman, for he was already one. That is a long story. Meaningless aspersions are made against Vasiṣṭha, implying that he is not the holy rishi he is considered to be, but a Brahman with a machiavellian head. So long as this course is adopted there is no hope of the other side—the Pandit side—understanding the so-called scientific method applied to religious history. Mr. Pargiter has not conclusively proved, as he must know that is impossible, that the personal name of the well-known Rishi Vasiṣṭha is Dēvarāja. The next article of importance is that by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., on *Some rivers in the Rig Veda*. He identifies all the rivers with the existing ones in the area from the North-West Provinces to the Punjab, except Arjikiyā, which he is not able to equate with any of the modern streams. He admires the geographical knowledge displayed by the Hymnists, and says parallels are to be found in plenty among the unlettered Turks in locating things accurately over immeasurable distances, and concludes the article with an appeal to empiric knowledge hunting. This is also our faith. The miscellaneous communications made by Dr. Fleet are not to be brushed aside as really miscellaneous. They contain a lot of curious information and shrewd observations. There is a very readable contribution on the date of Vardhamāna the founder of modern Jainism by Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyer. We feel so glad that the unseemly controversy between Dr. A.B. Keith and Professor Ridgeway has come to an end, at least in the pages of this journal. The origin of the Indian Drama, the point of their contention, for all the pages devoted to their views, is as much shrouded in mystery as it was ever before.

K. D.

Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1916

Of the several Government publications relating to the science of history, nothing is looked forward to with so much interest as this annual report of Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar, Rao Bahadur, relating to the doings of his department. As far as his work is concerned each year throws into the shade the past year, and new wonders are revealed to the world of historical research. Once again we may be allowed to say that this report is the model of its kind, and not a few are the directions in which it excels other reports of the kind. It is no dry official record, but wherever it is possible for him, he gives a complete history of his findings with apt drawings, photographs and other methods to bring vividly before our eyes these vestiges of the glorious past. It is bare truth when the Government in their review say 'It is gratifying to note that the illustrations of architecture and sculpture contained in the annual reports of the department have attracted the attention of scholars and authorities on Indian art, both in India and outside.' We are glad to find among other interesting things contained in the report, a fairly complete history of Śringēri, which Mr. Narasimhachar read before our Society a few weeks ago. The paper drew considerable attention, and not a few were struck with wonder when they were authentically told that such a bigot as Tipu Sultan, not to mention his father and other Mahomedan rulers, had a considerable regard for the Śringēri Śāṅkarācharya Swāmi. What the eminent archaeologist says in his report of the Vidyāsankara temple in Śringēri forms very interesting reading. We wish more particulars were given of the Chennakēśvara temple at Tandaga. Mr. Narasimhachar, even though we admit it was out of the scope of his report, would have done well to give us the history of the founding of the Śringēri Mutt, for that is the only thing wanting to a complete history of the mutt. Among the archaeological discoveries of the year a set of Ganga plates found in the Śringēri maṭha and another set received from the Mulbagal Taluk are of considerable historical importance. The President of the Mythic Society, Rev. Father Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., was, we believe, after all correct in characterizing the Vidyāsankara temple, at least as far as the *gopura* is concerned to be more of the northern type than the Dravidian, and as far as one can judge of it by the illustration in the report, the structure is also more Hoysala than Dravidian. The talented archaeologist could have, by giving a few more particulars, removed this doubt. In conclusion, we may say that the existence of the department is fully vindicated by the work turned out by it under the able direction of this eminent scholar, and people who ignore the past may learn a lesson that the past is the best teacher for the present. This conversion is possible only by reports of the kind under review, as every page of it breathes a living history, extremely human in its interest.

K. D.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for December, 1916

We are not to blame for the late review of this excellent journal. It was received only recently. Better late than never, as the substantial fare however, will keep one going without pangs of hunger. There are as many as eight leading articles. A considerable number of pages is devoted to the publications in original with translations of seven copper plate records of land grants from Dhenkenal. The work was undertaken, at the request of Sir Edward Gait, Lieut.-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, by that eminent Orientalist of Bengal Mahamahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri, M.A., C.I.E. He has done his work well, but what a pity that he does not give the history of the grants, their significance, their time and other to be eagerly sought for details. Perhaps he intends doing so in the next number. Two other contributions similar in nature are Kumuru Kēlā Charter of Ranaka Sātur Bhanja Deva (A.D. 1325) by Mr. B. C. Muzumdar, B.A., M.R.A.S., and an Oriya copper plate inscription of Ramachandra Dēva, Saka 1728 by Rai Bahadur Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L. The author says 'this plate, though it relates to a recent date, has an interest of its own in that it is in Oriya characters, which is very rare.'

