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[No. 3

THE AGE OF THE BRAHMANAS.

BY B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

PART II.

THE other set of data employed for determining the age of the Brāhmaṇas relates chiefly to two statements from Brāhmaṇa literature. One of them is found only once; it is in Kaush: Br. XIX—3, where it is stated that the sun rests on 'Māghasya amāvāsyā' before turning north. The other statement is found in several places—Taitt: Sam. VII—4—8; Taitt: Br. I—I—2—9 and 10; Tāṇḍya Br. V—9; Kaush: Br. IV—4; V—1; Gopatha Br. II—1—19; Śat: Br. VI—2—2—18, all of which state, directly or indirectly, that *Phālgunī-Paurṇamāsī* is the first night of the year. Dr. Thibaut understands, by the expression 'Māghasya amāvāsyā' of the Kaush: Br. XIX—3, the new moon that falls fifteen days before the Māghī full-moon. He understands the statement about the Phālgunī full-moon as meaning that it denoted the commencement of *Vasanta* or spring. The interval between Māgha-amāvāsyā and Phālgunī full-moon being forty-five days, it follows from the doctor's interpretation that spring begins midway between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox. Allowing two months for *Vasanta* and two for *Grīshma*, according to the general scheme of seasons in the Brāhmaṇas, *Varshā*, the rainy season, would commence fifteen days before the summer solstice; this would harmonise sufficiently well with the seasonal changes in

India, having regard to the artificial character of the system of six seasons in the Brāhmaṇas. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that at the time of the Brāhmaṇas, the winter solstice occurred fifteen days before the Māghī full-moon. This is substantially what we find in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.

This is the theory of Dr. Thibaut. He thus sums up his view: 'There is one passage at any rate in the Brāhmaṇas, which seems to show directly that the arrangement of the year recognized by the priests of those times, in reality, very closely agreed with the scheme of Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga. That passage, first pointed out by the late Professor A. Weber of Berlin, is met with in the Brāhmaṇa of the Kaushītakis and says that the sun, when about to turn to the north, stops for some time on the new-moon day of the month of Māgha. This exactly agrees with the teaching of the Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga, which also says that the shortest day of the year (*i.e.*, the day of the winter solstice when the sun again begins to move towards the north) coincides with the new-moon of Māgha. From this, it may be inferred that the authors of the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa also considered the place of the Winter Solstice to be marked by the beginning of Śravishtās and hence, astronomical evidence, so far as it can be considered trustworthy, refers the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa itself to the twelfth pre-Christian century.*

In this interpretation of the two statements, he is supported by the Indian commentators. Vināyaka, in his commentary on Kaush: Br. XIX-3 and Ānartīya in his commentary on the corresponding passage of Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra take the Māgha-amāvāsyā in this passage in the *Pūrṇimānta* sense and understand it to denote the amāvāsyā occurring fifteen days before the Māghī-Pūrṇimā. This interpretation has also been accepted by Dr. Weber. As regards the Phālgunī full-moon, all the scholiasts are agreed that the first place assigned to it in the year is with reference to its being the beginning of Vasanta. Having thus the weight of distinguished authorities behind him, the doctor could very well have concluded his case. But he does not appear to have been satisfied with the mere support of authorities; nor does he appear to have felt quite confident that the Kaushītaki passage contemplates the Pūrṇimānta arrangement. He writes: "We also following the explanation in Vināyaka's commentary understand by these new-moons those *preceding* the full-moons in Tishya (= Pushya), Maghās, and Chitrā. This, however, does not compel us to assume with Vināyaka that the Brāhmaṇa reckons its months from full-moon to full-moon, so that the months would begin with the dark half (although to this also there would be no particular objection). In the strict terminology of later times, indeed, the amāvāsyā of Tishya could be the amāvāsyā preceding the

full-moon in Tishya only if the month Tishya were reckoned from full-moon in Mṛigaśīras to full-moon in Tishya; while if reckoned from new-moon to new-moon the amāvāsyā of Tishya would mean the last *tithi* of the dark half following the full-moon in Tishya. But there is no reason compelling us to assume such strictness of terminology for the time of the Brāhmāṇas, especially when we consider that the new-moon is, strictly speaking, not a lunar day but only the moment when the dark half comes to an end and the light half begins; so that the beginning of the first day of the light half has as much right to be called amāvāsyā as the end of the last day of the dark half."

I find it difficult to grasp the force of the doctor's argument. I shall try to present his argument in a way which I can more easily understand. New-moon, in strict astronomy, is what is technically known as the moment* of the new-moon, the meeting-point of the dark and the light halves of a lunar month. In later Indian calendars, the word amāvāsyā is used to denote the *tithi* which ends with the moment of the new-moon and the *tithi* which commenced from or after the moment of new-moon is called *Śukla-pratipad*. But the beginning portion of the *tithi* after the moment of new-moon has as much right to be called amāvāsyā as the close of the *tithi* ending with the moment of full-moon; and so the Brāhmaṇas might well have designated *Śukla-pratipad* (or part of it) as amāvāsyā; and as a new lunar month begins from the moment of new-moon, this amāvāsyā might have been called after the full-moon which gave its name to this new lunar month. The expression 'Māghasya-amāvāsyā' in the Kaush: Br. might therefore be taken as denoting 'the beginning of the first day of the light half of the month of Māgha'.

I am not sure if I have understood the doctor correctly. If the above is what he means, the following questions will be pertinent.

1. (a) To how many hours after the moment of new-moon does this 'beginning of the first day of the light half' extend? (b) Does amāvāsyā also include some hours before the moment of new-moon? If so, what is this portion of amāvāsyā called? If it is called by the name of the previous lunar month, are there two amāvāsyās, side by side,—one, some hours ending with the moment of the new-moon and the other, some hours after the moment of the new-moon, each being named after each of the two lunar months?

2. The passage of the Kaush: Br. says that the sun rests on Māgha amāvāsyā and turns north on the *next day*. If Māgha amāvāsyā means the beginning of the first day of the light half, have we then to understand that the sun turns north on the next day after it, that is, on what, in later

* "The Hindustan Review," Jan. 1904, pp. 13 and 14.

* Is it?

literature, is known as *Śukla-dvitiyā*? If so, does the lunar month run from one *Śukla-dvitiyā* to the next? There is no warrant in Brāhmaṇa literature for such a presumption. It is all so perplexing.

To avoid these inconvenient questions, the authors of the 'Vedic Index' say, (1) 'It is simpler to suppose the meaning to be that Māgha is regarded as commencing *with*, *not after*, the new-moon and ending with the day before new-moon'.....(2) 'Dr. Thibaut considers that to assume the existence of the *Pūrṇimānta* system for the Veda is unnecessary though possible. Weber assumes that it occurs in the Kaush; Br. as held by the scholiasts. But it would probably be a mistake to press the passage or to assume that the *amānta* system was rigidly accepted in the Veda. It seems at least as probable that the month was vaguely regarded as beginning with the new-moon day, so that the new-moon preceded the full-moon, which was in the middle, not the end or beginning of the month.'.....(3) 'The winter solstice in Māgha is assured by a Brāhmaṇa text; for the Kaush; Br. (XIX—3) expressly places it in the new-moon of Māgha. It is not important whether we take this with the commentators as the new-moon in the middle of a month commencing with the day after full-moon in Taisha or, which is more likely, as the new-moon beginning the month and preceding the full-moon in Maghās.' They would thus recognize an *amādi* month for the Brāhmaṇa and fall back on the *Pūrṇimānta* only as a last resort.

Do these writers mean that the *Pūrva paksha*, which is generally recognized as the bright half, includes the darkest day of the month with the next fourteen light nights; and the *apara paksha* or the dark half covers the day of the fullest moon-light with the next fourteen waning nights? If not, by what names are the two halves, assumed by them, known in the Brāhmaṇas? Taitt: Sam. VII—1—4 says with reference to a two-nights' sacrifice (*dvirātr*).

‘अमावास्यायां पूर्वमहर्भवत्युत्तरासिन्नुत्तरं । नानैवाधमासयोर्भवतः ॥

'The first day's offering should be on *amāvāsyā* and the second day's, on the next day. The sacrifice will thus fall on two different *ardhamāsas*.' This would show that *amāvāsyā* ended one half-month and the next day began a different half-month. Is there any such text, in any of the Brāhmaṇas, to show that *amāvāsyā* began a month or a half-month? Prof. A. B. Keith cites one passage—Taitt: Sam. III—5—1 and notes* "This passage clearly shows that the new-moon was regarded as beginning the month but not so clearly whether the new-moon was the beginning or just before the beginning. The

* In his translation of Taitt: Samhitā. Leaman's H.O.S.

former seems proved, however, by the reference in '*paurṇamāsīm ālabheta*.' The passage runs thus :

ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति सत्वे दर्शपूर्णमासावालभेत य एनयोरनुलोमं च प्रतिलोमं च विद्यादिति
अमावास्याया ऊर्ध्वं तदनुलोमं, पौर्णमास्यै प्रतीचीने तत्प्रतिलोमं, यत्पौर्णमासी पूर्वमालभेत प्रति
लोममेनावालभेत, अमुमपक्षायमाणमन्वपक्षीयते ॥

This may be rendered thus: 'The Brahmvādins say 'He (alone) should begin the *darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifices, who knows their natural and reversed orders. What comes after *amāvāsyā* is the natural order; what follows *pūrṇamāsi* is the reversed order. He who begins the *darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifices with the *pūrṇamāsa* sacrifice begins (the course) in the inverse order and wanes like the (succeeding *paksha* or moon).'

The entire *anuvāka* should be taken together for understanding its drift. It refers to the *commencement* of the life-long *darśapūrṇamāsa* course. The question is which of the two *ishṭis* (*darśa* or *pūrṇamāsa*) should be the first to *start with*. If the *yajamāna* should begin with the *pūrṇamāsa isṭi*, the moon wanes immediately after and the *yajamāna* also will waste away like him. To avoid this untoward result, let him offer the two *Sārasvata* oblations. *Sarasvati* is (the same as) *amāvāsyā* and so by offering the *Sārasvata* oblations at the outset, he averts the evil of *pratiloma*, even though he should start the course with the *pūrṇamāsa* sacrifice. As Rudradatta says in his commentary on *Āpastamba* Sr. S. V—24—7, the usual procedure is to begin the course with the *pūrṇamāsa isṭi* and the two *Sārasvata* offerings at the outset are meant to secure the prosperity which might accrue from starting the course with *darśesṭi*. I cannot understand how the expression 'यत्पौर्णमासी पूर्वमालभेत' (that is, 'if the *yajamāna* should begin the course with the *pūrṇamāsesṭi*') would help to establish the theory of *amādi*. The passage clearly says that what *follows* *amāvāsyā* is the normal order, not, what *begins* with *amāvāsyā*; and the moon appears and increases not on and from *amāvāsyā* but on and from the day after *amāvāsyā*. It is also well to remember that the *darśa* and *pūrṇamāsa isṭis* are generally performed on the *pratipads* following the *parvans*. One cannot help wishing that the learned translator had been more explicit.

Western Sanskritists seldom use the word *amāvāsyā*; they use instead the term 'new-moon'. This rendering is apt to mislead both readers and writers. The term 'new-moon' is defined as the moon 'when it first appears after being invisible' (as applied to the moon) or the day 'when the moon is first seen' (as applied to a day). This day was 'the first day of the lunar month, which was a holy day among the Jews'. If this is the correct usage of the term 'new-moon,' it would correspond to what is known in later Indian

literature as *Śukla-pratipad* and not to 'amāvāsyā' which is the day when the moon is totally invisible. Dr. Thibaut says 'new moon is, strictly speaking, not a lunar day but only the moment when the dark half comes to an end and the light half begins.' The term, new-moon, is never used to denote 'the moment' of new-moon; nor is the word 'amāvāsyā' so used.

In later Indian literature, amāvāsyā is a *tithi* and not a moment; it is held to end with the moment of new-moon. A *tithi* is the time required by the moon for getting ahead of the sun in longitude by twelve degrees and varies in length from 26h. 6m. 24s. to 21h. 34m. 24s. * *Śukla-pratipad* begins from the moment of new-moon. A *tithi* and a civil day not coinciding either at start or in duration, a *tithi* may fall in part on one civil day and in part on the next day and there has been difference of opinion as to which of the two days should be treated as the *tithi proper* for religious rites.† For instance, where an amāvāsyā occupies part of one civil day and part of the next, the followers of Baudhāyana observe the pitṛi-rites on the first day; those of Āpastamba, the next day if on this day the moment of new-moon should fall after about 2 p.m.

All these doctrines about *tithis* are of later date and cannot apply to the period of the Brāhmaṇas, when, for aught we know, *tithis* were practically treated as equivalent to civil days. The question is what the priests of the Brāhmaṇa period treated as amāvāsyā, not whether part of the day commencing from the moment of new-moon might or might not be called amāvāsyā. They might have called the beginning of the day after the moment of new-moon as amāvāsyā if they had so chosen; but the question is, did they? This can be satisfactorily answered not by any *a priori* considerations of equity but by examining what the Brāhmaṇas themselves have to say on this point.

Śat: Br. (1-6-4-14 and 18) says "Some people enter on the fast (preceding the *darśa-ishṭi*) when they still see the moon, thinking 'To-morrow he will not rise'..... Though the moon previously (to the night of amāvāsyā) rises at a considerable distance from the sun, he now (on the amāvāsyā day) swims towards him and enters into his open mouth. Having swallowed him, the sun rises and the other one (the moon) is not seen (that day) either in the east (before sun-rise) or in the west ‡ (after sun-set)." Again in XI-1, it is

* A mean *tithi* is 23 h. 37 m. 28'093 s. Similarly a mean *lunation* is, according to Sūrya Siddhanta, 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 2'87 s., though a true lunation varies from 30 d. 1 h. 15 m. to 29 d. 0 h. 40 m. In the Br. a lunation is roughly put down as 30 days. Cf. Kaush: Br. III-2; Taitt: Br. III-10.

† Vide Kala-mādhava for details, *tithi-prakarana*.

‡ "सर्वत्रैव एतां रात्रिं न पुरस्तात्पश्चाद्दृश्यते" The etymological explanations of the word *amāvāsyā* both here and in Taitt: Sam. II-5-3 are, in the manner of the Brāhmaṇas, purposely fanciful.

said, "Let the *yajamāna* fast on the day when the moon is not seen either in the east or the west. For it is then that the moon comes into this world and all the Gods and Spirits abide here." It is this day that is known as amāvāsyā in the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Sūtras. Gobhila says, 'That day on which the moon is not seen, that he should treat as amāvāsyā.*' Āpastamba says, 'Amāvāsyā is the day on which they do not see the moon.†

There was, indeed, a difference of opinion among the Brahmvādins, as later among the sūtrakāras, as to on what days the ceremonies of *darśa ishṭi* were to be performed. These rites consisted of a two-days' performance. The preliminaries (*anvādhāna*) consisting of the fast and the vow‡ were done on the amāvāsyā day and the *ishṭi*, the rite proper, on the next day. Some held that the preliminaries should be performed on the day preceding the amāvāsyā, and the *ishṭi* on the amāvāsyā day. This was the opinion of Rishi Paingī.§ But Kaushītaki, Aitareya, and Śatapatha, in fact almost all the Brāhmaṇas, were for having the *anvādhāna* on the amāvāsyā day and the *ishṭi* on the next day. Ait: Br. says that the performance of *ishṭi* on the amāvāsyā is equal in efficiency to mere *sōma-kṛaya* while the *ishṭi* on the next day is equal to *soma-yāga*. Elsewhere also Ait: Br. says that on the first day (that is, amāvāsyā day) the oblation to the pitṛis is offered; and the devas are worshipped on the next day.¶ Śat: Br. (1-6-4-14 etc.) offers a reason for rejecting the view of the Paingya school. "Some people enter on the fast when the moon is still visible (that is, on the fourteenth day of the waning half) and perform the *ishṭi* on the amāvāsyā day. They reason thus: 'To-day, the moon is still visible; to-morrow he will be swallowed up by the sun. To-day, at least, there is some food left for the Gods (the digits of the moon are supposed to contain soma, the food of the Gods) as there is still left one digit of the moon. To-morrow there will be none left. So we will enter on the fast to-day and perform the *ishṭi* to-morrow, so that we may supply the Gods with some food (our *havis* offerings) before the supply in the moon becomes thoroughly exhausted.' But this reasoning is not right. For, Soma, the food of the Gods, comes down to this earth on the amāvāsyā day and enters

* "यदहस्त्वैव चन्द्रमा न दृश्यते तां अमावास्यां कुर्वीत" Gr: S. I-5-8.

† "अमावास्यायां यदहश्चन्द्रमसं न पश्यन्ति" Śr: S. I-3-1.

‡ *Upavasa, vrata*, etc; vide Gobhila's Gr: S. I-5 and 6 for details; also Sāyana on Ait: Br. 32-9.

§ Vide Ait: Br. 32-9 (Say: Com.) Sāyana describes Paingī as the promulgator of a Sāma-Śākhā. Sāyana says that this and the next Khanda have not been commented upon by some earlier scholiasts, as they are not included in their *pāṭha*.

¶ Ait: Br. 12, 4, on which Sāyana comments: पूर्वैवमावास्यायां पितृभ्यः क्रियेत..... प्रतिपदिनर्देशं पूर्णमासयागदिने देवान्यजेत ॥

into the plants,* herbs and water. Cows, feeding on such soma-fed plants and drinking such soma-imbued water, yield milk filled with the essence of soma; and the sāmnāya prepared from such milk and offered to the Gods on the next day goes to replenish the moon, who then becomes visible in the western sky."

So also the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, which contains the traditions of the Śatapatha:

स (चन्द्रः) एष संवत्सरः प्रजापतिः षोडशकलः, तस्य रात्रय एव पंचदशकलाः, ध्रुवास्य षोडशकला, स रात्रिभिरेवा च पूर्यतेऽपचक्षीयते, सोऽमावास्यां रात्रिमेतया षोडश्या कलया सर्वं मिदंप्राणभृदनुप्रविश्य ततः प्रातर्जायते ॥

'He (the moon)† with sixteen digits is (the same as) the year *alias* Prajāpati. The nights, indeed, are his fifteen digits (which wax and wane). (But) his changeless (self) is the sixteenth digit. He is increased or decreased only by nights. (When the fifteen kalās are exhausted) he entering with the sixteenth kalā (which never changes) into everything that hath life, on the night of the amāvāsyā, is born thence on the next morning.' It will be seen from this that amāvāsyā was the day on which the moon was altogether lost to view—not 'the moment of new-moon' or some hours before or after it.

With the exception of Paingī, whose opinion is quoted and rejected in the Ait : Br., the Brāhmaṇas were agreed in the view that the fast and other preliminaries should be observed on amāvāsyā and the sacrifice proper (ishti) should be performed on the next day. The Sūtras also adopt this view though they also refer to the other practice. Gobhila says ‡ that the ends of the half-months are the time for fasting, the beginnings for sacrifice and adds, 'Sometimes he may also begin on the day when the moon is still visible'. Āpastamba says, 'Let the man observe the fast on amāvāsyā, the day on which the moon is not seen' and adds in the next sūtra 'or the day when one says 'to-morrow they will not see it'.§ Both these days came to be known as amāvāsyā, the earlier as *pūrvā-amāvāsyā* and the next day, as *uttara-amāvāsyā*. The presiding deity of the former day was called *Sinivālī*, and of the latter, *Kuhū*, the names of the deities denoting the days also.

* It is in this belief that we cut green timber and gather medicinal herbs and roots on amāvāsyā. For Soma or amṛita has entered into them and imbued them with his virtues. Such timber is held to be rot-proof and such plants endowed with superior efficacy.

† Prof. Max Muller and Prof. Deussen do not refer स; here to चन्द्रः in the previous para, though the context requires such reference. The moon's identity with the year would show that it is the lunar year that is referred to.

‡ Gr. S. I.-5-5 and 9. 'पक्षान्तेऽन्वाधानं पक्षादौ यागः' is a commonplace of śrauta literature. Agni-hotrins in South India now perform both on the *pratipad*, as a matter of convenience.

§ Āp : Yajna : pari : S. 68 and 69.

But the word amāvāsyā, when used by itself, in the Brāhmaṇas, meant only the day when the moon is totally invisible and the words *pūrvā-amāvāsyā* and *uttara-amāvāsyā* seldom occur in the Brāhmaṇas except where the difference of practice has to be alluded to. The day of no-moon is a marked natural phenomenon and the Brāhmaṇas distinguish and anticipate it from the day of *pūrvā-amāvāsyā* or *Sinivālī*, on which a digit of the moon was visible a little before sun-rise.*

There was the same difference of observance, with regard to the Paurṇamāsa ishti also, which led to a similar distinction between a *pūrvā-paurṇamāsī* and an *uttara-paurṇamāsī*. Here there was no marked feature between the full-moon and the moon with a digit more or less wanting, and the distinction, wherever it was necessary, had to be preserved with the aid of the nakshatra with which the moon was in conjunction. In the sūtra period, the theory of the full-moon day became still more complicated, a third kind of full-moon called the *Kharvikā* full-moon being added by the Vājasaneyins.† Gobhila says (Gr : S I-5-11 & 12) 'Now with regard to the day of the full-moon, the doctrine on this point has to be studied as a separate question. One should study it or should ascertain the *parvan* from those who know it.'

There were thus four days connected with the full and the digitless moon—(1) *pūrvā-paurṇamāsī*, (2) *uttara-paurṇamāsī*, (3) *pūrvā-amāvāsyā* and (4) *uttara-amāvāsyā*; and four deities connected with them—(1) Anumati, (2) Rākā, (3) Sinivālī, (4) Kuhū.‡ The following passage of Ait : Br.§ is worthy of note in this connection:

पूर्वापौर्णमासीमुपवसेदिति पृथग्यमुत्तरामिति वीक्षितकं । या पूर्वापौर्णमासीसाऽनुमतियोत्त
रासाराका, या पूर्वाऽमावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरासाकुहूः । यां पर्यस्तमिषादभ्युदियादिति
सा तिथिः ॥

"That the fast should be observed on *pūrvā-paurṇamāsī* is the opinion of the

* Cf. चतुर्दशीयुक्तामावास्यायाः सिनीवालीत्वेन, प्रातश्चन्द्रदर्शनात्; also Amara, कलार्हाने सानुमतिः पूर्वेराकानिशाकरे...साष्ट्येन्दुः सिनीवाली सानष्ट्येन्दुकलाकुहूः ॥

† Vide Āp : Yajna : pari. S. 67.

‡ These terms, *anumati*, etc., occur more than once in the Rig Veda (II-32-4 & 8; X-184-2, etc.). In the Brāhmaṇas, their application is clear and definite; they are spoken of as the deities presiding over these days, *devikās*, to whom *havis* offerings are made along with Dhātṛi and the moon. Vide Ait : Br. III-47 & 48; Taitt : Sam. III-4-9. The term *darśa-pūrṇamāsā* means not only amāvāsyā and pūrṇamī but also and more generally denotes the *ishtis* performed on *pratipad* after these days.

§ Adhy. 32, Khaṇḍa 9. Dr. M. Haug treats it as khaṇḍa 11. Sāyana says that khaṇḍas 9 and 10 are omitted in some readings. Dr. Haug says, 'it appears that it (10th) is an interpolation as well as the following (11th) paragraph. But whether it is an interpolation of later times is very doubtful. The piece may (to judge from its uncouth language) even be older than the bulk of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇam.'

Paingya school; that it should be observed on *uttara* (*paurṇamāsī*) is that of the Kaushitaka school. *Pūrvā-paurṇamāsī* is *Anumati*; and *Uttara-paurṇamāsī* is *Rākā*. *Pūrvā-amāvāsyā* is *Sinivālī* and *Uttara-amāvāsyā* is *Kuhū*. The *tithi* proper is that which is covered by a sun-set and sun-rise.* The meaning is this: If there are thus two days which are known as *paurṇamāsī* and two days which are known as *amāvāsyā*, which of these are to be treated as *paurṇamāsī* or *amāvāsyā* proper? The answer is, that day in which the moon is full between sun-rise and sun-set and that day in which the moon is not seen either after sun-set or before sun-rise. So is the passage interpreted by Sāyana who writes,

“अमावास्यां वा पौर्णमासीं वा यां परिप्राप्य सूर्योऽस्तमयात्, तथायामभिलक्ष्य सूर्य उदि यात् सेयमुदयास्तमयव्यापिनी, कर्मोपयुक्ता तिथिः”

In *Taitt. Sam.* III-4-9, *Rākā* is treated as representing the entire *pūrvā-paksha* which closes with it; and *Kuhū*, the *apara-paksha* similarly. *Amāvāsyā* is distinguished from *Sinivālī* (the penultimate day of the *apara-paksha*) and *Paurṇamāsī*, from *Anumati*.†

It will be thus seen that the word *amāvāsyā*, by itself and without any qualification, was used in the *Brāhmaṇas* to denote that day in the month, in which the moon was not seen either immediately after sun-set or immediately before sun-rise and that this day was anticipated by observing a single streak of the moon on the previous night in the east before sun-rise. This previous day was called by its presiding deity *Sinivālī* and was also called *pūrvā-amāvāsyā*, as some performed the *anvādhāna* for *darśeshti* on that day. The majority however observed the *vrata* on the day when the moon was totally invisible and performed the *ishti* on the following day, when a streak of the moon first rose to view after sun-set. This latter day was called in the *Brāhmaṇas* *uddṛishṭa*,‡ which Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara explains “शुक्लाद्यमहः, यत्र चंद्रमा उद्गृह्यते” As Mādhava says in *Kāla-mādhava*,

* Dr. Haug translates the passage thus: ‘The first part of the full-moon day is called *Anumati*, the latter *Rākā*; the first part of the New Moon is called *Sinivālī* and its latter part *Kuhū*. The space which the moon requires for setting and rising again is called *Tithi* (lunar day).’ The doctor appears to have missed the drift of the entire passage. (1) *Paryastamiyat* and *abhyudīāt* when used by themselves refer to the sun and not the moon. (2) It is not the first and latter parts of the same day that are called by these names but two different days. (3) His rendering also misses the distinction between *soma-kṛaya* and *soma-yāga*. उत्तराणि ह वै सोमो यजते in the sequel does not mean ‘All days which follow belong to Soma (the soma sacrifice may be completed)’ as he translates, but it means that the *ishtis* performed on the days following the *amāvāsyā* and the *purnimā* are equal in efficiency to *soma-yāgas*.

† पूर्वपक्षोराका, अपरपक्षः कुहूः, अमावास्या सिनिवाली, पौर्णमासा अनुमतिः, चन्द्रमा धाता अष्टौ, which shows that the words *paurṇamāsī* and *amāvāsyā*, when used by themselves, refer only to the *uttara* days.

‡ *Taitt. Br.* I-8-10-35; *Śat. Br.* V-4; *Kaush. Br.* IV-3.

“दर्शे चन्द्रमण्डलमापदपि न दृश्यते । उपरितने दिने क्षीप्रगत्या सूर्यादिनिःसृतः शशी प्राची यदि त्रिशदंशोपेतराशेः द्वादशाभिरंशैः सूर्यमण्डलमधिगच्छति तदा चंद्रस्य पंचदशसुभांगेषु प्रथमभागो दर्शनयोग्यो भवति । सोऽयं भागः प्रथमकलेः विधीयते । तत्कलानिष्पत्तिपरिमितः कालः प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति” ॥

We have thus to interpret the expression ‘*Māghasya amāvāsyā*’ in *Kaush. Br.* XIX-3 as ‘that day in the month of *Māgha* on which the moon was neither seen in the west after sun-set nor in the east before sun-rise’. The *Brāhmaṇas* do not anywhere appear to have been aware of or troubled themselves with ‘the moment of new-moon’. The next thing is to see what sort of month was recognized by the *Brāhmaṇas* and what place was occupied by *amāvāsyā* therein.

‘The Vedic Index’ says, ‘It is not certain exactly how the month was reckoned, whether from the day after new-moon to new-moon—*amānta*—or from the day after full-moon to full-moon—the *pūrnimānta* system, which later, at any rate, was followed in Northern India, while the other system prevailed in the South.’ The earliest definite mention of the *pūrnimānta* is, so far as I have been able to find, by *Brahmagupta* who says in his *Brahma-sputa siddhānta*

“अमावास्या परिच्छिन्नमासः स्यात् ब्राह्मणस्य तु ।

संक्रान्तिपौर्णमासीभ्यां तथैव नृपवैश्ययोः ॥”

Much later than this, *Kamalākara* also notes in *Nirnaya-sindhu* that a Brahman ends his month with the *amāvāsyā*, a Kshatriya with *Sankranti* and a Vaisya with *pūrnimā*. He adds that south of the *Vindhya* they begin the month with the moon’s increase but north of it, either with its increase or its decrease though the former is the more usual. In the *Vedāṅga*, in the pre-*yavana* *siddhāntas** and *samhitas* and in the *sutrās*,† the month is *amānta*. In the *Rig Veda*, so far as indications go, the month is *amānta*. *R. V. X.*—85-18 says with reference to the moon ‘ऋतून्यो विदध्यायते पुनः’। ‘The moon completing the *ṛitu*‡ is born anew,’ that is to say, the moon dies or becomes totally invisible at the completion of a month and it rises to view again, when the next month begins. Thus from the time of the *Rig Veda* down to the seventh century A.D., there is hardly any indication that the *pūrnimānta* was ever in vogue. It is therefore antecedently improbable that the *pūrnimānta* system came into being after the *Rig Vedic* period and dropped out of sight till the seventh century A.D.

* E.g. *Pancha Sid.* XII—2.

† E.g. *Gobhila Gr. S.* I—5—6. *Baud.* S. S. II—12, III—1, etc.

‡ The word *ṛitu* is here obviously used in the sense of ‘month’ as in *Taitt. Sam.* VII—4-8, *Taṇḍya Br.* V—9; *Taitt. Sam.* IV—4-11, *Vaj.* *Sam.* XIII—28. The force is not lost even if we should understand by *ṛitu* ‘a season comprising two months’.

But we need not rest with these *a priori* considerations. The Taittirīya Śākhā, the Tāndya, the Aitareya and the Kaushitaki frequently use terms *pūrva-paksha* and *apara-paksha** to denote the light and dark halves of the lunar month respectively. It is extremely improbable that a śākhā which uses these terms can ever contemplate the purṇimānta arrangement even as an alternative. The Śatapatha uses expressions like यथापूर्वतेऽर्धमासः योपक्षीयते but there is ample evidence in that Brāhmaṇa to show that its month is exclusively amānta. Nilakaṇṭha, the learned commentator of the Mahābhārata and the Śatapatha (Kaṇva) is of the same opinion. He writes in his commentary on the expression तौमस प्रथम पक्षे (Maha Bh., Aranya parva, adhy. 161, s'l. 11) •

केचित्तु इतएव प्रथमशब्दान्मासार्धमे कृष्णपक्षस्य प्राथम्यमिच्छन्ति । तदसत् । पूर्वपक्षापरपक्ष शब्दयोः क्रमेण शुक्लकृष्णयोरेवरूढत्वात् । श्रुतेऽपि पौर्णिमासतएवैव्यारंभात् । नच पूर्णमासोऽस्या मितियोगात् पौर्णिमास्यन्तोमास इति वाच्यं । तत्रमासशब्दस्य चन्द्रवाचित्वात् । 'सूर्यामासा विचरन्ता दिवि' इति मन्त्रवणात् । निपुणतरमुपपादितमेतदस्माभिः काण्वशतपथभाष्ये एक पादी काण्डे ॥

It is possible that different Vedic Śākhās may observe different usages, one, amānta and another, purṇimānta, though as far as I can see there is nowhere in any Śākhā any reference to the latter. But a Śākhā, which often refers to the light and dark halves as the *former* and the *latter* parts of the month can never refer to the purṇimānta without stultifying itself. One of such Śākhās is the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa, in which occurs the expression 'Māghasya-amāvāsyā,' with which we are immediately concerned. Dr. Oldenberg also 'points to the fact that new-moon is far more distinctly an epoch than the full-moon, that the Greek, Roman and Jewish years began with the new-moon and that the Vedic evidence to prove this is the division of the month into the former (pūrva) and latter (apara) halves, the first being the śukla, bright, the second, the dark (krishṇa)'.†

It will be well to see here what the several Śākhās have to say on this question.

I. *The Śatapatha*.—Though this Brāhmaṇa prefers expressions like *āpūryamāṇa paksha* (e.g. VI-2-2-28) to those like 'pūrva paksha,' there is still sufficient evidence to show that its months were amānta. Śat. Br. XI-1-1 says 'संवत्सरोयत... तद्वारं यदमावास्या etc.' 'Amāvāsyā is the gate of the year' that is to say, it closes the old year and leads to the new-year and

* E.g. Tait. Sam. III—4-9; VII—4-8, etc.; Tait. Br. III—10-1-7; Tāndya Br. V—9; Ait. Br. IX—3; XIX—25, etc.; Kaush. Br. III—2 पंचदशवै पूर्वापरपक्षयोरङ्गानि would show that a lunar day was practically regarded as a civil day.
† The Vedic Index—month, fanciful.

inferentially into the first month of the new-year. After pointing out how amāvāsyā is the fit day for *agnyādhāna*, and he who lays down the sacred fires on that day is as successful as one who takes a fort by entering it when the gate is open, the Brāhmaṇa proceeds 'यासावैशाखस्यामावास्या तस्यामादधातसारोहिण्यासंपद्यते', Rudradatta on Āp. Śr. s. V-3-20 quotes Baudhāyana's explanation of this thus: तदिदं बौधायनेन व्याख्यातं "यासावैशाखाः पौर्णिमास्या उपरिष्ठादमावास्या साऽसकृत् संवत्सरस्य रोहिण्या संपद्यते तस्यामादधात" इति ॥ This Brāhmaṇa passage is important in as much as it enables us to fix the position of amāvāsyā in the month of Vaiśākha. It says 'Vaiśākha amāvāsyā generally coincides with the moon in Rohiṇī; and this can be only fifteen days after Vaiśākha pūrṇimā on which day the moon generally * coincides with Viśākha. It would follow from this that the months in the Sat. Br. are amānta.

II. *Taitt. Śākhā*.—(1) In the Yājñanuvākyas of Nakshatreshtī, the mantra of paurṇamāsī comes as the fifteenth after the Deva-nakshatras and that of amāvāsyā, as the thirtieth after the Yama-nakshatras. The order of these two days is presumably that of their respective places in the month.

(2) In enumerating the ritualistic names of the several nights of the month (Taitt. Br. III-10-1), the word paurṇamāsī, which, there is no possibility of mistaking, occurs as the name of the fifteenth night, and Kāmadughaṭ or amāvāsyā, as the thirtieth or last night of the month.

(3) The most decisive evidence for the *exclusive* use of the amānta is furnished by Taitt. Br. I-8-10-35 which, while treating of *vyushti-dvirātra*, says:

पौर्णिमास्यां पूर्वमहर्भवति व्यष्टकायामुत्तरं, नानैवार्धमासयोः प्रतितिष्ठति । अमावास्यायां पूर्वमहर्भवति, उद्भृष्ट उत्तरं नानैवमासयोः प्रतितिष्ठति ॥

'The first day's sacrifice may be performed on paurṇamāsī and the next day's rite, on the vyashtaka (Krishṇa-pratipad).‡ He, the yajamāna, will then be established in two different ardhamāsas; he may perform the first day's rite on amāvāsyā and the second day's rite on uddṛishta (Śuklādyamahas, Bhaskara). Then he will be established in two different months. Paurṇamāsī and amāvāsyā are here contrasted, the former ending only a paksha while the latter ends the month. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara notices the importance of this passage, adding 'इदमेवलिङ्गे शुक्लादिमास इति.'

* 'Generally,' because sometimes Vaiśākhi pūrṇimā coincides with the moon in Anurādhā, as pointed out in Kalamadhava चैत्रादिश्रवणान्तानां नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वं प्रयोजकं. The amāvāsyā following the Chaitra full-moon never occurs in Rohiṇī; it coincides generally with Apabharāṇī or part of Kṛittika segment at the most.

† As the bestower of all fortunes. Vide Taitt. Sam. II-5-1.

‡ The context decides the meaning. So also Bhāskara and Śayana, though the former forgets it in Taitt. Sam. VII—5-7.

III. Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa 1-3 says:

‘मध्या वर्षे पुनर्वसुनक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य पुनरादधीत । न तस्मिन्काले पूर्वपक्षे पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते ।
यैवाषाढ्या उपरिष्ठाद्मावास्याभवति तस्यां पुनरादधीत । सा पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते ॥

This is rendered in Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Sutra II-5 thus:

मध्यावर्षे पुनराधेयकालः । पुनर्वसु न नक्षत्रं । या वाषाढ्याऽ उत्तरामावास्या ॥

The amāvāsyā that falls fifteen days after āshāḍhī-pūrṇimā marks the middle of the varsha ritu; that is to say, the first month of the varsha season closes with this amāvāsyā from which we see that the months in the Kaush. Br. are amānta.

Mādhava and his brother Āyana are of opinion that the Śākhas recognise the pūrṇimānta also. Mādhava quotes Taitt. Sam. VII-5-6

‘अमावास्यामासान् संपाद्या हरुस्तृजन्ति । अमावास्या हि मासान् संपश्यन्ति । पौर्ण
मास्यामासान् संपाद्या हरुस्तृजन्ति । पौर्णमास्या हि मासान् संपश्यन्ति ।’

as evidence of both the amānta and the pūrṇimānta and winds up this discussion with ‘तस्मात् दर्शान्तत्वं पूणिमान्तत्वयोः समो विकल्पः*’.

Sāyana also in his commentary on this passage says that it contemplates several kinds of months—(1) a sāvana month of thirty civil days either beginning with the prāyaṇīya atirātra or omitting as Śāya days the prayaṇīya and the next day called ārambhanīya (or chaturvimśa) and counting from the next day as the first day of the first shaḍaha, (2) the amānta month or (3) the pūrṇimānta month.

It becomes necessary to examine the drift of this passage to see whether it furnishes any valid inference in favour of a concurrent pūrṇimānta. The subject under discussion is Utsargināmayana, a variety of gavām ayana (a year-long sacrificial session). In the normal type, Gavām ayana or Samvatsarasatra, there are 360 sutyā or libation days, preceded by a few days’ dikshā and a few days’ upasads. The original idea of gavām ayana (lit: the course of the sun’s rays) was to complete a course of dikshā and upasads before the sun reaches the winter solstice and follow the northward and southward courses of the sun with a soma offering on each day of the sun’s northward and southward courses. Some satrins were of opinion that a day’s sacrifice should be omitted after completing every month’s course, probably as a day of rest or perhaps in view to adjust the satra to a lunar year of 354 days. The Samvatsara satra is referred to as a familiar illustration in R. V. VII-103. Though the original aim of this year-long institution was to follow closely

* Dr. Keith takes the same view though he does not quote Mādhava. He notes “This passage seems to contemplate the ending of the month with the new-moon or the full-moon as alter-

‘the twelve months’ God-sent order, imitating the course of the sun from the winter to the summer solstice and back again from there to the winter solstice, yet by the time of the Brāhmaṇas, a variety of usages had crept in, which interfered with its correspondence to the sun’s annual circuit, and different schools had arisen advocating different dates for the commencement of the dikshā as well as other modifications mainly suggested by considerations of convenience. The Aitareyins appear to have adhered to the original scheme, according to which the central day of the satra (vishuvat) corresponded to the day when the sun had reached the highest, that is, the northern-most point in its heavenly circuit. (Ait: Br. XVIII-18 to 22.) The Kaushitakins gave up this scheme and began the dikshā, when warm weather had appreciably set in. The Taittirīyas chose śukla 11 before the full-moon of Māgha (or of Chaitra according to Ālekhana) for commencing the dikshā.

In the satra, ‘māsa’ meant a period of 30 days’ sutyā, generally made up of five six-day periods (shaḍaha). The first sutyā day of the first shaḍaha māsa would fall 24 days (or also 29 according to the Kaush: Br.) after the first day of dikshā. Those who commenced dikshā four days before the full-moon would have the first sutyā on śukla 5, * and the satra-māsa ran from śukla 5 to the next śukla 4. The beginning and the end of a māsa would thus depend on what day the dikshā was commenced and how many days were occupied by the dikshā and the upasads.

“द्वादशदीक्षाः कुर्वाणः चतुरहेपुरस्तात्पौर्णमास्यादीक्षेरन् (5) तेषां ज्योत्स्नस्य पंचम्यां प्रसवः (6).