There is a very interesting article on the death and cremation ceremonies among the Santals by the Hon'ble and Rev. A. Campbell, D.D. Those that are conversant with the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmans will be struck with wonder that there are not a few particulars in which their ceremonies closely resemble those of this aboriginal people. It cannot be definitely said that each developed its form independently of the other. We are not far from correct in taking the view that there must have been considerable Brahmanising influence on these primitive tribes. A *Lepcha funeral* by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., besides its other interesting details of a Tibetan funeral, contains particulars of a curious custom or belief. The most exciting part of the ceremonies is the exorcising of the devil or the evil spirit which is believed invariably to bring about the death of persons. Some figures of miniature animals and one or two miniature human figures are seated on a plank, with a life size model of a cat, meant for the evil spirit which caused the death of the deceased person. After the recitation of some mantras by the Lama, the plank is carried with the figures which are pelted with pebbles and at last burnt to free the soul from the evil spirit. Then the people go back to the house with a freer heart. A curious custom indeed! The number under review is not only scholarly but also very interesting.

K. D.

The Divine Aspect of History¹

By J. R. MOZLEY.

THE Cambridge University Press has manifested its activity in a number of ways, and there is hardly any department of thought to which it has not made solid contributions. But the books that have been sent for review are a new departure inasmuch as they come under original contribution, whereas most of its other publications relate to topics which have been handled by others or which have been published by others.

History is a comprehensive term and it has many aspects but though the social, economic, political, military and other aspects have been extensively dealt with, it is a pity that the religious side of it has been neglected and treatises relating to this absorbingly interesting aspect have been conspicuous by their absence. It was reserved to the Syndics of this scholarly press to remove this defect, and they could not have chosen an abler man than Mr. Mozley to do so. Two substantial volumes give in brief the result of his studies extending over a vast period, and every page is brimful of suggestive thought.

The title of the volumes indicates how history political and constitutional in its accepted sense is closely intertwined with religion, and in these volumes is traced the development of this religious thought and life of the people. We should have been glad if representative nations ancient and modern had been taken, and their religious history traced from the beginning. In fact the histories of some of the greatest nations are religious histories and their other aspects fall into insignificance. For example, it is the religious books of the Hindus that give an idea of their polity. But it is not in this sense the learned author of these books develops the idea. He takes the religions themselves for consideration. Each of the great religions of the world is taken up, and except Christianity and Judaism, every religion is allotted a few details mixed up with critical ideas of a superficial type. We do perceive the fairness throughout. It is not always by comparative methods that conclusions are drawn. Much is taken for granted, and at times there is a good deal of self-opinionativeness. We are afraid that the talented author's knowledge particularly of Hinduism, is not deep and all that has been written by him and even more could have been done in a less pretentious book by an infinitely less competent authority. For the meagre details we have in the books under review we would have had ampler details with half the books of reference to which Mr. Mozley is indebted. Pity it is he seems to betray that his knowledge of the Hindu faith is not first hand, and abounds in platitudes.

While very highly commending the author for the lucidity of exposition as far as he goes and charm of language which are invariably in evidence, we are sadly struck with the lack of a sense of proportion. We admit that there need be no mathematical calculation in the number of pages to be devoted to each religion. But it is no serious representation of the religious history of the majority of the people of

¹ Published by the Cambridge University Press in two vols., pp. 908, price 36s. net.

the world when their religions are disposed of in a few pages and two-thirds of the work devoted to the faith of the New and the Old Testaments. In this view of the case the book could have been appropriately named the *Christian Aspect of History*. We are constrained to say that this want of proportion should either be the lack of requisite knowledge or the result of an indifferent attitude to religions other than his own. But in either case it is much to be regretted. We cannot commend it for a full knowledge of faiths other than those of the Jews and the Christians.

Coming to the presentation of the Christian faith, the author seems to have a predilection for the Protestant faith. He seems to think that the reformation should rather be styled a just rebellion. We tell him 'yes' as far as the form is concerned, but not where the reformers aimed at the creed. Every century departed from its predecessors in effecting certain changes, and so there were reformations all along. But the deliberate doings of some people to gain their own ends by using a religious weapon would not sanctify the reformation as a spiritual one, or as a just one. It was a serious error for people to have departed from the medieval church, and the best answer that was made against the hasty condemnation of the faith of the ages by some misguided enthusiasts was what Bishop Laud attempted to do, i.e. to make the church approximate to the ideal of the medieval church without the infallibility of the Pope. Whether somebody should be regarded as the head of the religion, and whether people should give him unswerving allegiance and whether that alone would conduce to the unity of the faith are matters of opinion. The very fact that there have been too many schisms is proof positive that opinions among the seceders were divided. We are glad to see Mr. Mozley's view of the miracles is refreshingly original and extremely reasonable. But after all has the age of miracles passed. Not yet, we believe. The concluding chapter is splendid and the message conveyed therein talking about the *Hope of the Future* makes up for several discordant notes in the book. It is written with a large-hearted sympathy and with a great insight. We are one with him to whatever religion we may belong that conduct divorced from religion is not exemplary conduct anyhow. In conclusion, we might say that the purpose of this book is more negative than affirmative, and this negative side is more constructive than a bare formless, unimaginative affirmative would have been.

K. D.

Revue Historique de l'Inde Française

We have much pleasure in welcoming in the field of historical and archaeological researches, a new review which bids fair soon to take a prominent place among similar publications. We allude to the 'Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française' founded by His Excellency Monsieur A. Martineau, Governor of the French Possessions in India. We have before us the first two numbers of the Society's Journal, the perusal of which has made us proud of the fact that the Society has

already consented to exchange all its publications with the modest *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*.

For many years France disputed with England the supremacy over Southern India and to the present day Dupleix, de Bussy, Labourdonnais in the south are still household names as well as Raymond in Hyderabad and Perron and De Boigne in the north. It would have been a matter for regret if Pondicherry, oblivious of the glories of the past, had not followed in the footsteps of the British Provinces and Feudatory States in India where Archæological and Historical Societies have been started during the last decade. His Excellency the Governor of Pondicherry believes that the time has come for the French to enter the field of such researches on their own account and with the ready help of men like Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil and Mr. E. Gaudart he means to make it the great success it deserves to be.

The new Society, which, though founded in 1911, yet has only now decided to publish its own journal will be welcomed everywhere in India, but we venture to say that the welcome will be still more sympathetic in Mysore as it may be expected that the Government Archives in Pondicherry will throw some more light on the period when France and Mysore were allies. The interest evinced in the paper read before the Society by its President on 'Tippu's Embassy to the Court of France' makes us feel certain that the readers of our *Quarterly Journal* will watch with a special sympathy the activities of the '*Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française*.'

The first number of the Society's Journal is almost fully taken up by the 'Antiquities of the Pallava Period', of Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil. The Pallava country was for a time the scene of the rivalry between the English and the French and the study of Pallava antiquities falls naturally within the scope of the new Society. Still in the flower of youth, Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil has revealed himself as a past master where South Indian archæology and history are concerned. His 'Archæology of South India' has attracted attention far beyond India; his originality of views, his enthusiasm, his love of India and everything Indian, inspires one with the hope that a long stay out in this country may enable him to continue studies which are bound to place him in the foremost rank of archæologists. His paper deals with the periods of Rajasinha and of Mahendra and ends with a successful attempt at the classification of the antiquities of the Pallava Period. The illustrations are not chosen at random but each one is meant to elucidate a special point in the text.

Then follows a 'Memoir on the establishment of the French Company and its commerce in the East Indies.' This Memoir signed by Dupleix himself is dated 8th October, 1727. In it the great Frenchman exposes his ideas of what the French East India Company ought to do in order to promote its interests at Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Cassim Bazaar, Balassore, Yanaon, Masulipatam, Mahe, Calicut, Surat, Mocha, Bunder Abbas, Canton, Macao, Siam, and Merguy.