These preliminary remarks are necessary for bringing out the purport of the Taittirīya passage about utsarginām ayana. The passage says that some utsargins complete a sutyā māsa by five shaḍahas (on whatever day the first day of the first shaḍaha may fall) and omit the first day of the next māsa; others complete a sutyā-māsa by a course of two ardhāmāsas and then omit a day; others complete the māsa with the amāvāsyā or the pūrṇamāsyā and leave out the next day; while a few advocate omission or utsarga on the pūrṇimāsī and the amāvāsyā days. The conclusion of the discussion, which is discursively carried on in two anuvākas, is that the utsargins should observe five shaḍaha periods and omit the seventh day after the sixth day of the last shaḍaha of a māsa. From this, it will be seen that the passage has nothing whatever to do with the calendar month, whatever it might have been that was then in vogue. One might as well say that in accordance with Taitt: Sam. VII-4-8 or Śāṅkh: Sr. S. XIII-19-6, the calendar month ran from Śukla 5 to Śukla 4. ‘Māsa,’ in these anuvākas, denotes simply a course of 30 sutyā days on whatever day in the calendar

* Cf. Śāṅkh. Śr. S XIII-19-5 and 6.

month the first sutya day might fall, as determined by the first dikshā day and the number of dikshā and upasad days observed by the performers.

The only other piece of Vedic evidence that Mādhava adduces runs thus:

आथर्वणिकाएवमामनन्ति 'मासो वै प्रजापतिः । तस्य कृष्णपक्षएवरविः, शुक्लः, प्राणः'

As the term 'Krishṇapaksha' precedes the term 'Śuklah,' the dark half-month is the first paksha of the month! One wonders why he has not utilized the familiar Vedic expression 'darśa-pūrṇamāsa' to show that amāvāsyā came first in the month and then pūrṇamāsa.*

In his commentary on Taitt : Sam. VII—4-8, Sāyana would appear to understand the anuvāka, though not quite consistently, from a pūrṇimādi stand-point. This anuvāka discusses the merits of three different dates for beginning the dikshā for the samvatsara-satra and finally decides in favour of a fourth date. The first date discussed is the *ekāśṭakā*, which all Indian authorities are agreed in understanding as the dark *āṣṭamī* that falls eight days after Māgha-pūrṇimā. This date is rejected for two reasons—(1) that it occurs in the afflicted (cold) season of the year, (2) and that it falls in the reversed order of the year, it being in the last season of the year. Sāyana here writes :

पौषमाघरूपौ ऋत्वयवौ संवत्सरस्यान्तौ ... तयोः शिशिरर्तुरूपत्वात् । तेन च त्वेना पूर्वं संवत्सरस्य समाप्तत्वात् । पौषपूर्णिमासीमारभ्य फाल्गुनपूर्णिमास्याः प्राचीनकालः संवत्सरस्यान्तः । किञ्च ... आदौ हि दीक्षा कर्तव्या अयं च संवत्सरस्यान्तः कालः ॥

He says here that the two months commencing with Pausha-pūrṇimā and ending with the day immediately preceding Phālguna-pūrṇimā constitute the last season of the year, *Śīśira*; and inferentially the first season of the year, *vasanta* begins with the Phālguna-pūrṇimā.

The next date discussed is Phālgunī-pūrṇamāsa, which Sāyana explains as the full-moon in conjunction with uttara-phālgunī ('उत्तरफल्गुनीयुक्ते पूर्णमासे'). This, he adds, is the first day of the new year (तस्य च भाविसंवत्सरयोपक्रमदिनत्वात्) and he quotes from Taitt : Br. I—1-2 in support of uttara-phālgunī. This date is also rejected for the following reason. The dikshā, according to Taitt : Sam. VII—4-9 occupies twelve days † and the *upasad*, another twelve. The first sutya day, after these 24 days, would fall on the ninth day ‡ of the light half ending with Chitrā-pūrṇimā. The vishuvat or central day of the session, (which occurs six months after the first sutya day) would then fall

* Cf. Rudradatta on Āp. Śr. S. V—24-7. 'दर्शशब्दस्यात्यन्तरत्वात् पूर्वनिपातः'

† Āpastamba Śr. S. XXI—15-3 adds 'सप्तदशैके दीक्षाः सामामनन्ति' presumably with reference to Kaush : Br. XIX—2 and Śankh : Śr. S. XIII—19-1.

‡ Sāyana calls this चैत्रशुद्धनवमी, which term would be appropriate only from amānta or pūrṇimānta stand-point. In the pūrṇimādi view, chaitra *suddha* and chaitra *bahula* should be held as occurring only after Chitra-pūrṇimā.

on *āśvayuja-suddha-navami*.* The anuvāka says that the *vishuvat* would fall in *sāmmeghya*, that is, the sky would be thick set with clouds and it would be raining. The rite on this day is specially in honour of the sun (when the sun had, according to the original scheme, reached the highest point in its heavenly circuit)† and in the special rites of this day, the sun has to be looked up to and prayers, etc., have to be offered and this would be impossible if it were raining and the sun hidden behind the clouds.‡ Sāyana thus explains how it would be *sāmmeghya* on this day :

‘समीचीनाः = अतिवर्षणक्षमाः, मेधायासिन्वर्षतो = समेषः, तस्य संबन्धीप्रत्यासन्नः कालः = सामेव्यः ... फल्गुनीपूर्णमासमारभ्य द्वादशीदीक्षाद्वादशोपसदश्चानुष्टायोत्तरदिने प्रथममासोपक्रमः कार्यः । तथासति चैत्रशुद्धनवम्यामुपक्रमोभवति । आश्वयुजशुद्धाष्टम्यां मासपदकं समाप्य नवम्यां विपूषान् कार्यः । स च वर्षतोः प्रत्यासन्नः । भाद्रपदपूर्णिमास्यां वर्षतोः समाप्ते सत्यनन्तरमासवर्तित्वात् ... ।

Counting Phālguna and Chaitra (pūrṇimādi) as the *vasanta*, *Āshāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa* would form the *varshā* season; *śarad* would commence with *Bhādra-pada-pūrṇimā* (the *locative* has to be so understood, consistently with Sāyana's entire interpretation) and the *vishuvat* would fall about three weeks after the completion of the *varsha* ritu. It would be thus not so far removed from the close of *varsha* as to be beyond the reach of cloudy days. This is Sāyana's view. The distinction that he here tries to make between *sāmmegha* and *sāmmeghya*, though required by his stand-point, does not appear to be warranted or accepted. The corresponding passage of the Taṇḍya Br. has *sāmmegha*, which would show that both the words are identical in meaning. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara also writes : समेषा एव सामेव्यः ।

The next date taken up is Chitrā-pūrṇamāsa as it is the mouth of the year and it is added that this date is not open to any objection. Sāyana explains how Chitrā-pūrṇimā is also the mouth (मुख) of the year :

‘सेविवसन्तु मध्यपातित्वात् संवत्सरस्य मुखमेव’.

Similarly Rudradatta also in his commentary on Āp. Śr. S V—2—20 writes :

‘चैत्रस्य मुखत्वविधानं मुख्यत्वान्तर्गतत्वाभिप्रायं द्रष्टव्यं । अन्यथामुखत्वद्वयायोगात् । न च विपर्ययः शक्य आस्तातुं । तथाफाल्गुन्याः पूर्वभाविन्याः कृत्वन्तर्गतत्वासंभवात् ॥

* The above remarks would apply to this also.

† Cf. Ait : Br. 17-18, etc. "This vishuvat day is superior to all other days.....As the sacrificial victim is dedicated to the sun, it should be quite white....For this day is a festival for the sun.....The vishuvat day is like the head of a man (standing above and unifying) the two equal sides (right and left), etc." It originally corresponded to the summer solstice, with a special victim to the sun, special prayers and special chants (dūrohaṇam).

‡ Vide Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara who explains "तत्र आदित्यं दृष्ट्वा यत्कर्तव्यं, तत्र भवेत्."

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, however, explains it as referring to the alternative year-beginning adopted by some 'चैत्रादिः संवत्सर इत्येवमन्ते.' But there is no evidence in the Brāhmaṇas, except this insufficient and otherwise explicable passage, which would show that a chaitrādi year was at the time in concurrent use.* The parallel passage of the Taṇḍya Br. throws light on the meaning intended. It does not say that Chitra-pūrṇamāsa is the mouth (beginning) of the year but *the eye* of the year and as the eye is in the mouth (face), those who begin the dikshā on chitrā-pūrṇimā (may be said to) begin from the very mouth.† This would show that the interpretation of Sāyana and Rudradatta is the correct one.

But the anuvāka rejects even this faultless date and decides in favour of a date four days prior to the paurṇamāsī. Unfortunately it does not specify which paurṇamāsī. But all Indian authorities except Ālekhaṇa‡ take it as referring to Māghī-pūrṇamāsī, though this is nowhere mentioned in the anuvāka and the pūrṇimā nearest in the context is that of Chaitra; their sole consideration being that Ekāśṭakā mentioned at the concluding part of the passage cannot but be the same as the one mentioned at the outset (though all krishṇāśṭamis are also known as ekāśṭakās by courtesy) and somakraya on this day necessarily implies the fifth day before the Māghī-pūrṇimā.§

It would be thus seen that Sāyana says that Pausa, Māgha and Phālguna months and (inferentially) all the months begin with the pūrṇimā, that the Pausa, and Māgha (pūrṇimādi) months constitute the season śīśira, etc.

There are other Vedic texts also which would appear to furnish direct and explicit evidence for the pūrṇimādi. Kaush : Br. IV—4 says

“ मुखे वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य, यत्फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी ”. Kaush : Br. V—I (=

Gopatha Br. I—19—59) says ‘ मुखे वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यत्फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी, मुख

मुत्तरेफलपुच्छे पूर्वे तद्यथाप्रवृत्तस्यान्तौ संमत्तौ स्यातामेवमेवै तत्संवत्सरस्यान्तौ संमत्तौ भवतः ।

* Prof. Jacobi and Tilak held that the year beginning with Chitrā-pūrṇimā referred to a time more than 2000 years earlier than the phālgunādi and must have been retained in this passage merely as a tradition that was handed down for more than two millenniums. This view has been rightly rejected as extremely improbable.

† “ चक्षुर्देतत् संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रापूर्णासा, मुखतोवैचक्षुर्मुखतएव ” etc.

‡ Āp.Sr. S. : माघ्या इत्यस्मिन्, चैत्र्या इत्यस्मिन् : XXI—15—6.

§ Ait : Br. XIX—26 might also have been quoted to the effect that the dikshā should be performed in śīśira and not four days before Chitrā-pūrṇimā; which would fall in vāsanta which was held to begin with the Phālgunī-pūrṇimā. The reference to the renewal of plants and herbs towards the close of the anuvāka would better harmonise with the *satrotthāna*. With Māgha ashtami interpretation.

Taitt : Br. I—1—1—13 says : न पूर्वयोः फल्गुन्योऽस्मिमादधीत । एषावैजघन्यारात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यत्पूर्वेफल्गुनी । पृष्टित एव संवत्सरस्यास्मिमाधायपाषाण्यन्भवति । उत्तरयोरादधीत, एषा वै प्रथमारात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यदुत्तरे फल्गुनी । मुखत एव संवत्सरस्यास्मिमाधाय वर्सायान्भवति ॥ Sat : Br. VI—2-1-18. ‘ तद्वैफल्गुन्यामेव, एषा वै संवत्सरस्य प्रथमारात्रिर्यत्फल्गुनी पौर्णमासीयोत्तरा । एषोत्तमा या पूर्वा ॥

Here the Śatapatha refers not to the nakshatras, Phālgunī pūrva and uttara,† but to the two pūrṇamāsīs, pūrva and uttara; the pūrva paurṇamāsī being the last night of the year and the uttara paurṇamāsī being the first night of the year.

These texts might be held as justifying the view that the uttara paurṇamāsī of Phālguna began the year and the months in the Brāhmaṇas were (as an alternative reckoning) counted from the pūrṇimā proper. If this were so, how are we to explain the fact that these very Brāhmaṇas so frequently use the terms purva-paksha and apara-paksha? The word ‘pūrva-paksha’ occurs more than once in the very passage which states that Phālgunī-pūrṇamāsa is the mouth of the year (Taitt : Sam. VII-4-8 and Tan : Br. V-9); ‘apara-paksha’ occurs in Kaush. IV-1 and IV-4 and ‘purva-paksha’ in the prāśna immediately succeeding V-I, which states that the Phālgunī-pūrṇimā is the first night of the year. It has been shown *supra* that in the Brāhmaṇas, ardhamāsas or pakshas ended with paurṇamāsī or amāvāsyā. A combination of the full-moon day with the following waning moons or of a no-moon day with the succeeding waxing days would militate against the use of terms like pūrva and apara paksha so frequently met with in the Brāhmaṇas.

The question now rises, how are we to explain these Vedic texts which expressly state that Phālgunī-paurṇamāsī is the first night of the year. Śat : Br. VI-2-1, which contains this statement, gives us a hint. The passage treats of the dates for the rites preliminary to *chayana*, a year-long erection of a special fire-altar. The opening rite is *paśvāmbha*, the offering of a paśu; the next item is the *ukhā-sambharaṇa*, the preparation of a fire-pan, which is to hold the sacred fire during the period of altar-building; the third item is taking the dikshā. The passage says that the paśvāmbha should be performed on Phālgunī-paurṇamāsī (the uttarā); the ukhā-sambharaṇa, on the succeeding dark ashtamī (ashtakā) and the dikshā should be commenced on the succeeding amāvāsyā. For these are the first pūrṇimā, the first ashtakā and the first amāvāsyā of the year. Thus :

एतदेवै व प्रथमा पौर्णमासी तस्यां पशुमालभेत । या प्रथमाष्टका तस्यामुखां संभरति । या

प्रथमा अमावास्या तस्यांदीक्षते । एतदेवै यान्येव संवत्सरस्य प्रथमानि अहानि तानि अस्य तदारभते ॥

* This has to be referred to the pūrṇimās in conjunction with these nakshatras, in the light of the Śat : and Kaush : Brāhmaṇas and has so been understood by all scholiasts.

† These nakshatras correspond also to the time

These three days, Phalgunī uttarā-paurṇamāsī, the dark ashtamī which falls on the eighth day after and the amāvāsyā which falls on the fifteenth day after the Phalgunī full-moon are *the first three important days of their kind in the year* and the first pūrṇimā of the year falls before the first amāvāsyā of the year.

This passage shows that the Phalgunī-pūrṇimā need not necessarily be the *actual* first night of the year and the first place assigned to it in the Brāhmaṇa texts can be reconciled with the use of the terms pūrva-paksha and apara-paksha, with the statement that the pūrṇimā ends a half month and the amāvāsyā ends, a month and all the other indications in the several Brāhmaṇas about the position of the pūrṇimā in the middle and of the amāvāsyā at the end of the month. It has, however, still to be explained how the pūrva-paurṇamāsī, with the moon generally in conjunction with Pūrva-phalgunī can be called the last day of the old year, if the uttara-paurṇamāsī of Phālguna is not actually the first day of the new-year. The texts are not explicit; but a tentative explanation may be here offered. Phalgunī-pūrṇimā is called *ritunām mukham* in Kāthaka Samhitā (VIII-18) and in Mait: Samhitā (I-6-9)* Śat: Br. (XIII-4) says about the time for commencing the aśvamedha

“तस्मादसन्तएवारभ्यजेत साया फाल्गुनीभ्यां पौर्णमासी भवति” ॥

It is presumably on the strength of these Vedic texts that Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara thus comments on Taitt: Br. I-1-2-13:

उत्तरयोः फल्गुन्योर्विधानार्थं पूर्वयोर्निन्दा.. तेन यदापूर्वफल्गुनीयुक्तापौर्णमासी तदा वसन्त एव न भवतीत्यनेनदर्शनात् । तदेवाहजघन्येति । संवत्सरस्यायमेका पापा पात्रिः

उत्तरयोः फल्गुन्योरित्येव, प्रथमा = प्रधाना, अपापा.”

From all this, we can conclude that vasanta was held to begin with the uttarā-phalguni-paurṇamāsī and the previous day, pūrva-Phalguni-paurṇamāsī was the last day before the first day of vasanta.

The question would then arise; if according to this explanation, the month of Phālguna commenced fifteen days before the uttarā-phalguni-paurṇamāsī, ushering in the new year, how can the first ritu of the year-vasanta be said to begin fifteen days *after* the commencement of the year and of its first month? How can the ritus run from the middle of one month to the middle of the third (or the fifth month) instead of from the beginning of a month to the end of another? † The answer would be that the first fourteen days of

* ‘The Vedic Index.’

† Dr. Thibaut who holds that vasanta commenced *forty-five* days after the winter solstice has not answered the question how a ritu-the first ritu of the year-can begin in the middle of the second month of the year, which, he admits, began from the winter solstice at the time of the Brāhmaṇa. fanciful.

Phalguni were treated as *ritu-sandhi* and that the pūrva-paurṇimā of Phālguna, being the last day of this ritu-sandhi period, was known as the last day of the year, the first ritu, vasanta, commencing only from the next day. The *chāturmāsya* rites, instituted originally with special reference to the three primary seasons (vasanta, grishma, and hemanta) were accordingly commenced on the first days of these ritus, Vaiśvadeva on the Phalguni-pūrṇimā* (uttarā), Varuṇa-praghāsa on Āshādhī-pūrṇimā and Sākamedha on Kārtiki-pūrṇimā. In later days, when the scientifically more appropriate solar ritus had come into use, it was held, as stated by Vāgbhaṭa, that ‘ऋतुवोरन्तरादि सप्ता हा वृत्तुसन्धिरिति स्मृताः’, the seven days at the end of a season and the seven days at the beginning of the next season were known as ritu-sandhi, the transition period between two ritus. It might be presumed that at the time of the Brāhmaṇas when the months were all *lunar*, the margin of fourteen days for the transition was more appropriately allowed at the end of the old year and at the end of the three seasons. As Śat: Br. I—6-3-35 & 36 says:

स वै संवत्सर एव प्रजापतिस्तस्यैतानि हर्वाणि, अहोरात्रयोः सन्धौ, पौर्णमासीचामा वाम्या च, ऋतुमुखानि । अग्निहोत्रेणैवाहोरात्रयोः सन्धौ तत्पूर्वमिषज्यन् । पौर्णमासेन † चैवामावास्येन च पौर्णमासीचामावास्यां च तत्पूर्वमिषज्यन् चातुर्मास्येरेवऋतुमुखानि तत्पूर्वमिष ज्यन् ॥

It would be evident from the above that the pūrṇimās of Phālguna, Āshādhā and Kārtika are called the ritu-mukhas and Phālguna-pūrṇimā is the first of these four-monthly ritus (‘ritunām mukham’). The expression ‘ritu-sandhi’ is also familiar to the Brāhmaṇas, but there is no express statement, so far as I am aware, as to whether the period came after the end of a four-monthly ritu or whether it stood as in later times. The former view is rendered probable by Kaush: Br. V-1 & 2‡ which states:

“चातुर्मास्यानि प्रयुजानः फाल्गुन्यां पौर्णमास्यां प्रयुक्ते । मुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य, यत्का ल्गुनीपौर्णमासी अथो§ भेषज्ययज्ञा वा एते यच्चातुर्मास्यानि । तस्मात् ऋतुसन्धिषुप्रयुज्य ते ऋतुसन्धिषु वै व्याधिजीयते अथ यत् पुरस्तात् पौर्णमासेन यजेते, तथा हास्यपूर्वपक्षे वैश्वदेवेनेष्टं भवति”

* The recognition of chaitrī-pūrṇima by the Tāndya Br. as a second alternative must be ‘वसन्तर्तुमध्यपातित्वात्’ as Sāyana would explain.

† The masculine form is for denoting the rite.

‡ Repeated with slight variations in Gopatha: Br. II—1-19 & 20.

§ ‘अथो’ here is undoubtedly introduced to mark पक्षपक्षान्तर, as Sāyana elsewhere explains—
०.६. अथो शब्दः पक्षान्तरार्थः Taitt: Sam. II—5-3.

After stating that the chātur-māsyā should be commenced on Phālguni-pūrṇimā (uttarā), which is the mouth of the year, the Brāhmaṇa proceeds: 'Or as a second alternative, these chātur-māsyās being remedial offerings (to heal the joints of Prajāpati, *alias* the year, Śat: Br. I-6-3. 36 & 37) they offer these rites during the ṛitu-sandhi (that is, even before the paurṇamāsī). For diseases prevail in the ṛitu-sandhis, (and with a view to avert them, some yajamānas do so)..... and when they thus begin, the chātur-māsyā isṭhi even before the ṛitu-mukha, the vaisvadeva becomes offered in the pūrva-paksha at least'. This is how I understand the passage and if I have correctly understood its import, it would help to consistently explain all the Vedic texts so far traversed.