The second number leads off with an account of a French establishment at Bunder Abbas in the eighteenth century. It is taken from a manuscript kept in the Pondicherry Archives which contains the correspondence of the French Consul at Bassora from March, 1739 to July, 1745. Professor Jouveau Dubreuil follows with a

most interesting study of four ancient statues found in the Tiruvakarraï Pagoda in 1914, those of Brahma, Siva, Vishnu, and Skanda (Subramaniam).

His Excellency the Governor publishes with introductory notes an account of the journey of the Chevalier de Dourdon in 1787 to India. The Chevalier travelled by land from Beyrout to Bassora and then by boat to Muscat and Mahe. The account which tells of his adventures at Damascus, on the Euphrates and the Tigris, and at Bagdad is of a fascinating actual interest. The journey by land occupied five months and twelve days and the cost amounted, from Paris to Pondicherry, to 11,588-2-6 livres. A study on the cyclones of the Godavari by M. S. Aroul brings to a close the second number.

The Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française is to be congratulated on the first two numbers of its 'Revue Historique' and we hope that it will keep up the same high standard of scholarship in its future publications.

May we be permitted as a conclusion of this review to translate the last paragraph of the editorial foreword which opens the first number. *We hope that this Revue, to which we shall devote our greatest care, will be an honour to the Government of French India as also to the 'Conseil General' of the Colony who have kindly made secure the existence of the Society by freeing it from all financial anxiety.*

A. M. T.

Life and Teachings of Sri Madhva

By C. M. PADMANABHACHAR, B.A., B.L., COIMBATORE

THE lives of the saints of South India have been, as a rule, more admired than studied by their disciples, and, Sri Madhva has probably experienced more of this deferential neglect than either Sri Śankara or Sri Rāmānuja. The other members of the trio, nor has the indifference of the followers been made up by any exceptional keenness on the part of foreign scholars of Indian religion and philosophy. Some of these, as the author shows, have fallen into gross errors identifying Sri Madhva-chārya with Vidyāranya (alias Mādhavacharya), the renowned head of the Śringeri Mutt who played a part in the rise of the Vijayanagar Empire. The error is due no doubt to the similarity of names, but it is as little pardonable as one, for instance, which would confound Herbert Spencer with the author of the *Faerie Queene*. Such mistakes are of course avoided by the few Indian writers on the subject but these according to our author, have often been carried away by sectarian prejudice and hostility. The book is an attempt to depict Sri Madhva in an appreciative, but not uncritical spirit.

The main, if not the exclusive source of information, on the Life of Sri Madhva is the Madhva Vijaya, a biography of the saint written by one of his earliest followers. 'Making allowances for poetic fancies, the account contained in Madhva Vijaya' observes the author, 'is fairly full and authentic.'

Sri Madhva was born in the district of South Kanara in a village near Udipi, and he is thus the second great religious teacher (Sri Śankara being the first) from the West Coast of the Peninsula. He appears to have lived between A.D. 1118 and

1317 though there is some doubt as to the precise dates. He is believed by his followers to have been an incarnation of *Vayu*, the God of Wind, who took human shape in order to correct and purify the world, which, as is its wont on such occasions had got into a muddle in order to give scope and excuse for this happy celestial intervention. Sri Madhva's childhood, like his later life, was full of miraculous incidents. On one occasion, he rode merrily on the tail of an infuriated bull much to the consternation of his people, and got off, easily and unhurt, when he had sufficiently enjoyed the fun. He relieved his father from pecuniary embarrassment by an easy feat of alchemy, converting tamarind seeds into gold coins. On another occasion, he killed a huge and ferocious serpent with his toe and followed up the valiant performance by a prodigious 'long jump' from the forest to his house where he appeared in answer to his mother's call. 'It is said that the rocky ground on which he set his feet thus with great velocity and force became indented by his footprints. Over this monument now stands a temple to signalize the event.'

Sri Madhva having completed his religious studies, in which his progress was, as might be expected, exceedingly rapid, began his life work by exposing the errors of the Advaita philosophy of Sankara which had hitherto held undisputed sway in the land. After achieving some local successes in this direction, he travelled in South India passing along the West Coast to Rameswaram and returning home after journeying some distance along the East Coast. In this tour, Madhva encountered and vanquished, along with many persons of lesser note, the head of the great Sringeri Mutt. Everywhere he was listened to with rapt attention by crowds of hearers, who came to participate in the feast of reason and flow of soul which he so prodigally laid before them.