Let us now see where we stand. (1) The Brāhmaṇas recognized two days as paurṇamāsī, pūrva and uttarā, and similarly a pūrva and an uttara amāvāsyā. The second of each kind alone was known as paurṇamāsī or amāvāsyā proper. (2) Amāvāsyā (that is, the uttara) was the day on which the moon was totally invisible either after sun-set or before day-dawn. (3) This day ended a month whereas the paurṇamāsī ended a half-month. (4) Phalguni paurṇamāsī (uttara) was called the mouth or the first night of the year, as it was the first parvan of the three parvans of the first month of the year. (5) It was really the fifteenth day after the commencement of the year but it was called the mouth of the ṛitus (ritūnām mukham) as the fourteen days preceding it were allowed for ṛitu-sandhi. (6) The ṛitu-sandhi must have ended with the pūrva-paurṇamāsī with the moon in the Pūrva-phālgunī. I have not come across any Vedic text which expressly bears out the last two points. But the passages quoted above sufficiently warrant the inferences; moreover that is the only way in which we can consistently and satisfactorily explain all the Vedic passages about the pakshas, pakshāntas, māsāntas and Phalguni-paurṇamāsīs (pūrvā and uttarā).

It might be contended that there is no compulsion to piece together and harmonise all the detached texts belonging to different śākhās. Different śākhās might very well expound different views and even the same śākhā might discuss and admit alternative courses in matters of procedure. But it is unusual, not to say stultifying, for one and the same śākhā to express itself generally and as a rule in language which can apply only to amānta and to shift its ground here or there and use expressions which have to be understood in a pūrṇimānta sense without any indication whatever that these expressions are used in a sense contrary to their general application. Such will be the case with the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa, if the expression 'māghasya amāvāsyā' that occurs there is to be understood in the pūrṇimānta or any

will be evident even to a casual reader, uses the expressions pūrva and apara pakshas wherever half-months are intended. Let us take the following passage from I—3 about punarādhāna (undertaken by these whose first ādhāna has not prospered):

मध्याह्नये पुनर्वसुक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य पुनरादधीत* ।... न तस्मिन्काले पूर्वपक्षे पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते । ये वैश्याऽऽपरिष्टादमावास्या भवति तस्यां पुनरादधीत । सा पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते ॥

'Punarādhāna should be performed with the moon in Punarvasu in the middle of the varshā season. But at this time (*i.e.*, in the middle of the varshā ṛitu) the conjunction of the moon with Punarvasu will not happen in the pūrva-paksha (which is the auspicious paksha for any deva-rite). Therefore let him perform the punarādhāna on the amāvāsyā which falls after the full-moon in Āshāḍhī; then that (amāvāsyā) will coincide with the moon in Punarvasu.' The passage says that this amāvāsyā is in the middle of the two months of varshā ṛitu. This would generally be taken to mean that the first month of varshā ṛitu ended with amāvāsyā; but it may be stretched to mean that the amāvāsyā began the second month of the varshā season. Accordingly 'The Vedic Index' includes this passage among the several which 'point to the full-moon being the middle of the month and the new-moon being regarded as either in the beginning or the end.' But one might ask, how would the learned authors reconcile this possible amādi with the term 'pūrvapaksha' which occurs in this very passage? The obvious and natural meaning of the passage would be that the amāvāsyā here mentioned falls at the end of the first month of varshā, that Āshāḍha and Śravaṇa (amānta) constitute the varshā ṛitu and inferentially that Phālguna and chaitra (amānta) are the two months of vasanta.

With these observations, we may proceed to examine Kaush: Br. XIX, Praśnas 2 and 3. Here are discussed two dates for beginning the dikshā for the samvatsara satra. The first date is with reference to the original scheme of Gavāmayana, according to which the satra keeps pace with the course of the year and the first day's rite coincides with the day on which the sun begins his journey northward from the winter solstice. This turning north occurs, it is said, on the day succeeding the amāvāsyā of Māgha and to make the two coincide, the dikshā has to be commenced on the 29th day preceding the amāvāsyā, the dikshā occupying 17 days† and the upasads, 12 days. The dikshā and the upasads thus end on the amāvāsyā of Māgha and the

* All śākhās and Śr. sutras advocate, for punarādhāna, the nakshatra Punarvasu, whose appropriateness for punarādhāna is suggested by its name.

† The Kaushītaki implies here the 17 days' dikshā. Cf. Śākh: Śr.s XIII—19 (1) 'सप्तदशगवामयनस्यदोक्षा (2) द्वादशवा.' Āpastamba: Śr. s. XXI—15—3 evidently refers to the Kaushītaki, when it says 'सप्तदशके आमनन्ति' ॥

upavasatha, the fast-day preceding the day of soma-sacrifice, is observed on this *amāvāsyā*. The sun also rests on this day before turning north on the next day; and when the sun begins his northward course on this next day, the satrins also perform the *first* soma offering, the *prāyaṇīyatirātra* soma-samsthā. The satrins thus secure the first correspondence with the course of the sun. The second day's samsthā is called *chaturvimsa* or *ārambhaṇīya*. From the third day begins the periods of *shaḍahas*, five of which make up a *māsa*. After six such *māsas*, the sun reaches the northern-most point in his annual circuit. This day the sun rests before turning south. The satrins also celebrate this day with the rite of *vishuvat*, thus securing a correspondence with the course of the sun for the second time. The sun, from the next day, starts on his southward course and the satrins also perform the rites of six *shaḍaha māsas* in the inverted order and when the sun reaches again the southern-most point, the satrins secure correspondence with the sun's course with their *mahāvratīya* and closing *atirātra*.* In spite of the close correspondence of this programme of rites with the course of the sun, the *Kaushītaki* gives it up in favour of a date which is the second day from the *amāvāsyā* of *Chaitra*. For the only advantage secured by the former programme is its tallying with the annual course of the sun, which was the original object of this institution. But the disadvantages outweigh this single advantage: Firstly, the (spring) crops would not have been gathered; secondly, the days are short (and cold) and the nights are long; thirdly, when the satrins conclude the *satra*, they rise out of the final bath, shaking and shivering with cold. So the latter course is preferred. All this will only show that by the time of the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* and *Taitt: Samhitā* the original idea of the institution, which was to follow the sun's daily course with daily soma-samsthās, was no longer its essential feature and was being relegated to a position of secondary importance. But what we are here directly concerned with is the position which this passage accords to *māgha-amāvāsyā* in the year. The passage clearly says that the *amāvāsyā* of *Māgha* is the last day of the old year and that the first day of the next year begins with the next day—what is later known as *Śukla-pratipad*.

(To be continued)

* With the closing *atirātra*, which, however, is not mentioned in this *prasma* (though it is separately mentioned in several *sutras*, Cf. *Aśv: Sr. s. II—7 and 14. व्रतोदयनीयाभ्यां सप्तमः पूर्यते ... व्रतोदयनीये एवोत्तमस्य. The closing atirātra is called udayaniya atirātra. Cf. also Āpastamba: Sr. s. XXI—16—3 महाव्रतमतिरात्रश्च*), the total soma-samsthā days would in this case occupy 365 days. There are however several other varieties of the *satra-āngirasām ayana*, *Utsarginām*

NOTES ON KALINGA HISTORY.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THE country of Kalinga is one of the oldest territorial divisions of India, subject to the sway of a line of its own kings. It is referred to in the works of early Indian writers and by some foreigners of repute; but the achievements of its past kings are not narrated anywhere in a continuous form. Neither are the references to this territory in ancient works so numerous as to furnish a chronological continuity. Stray as the scraps of information are, they give us glimpses into the past of a nature that cannot be discarded, since they establish the antiquity of the kingdom and throw light on the state of it in early times.

Properly speaking, an account of this kingdom must form part of the history of North India; but there are certain considerations which justify its inclusion in the history of the Dekhan. Chief among them are:—

(i) A large part of the territory of the Kalingas forms at present part of one of the southern presidencies, *i. e.*, Madras; and

(ii) The sovereigns that ruled over the country had much to do with the politics of the other powers of Southern India.

It may be noted that the sources for making out a history of the Kalinga are not so limited as they are for other kingdoms and most of these have been properly studied by competent scholars as will be shown in the sequel. The principal sources of information for this history are the following:—

For the remote past, *i. e.*, that prior to the Christian era, we have to be content with the notices made about it by early Sanskrit writers in their works. These are the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the works of *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana*, the *sūtras* of *Baudhāyana*, the *Arthasāstra* of *Kauṭilya* and the like. Foreigners, who have written about India, have left some accounts which are also of value. The light we receive from the writings of *Megasthenes*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Aelian*, and *Arrian* is of no little help. The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* does not render us as much help as it does for the history of the other kingdoms which are situated in the extreme south of the peninsula.

For a slightly later period, *i. e.*, that subsequent to the third century B.C., but prior to the Christian era, the early lithic records found in the country, such as the rock edicts of *Aśoka*, discovered at *Dhauli* and *Jougada*, the cave inscriptions of *Kandagiri*, *Udayagiri*, etc., of the time of *Khāravela* and others

preserve the names of some of the kings and princes connected with the Kalinga country. The *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa, the *Bṛhatsamhita* of Varāhamihira also contain notices of the Kalinga country relating to earlier times, though the works themselves belong to a later age.

(ii) Copper-plates form another important source of information. For the 4th century A. D., we have three copper-plate records of kings who call themselves Lords of Kalinga. The charters of a line of kings belonging to the Gāṅgēya lineage have been discovered, their contents studied and edited by eminent scholars. The results arrived at by them help in pursuing the history of the family from the 6th century A. D. to the 9th. They are supplemented to some extent by the annals of kings belonging to other dynasties, who had occasionally come in contact with the Kalingas.

(iii) A later branch of the Ganga family is represented by a few copper-plates, which trace the line from the beginning of the 10th century A. D., or the end of the 9th. In them are given a long list of ancestors with complete relationship and what is more important the period of rule of each sovereign. The pedigree extends from the 9th to the 14th centuries A. D. Though the Kalinga country has not yet been properly explored with a view to discover all the lithic monuments left by the Eastern Gangas, the number of epigraphs whose contents are registered in the Annual Reports of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent of Madras greatly adds to our knowledge about the kings of this period. Kendupatān and Pūri copper-plates, whose value for the history of the Kalingas has been ably discussed by Manamohan Chakravarty, relate to the latest members of this line.

(iv) Besides the Eastern Gangas, who ruled from Kalinganagara, there were other kings who called themselves lords of Trikalina, such as the Sōmavamśi sovereigns of Kōsala and Kalachuri Chēdi kings. Stone inscriptions of these kings have come down to us. It will be seen from the sequel that the northern part of the Kalinga kingdom, *i.e.*, Orissa, was the bone of contention among several lines of kings for a long time from the 11th century A.D. These will form the subject of our enquiry in studying the later history of the kingdom.

(v) As mere names of kings and places are all that are found in these charters, the history of other dynasties must supplement the account.

At the outset it will be useful to have a rough knowledge at least of the kingdom. The Kalinga country is generally represented by the following boundary limits. On the south, the Gōdāvarī river; on the east, the sea; on the west, a little beyond the Ghats; and in the north, the mouth of the river Ganges and a small tract of land lying along the lower portion of that river. But these limits cannot be taken to be fixed ones, since it appears to have

varied at different periods, sometimes confining to the delta tract of the Ganges and at other times extending further south than the Gōdāvarī. In its best days, it covered the lower portions of three magnificent river systems of India, *i.e.*, the Ganges, the Mahānadī and the Gōdāvarī, besides the benefits afforded by a few other rivers like the Subarnarekhā, the Śankhā, the Vamśadhārā and the Lānguliya. In this tract, there were many spots studded with thickly set forests of wild trees of various descriptions and mountain ranges famed of yore. These formed the wealth and beauty of the land. Among the mountain ranges may be mentioned in particular the Nilagiri, Udayagiri, Kandagiri and the Mahēndragiri. The luxuriant growth of trees in this region, besides presenting a pleasing spectacle, on which the eye ever likes to feast without being glutted, afforded good shelter for herds of elephants which roamed at will, feeding on the rich repast supplied by nature. Whether alive or dead, they formed the wealth of the king who owned the tract. The richness of sport and games bred in ancient times a nation of huntsmen, *i.e.*, the Śabarās who now form one of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the mountain ranges. The Hindu mind can never divest itself of the rich imagery indelibly imprinted on it from childhood by hearing the pathetic account of Rama's wanderings with his consort Sītā and the inseparable brother Lakshmaṇa, by whom many of the places in this tract, as elsewhere, have been sanctified, as the scene of many an incident in his life is laid here. If one gets down the southernmost border of the Kalinga, he is happily reminded by the name Śabharī, given to one of the tributaries of Gōdāvarī, of the inimitable devotion of a woman of that name. The Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga, like the Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgī were at all times worshippers of the feet of the divinity lording over the Mahēndragiri hill. About this, we shall have occasion to speak later on. During Kālidāsa's time at least, if not in the epic period to which the matter refers, the Kalinga country lay further south than Vanga (Bengal) beyond Utkala (*i.e.*, Orissa) and had in it the Mahēndra mountain. Elephants formed the chief strength of its kings.

Here we may note the observation of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang of the 7th century A.D. He says that "Flowers and fruit are very abundant. Forests and jungles are continuous for many hundred *li*. The country is noted for a kind of wild elephant much prized by the neighbouring provinces. It was once so densely peopled that people rubbed their shoulders in walking."

In the sixth chapter of the *Raghuvamśa* the poet gives a fine description of the position of Kalinga and of the prowess of its king.

"Him followed Kalinga's monarch, lord of Mahēndra, whose arms retain the traces of the twinging bow, a dweller on the ocean where the dashing waves, louder than the trumpet sounding the hours, gleaming through the

windows, awake from sleep; the shore resounds with the rustle of palm-leaves while from other isles, the wind wafts the fragrance of the groves of cloves. This king was rejected by Indumati."

From the Mahābhārata we learn that there was a certain Kalinga, who was one of the five putative sons of Bali, born of his wife Sushēṇa by the ascetic Dīrghatamas. The other four brothers are stated to be Anga, Vanga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma, names which like Kalinga indicated in after years provinces lying close to one another. The Kalingas were Kshatriyas. The kings of the Kalinga and Andhra countries overcome by Bhīmasēna are Śrutāyuh, Śakradēvah, Satyadēvah, Satyah and Kētumān. The capital city of the Kalinga kings was called Rājapuram. The Vishnu-purāṇa also states that the Kalingas are the descendants of Kalinga, one of the five putative sons of Bali who was the 19th in descent from Soma, the founder of the lunar dynasty.*

The forty-first chapter of the 4th book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions a number of countries of Southern India and Ceylon to which the army of Rāma was sent to make a search for Sītā. They are the Mēkhalas, the Utkalas, the Dasārṇas, the Vidarbhas, the Rishikas, Mahishakas, Matsyas, Kalingas, Andhras, Puṇḍras, the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Kēraḷas and the Laṅka. It looks as if the countries herein named are given in some order and as such it may be noted that the territories of the Matsyas, Andhras and Puṇḍras adjoined that of Kalinga. Similarly also in describing the conquests of Raghu, Kālidāsa enumerates the countries of Southern India in order of contiguity and notes some of the special characteristics of them. It is worth extracting from it the following:—

"Having conquered the Vangas, who trusted in their ships, Raghu erected a pillar of victory on the islands of the Ganges. Having passed the Kapīśa river by elephants, under the guidance of Utkala (Orissa), he arrived at Kalinga. Mount Mahēndra received from him a shock, as from the mahaut's goad the stubborn elephant's head. The Kalinga king, mighty in elephants, attacked Raghu in vain like Indra attempting to cut his wings. The soldiers decorating the place with betel-leaves, toasted their success, in the wine of Nāḷikera; but Raghu desiring victory, only for the sake of justice, took possession of no land.†"

The earliest political event connected with Ceylon which the Singhalese chronicles record is the arrival of prince Vijaya, the founder of the great dynasty and his seven hundred followers by sea route from Bengal in the 5th century B.C. and in the chapter which describes this event there is the following reference to the kingdom of Kalinga:—

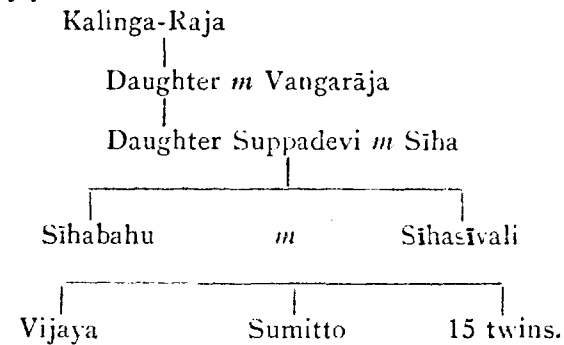
"In the land of Vanga, in the capital of Vanga, there was formerly a

* Wilson's *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, p. 444.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XXI, p. 452.

certain Vanga-rāja. The daughter of the king of Kalinga was the principal queen of that monarch*."

This verse occurs at the head of the following pedigree which shows the descent of Vijaya.



Vijaya landed in Ceylon "on the day that the successor of former Buddhas reclined in the arbour of the two delightful trees to attain nibban.†"

The Kalinga king, from whose daughter the adventurous Vijaya was descended, must therefore belong to about 578 B.C., if we place the event of Buddha's *nirvana* in about 478 B.C. and allot 25 years for each preceding generation. That the Kalinga country had a succession of kings long before the time of Gautama Buddha is more clearly indicated in the Buddhist legends translated by Rev. Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism*. One of these legends speaks of a famine in the Kalinga country in about B.C. 620 which is said to have been relieved by the production of a white elephant from prince Wasantara of Jayantura who had married the lovely daughter of Chetiya. It is said of this Wassantara that he re-incarnated as Gautama-Buddha. Another legend has reference to the vengeance wreaked by the gods upon Kalinga for the misconduct of one of its kings and it runs thus:—

A certain Dandaki reigned in the city of Kumbāvatī in Kalinga. He, his minister and courtezans offered insult to an ascetic by spitting upon him. The act was followed at first by good and then by the visitation of a shower of burning charcoal weapons, stones, etc. It could not be averted and the whole country was destroyed.

In his *Natural History*, Pliny gives a long list of Indian races and the extract from it relating to the Kalinga country is believed to have been mainly adopted from the accounts of Megasthenes. Here are mentioned the tribal names Calingae, Macco-Calingae, Gangarides and Modo-Calingae. In speaking of them he states (1) that the tribe called the Calingae were the nearest

* Turners *Mahaw*, Ch. 6, p. 43.

† Turner, p. 47.

to the sea ; (2) that the Macco-Calingae were among the many tribes that comprised the Brachmanae ; (3) that the Gangarides were a nation which possessed a powerful force of large-sized elephants on account of which their country was never conquered by any foreign king, dreaded as they were of the overwhelming number and strength of these animals ; and that Alexander, the Macedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon them, as he did on all others ; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangarides when he learned that they possessed 4,000 elephants well trained and equipped for war ; and that this nation or tribe occupied that portion of the country through which the final part of the Ganges flowed ; and (4) that a very large island in the Ganges was inhabited by a single tribe called Modo-Calingae, beyond whose territory were a number of other tribes with a king and a powerful army and that next to these were the Andharae, a still more powerful race which possessed numerous villages and 30 towns defended by walls and towers and which supplied its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. We are further informed that the royal city of the Calingae was called Parthalis, that over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 700 elephants kept watch and ward "in precinct of war" and that at the mouth of the Ganges, there were the Cape Calingon and the town of Dandagula. Ptolemy says that Ganga was the capital of the Kalinga country.

From the account given above, we gather that the Kalingas formed a tribe that spread over the lower portion of the Ganges, the island at its mouth and the sea board which stretched up to the territory being occupied by a number of other tribes who were in juxta-position to the Andhras. The king of the Kalingas commanded a powerful army and there were three places of considerable importance, viz., the royal city of Parthalis, Cape Kalinga and Dandagula. Orientalists are inclined to think that the name Trikalunga which was given to the Kalinga country in later times is derived from the three divisions, the Macco Calingae, Modo-Calingae and the Gangarides. About the correct extent of each, there is difference of opinion. But it appears that M.de St. Martin is near the truth when he says that Macco-Kalingae included portions of South Bihar (the ancient Magadha), Lower Bengal and Orissa ; the Modo-Kalingae represents the country inhabited by the ancient Mada of the book of Manu,—an impure tribe of Aryavarta—and the Madas of the Manghyre inscription ; and that the Gangaride, mentioned also by Ptolemy and Vergil answers to the Ganghris of South Bihar. Concerning the identification of the places noticed by Pliny and Ptolemy, General Cunningham says:—

Both the distance and the name point to the great port-town of Coringa,

as the promontary of Coringon which is situated on a projecting point of land on the mouth of the Godavari river. The Dandaguda or Dandagula, I take to be the Dantapura of the Buddhist chronicles, which, as the capital of Kalinga, may with much probability be identified with Rajamahendri, situated 30 miles to the north-east of Coringa. In this case, the Danta or tooth relic of Buddha must have been enshrined in Kalinga as early as the time of Pliny. The Buddhist chronicles assert that the left canine tooth of Buddha was brought to Kalinga immediately after his death, and was enshrined there by the reigning sovereign Brahmadatta."

Elsewhere it is stated that this tooth relic shrine was a very extensive building containing in its upper story hundreds of rooms. The shrine itself was inlaid with gold and adorned with hanging pearl-necklaces, difficult like the early sun to look at owing to the effulgence of various gems dazzling the eyes.*

At the early period to which the above references relate, it is unlikely that the Kalinga country could have extended so far south as the mouth of the Godavari river where General Cunningham tries to locate the two towns Kalinga and Dandagula. Such an identification as that made by the General would, if admitted, leave hardly room for the existence of two other powerful kingdoms in the neighbourhood of the country.

That the place intended by the name Kalinga or Kalinganagara is Mukhalingam will be shown later on, to stand on better and more reliable grounds and that though the kingdom did extend once as far as the Godavari, its capital always remained at Mukhalingam. Leaving off this question for the present, we proceed to give the notices about it by other writers.

In Aelian's *History of the Ancients*, which for the most part is believed to have been borrowed from the accounts of Megasthenes, occurs the interesting passage that the island of Taprobane (i.e., Ceylon) bred in its interior, largest sized and intelligent elephants, which the islanders exported to the mainland in strong boats specially constructed for the purpose from wood yielded by the thicket of the island and were disposed of to the king of Kalinga. The value of this reference it is unnecessary to dilate. From the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya we learn that one of the countries that produced the best cotton fabrics was Kalinga. There is a very remarkable example of women's cloth made of the finest linen, an almost transparent dress, which is said to have been sent as a present by the king of Kalinga to the king of Kosala who was Buddha's friend.† It was also the place wherefrom came the diamond known as Indravanaka as well as the best touch-stone, of the colour of green beans, for testing the degree of fineness of gold. The same country seems also to have

*Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII.

† Ant. Vol. VIII, p. 52.

supplied a kind of bulbous root resembling *yava* or barley called Kalingaka which was largely used in medicine.* These references give us an idea as to the wealth of the kingdom, its industrial activity, and its early contact with nations. What is said by Kautilya in the fourth century B.C. was true even in the fourteenth century A.D. as is amply proved by the writing of the Muhammadans. That the Nanda kings had an interest in the country of the Kalingas is established by the Hathikumpha rock inscription of Kāravēla which alludes to the construction of some water works by them in the place.

Baudhāyana, who lived probably in the sixth century B.C., divides the Indian continent into three groups, *viz.*, Aryavarta or in which pure Aryans lived; territories in which people of mixed origin flourished; and lastly kingdoms which had been only recently Aryanised. The Kalingas were included by him in the third class and it is treated with a certain amount of contempt. A person visiting the Kalinga country was required to expiate his sin by performing the *sarvaprishṭā* sacrifice and offering *punashṭoma*. Some writers have inferred from the above circumstance that the Kalinga country was originally a stronghold of Buddhism, a creed which did not find favour with Brahmans and which vehemently denounced their addiction to the performance of sacrifice. Whether the Kalingas were Buddhists or non-Aryans, it mattered little for the Brahmans.† There is no doubt that in either case they would not have been tolerated by the Brahmans especially when their system of faith was called in question. There are reasons for believing that the Kalinga country adopted the Buddhist principles early enough and that the tooth-relic of Buddha was taken to that country and kept till the fourth century A.D., when it was removed to Ceylon during the reign of Meghavanna-Tissa (A.D. 304 to 332), by a Brahman princess. It is not unlikely that the early kings of Kalinga professed the Buddhist creed.

The Kalinga country had several subdivisions; and the early references given above point to its having had three such divisions, *viz.*, the Gangaridae-Kalinga, the Mado-Kalinga and the Macco-Kalinga of Pliny, who probably adopts them from Megasthenes. The name Trikalina might probably be traced to this circumstance, as had been noted already. But then the difficulty is that the earliest references to the occurrence of the term Trikalina

* Mysore Edition, p. 122 and note.

† See W. W. Wilson's Orissa p. Had Baudhayana lived in the 6th century B.C., there cannot be much warrant for the reference. But if the Sūtrakāra's age is placed after the *nirvana* of Buddha there could be some amount of force in the conjecture. On linguistic ground Dr. Bühler assigns Baudhayana to the third century B.C. But on other grounds he is inclined to take back the Sūtrakāra by very near two centuries *i.e.*, to the 5th century B.C. Mr. Dutt adopts the latter as more likely and gives out his view that the contempt with which the Brahmans looked upon the Kalingas as being due to the latter's coming under the pale of Aryan civilization only recently.

are only found in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., while in inscriptions and literature of earlier periods that term does not seem to find mention. The copper-plate charters of about the 7th and 8th centuries dated mostly in the Gangeya era, the beginning of which is referable to about the first half of the 7th century A.D., speak of the king as the lord of all the Kalinga country (*sakala-Kalingavani*) and do not introduce the term Trikalina. There are references to "five" and "seven" divisions of Kalinga, but these are later. Kalingattupparani, a poem of the 12th century A.D., speaks of seven divisions. Owing to all these circumstances, we are not in a position to say if the Kalinga country had only three divisions at first and these when added to fresh conquests effected by later kings gave rise to two or more new divisions thus making the number "five" and "seven" Kalingas.

The capital of the country is called Kalinganagara. Most of the copper-plate charters of the Eastern-Gangas from the seventh century downwards were issued from this place. Stone epigraphs of Mukhalingam show that that place was called in ancient times Kalinganagara, Trikalinaivaninagara, Kalingavaninagara, and Kalingadesanagara. The same place is called also Gokarna and Dantapura. The latter name occurs in a copper-plate charter of about the eighth century A.D. It answers to the name Dandagula or Dandaguda of foreign writers. It was Mr. Ramamurthi who first pointed out that the identity of Kalinganagara with Kalingapatam was incorrect. According to Hiuen Tsiang, the town was 20 *li* in circumference.

In the early part of his reign, Asoka did not display that tenderness of heart which is the special characteristic of his actions recorded in the numerous epigraphs left by him. His saintly nature is completely veiled off and we see that his youth was spent in the perpetration of most cruel deeds at which humanity must shudder. He did not then show the least regard for life as he did later. Neither had he any leaning towards the religion of Gautama in the early years of his reign. Surprising indeed is the change that came over him wiping out completely the evil Adam. There was naught that was good in the first acts of his life. But in his maturer years, he ardently endeavoured to engraft and rear both in and out of India the supple plant of Buddhism. It bore excellent fruit. But for the care bestowed by this Maurya sovereign, the new creed would have been smothered at the very sprouting and the gigantic tree that now shelters under its shade a third of the world's population could never have become what it is. What gave the turn in Asoka's life was the conquest of Kalinga which, we are told, was effected with the shedding of much blood. The edicts of Jaugada and Dhauli prove that the conquest of this part of the country was not a mere boast.

Kalinga probably formed the eastern boundary of Asoka's dominions. His thirteenth rock edict states :—

“ His Majesty King Priyadarsin in the ninth year of his reign conquered the Kalingas. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished. Ever since the annexation of the Kalingas, His Majesty has zealously protected the Law of Piety, has been devoted to that Law, and has proclaimed its precepts. His Majesty feels remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death and taking away captive of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret. There is, however, another reason for His Majesty feeling still more regret inasmuch as in such a country dwell Brahmans and ascetics, men of different sects, and householders, who all practise obedience to elders, obedience to father and mother, obedience to teachers, proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves and servants, with fidelity of devotion. To such people dwelling in that country happen violence, slaughter and separation from those whom they love. Even those persons who are themselves protected retain their affections undiminished :—ruin falls on their friends, acquaintances, comrades, and relatives, and in this way violence is done to those who are personally unhurt. All this diffused misery is matter of regret to His Majesty. For there is no such country where such communities are not found, including others besides Brahmans and ascetics, nor is there any place in any country where the people are not attached to some one sect or other. The loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons who were then slain, carried away captive, or put to death in Kalinga would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty. Although a man should do him an injury, His Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne, so far as it can possibly be borne. Even upon the forest tribes in his dominion; His Majesty has compassion, and he seeks their conversion, inasmuch as the might even of His Majesty is based on repentance. They are warned to this effect—Shun evil-doing, that ye may escape destruction; because His Majesty desires for all animate beings security, control over the passions, peace of mind, and joyousness. And this is the chiefest conquest, in His Majesty's opinion—the conquest by the Law of Piety; this also is that effected by His Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues— even to where the Greek king named Antiochus dwells, and beyond that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander;— and in the south, the kings of the Chola, the Pandya, and of Ceylon— and likewise

here, in the king's dominions, among the Yonas, and Kambojas, in Nabhaka of the Nabhitis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas, everywhere men follow the Law of Piety as proclaimed by His Majesty. Even in those regions where the envoys of His Majesty do not penetrate, men now practise and will continue to practise the Law of Piety as soon as they hear the pious proclamation of His Majesty issued in accordance with the Law of Piety. And the conquest which has thereby been everywhere effected causes a feeling of delight. Delight is found in the conquest made by the Law. Nevertheless that delight is only a small matter. His Majesty thinks nothing of much importance save what concerns the next world. And for this purpose has this pious edict been written, to wit, that my sons and grandsons, as many as they may be, may not suppose it to be their duty to effect a new conquest; and that even when engaged in conquest by arms they may find pleasure in patience and gentleness, and may regard as the only true conquest that which is effected through the Law of Piety, which avails both for this world and the next. Let all their pleasure be the pleasure in exertion, which avails both for this world and the next.”

The edict speaks for itself as regards the strength of the Kalinga kingdom in that distant period and the change brought in the Maurya emperor's life by the sanguinary engagement. It clearly shows that, in the third century B.C., the Kalinga country was very powerful and was able to put forth a very large force and offer stout resistance even to so powerful a monarch as Asoka. From what we see of its later history, it is evident that Kalinga soon recovered itself. There was not quiet administration even during the life-time of the conqueror and this is clearly indicated by the insubordination shown by some of the king's officials in carrying out the orders. Asoka had to reprimand them, mildly though it be, and gain his object by offering words of advice. The officers of Tosali in Kalinga were persuaded to think that disobedience to orders was not the way to win the favour of heaven or their master. Kalinga country did not continue long to be in a state of dependence. Soon after the demise of Asoka, portions of the consolidated Magadha empire tore away from it and the Kalinga country was not slow to throw off its yoke. The Hathigumpha cave inscription of B.C. 156-55 gives a succinct account of the career of king Khāravēla of Kalinga from his birth to the 13th year of reign. It tells us that he spent fifteen years in princely sports; that for nine years he enjoyed powers as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent and that he was crowned at the end of his 24th year. Then it briefly enumerates, year by year, the principal events of his reign, and certain large items of expenditure on public works and charity, as far as the 13th year. Khāravēla was a Jaina in religion though tolerant

of other creeds. During his reign, he effected repairs to a water work formerly constructed by Nandaraja and in his 12th year invaded the eastern part of Magadha and humbled his adversary Pushyamitra. His ally was a certain Śātakarṇi, the protector of the west, who supplied him with a large force consisting of horses, elephants, men and chariots. Of this interesting inscription, we shall be content with giving only an extract.

After an invocation of the *Arhantas* (Arhats) and all Siddhas, the inscription gives a description of the deeds of the noble Mahārāja Śrī-Khāravēla (or Khāravēla Śrī), Mahāmēghavāhana, lord (*adhipati*) of Kalinga, the propagator of the royal family of king *Chētas*: called also the king of peace, the king of old people, the king of monks and descended from Rāja-Rishi. When he was fifteen years old he obtained the position of heir-apparent which he held for nine years. When he had completed his twenty-fourth year, he was anointed Mahārāja in the third generation of the royal family of Kalinga. In the first year, he repaired in his capital Kalinga some buildings which had been damaged by storm. He rebuilt reservoirs and restored gardens. In the second year, he sent a large army to the west without taking heed of Śātakarṇi's power and destroyed the capital of the Mūshakas to help the Kaśśapa-Kshatriyas and took some town with the help of the Kusambas (Kausambas). In the third year, he, who was well-versed in the gandharva-Veda, held theatrical performances, dances and other shows and delighted the city with festivals. In the fourth year, he honoured a sanctuary that had been favoured by former kings of Kalinga; and conquered the Rāshṭrikas and Bhōjas, and received the homage of the provincial and local chiefs. In the fifth year, he revived an aqueduct that had not been used for 103 years since Nanda, and conducted it into the city from the Tanasulya roads. In the 6th year he granted privileges to the *Paura* and the *Janapada* corporations. In the 8th year, he invaded Magadha and reached as far as Gorathgiri on the old route from Gaya to Pataliputra. The king of Rajagriha declined battle and retired to Muttra. In the 9th year, he made great gifts to Brahmans and gave a Kalpa tree in solid gold and constructed the Mahāvijaya palace. The tree had gold leaves. This was accompanied by gifts of elephants, horses and chariots with drivers, to Brahmans, who were made to accept them by lavish presents. In the 10th year, he despatched an army to Bharatavarsha and gained his object. In the 11th year, to the satisfaction of the people he held a procession of the wooden image of one of his early ancestors. In the 12th year, he led an invasion against the kings of Uttarāpatha and the king of Magadha, *i.e.*, Brihaspatismitra. He brought home rich trophies from Anga and Magadha and stored them in newly built structures. In the 13th year, he erected pillars, etc., on the

Kumariparvata, (*i.e.*, Skandagiri) and improved the tomb-shrine (*nisidhika*) of certain Jaina monks (*Arhats*). A *pavilion* with four pillars inlaid with beryl was also erected. The inscription, which was probably engraved in the 13th or 14th year of the king, is said to fall in the 165th year of king Muriya.

In the Svargapuragumpha inscription, Khāravēla is called the Chakravarti of Kalinga. His chief queen, who was the daughter of Lālaka, the great grandson of Hastisimha, is said to have established a cave for the Jaina monks of Kalinga.

The Manḥapurigumpha epigraphs introduce two other kings of Kalinga, *i.e.*, Mahārāja Mahāmēghavāhana-Vakradēva, the lord of Kalinga, who established the cave; and prince Vaḍukha.

From the Allahabad pillar inscription of the great Gupta king Samudragupta, we get the names of the kings and chiefs of the 4th century A.D., that ruled over the north-eastern portion of the Madras Presidency, a tract which was mostly included in the Kalinga kingdom. With a valiant army, he performed a successful tour of conquest both in North India and the South. It was after subjugating the northern powers that the great Emperor diverted his attention to the conquest of the south. Here he dealt severe blows on the king of Kosala, the tribes inhabiting the forest country round about Orissa, the foremost among whom was Vyāghrarāja. He fought against a number of kings and chiefs in and around the Mahēndragiri hill. These chiefs are said to have been captured by the invader and then set at liberty. At this time, Mahākintāra was ruled by Vyāghrarāja; the region about the Kolleru lake owned the sway of Maṇṭarāja; Pisṭapura, *i.e.*, the modern Pitthapuram was subject to the rule of Mahendra; Kottura on a hill was the capital of a king named Sramidutta; and Eraṇḍapalli, a place mentioned also in copper-plate charters was ruled by a chief named Damana. The other kings mentioned along with these are Vishṇugōpa of Kānchi, *i.e.*, the Pallava king of that name whose territory extended as far as Amarāvati on the Kistna; Nilarāja of Āvamukta; Hastivarman of Vēṅgi; Ugrasēna of Palakka; Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra, and Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura. Most of the places mentioned in the first part of the conquest have to be located in the ancient Kalinga country and it may not be a mistake to take them to represent the head-quarters of the several divisions of the Kalinga country as it was then constituted. If this is the case, the divisions of the Kalinga country, of which we have as many as five, were then subject to the sway of independent chiefs. The second group of kings were probably beyond the territorial extent of the Kalingas, ruling in all likelihood parts of the northern circars south of the river Godavari. The principal kings included in this group are the Pallava Vishṇugōpa and the Vengi king

Hastivarman. The other chiefs Nilarāja, Ugrasēna, Kubēra and Dhananjaya, probably others, held feudatory positions. It is not improbable that the chiefs who ruled over the north of the Madras Presidency formed a coalition to present a united front to the invincible conqueror and the defeat inflicted on them weakened considerably the resources of some of the chiefs. The idea of consolidating the entire kingdom should have struck the more powerful of the several chiefs of that part of the territory. It was sooner accomplished than planned. The divided interest in the country south of the Gōdāvarī, however, seems to have continued sometime longer. The Pallavas had better interest to guard in the south where they considerably extended their territory; and they do not appear to have had any stronghold of their northern possessions which presenting a vulnerable point to the enemy was finally overcome by the Chalukyas who established a branch of their family on the East Coast with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana as the first ruler. In about a hundred years all the Kalingas were united together and were subject to the rule of one king who styled himself establisher of the Eastern Gangas and the lord of all the Kalingas.

(To be continued)

TIRUMANGAI ALVAR AND DANTI DURGA.

BY PROFESSOR, DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.

UNDER this heading, my friend, Mr. K. G. Sessa Ayyar, of Trivandrum, deals in Vol. XI, No. 4, of the Mythic Society's journal with the question of Tirumangai Ālvār and his date. The article is essentially one devoted to a criticism of one of my papers on the subject and that of Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar in the 'Sen Tamil'. These articles were originally written about fifteen years ago and that they should come in for critical reconsideration now shows the sustained interest of the learned judge in the particular question.

The first part of my friend's article quotes two lines of a stanza of Tirumangai Ālvār and makes two or three extracts from the article of that name from "Ancient India" and arrives at the conclusion "if Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's interpretation of the passage be accepted, his conclusion may, perhaps, follow; but is his interpretation correct?"

Without considering for the present the charitable implications of the opening sentence of the next paragraph, "I venture to say, with all respect to the distinguished scholar, that he has, in his zeal for historic research, read into the passage meaning not intended by the poet", we shall pass on to a consideration of the point at issue. The whole stanza reads thus:

மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன் வணங்கு நீன்முடிமாலேவயிரமேகன்
தன்வலி தன் புகழ்சூழ்த்த கச்சியட்டபுகரத்தாதிதன்னை
கன்னிகன்மாமதின்மங்கைவேந்தன் காமருசீர்கலிகன்றிகுன்ற
வின்னிசையால்சொன்ன செஞ்சொல்மாலேயேத்தவல்லார்க்கிடம்வைகுந்தமே.

The object of the Ālvār is the celebration of the aspect of Viṣṇu as he is supposed to exhibit himself in the image in the particular shrine Asṭabhujakaram in Kānchi. Mr. Sessa Ayyar devotes the whole of that paragraph to what he considers is my meaning and arrives at the solemn conclusion "I honestly believe that the meaning attributed to the Tamil couplet is forced or unnatural, and it cannot be accepted." He adds emphasis to this dictum by following it up with, "and I do so, even though I know Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar has explained it exactly in the same way".