Nor were Sri Madhva's banquets always of the metaphorical kind. He received sumptuous hospitality wherever he went and though simple in his habits, never made an ostentation of abstemiousness. On one occasion, having done justice to a heavy dinner, he ate two hundred plantains by way of dessert, and answered the enquiring looks of the surprised guests by telling them 'that the animal heat within him was a flame as thick as a thumb, capable of consuming any food in any quantity.' One wonders if a spark of this flame has been imparted (along with the Master's doctrines) to his disciples, as the popular jokes regarding the digestive capacity of the members of this sect seem to imply.

Sri Madhva's next trip was to Badarikashram in the Himalayas where Veda Vyasa was living with the rishis. 'He longed to pay his respects at the lotus feet of Vyasa and obtain his approbation for embarking on evangelization and reformation' which he now contemplated, having formulated his dwaita system of philosophy. Veda Vyasa's permission having been obtained, Sri Madhva returned home from the Himalayas travelling through Bengal and the Northern Circars. On the banks of the Godavery he held learned disputations and made converts of two distinguished scholars of the Advaita persuasion. Swamy Sastry and Sobhana Bhatta—who subsequently succeeded Sri Madhva on the pontifical seat. The former under the name of Narahari Theertha, ruled the kingdom of Kalinga as regent for the infant heir, for some years, and as a reward for his just and beneficent rule, obtained

from the king certain very ancient and sacred though neglected, images of Rama and Sita which he delivered to Sri Madhva a few days before the latter's death.

Returning home from the eventful tour to Badari, Sri Madhva settled down to his pious duties. Most of his time was spent in conducting service in the temple of Sri Krishna which he built in honour of a sacred image of that God which had miraculously come into his possession. He installed in the temple a system of worship which is said to be very inspiring and which is continued unchanged to this day. He was himself the first *Pujari* and in order to ensure the continuance of the worship in proper form after his demise, he established eight monasteries the abbots of which were enjoined to take charge of the shrine under a system of rotation, which is still followed.

Some time between A.D. 1260 and 1271 Sri Madhva undertook his second trip to Badari, this time to consult Veda Vyasa and obtain his permission to write an epitome of the Mahabharata. The great sage had of course no serious objections to urge against such a laudable proposal and the work known as *Sriman Mahabharata Tatparya Nirya* was therefore composed. Another result of this trip, which was of equal importance in the eyes of Sri Madhva as of his biographer, was the acquisition of eight *Saligrams* of rare value, presented by Vyasa to his favourite pupil, and no doubt received by the latter with gratitude as a welcome addition to the already large college of sacred images that he had so devotedly formed. On the return journey, Sri Madhva visited Benares, Hastinapura (Delhi), and the historic field of Kurukshetra. Wherever he went, he was feted and feasted, performed miracles and partook in religious discussions.

His life after the great tour in Northern India was characterized by numerous conversions, of which the more notable were those of Pandit Trivakrama, a learned brahman brought up in the Advaita creed and Jayasimha, the king of Kuntala. As for the ordinary people, they simply flocked every day to the Mutt and sought initiation. When Sri Madhva was satisfied that the seeker was sincere, he allowed the conversion and signalized by binding him with moderately heated seals representing Sri Narayan's Shankham and Chakra. The growing popularity of Sri Madhva and his creed roused the jealousy of the devotees of the Sri Sringeri Mutt who, after deliberating on various means of compassing his ruin, finally contrived to rob him of his Library. The holy miscreants were afterwards made to disgorge the booty, but they do not appear to have met with any other punishment.

In his last days, Sri Madhva did not undertake any long journeys but he constantly visited places in Canara and Mysore. The banks of the Bhadra near Mysore were in particular his favourite resort for *tapas*. He maintained his physical and mental vigour unabated to the end and there is at least one spot in Mysore associated with his feats of strength. This is near Kalasa in the Kadur District where by the side of a river there is a large boulder, a big square shaped stone placed horizontally on another. On the former is an inscription in Sanskrit stating that Sri Madhvacharya brought and placed it there with one hand. Stones cannot lie, and the biographer finds in this inscription irrefragable proof of the authenticity of the story regarding Sri Madhva's marvellous strength.