The first point calling for remark in this connection is that the Ālvār means celebrating Viṣṇu, not the Pallava or the Rāshtrakūṭa who figures there; they figure only as mere accessories. If the forces and the fame of the Rāshtrakūṭa lay around Kānchi, it need not necessarily follow, having regard to the fact that the Ālvār introduces him in connection with this particular

shrine that this must be in any humiliation of the Pallava. We shall come to that point a little later. Let us first see what the meaning of the passage actually is. The last two lines merely state that those who could recite in prayer stanzas that the Ālvār sang in praise of this shrine will inevitably go to heaven. That does not therefore concern the discussion. The object of his celebration is Vishṇu that shows himself in the particular shrine of Ashtabhujakaram of Kanchi. As Mr. Sesha Ayyar himself has accepted, it falls into two parallel statements accepting for the while Mr. Sesha Ayyar's interpretation. This may be written categorically one after the other for the sake of comparison. The first statement as is shown above taking the last word 'Mālai' as the accusative of the Tamil word 'Māl', the equivalent of Vishṇu, would mean Vishṇu of the long crown receiving the worshipful deference of the King who is ruler over the Tonḍaiyar, people of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. The second says similarly, the first being in Ashtabhujakaram in Kanchi was surrounded by the forces and the fame of Vairamēgha. Mr. Sesha Ayyar obviously wants Vairamēgha to be equated with the Pallava king of the first statement. This involves a phenomenally unusual construction. To begin with, there would be no sense unless Niḷ-muḍi-Māl, the accusative in the first statement be equated with Ashtapuyakarattu Ādi, the accusative in the second statement to make the lines agree with the following two lines. That is all right so far. What would be the propriety of the Ālvār stating in the first case that the Pallava king was in the habit of worshipping Vishṇu and in the second the same Pallava's forces were lying around Kanchi if Vairamēgha and Tonḍaiyarkōn were one and the same person? I believe it would be difficult to quote an instance from this Ālvār or, for the matter of that, from any other of similar consideration involving the same implications. Mr. Sesha Ayyar makes the grievous mistake of imagining that the Ālvār's object was either to praise the Pallava king or hold him up to contempt, to celebrate Vairamēgha or to humiliate his contemporary Pallava. Even where the Ālvār makes reference to earthly rulers in this or any other poem he brings them in only as accessories without any motive to praise them as such. All the praise that from his point of view he could bestow upon them is merely the greatest praise that he could give to them as devotees of Vishṇu. If we divest ourselves of the idea that the Ālvār has any motive to praise the one ruler or the other, the position gets to be made clear. It is Vishṇu in Aṭṭapuyakaram, who on the one hand receives the habitual worship of the Pallava king, and who on the other hand received some kind of worship from Vairamēgha whose fame and forces at the time lay around Kanchi. What there is unnatural in it is more than one can understand. If at one time Danti Durga Vairamēgha

invaded Kanchi and remained for some time there in a position of hostility to the ruler of Kanchi, it would still be possible for him to pay his worship at a shrine of the reputation of Ashtabhujakaram in Kanchi. In such a case the Ālvār is merely describing what actually did happen without any reflection whatsoever of his own, one way or another, that the ruler of Kanchi was standing deferentially by the foreigner over-lord for the time being. It therefore seems reasonable that we shall have to regard the Pallava ruler and Vairamēgha as two separate entities whether their relations were friendly or hostile; and in this interpretation of the Tamil passage we have the support not only of Pandit Raghava Ayyangar but of several other Pandits and scholars, and unless we have badly forgotten, of Pandit Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminatha Ayyar himself who has no doubt that the personages under reference in that particular stanza of the poem *are two not one*. We have no quarrel with Mr. Sesha Ayyar holding his own opinion; but we feel bound to say that we cannot agree with him that the "meaning attributed to the Tamil couplet is forced or unnatural, and it cannot be accepted". We are not prepared to subscribe to the pontifical authority, whether it was actually meant or no, that the statement claims. The Ālvār states plainly that these stanzas are devoted to the praise of Vishṇu in Aṭṭapuyakaram who habitually receives the worship of the Pallava King and who on one occasion received the worship of a ruler Vairamēgha whose fame and forces lay around Kanchi at the time. We disclaim any anxiety in our research as we do not do it in a holiday excursion, and are not anxious as to what the results are. They are what they are; the results of our own study and of our own understanding either of which it is but human if it proved to be imperfect. But in this case we might claim that we are more or less certain of our ground.

Coming to the general historical consideration, we need hardly repeat that all that is known of the Ālvār traditionally and otherwise indicate an age which does not differ widely from what this specific datum would lead us to. The difficulty about accepting the equation of Vairamēgha as a Pallava king is this. The equation, if not positively unsound grammatically, is unsound according to every canon of literary interpretation. We know of no Vairamēgha as a name or title of any Pallava sovereign, of whom we know as many as 35 to 40 before the days of the great Nandi. For the title Vairamēgha to be assumed by the successors of Nandi there is a specific reason not unconnected with the point we are discussing. Mr. Sesha Ayyar dismisses this important consideration with "however the name originated, it is not improbable as the commentator says that it was the family name of the Pallava rulers of Kanchi; and Danti Durga in the flush of his short-lived victory

or ascendancy over perhaps Nandi Varman, adopted the title of the conquered foe. I see no reason for holding that Danti Durga was the first in history to assume the name or title of Vairamēgha. If these are all the reasons that Mr. Sesha Ayyar can adduce in support of his position, we regret very much to have to confess that we shall still continue unconvinced. We have a number of elaborate royal charters issued manifestly from the Pallava royal archives which give a long recital of the names and titles of the successive Pallava rulers and none of these happen to mention Vairamēgha. With all deference to the commentator Periyavāchchan Pillai we are doing him no disrespect when we say that his chief strength was not history. In this particular he does not come up to the level either of Parimēlazhahar or of Aḍiyārkunallār, nor even of Nachchinārkiniyar. It is a very sorry argument to use in discussions like this that a particular thing might have been this or might have been that. We would, with the greatest pleasure, accept an adverse argument if it should only be a little more precise.

Where does the improbability or much less the impossibility come in of the Ālvār referring to the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler? The Chāḷukyas and the Pallavas were inveterate and unceasing enemies. The Rāshtrakūṭa Danti Durga successfully subverted the former dynasty. The great Pallava Nandi was in his turn a usurper and occupied the Pallava throne after overturning possibly the legitimate dynasty. Could not the two have been in alliance? Even after having come into hostile contact for once, is it not possible historically, nay, very highly probable that the Rāshtrakūṭa undertook an invasion of Kanchi soon after the successful subversion of his rivals at home? Is it not likely in the political circumstance of Nandi that he offered resistance in the first instance and accepted a reasonable treaty of alliance having regard to the uncertainty of his own political position? Does not the Ālvār's statement reflect just the state of things in the poem if it is carefully and dispassionately read? It was Nandi's son in the Pallava list that first assumes the name Danti or Danti Varma. We know of no Pallava Danti Varma before. Whence was that name? Does not M. Dubreuil, whom Mr. Sesha Ayyar quotes with approval, say that the two rulers entered into a marriage alliance, that Nandi married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Danti Durga? Is not the 6th śloka* which I set down here for reference of the Vēlūrpālayam plates the best commentary on this particular point, where the śloka makes a clear implication of the Rāshtrakūṭa parentage of the Queen Rēva through whom Nandi had the son Danti?

It is hardly necessary to carry the argument any further except to point

*Tasyāmburāścīva vāhinīnāmnāthasya nānāguṇaratna dhāmanah
Dhīrasya bhūbhīḍavaralabddhajanmā Rēvā Rēvā mahishī babbhūva.

out that the reference to Chakravarti by Periyavāchchan Pillai is an illuminating indication that even he did understand Vairamēgha to be in some sense an over-lord of the Pallava. The Vaishṇavas knew of only one Tonḍamān Chakravarti whom they drag in for anything of interest in that line.

With the knowledge that we now have of the statement in the Vēlūrpālayam plates regarding the political and domestic alliance between Nandi Varma of Kanchi and Danti Durga, the position we had taken up grows only stronger and the incongruity that Mr. Sesha Ayyar would see in the praise of the foreign Rāshtrakūṭa by the Ālvār grows the feebler. It is now possible to take it that both Nandi Varma and Danti Durga stood before the God of the shrine in the position of son-in-law and father-in-law, and the deferential attitude of the Pallava indicated in the verse may be explained as nothing more than the courtesy due to this particular relationship. We have no hesitation therefore in asserting our belief, reinforced by this new circumstance which was not before us at the time that the original article was written, that the verse under consideration has reference to two rulers, the local Pallava ruler of Kanchi and the foreign Rāshtrakūṭa Vairamēgha, the former enemy and perhaps at the time the friendly ally and father-in-law of Nandi Varman, the Pallava. We would invite attention to the tenses used by the Ālvār in regard to the incomplete verbs that occur in the first two lines of the sentence. We may take occasion here to refer to another possible objection, raised by another friend of ours, that the term *nīl-muḍi* is generally used as an attribute of Viṣṇu, not of earthly monarchs. We would merely invite the attention of our friend to stanza 9 of the 8th section of the fifth ten of the same Ālvār's works where the same expression is used attributively of a Pallava sovereign whose identity has not yet been made clear. It is also possible to argue if the Ālvār was stating in the first line of the stanza under discussion that the Pallava worshipped Viṣṇu, it is not likely that he would have referred to the long crown but much rather to the lotus feet of Viṣṇu. We still hold that the stanza means that Viṣṇu at Ashtabhujakaram was worshipped 'on one occasion' by Vairamēgha whose fame and forces lay around Kanchi at the time, and was held in deferential esteem habitually by the King, the ruler of the Pallavas. We pass over Mr. Sesha Ayyar's remark regarding Tonḍaimāndaḷam Tiraiyan and the Nāga connection of the Pallavas, points well-known but irrelevant to the question.

Mr. Sesha Ayyar having disposed of this particular point, turns his attention to the ten of Paramēśvara Viṇṇaharam, another shrine of Kanchi. We are implicated, of course, in the reference: since Pandit Raghava Ayyangar has made more detailed reference to it in his article, Mr. Sesha Ayyar's atten-

tion is all devoted to him. It is hardly necessary to traverse the whole series of his arguments. The shrine is called Paramēśvara Viṇṇaharam and was built apparently in honour of a Paramēśvara Varma. The halting character of our view in regard to this ten of the Ālvār is due to the fact that the battles were not all of them identifiable to our satisfaction; that we entertain some doubt whether the shrine had reference to the first or the second Paramēśvara and whether Nandi Varman, if he was a usurper, was likely to have constructed a shrine in honour of a rival overthrown or one of his predecessors. Pandit Raghava Ayyangar certainly went ahead and tried to identify the incidents in the ten with what was known of the achievements of Nandi Varma's general Udayachandra. In regard to Mr. Sesha Ayyar's criticism of Mr. Raghava Ayyangar we only point out that it is not such an impossible feat that the general's victories are ascribed to the King. That there is, to begin with, the traditional comment that a *Pallava* and a *Chola* made some dedications to the temple and the Ālvār is said to be referring to them. That is only tradition so far. But still it raises the presumption whether it is not one Pallava that is under reference in the whole of the ten stanzas. Again Mr. Sesha Ayyar's contention is that all that is ascribed here to the Pallava should be found in the Udayēndram plates among the achievements of Udayachandra even including his two campaigns. Where is the necessity for it? If Udayachandra's campaigns have reference to the early campaigns of the reign of Nandi Varma for which there is some historical justification, and if the Ālvār came rather late in the reign of Nandi it would be readily possible for the Ālvār to mention incidents which do not find reference in the achievements of his general. This possibility must be taken into consideration in the kind of criticism that Mr. Sesha Ayyar has undertaken of the Pandit's position. Mr. Sesha Ayyar again tries to make a little too much of the occurrence of expressions like 'panḍu' (பண்டு) and 'aṇṇu' (அன்று) as necessarily referring to the remote past. It is hardly the case. References could be quoted readily for the use of 'aṇṇu' (அன்று) and 'iṇṇu' (இன்று) for occurrences within the life-time of a single man. So in the case of 'panḍu' (பண்டு). A quotation readily suggests itself in this connection in regard to this latter word.

Madhurakavi says that Nammālvār, who is called Kārimāran in the verse, having seen him and accepted him as his disciple, got rid of his evil-fate then and therefore "I praise the grace of Śatakopa in order that the eight directions might know of his graciousness". The first act of grace of Nammālvār to Madhurakavi certainly occurred some time late in the life of Madhurakavi himself. If later in life he could have referred to this incident by the term 'panḍu' it is hard to understand the impropriety of this term denoting a past somewhat similar in the Paramēśvara Viṇṇaharam ten. If

we do not agree with Mr. Raghava Ayyangar in regard to this matter it is for reasons far other than what Mr. Sesha Ayyar has accepted in the course of his criticism. We know of two or three other specific references to personages and potentates of significance in Tirumangai Ālvār's works. We have not expressed any opinion upon them for the simple and satisfying reason that we do not have enough materials to understand these recondite references and regret that the commentator is hardly of any service to us in this connection. We must say however that it is too much of an order that "the materials for deciding the date of the Ālvār have, in my humble view, yet to be gathered and sifted, and as yet no definite data have been discovered to justify the opinion that we should look for the Vaishṇava Saint in the 8th century of the Christian era." We certainly shall welcome now, as ever before, specific data invalidating our own conclusions or leading to others, even of a contrary tendency. But we do not feel convinced by the vague argument and the faint possibilities which are all that are so far offered by Mr. Sesha Ayyar. We are grateful to him for having drawn pointed attention to the matter and we still hold, notwithstanding his great authority, that the Danti Durga datum is specific enough and that the opinion that Tirumangai Ālvār flourished in the 8th century is founded upon a basis of fairly substantial argument.

THE FOUNDER OF THE VIKRAMA ERA: An Interregnum in the History of the Andhra Period.

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TWO Eras are widely current in India, one to the north of the Vindhya mountains and the other to the south. The Vikrama or the Samvat Era, as it is known popularly, is reckoned from 57 B.C. and is current in the whole of Northern India; whereas the Śaka Era or the Śālivahana Śaka is current over the whole of Southern India. Of these the Vikrama or Samvat Era is believed traditionally by the people of India to have been established by a famous king called Vikramāditya, who ruled Ujjain and who was a great patron of letters, whose court was adorned by nine famous gems of literature and who completely destroyed the Śakas who had invaded India before that period and were then threatening to destroy its kingdoms and civilization. But the researches of the various scholars of ancient Indian History have led them to the conclusion that there was no king of Ujjain who ruled in 56 B.C. and who could have destroyed the Śakas. According to the results of their researches, that was the period in North India when the Śunga and Kāṇva dynasties had fallen from power. The dynasty that rose to power in their place was that of the Āndhras, whose original seat of power was at Paithan on the Gōdāvari, but who later on shifted their capital to Ujjain and held sway over North India. Simultaneously with this the march of the Śakas and the Yuelchi on the North-west Frontier destroyed the last remnant of Greek and Bactrian rule there. Although their capital was at Peshawar in the Frontier Province, they had their Satraps ruling in such far off places as Muttra and Nāsik. So, scholars thought that the Vikramārka, who in later tradition is associated with the Samvat Era should have been one of the Satraps of either of these dynasties. The late Dr. Fleet maintained that the Era should have had some connection with the rule of Kanishka and maintained that the opening years of the Era coincided with the regnal years of Kanishka. But other scholars thought that Kanishka could not be placed at so early a period and that he should have reigned only about the end of the first century A.D. These doubts were removed by the results of the excavations in the ancient sites round Peshawar by Sir J. Marshall. He has conclusively proved that Kanishka

could not have ruled at any period earlier than the latter half of the first century A.D.

There was another theory about the origin of the Samvat Era. According to this, the Samvat Era was originally the reckoning of the republican tribe of the Mālavas. A later monarch of North India, Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, who had the title Vikramāditya, gave his title to the era, and the Era came slowly to be called the Vikrama Era. Others again thought that the King Yaśodharman who rose to power after the fall of the Guptas and who destroyed finally the Hūṇas who then invaded the north of India was the Vikramāditya, who lent his name to the ancient Era of the Mālavas. The propounders of all these theories started with the hypothesis that there was no king answering even in a remote way to the description of the Vikramāditya who ruled at Ujjain about 57 B.C. and according to them the first king who could have given his name to the Era was Chandragupta II of the Gupta Dynasty.

But there are references to a Vikramāditya in Indian literature which are distinctly much earlier than Chandragupta II.* The anthology of 700 Prākṛit verses called Gādhāsaptasāṭi, said to have been written by one of the Āndhrabhritya kings called Hāla contains references to a famous king, Vikramāditya who ruled before him. The author of this anthology, Hāla, according to historians, should have ruled about the latter portion of the first century, about A.D. 80. Again the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadēva which is said to be based upon the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya speaks about Vikramāditya and narrates many stories about his adventures and rule. This Vikramāditya is intimately connected with Ujjain and the Mālava country. But we do not have the original work of Guṇāḍhya and do not know how far Somadēva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, followed his original and how far he added on later stories and traditions about Vikramāditya. He is said to have conquered the whole of North India including Kashmir and Nepal, and pressed back the Śaka invaders across the frontier. He extended his sway over the Dekkan, and also had his supremacy acknowledged in such far off islands as Lankā (Ceylon), Svarṇabhūmi (Malay Peninsula) and Katāha (Sumatra). But scholars have not been able to ascertain who could have been

* Gādhāsaptasāṭi 5-64.

संवाहनसुहरसतेसिपणदेन्तेणतुहकरेलक्खम् ।

चलणेणविक्रमादित्तचरिअंअणुसिक्खित्तिस्या ॥

छाया—

संवाहनसुहरसतेसिपितेनदत्तातवकरेलाक्षाम् ।

चरणेनविक्रमादित्तचरितमनुशिक्षितेतस्या ॥

the original of this Vikramāditya. Nevertheless, there were a few scholars like Mr. C. V. Vaidya, who thought that there should have ruled a king of Ujjain about 56 B.C. who founded the Era after his name. In this paper an effort is made to discover from literary and historical sources the sovereign of Ujjain who founded the Era of Vikrama, and who has left his mark so vividly upon Indian literature and folklore. The easiest way to do this seems to be first of all, to give the result of the study and then explain the several steps which lead on to the conclusion. The original of the Vikramāditya was Śūdraka, the author of the Sanskrit drama *Mṛichchakatika*. The drama *Mṛichchakatika* has been considered to be a very old Sanskrit drama and according to many scholars, the oldest now extant. In the introduction to this drama some information is given about the author Śūdraka.* Here he is called a king and a great scholar, and it is also said he was well versed in the Ṛigvēda and the Sāma Vēda, in mathematics, in the art relating to dancing girls and in the taming of elephants; that he was a devotee of Śiva who gave him many boons, that he performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, lived for 100 years and ten days, and that he entered the fire after he saw his son duly anointed as sovereign. He is said to have been successful in many wars and to have ruled the kingdom meritoriously. The drama itself treats of the love between the Brahman Chārudatta, a caravan merchant of Ujjain (Avanti) and his devoted sweet-

* *Mṛichchakatika*.

सूत्रधारः—

एतत्कविः किल द्विरद्वन्द्वगतिश्चकारनेत्रः परिपूर्णन्दुमुखस्तुविग्रहश्च ।
द्विजस्यैतमः कविर्बभूव प्रथितः शूद्रकश्चैव गद्यसत्त्वः ॥ ३ ॥

अपि च ॥

ऋग्वेदं ताम्रं वेदं गणितमथ कलां वेशिकीं हस्तिशिक्षां ।
नीत्वा शर्वप्रसादाद्द्वयपगततिमिरे च क्षुपां चोपलभ्य ॥
राजानं वक्ष्यपुत्रं परमसमुदयेनाश्वमेधेन चैव ।

अपि च ॥

लब्ध्वा चावृत्तशताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः ॥ ४ ॥

समरव्यसनां प्रमादशून्यः । ककुदं वेदविदां तपोधनश्च ॥
परवारणबाहुयुद्धलुब्धः । क्षितिपालः किल शूद्रको बभूव ॥ ५ ॥

अस्यां च तत्कृतौ ॥

अवन्तिपुर्यां द्विजसार्धवाहो । युवादरिद्रः किल चारुदतः ॥
गुणानुरक्तगणिकाचरस्य । वसन्तशोभेन वसन्तसेना ॥ ६ ॥
नयोरिदं सत्सुरतोत्सवाश्रयं । नयप्रचारं व्यवहारदुष्टताम् ॥
खलसभावं भवितव्यतां तथा । चकार सर्वं किल शूद्रको नृपः ॥ ७ ॥

heart Vasantasēna. Śūdraka is said to have described the politics of the time and the corruption of justice. From this it is plain that there should have been a king called Śūdraka ruling in Avanti (Ujjain), and that he wrote a drama describing the society and affairs of Ujjain. Of the verses in the beginning of the drama giving this information, that which refers to his literary achievements and his performance of the Aśvamēdha and mentions his death, is taken to be an interpolation. It is plain that Śūdraka could not have written the verse because it describes his death. But since the verse is found in all the manuscripts of the drama examined, the verse should have been composed and placed in its position soon after the death of the author since all the Manuscripts of the drama contain the verse.*

Alongside of the fortunes of Chārudatta and his love with Vasantasēnā the drama describes a political revolution which occurred at the time in the city of Ujjain. Chārudatta who had fallen from fortune, but had not forsaken his good qualities, is persecuted by Śākāra, a brother-in-law of the reigning king, Pālaka, who had also fallen in love with Vasantasēnā who does not reciprocate the feeling. Śākāra having assaulted and seriously injured Vasantasēnā, whom he took to be dead as a result of the assault, published to the world that Chārudatta had murdered her and prosecuted him in the royal court for the alleged offence. He proves before the Court that Chārudatta had murdered Vasantasēnā and secures a sentence of execution against him. But meanwhile Vasantasēnā, who was not actually killed, but only made unconscious by the assault, is revived to life by Samvāhaka whom Vasantasēnā had previously helped. She hurries to the execution ground of Chārudatta and her presence there exculpated Chārudatta who was released. Simultaneously with this, a revolution is said to have occurred in the State. Āryaka, who was rescued from imprisonment by Chārudatta, marches upon the king Pālaka of Ujjain and killing him raises himself to the throne. He made Chārudatta, who had helped him during his troubles in escaping from bondage, one of his chief officers. The whole story looks something like the description of an actual historical episode that occurred at Ujjain and not mere fiction.

The first attempt to extract historical information from the drama was made by Mr. K. P. Jayasval, and he was followed by Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar (Carmichael lectures) and P. D. Gune (Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute). They give the following details regarding some of the incidents referred to in the drama. Bradyōta, king of Ujjain, had three children, two sons Gopālaka,

* The author may have added it himself as his death did not come on him in the ordinarily unexpected fashion.

and Pālaka, and a daughter Vāsavadattā. This Pālaka appears to have ascended the throne after his father, either because his elder brother had abdicated, or because he was dead and his child was very young. This child, the Āryaka of the Drama, later on drags Pālaka from the throne, probably with the help of his aunt's husband Udayana, who thus gained power and influence over Ujjain. Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar also believes that Āryaka and the revolution that he brought about are historical.

This view of the historical information afforded by the Mṛichchakatika does not appear to be quite accurate in the light of the additional information that we have got about Śūdraka* and his drama. Two of the manuscripts recently acquired by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras and which they have called the Avantisundarikathā† and the Avanti-

* Śūdraka is referred to as one among four famous kings who took the chair in a Brahma-sadas (assembly of learned men) by Rājasekhara. These four are Vāsudēva, Sūtavahana, Śūdraka and Sāhasānka. Rājasekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsa, p. 55. (Gaikwar's Oriental Series I). S.K.

† Avantisundarikathāsāra.

आयुषोन्तेसरावासावश्मकेषु दिजोत्तमः ।
इन्द्राणीगुप्तव्यासीधंप्रादुर्दृशकंनुधाः ॥
अथावशातयाशप्तः प्राप्यमन्त्राश्रयानिनिशि ।
राजश्रियमपायानामन्तेगन्ताभवानिति ॥
स्वातिनाम्नासहैवासौवद्वेधराजसूनुना ।
क्रोडाकलहमारभ्यस्वैरवैरमभूत्तयोः ॥
बन्धुदत्तादिभिर्मित्रैरेकदाविहरन्वने ।
दुरूहतरामन्यैरधारयदसौशिलाम् ॥
शाक्यसंधिलकोदृष्ट्वाबलं तस्यावधारयन् ।
तमेकाकिनमादायप्रविंशबिलान्तरम् ॥
रसोदरणकाले तु जिघांसन्तं निहत्यसः ।
... रीपतनदुःखादीनभय ... ॥
ततोनिश्चलकं लब्ध्वा मुहूर्तं विन्ध्यगह्वरे ।
स्त्रिया कयापितरात्रौ भक्ष्यमाणमलक्षयम् ॥
क्रुद्धेन तु गृहीत्वा सामुक्तशापाभवं ययौ ।
सौहृदयं निगूह्यान्तः प्रतस्थे पुनरप्यसौ ॥
सगृहे शाक्यभिक्षुण्यावच्छयित्वा जिघांसितः ।
दुस्त्वप्रवाधितस्तस्माद्देशाभिमुखो ययौ ॥
मुहुरिस्सहितो भुक्त्वा बलनागारव.... नम् ।
बन्धुदत्तस्ततो हत्वा जगामोज्जयिनीं प्रति ॥
बन्धुदत्तगृहं गत्वा तस्मिन् भरतकन्यया ।

अनुरक्तसरागिण्यां मेरुपताकया ॥
ततो विनयवत्याख्यामुद्यानेनृपकन्यकाम् ।
दृष्ट्वा दृष्टिमिषेणान्तस्पर्ष्टदृष्ट्वा भवत् ॥
कन्दर्पसर्पदष्टान्तर्दष्टादवीकरणेन ।
मातुशूद्रकसंस्पर्शेनोभयस्यादजीव्यत ॥
ततः कन्यापुरंगच्छन् रात्रौ हृच्छयमूर्च्छया ।
रुध्यक्षजनेः कृद्धैः वध्यो सा वित्यवध्यत ॥
ततः कथंचिन्निमुक्तामृत्युप्रायादपायतः ।
श्रात्रीमुखेन तां कन्यामुपहृत्य ययौ पुरात् ॥
मोगैमालवराजेन प्रसहप्रहृतां प्रियाम् ।
उपलभ्य तृषातस्याः पानीयार्थं ययौ स्वयम् ॥
विना विनयवत्यासांगच्छन् कृच्छमनीयत ।
वने वनचरत्रातैः काराचोरचमूपतेः ॥
तत्कन्यामनुभूयासौ वाद्यदास्यभिधानया ।
अमुच्यत तया च छन्नबन्धनाद्वदरागया ॥
ततः प्रियां परिभ्राम्यन् विन्ध्यकाननलुब्धकान् ।
लीनां विप्रकुलेकापिश्रुतौ सत्वरमुद्यतौ ॥
ततोपिमधुरानीतामाकर्ण्य मधुरां ययौ ।
द्विजेन स्वतनूजायास्मिन् विवर्ततामिति ॥
तत्र स्नातस्मरस्तोयेनि ... दर्शना ।
पुरुषश्चोरयित्वैनेन न्युबध्वा भुजद्वयम् ॥
दृष्ट्वा विनयवत्येनं भर्तारं चोरचिह्नितम् ।
अमात्येन सखापित्राक्षणमु... वर्तवम् ॥
उपहारकृते रात्रौ पशुवन्मारितोऽप्यसौ ।
न जहौ जीवितं भूयः प्रयस्यासमगच्छत ॥
स तु मालवपत्नी सा स्तेयस्यागृहे प्रिया ।
सुकन्यामपितन्वद्गामुपये मे सयज्ञदां ॥
मधुरेन्द्रदुहित्रा सौरमितदशरसेनया ।
वसन्मृत्युमुखप्रायानपायानयमन्वभूत् ॥
बहूनां विपदामन्तेन गृह्यस्वामिना सह ।
बालमित्रमहत्वेन जीवयाहमजिग्रहत् ॥

sundarikathāsāra give some information about Śūdraka. In the introduction to the Avantisundarikathā* among the verses praising the great authors that preceded the writer, Śūdraka is mentioned. Śūdraka is said to have been a king who conquered his enemies a number of times and purified the world and wrote a work describing his own history. This reference leads us to infer that the story narrated in the Mṛichchakatikā has reference to some events in the life of the author Śūdraka himself. The other work which has been called the Avantisundarikathāsāra gives a short account of the life of Śūdraka. The substance of the story is the following: Śūdraka was a Brahman born in the Āsmaka country who was also known as Indrāpīgupta. He was brought up along with the prince called Svāti, who quarrelled with him at the games while young, and conceived a life-long enmity to him. He had several friends like Bandhudatta. A Buddhist mendicant Sanghilaka once induced him to enter a cave alone and tried to kill him, but Śūdraka escaped killing the mendicant. He then had many adventures and moved on from place to place to various cities like Vidiśā, Ujjain, and Madhura. After various adventures he became the king of Ujjain, but did not kill Svāti the old king, his enemy, who brought about all his troubles, because he was one of his friends during his youth.

When one considers this story of Śūdraka given in the Avantisundarikathāsāra with the reference to him in the Mṛichchakatikā one is compelled to identify some of the characters in the story with some of the characters in the Mṛichchakatikā. The only possible identification of the two sets of characters seems to be this. Āryaka of the story seems to be the same as Śūdraka, his friend Bandhudatta who helped him in overthrowing his enemies seems to be identified with the Chārudatta, the righteous friend of Āryaka. The other important characters in the drama also seem similarly capable of identification like Vasantasēnā, the courtesan, and Śākāra, the brother-in-law of the King. On the analogy of the previous names one may be sure that these are also pseudonyms invented by the author to denote some other historical characters. But we have not got sufficient information about this story to be able to identify these characters with certainty. It is possible that Vasantasēnā may be the Malayavatī mentioned in the Kāmasūtras of

सुहृद्भिर्दयित्वाभिश्च ।

... .. शशासचतुरण्वाम ॥

* Avantisundarikathā,—

शूद्रकणसकृज्जित्वास्वच्छयास्वङ्गधारया ।

जगद्भूयोप्यवष्टब्धं वाचास्वचरितार्थया ॥

Vātsyāyana and Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana * might have been the original of the Śākāra of our drama. Commentators of the Kāmasūtras thought that the word जवान used in this connection meant killed. But it need not mean that and may connote only that Vasantasēnā was seriously hurt.

But one need not lay too much stress on these identifications. He has only to compare the stories given about Vikramāditya and those about Śūdraka in the Avantisundarikathāsāra. He would be convinced that the stories are almost the same. The Kathāsāra says that Śūdraka was once induced to enter a cave by a Śākya, Sanghilaka by name, who wanted to sacrifice him to a Goddess, and that Śūdraka found out the treachery and killed the Buddhist mendicant. This story of Śūdraka's encounter with the Buddhist mendicant became the nucleus of that famous string of stories (Vikrama and the Bētāl). All these data tend to add weight to the identification. Again the Kathāsaritsāgara gives the story of a Mūladēva, a friend of Vikramāditya, and his love with Śāśī. This story is one of those, which at present in common folklore, are attributed to Vikramāditya himself. The amours of Mūladēva † and his mistresses Dēvadattā and Nārāyaṇadattā are referred to in the introduction to the Avantisundarikathā. In the Kathāsaritsāgara he is called a friend of Vikramāditya whom the latter consulted on various occasions for advice. In one place he is called Dhūrtasikhāmaṇi, the crest jewel of thieves. He is said in Mahēndravarmān Pallava's Mattavilāsa Prahāsana to have written a work on theft. It is perhaps this work which was in the mind of Śūdraka when he depicted the scene in the Mṛichchakatikā, where Śarvilaka, the scholarly burglar dilates upon the intricacies in the art of housebreaking and quotes authority in favour of his opinions. The amours of this Mūladēva with Devadattā and Vipulā are referred to in a drama called Padmaprābhritā by Śūdraka, recently discovered by the Madras Library. The previous references tend to prove that Mūladēva was a contemporary and friend of Śūdraka or Vikramāditya, according to his title. Mūladēva seems to have been confounded with the later poet Bhatti, who is made in popular tradition the friend of Vikramāditya and his constant companion during his many adventures.

* Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana,—

रतियोगेहि कीलयागणिकांचित्रसेनांचो लराजो जवान ॥

कर्तर्याकुन्तलः शतकणिः शतवाहनो महादेवीमलयवती ।

नरदेवः कुपाणिः (पाण्ड्यः) विद्वयाप्रयुक्तयानटीकाणांचकार ॥

† Avantisundarikathā,—

मनारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रया कथा ।

मूलदेवोदि ॥

Another drama discovered by the Madras Library which also seems to be the work of Śūdraka is *Viṇāvāsavadattā*. This drama is not autobiographical, but as its name signifies, refers to the famous story of Udayana with his *Viṇā*, the *Ghōshavatī*, and his beloved *Vāsavadattā*. It will be a very great service to the scholarly public if the two dramas are published and made easily accessible.

It would be plain from the previous discussion that Śūdraka became famous as *Vikramāditya* and was known and remembered by future generations by that title. Later kings thought it a manner of honouring themselves to assume the title *Vikramāditya*. The following passage from R. C. Dutt referring to the fame of *Vikramāditya* may not be out of place: "The victor of a great and patriotic war, the patron of reviving Hinduism, the centre of all that is best and most beautiful in modern Sanskrit literature and the subject of a hundred legends, *Vikramāditya the Great*, is to the Hindus what *Charlemagne* is to the French, what *Alfred* is to the English, what *Asoka* is to the Buddhist and what *Haroun Al Raschid* is to the Mahomedans. To the learned as to the illiterate, to the poet as to the story-teller, to old men as to school boys, his name is as familiar in India as the name of any prince or potentate in any country. He is variously known in later Indian literature as *Vikramāditya*, *Śākāri*, *Sāhasānka*, *Vishamasiddhi* and *Vishamaśīla*. The number of kings of the later dynasties of Indian History who assumed one or the other of these titles is very large." Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty seems to have been one of the very first kings to assume the title. Not having sufficient information about Śūdraka and his achievements and the period he lived in, scholars thought that Chandragupta II was the first Indian king who assumed the name.

Just as the names *Vikramāditya* and *Vishamaśīla* have been assumed by later sovereigns as a sign of greatness, *Vikramāditya's* original name *Śūdraka* also seems to have been used for a similar purpose. Mr. R. A. Narasimbacharya in his "Lives of the Kannada Poets" notes a work called *Śūdraka* written by one *Guṇavarman* (Circa 850 A.D.). He has the following about this work. "From some of the verses in this work '*Śūdraka*,' we find that it was in praise of a king of the Ganga dynasty who had the titles *Gangachakrāyudha*, *Gangararjuna*, and *Śrīrūpakandarpa*. From this it may be conjectured that the poet has compared his patron the Ganga to *Śūdraka* and has written this work in his praise."

A very old Tamil classic called *Perumkadai* or *Udayaṇankadai* narrates many old stories. Scholars are of opinion that it should have been written about the 7th or 8th century, because it is quoted in works of a later date

The expression *Perumkadai* is merely the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit word *Bṛihat-kathā*. It is a translation of the *Bṛihat-kathā* and seems to be the earliest of the translations of that work now extant. It has much to say, it seems, about *Śūdraka*. But unfortunately the work has not been published yet and we are not in a position to examine the stories in detail. It is understood that this famous classic is in course of publication by that veteran Tamil Scholar and publicist *Mahamahōpādhyāya Swaminatha Iyer*.^{*} It is hoped that the story as given in that work would corroborate the story of the same king here dilated upon. Mr. M. R. Kavi in the introduction to his edition of the *Nītiśāstramuktāvalī* refers to a work called *Śūdrakarāja-charitram* by a poet called *Kshēmendra* in Telugu. But we do not know anything else about this *Kshēmendra* or his work *Śūdrakarājacharitram*. It might be that the work gives the story of *Śūdraka*, the *Vikramāditya* or like *Guṇavarman's* Kannada *Śūdraka*, praises some other king who is compared with *Śūdraka*.

Now who was the king that was replaced by *Śūdraka* when he became king of Ujjain? The *Avantisundarikathā* gives his name as *Svāti*. We have got several kings with the name or suffix of *Svāti* in the dynasty popularly known as the *Āndhrabhṛityas*. The fifth king in the puranic list of this dynasty is *Śivasvāti*, the ninth is called *Mēghasvāti* or *Sangha*, the tenth is variously known as *Śātakarṇi* as well as *Svāti*, the eleventh is *Skandasvāti*, the thirteenth *Kuntalasvāti* and the fourteenth is *Svātikarṇa*. These are the only kings of the name *Svāti* who came before the time of *Hala* who has mentioned *Vikramāditya* by name in his *Gāthāsaptasatī*. Several scholars have given several dates to these kings and their dates range from about B.C. 139 the earliest date assigned to *Śivasvāti* to about 19 A.D., the date of accession of *Svātikarṇa*, the fourteenth king in the Puranic list of the *Āndhrabhṛitya* kings. The dates of these kings do not seem to have finally been settled and it is hoped that they will be very soon. The new data given in this paper of the king *Svāti* being displaced by *Śūdraka* may also contribute its own share in settling the disputed chronology of the *Āndhrabhṛitya* kings.

So far we have been examining the identity of *Vikramāditya* and his position in Indian History. Now his connection with the literary history of the time ought to be examined. The tradition that *Vikramāditya's* court was adorned by nine famous gems of literature is recorded in a late work of the twelfth century, which enumerates the nine, among whom is the famous poet *Kālidāsa*. It has now been proved beyond doubt that the nine gems could

^{*} The Mahamahopadhyaya recently told me that the existing copy of the *Perumkadai* is only a portion dealing about Udayana and that the work is the Jain version of the story.

never have been contemporaries. Some who were earlier and some others who were distinctly much later than Kālidāsa are said to have adorned, along with him, the court of a Vikramāditya. It is the belief that Vikramāditya's date depended upon the date of Kālidāsa that made scholars think that because Kālidāsa could not be taken before the fourth or fifth century, Chandragupta II was the Vikramāditya and the first sovereign who assumed that title. The problem of the date of Kālidāsa should not be mixed up with the problem of the date of Vikramāditya and both should be considered apart.

Śūdraka, the Vikramāditya, was a great poet and wrote the three works *Mṛichchakaṭika*, *Padmaprābhṛita* and the *Viṇāvāsavadattā*. His friend Mūla-dēva was the author of a work on burglary to which we have several references in literature. Another famous poet who seems to have graced the court of Vikramāditya was Mēṭha.* He was the author of a poem called *Hayagrīvavatha*. Several verses are quoted in later works from this work. Some Sanskrit anthologies like Vallabhadēva's *Subhāshitāvalī* quote several verses which were the joint productions of Vikramāditya and Mēṭha. The word Mēṭha in Sanskrit means elephant-driver. This significance of his name is beautifully utilized in praising the greatness of Mēṭha in *Vak-rōkti*.† There is also the tradition that Mēṭha was court poet under Matrīgupta, the poet king of Kashmir. The *Rājatarangīni* which confounds the identities of several kings has preserved the tradition that Mēṭha was a court poet under Matrīgupta. This Matrīgupta has been identified by scholars with Kālidāsa, the author of the three Kavyas and the three dramas. But Dr. Peterson has conclusively proved the untenability of the theory. Kālidāsa and Matrīgupta are said to be the representatives of two different styles of writing. Sanskrit anthologies have several verses attributed to a poet called *Hastipaka* or *Elephant-driver*. This poet seems to be the same as Mēṭha. The possibility of this identification has been suggested long ago by Dr. Peterson in the introduction to his edition of the *Subhāshitāvalī*.

The famous poet Bhāsa seems to have been another poet who adorned the court of Vikramāditya. A number of Sanskrit dramas discovered recently

* In the Assembly of learning associated with Ujjain, Mēṭha was one of those who was honoured as a poet. Among the Royal Chairmen mentioned occurs the names of Śūdraka and Sahasanka but not that of Vikramāditya. This omission may lend support to the identification suggested above.

† *Sūktimuktāvalī* :—

वक्रोक्त्यामेण्ठराजस्यवह्न्यास्तृणिरूपता ।

आविद्धाश्चधुन्वन्तिमूर्धानंकविकुञ्जराः ॥

by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastriar of Trivandrum have been published as Bhāsa's. There is no question of the fact that some at least of the set were the works of Bhāsa. But it is doubtful whether the dramas as they have been published are mere abridged editions of some of Bhāsa's dramas and some others, abridged for the purpose of staging before the court of some king of South India who had the title Rājasimha. This Rājasimha has been identified with Narasimhavarman II, Rājasimha, of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi. *The verse लिम्पतव्रतमाङ्गानि which occurs in the drama *Bālacharitam* of this set is found also in the *Mṛichchakaṭika* of Śūdraka. It is quoted under the authorship of Vikramāditya in Vallabhadēva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, verse No. 1890. This might be explained in two ways. Either Bhāsa should have taken it from Śūdraka or Śūdraka from Bhāsa. From this Bhāsa's date cannot be settled. The drama *Chārudatta* of this series is also said to be Bhāsa's. It has a very close resemblance to the *Mṛichchakaṭika* and both have so many common passages that the inference is inevitable that either *Mṛichchakaṭika* should have been elaborated from *Chārudatta* or *Chārudatta* should have been abridged from *Mṛichchakaṭika*. But we have been able to prove the exact nature of the drama. *Mṛichchakaṭika* and its connection with Śūdraka form the references to Śūdraka in early Sanskrit literature. If *Chārudatta* is a drama of Bhāsa, it should have been written after the time of Śūdraka. But this issue does not at all arise because the drama *Mṛichchakaṭika* was abridged later.