Sri Madhva lived seventy-nine years and some months and when he quitted the scene of his early labours, he left a large and not undistinguished following, and a name which will imperishably live in the annals of the Indian religion.

The second part of the book is devoted to a somewhat abstruse discussion of Sri Madhva's teachings and the works. On this part of the subject it is unnecessary to carry beyond indicating very briefly the place of Sri Madhva among the religious reformers of India. Sri Sankara, who according to different historians lived so far back as 2000 B.C. or so recently as A.D. 800 had preached a religion which at its highest, was a sublime pantheism and in its popular form, consisted in the worship of Siva. Sankara's religion had very general acceptance but dissenters there always were and on three notable occasions they carried an attack against Sankara's system which resulted in the establishment of three rival creeds. The leaders on these attacks were Sri Ramanuja in the twelfth century, Sri Madhva about 200 years later and Sri Gouranga alias Chaitanya (of Bengal) in the sixteenth century. The teachings of these reformers though agreeing in general outline differ considerably in detail. All of them inculcated belief in a personal God and insisted on *bhakti* of selfless devotion to that God as the one key to salvation. But while Sri Ramanuja recognized the doctrine of monism to a modified extent, Sri Madhva and Chaitanya uncompromisingly maintained that 'Man is man and God is God and the twain shall never be one.' Again, while Ramanuja and Chaitanya admitted all classes of people into their faith, Sri Madhva carried on proselytism only among Brahmanas, resembling in this respect, the great *advaita* leader whose doctrines he spent his life in attempting to overthrow.

N. M. R.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India

EASTERN CIRCLE 1915-6.

The report is written by Dr. Spooner, who continued to be in charge of the Eastern Circle and gives detailed accounts of the useful work done during the year. Owing to straitened finances on account of the war not much work was done in the way of conservation. Three treasure troves were discovered which contained coins of Sher Shah, Islam Shah, Ala-ud-din Khilji and other Muhammadan rulers. A copper grant also has been discovered of the Rashtrakuta King Krishna I. Akalavarsha-Subhatunga.

The most interesting portion of the report is that which deals with the excavations at Patliputra and Nalanda, the former conducted at the expense of Sir Ratan Tata and the latter subventioned by the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The excavations have not been completed, but many interesting antiquities have in the meanwhile been discovered among which are a number of knives, coins, a sword, many terracottas, a chariot wheel and more than 600 clay seals or tablets. A stone temple has been unearthed at Nalanda which has a band of sculptured panels running above the plinth on all the four sides of the shrine. The total of such panels is

211 and as according to Dr. Spooner, they belong to the Gupta period, their importance can hardly be exaggerated. It is a pity that the report does not contain more detailed information about these.

A. V.

We have been asked to publish the following in our journal and we do so with great pleasure in the hope that some members of the Mythic Society will compete for the medal.

Pinhey Memorial Medal

The Hyderabad Archaeological Society, on April 21, 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the founder and first President of the Society.

Regulations:—(1) The 'Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal' shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archaeology or History, in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

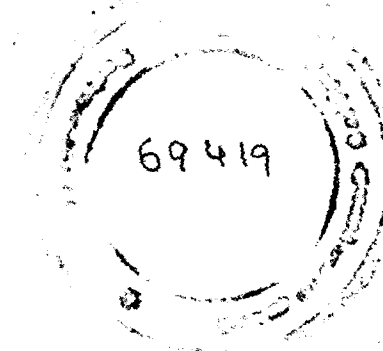
(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archaeology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(4) Theses for the first competition will be received up to the end of October, 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, i.e. in October, 1921, 1924, and so on.

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's *Journal*.

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value, the medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(7) If his thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.



32
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335

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
Title page		'Kantisya'	'Kautilya'
218	9	'Angirasa'	'Bhāradvāja'
228	5	'bige'	'Bija'
"	17	'Kielhow'	'Kielhorn'
"	19	'Varthe'	'Varshe'
"	29	'Brikkaraya'	'Bukkaraya'
"	35	'Brikkaraya'	'Bukkaraya'
229	1	'Mulur'	'Mulur'
230	...	'Berlamatimarga'	'Balamatimarga'
231	21	'in the Avesta'	'of the Avesta'
"	25	'at'	'at the'
"	27	'aliunde'	'alone'
238	26	'eouter'	'outer'