Bhāsa's name is mentioned along with the name of Sōmila by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*. His name is associated with the name of another poet Rāmila. Rājasekhara has a verse in which the two poets are mentioned together. The present view of scholars about them is that they were two distinct poets, one, the son of the other. Sōmila is considered to be the son of Rāmila. A verse quoted from Rājasekhara says that Rāmila and Sōmila together wrote a work called *Śūdrakakatha*. † & ‡ The anthology called

* The verse लिम्पतव्रतमाङ्गानिवर्ततावाञ्जननमः ।

अस्तपुरुषमेववदृष्टिनिष्कलतांगता ॥

which occurs in the *Mṛichchakaṭika* of Śūdraka is given as the production of Vikramāditya in Vallabhadēva's *Subhāshitāvalī* and as the joint composition of Vikramāditya and Mēṭha in the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*.

† Rājasekhara :—

तांशूद्रककथाकारौवन्द्यौरामिलसौमिलौ ।

ययोर्द्वयोःकाव्यमासादधनारोश्वरोपमम् ॥

‡ The names of the following Sanskrit works dealing with the life of Śūdraka can be gleaned from the recent discoveries of the Madras Library. 1. *Śūdrakakathā* by Panchasikha. 2. *Vikrāntaśūdraka*, a drama quoted in Abhinavaguptapāda's commentary of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Śārngadharapaddhati quotes a verse of Rāmila and Sōmila and says that the verse is one of the finest in the collection.

Kālidāsa refers to two poets collectively as Kaviputrau in his Mālavika. He groups these poets along with Bhāsa and Sōmila and it is not unlikely that they also should have written about this time.

There is a tradition recorded in Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī that the poet Mātrigupta was appointed as the king of Kashmir by Vikramāditya. We have shown how the view that this Mātrigupta is the same as Kālidāsa is untenable. He is supposed to have been famous for one style of writing whereas Kālidāsa is said to be so for a different style.

We have shown that Śūdraka belonged to the family of Aśmakavamśa. Bhāmaha, the author of the Kāvya-lankāra, quotes with approval from a work called Aśmakavamśa in several places. Mr. A. Anantacharya, the author of the Monograph on "Bhāmaha" has recorded the tradition that the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa was an imitation of the Aśmakavamśa. This Aśmakavamśa whosoever work it might have been, would be very useful to history as well as to literature, if discovered. It is bound to give many details about the life of Śūdraka, which we have not been able to deduce in this paper. As the work is called Aśmakavamśa it should have treated about the family of Śūdraka. We have already shown that Śūdraka was succeeded by a son of his, whose name we are not able to know. This work might give his name as well as some account of his history.

In the time of Śūdraka,* the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana do not seem to have been written. We have mentioned the fact of the Kāmasūtras referring to Kuntala Śātakarṇi and the possibility of his being identified with the Śākāra of Mṛichchakaṭika. On other grounds Vātsyāyana is placed by scholars in the I or II century A.D. The country he lived in seems to have been Ujjain which place he refers to merely as Nagara and whose inhabitants he calls Nāgarakas.

One of the works upon which the Kāmasūtra is based, Vaiśika Sūtra of Dattaka seems to have been very popular in the time of Śūdraka. The verse detailing the achievements of Śūdraka says that he was well-versed in the Vaiśikasūtras. They were the work of Dattaka who is said to have written them for the benefit of the dancing women of Pāṭalīputra; Śūdraka refers to Dattaka in his drama, the Padmaprābhṛita.

The view of Sanskritists hitherto had been that modern Sanskrit literature of the Kāvya and Nāṭaka styles was of a very late origin. According to them the earliest work written in good modern Sanskrit was the Buddhacharita of

* The Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana also refer to Mṛichchakaṭika and incidents from the same in several places. The Kāmasūtras are believed to have been written about first century A.C.

Aśvaghoṣha, said to have been written in the court of Kanishka. But Kanishka's date has been determined to be about the end of the first century A.D. We have shown above that there should have been Kāvyas before the period. The dramas of Śūdraka and Bhāsa and the Kāvya of Mēṇṭha clearly disprove the view of the late origin of the Kāvya style. They do not at all appear to have been even the first works written in the particular styles. The styles of these works should have had a long previous history. The first distinguished scholar who thought that there ought to have been Kāvyas and Nāṭakas before Aśvaghoṣha was Goldstucker who expressed his opinion about the subject in his "Pāṇini". Patanjali mentions in his Mahābhāṣya a Kāvya written by Vararuchi which unfortunately has not come down to us. Pāṇini, the great grammarian himself, is believed to have written a historical poem in the Kāvya style called the Pātālaviṇaya from which we have quotations in Sanskrit anthologies.

Another illustrious poet who should have lived before this period was Subandhu. This author should be distinguished from his later namesake who wrote the prose romance Vāsavadattā. Our Subandhu is said to have been a minister of Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta Maurya. One of the verses quoted as an illustration in Vāmana's Kāvya-lankārasūtram* says that Subandhu was the minister of a king who was the son of a Chandragupta. Prof. Pathak and following him Mr. V. A. Smith tried to identify this king with Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty, son of Chandragupta who, he thought, should have had the title Chandraprakāśa. The minister of the king was considered to be Vasubandhu, the famous Buddhist monk. But this view was based on the reading of a single manuscript whereas most of the manuscripts read in the portion the name of Subandhu.

But we are able to know something more about Subandhu from extraneous evidence. One of the verses in the introduction to Avantisundarikathā† says that Subandhu was a minister of Bindusāra by whom he was

* Vāmana's Kāvya-lankārasūtra 2. III. 2,

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा ॥

सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्तनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशोयुवा ।

जाताभूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियादिष्टया कृतार्थश्रमः ।

आश्रयः कृतो धयामित्यस्य च सुबन्धुसाचिव्योपश्लेषपरतया साभिप्रायत्वं ॥

† Avantisundarikatha :—

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो विन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।

तस्यैव हृदयं जहे वत्सराजकथा..... ॥

For a complete discussion of the date of this Subandhu, see the present writer's article Subandhu r Vasubandhu, a glimpse into the literary History of the Mauryan period.

imprisoned. One of the works quoted by Bhōja in his newly discovered work, the *Sringāraprakāśa* has an extract from the drama *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu to whose introduction the verse quoted by Vāmana should have belonged. Here the author Subandhu is said to have used the device called *Nātyāyita*, by which in the middle of a historical drama characters which are much earlier than the events represented are introduced and made to take part along with others who lived much later. The device in the particular drama was that Bindusāra, the patron of our poet and his father Chandragupta were made to appear as characters in a drama enacted before them which dealt with the story of *Vāsavadattā*. The reference in this case is unmistakable, and Subandhu, a minister of Bindusāra, should have written the drama called *Vāsavadattā*. Patanjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, gives the derivation of the word *Vāsavadattika* meaning by it, the scholar who studies a work about *Vāsavadattā*. Subandhu should have been one of the *Vāsavadattikas* known to Patanjali and there should have been many before him.

Udayana and his son Naravāhanadatta, Chandragupta and his son Bindusāra, Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty, Śūdraka and his friend Mūladeva seem to have formed the heroes of many an old Indian romance. The *Bṛhatkatha* of Guṇāḍhya, in its original form, seems to have mainly comprised the stories about these characters and those connected with them in some way or other. There should have been many more dramas of this early period than have come down to us. But for their presence, a work like the *Naṭasūtras* referred to by Patanjali treating of dramaturgy could not have been written. By the time of Śūdraka there should have been a large number of dramas. These dramas seem to have differed from the dramas of the later age in their construction as is evidenced by the *Nātyāyita* in the *Vāsavadatta-Nātyadhāra* to which we have no parallel in the existing dramas. Not only were ordinary *Nātika*, but its varieties like the *Bhāṇas*, *Prahasanas* and *Vyāyogas* should have been known. The little information which we are able to gather about them at this remote age seems to establish a very remote antiquity to the dramatic literature of India and all theories about borrowing from Greece may have to be abandoned.

ACTING IN KERALA.

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(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

THE one outstanding feature of our theatre* which distinguishes it from the Tamil, the Telugu, the Kannada, and the English theatre, is the prominent place we assign to actual acting and the use of gesture language in place of spoken language. It is so prominent that in the case of the major varieties we have only *acting* and no speaking at all. The terms, *Nātika*, *Nātya*, and the like, lend weight to the correctness of our practice; for these, I think, are suggestive enough of the significant place that has to be assigned to acting in staging a Sanskrit drama. The venerable sage, Bharatha, may also be quoted in support of this view in that he devotes a large portion of his valuable work, *Nātya Śāstra*, to the scientific exposition of the art of *acting*. In view of this, I think that in retaining *acting* in its prominent place, our theatre is only keeping truer and nearer to the ideals of the ancient Sanskrit dramatic tradition which approximates more or less to the modern *Ballet in Action* of the west. Strong, it seems, must have been the force of this ideal, for we find the same prominence given to acting even in the case of the local vernacular entertainments. This, then, the prominence given to *acting* is the characteristic feature of our theatre.

The aim of all dramatic, or more correctly, spectacular entertainments is two-fold: to impart instruction and to give pleasure. This is the surest and the most obvious way of educating the masses. This is again a powerful weapon for social reform. Especially in ancient days, this was also found useful for the propagation and popularization of religion. Lastly, it forms an inexhaustible source of delight. According as the aim of the dramatist differs, so does the nature of the play. Didactic plays are very careful of the story. Those intended to reform society bristle with wit and humour. Religious plays are allegorical, or clothed in an atmosphere of supernaturalism. Ideal acting, with true regard for the actual naturalness of representation, for the effect of dress and music, for scenic effect, can be met with only in such dramas as have for their aim pleasure. This variety of aims will help us to understand the variety in spectacular entertainments.

*The term theatre is in this paper used in rather a wide sense and it embraces within it all kinds of spectacular entertainments which are characterized by the appearance in public of a dressed character for the purpose of giving the spectators some recreation and which have a literature connected with it.

Such a variety exists in our theatre also. We have entertainments of educative value, of religious value and of æsthetic value. For this reason, then, our theatre becomes as important as any other to the student of Comparative Dramaturgy. Add to this the fact that at least two of our entertainments, *Kūthu* and *Pātakam* have enriched the Sanskrit literature by the contribution of thirty or forty works* of great literary excellence and by the creation and consistent application of a new mode of interpretation and appreciation; and that two others have by their contributions raised the spoken language of our land into the status of a literary language.† And we think it has its own eloquent appeal to make to the students of literature both Sanskrit and Malayalam. And, further, when we remember, that it can claim, as we shall show later, a very high antiquity, that it has got an unbroken continuity through the vast sweep of two thousand years and more, our theatre becomes a source of very interesting study to the student of antiquity.

On account, then, of the importance of our theatre from the antiquarian, the dramatic, and the literary point of-view, a study of it becomes interesting and instructive. This, indeed, forms my excuse for inflicting this paper on you.

As mentioned above, innumerable are the types of entertainments which our theatre holds forth. These, as they now stand, seem to be pervaded, in some cases real and in others apparent, by a religious atmosphere, which we now utilize as the basis of our classification. Under the purely religious head come (i) Mudiyeṭtu (ii) Bhagavath-Pāthi; under the semi-religious head come (iii) Sangha-Kali, (iv) Kūthu, (v) Pātakam, (vi) Krishnattam; and under the head of popular acting are placed (vii) Ēzhā-muthi-Purappadu, (viii) Kathakali, (ix) Thullal, (x) Korathyāttam, (xi) Mohiniyattam, (xii) Kayyu-Kotti-Kali, (xiii) Porattu-Kali, (xiv) the modern dramas,‡ which are generally

* These works, *Prabandhams*, are of the nature of champus and many of them come from the versatile pen of Mēppathūr Narayana Bhattathiri, the great post-grammarians of Malabar. These Prabandhams are of rare literary excellence and have gained for the author an abiding place in the horizon of Sanskrit Literature. He is the author of an original commentary on Panini and he is supposed to be the contemporary of Bhattoji Dikshitar, the author of *Kaumudi*. The average Malayalee, however, knows him as being the author of *Narāyanīyam*, the book of devotional hymns.

† The varieties referred to are *Kathakali* and *Thullal*. These have literally created the Malayalam literature, each contributing more than fifty works. The most outstanding name in the field of Thullal is that of Kunjan Nambiar, the originator of this variety of entertainment. In the field of Kathakali the more important names are those of Unnayi Warrior, and Kottayath Tham-puran.

‡ Since the following pages take up for consideration only the fourth variety or Kūthu, a few words about the other varieties will not be out of place. The first two of these have for their aim the glorification of the Bhagavathy Cult. The first has for its story the destruction of Dārīka by

translations of Sanskrit, Tamil and English dramas, or original dramas on the model of these. This list would show that we have a great variety in the matter of spectacular entertainments. Some of these are mere dances; others are but graphic narrations, with witty and humorous expositions; while still others have got almost all the elements of a drama. In the limited time before us I cannot hope to give you full details of all the varieties mentioned above. I shall, therefore, confine my attention mainly to the most popular and the most ancient of these, namely, '*Kūthu*' and its sub-varieties. But before I proceed to that, I may be permitted to touch upon the antiquity of our theatre.

Our theatre can claim a very high antiquity. The most ancient of our entertainments are *Sangha-Kali* and *Kūthu*. The former of these is an organization brought into existence in the early days when *Kerala* was a political unit under the *Namboodiri* supremacy. The whole land was then divided into *sanghams* or divisions. Representatives of these were forced to meet together, driven by a political necessity according to one tradition and a religious necessity according to the other. The local magnates governed the land so miserably that the *Namboodiris* met in solemn conclave and after a long deliberation resolved upon bringing in as their suzerain Lord one from amongst the royalty or the nobility of the *Chera* Kingdom. This led to the *Perumal* line of kings. The *Sangha-kali* was inaugurated as a memento of the religio-political meeting which led to the establishment of the *Perumal* dynasty. Others say that the various *sanghams** met together to devise means to check the advancing wave of Buddhism which was encouraged by one of the *Perumals*. One thing, however, is clear from the tradition, and that is, this variety

Kāli, and in this two characters appear impersonating the Goddess and the demon and fight out their battle. Sanghakali will be incidentally touched upon in the course of our paper. Krishnāttam is a play modelled upon Jayadēva's *Gita-Govinda* and originated by a zamorin of Calicut. The seventh variety literally means '*The appearance of the seven maids*'. This appears to be built on the model of Sanghakali. (Has this any reference to the Saptā-Kanyakās of the South Indian Saivā temples and to the seven Vestal Virgins of Rome?) *Kathakali* is the local vernacular drama, which is pantomime in nature. *Thullal* is a ballad sung to the accompaniment of instrumental music, the actor not merely singing but also gesticulating. In *Korathyattam* or *the gipsy dance* we have on the stage two female characters impersonating the wives of Siva and Vishnu and carrying on a quarrel on the respective merits of their husbands. In *Mohiniyāttam* or *the Siren dance* a woman entertains the audience with her music and dance. It is based on the legendary story of Vishnu's appearing before Siva and tempting him. *Kayyu-Kotti-Kali* is a variety of secular entertainment where a number of ladies dance in a circle, singing and keeping tune with their hands. *Porāttu-Kali* is modelled upon *Matha-Kali* and is a variety of entertainment where the lower orders alone take part. Many of these are gradually dying out. The writer hopes to write short monographs about each of the varieties mentioned above.

* The term, *Sangham*, is of Buddhist origin and it refers to the *Assembly of Elders* instituted by Buddha to discuss matters relating to canons of faith. This term, therefore, suggests that the latter of the two traditions is nearer truth.

of entertainment came into existence either with the Perumals or during the time of the Perumals. And when we remember that the last of the Perumals, Bhaskara Ravi Varma, passed away in 382, or as others would have it in 385 A.D. (*Vide* The Cochin State Manual), the antiquity of Sangha-kali becomes well established. Coming to *Kūthu*, one of the Prime Ministers of this Perumal, Thōlan, utilized *Kūthu* to reform and improve society. This would show that *Kūthu* also must have originated before the days of Thōlan. These two facts show that our theatre has a history behind it and that it is older than the Christian Era.

Apart from the local importance of *Kūthu*, as being one of the most ancient and popular of our entertainments, it has got a wider Indian importance, for in this we have the Sanskrit dramas staged. It is distinct from the staging of the same elsewhere, if such a thing exists at all, in our having made the *Vidūṣaka* give by word of mouth a translation of the verses which the hero acts, and in our having dispensed with the curtain which is found mentioned in the extant dramas. It is again distinct from the other local varieties in that two conditions have to be satisfied before it can be acted.

The first of these is as regards the place of acting. *Kūthu* cannot be, like the other local varieties or the dramas elsewhere, staged anywhere and everywhere. It must be acted only in *Dēvālayams*, i.e. temples. In every well-endowed temple in Kerala there is set apart a beautiful structure, adorned with all the skill of the architect and the sculptor, for the purposes of acting; and this is known as *Kuthambalam*, i.e. *Temple theatre*. Inside this there is a structure, the ceiling of which depicts in relief scenes from the *Purāṇas*. This contains within it the green-room and the stage, and in continuation of this latter, but slightly lower in height, there is the pit to seat the Brahmin dignitaries, chiefly the *Namboodiris*. The floor on the three sides is utilized by the commonalty, where they have to stand. It must be remembered that only caste Hindus are allowed in. In temples where such a separate structure does not exist, the acting is generally conducted in the spacious dining hall. In every case the stage will be facing the idol.

The second condition is as regards the actors themselves. Whereas all caste Hindus are allowed to take part in the other entertainments, only a particular section of *Ambala-vasis* (Temple-dwellers), are allowed to act *Kūthu*. These are the *Chākyārs*, their women the *Nagyārs* and the *Nambiars*. The Nambiars' main function in *Kūthu* is to work the *Mizhāvu* a closed necked metallic jar with its mouth tied up with a piece of leather, keeping tune to the acting of the Chakyar. The *Nagyar* besides being an actress has also to help the Chakyar by sounding the cymbal generally and in some cases by reciting in musical tones the Sanskrit verses which the latter acts.

The *Chākyārs*,* the most important of the trio allowed to appear on the temple stage, are, it seems, the descendants of the *Sūtas* who graced every ancient Hindu court as the court bard or the minstrel. The term itself is suggestive of it, in as much as it is but a corrupt form of *ślāghyar*—men of respectability, a respect due to their wisdom and their learning. Tradition hath it that a particular *suta* family came over to Kerala with the *Perumals* as the court actors. When this family was about to become extinct, it was allowed to adopt into it the children of Brahmin women born of criminal intimacy. After its discovery and their expulsion from their caste, these children, if invested with the sacred thread, become *Chakyars*; if not *Nambiars*. The girls join either caste indifferently. This shows that these actors have behind them a long histrionic tradition.

These two restrictions as regards the place of, and the person, acting show that whatever acting we had in ancient days had for its aim the popularization of religion. This is again emphasised by the subject-matter of their stories, which are mainly taken from the venerable epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharatha*, though of course these actors have their partiality for the story of Rama. Such a necessity could have taken place only in the early days of Aryan colonisation. Hence *kūthu* came to have the religious character impressed upon it, a character which it retains to-day. For example the *Chākyārs* are enjoined to fast till after the performance is over.

In the early stages, this acting must have been modelled upon the old *suta's* narrations, amplified probably with exposition and illustration, a form that is still living in *Prabandham-kūthu*, one of the three varieties of *Kūthu*. The next step must have been when it took to acting regular dramas. In these days the works of Bhasa must have held the stage; for we find *Balacharitam*, one of his works, a favourite piece with the Chakyars. The next noticeable stage is when we come to the days of *Thōlan* towards the close of the fourth century A.D. Religion and the institutions intended to further it had by his time taken root among the people and these no longer needed the active service of *Kūthu*. In the meanwhile social and political institutions had grown up and become more or less air-tight. Abuses set in and the wise and far-seeing minister utilized this as a powerful weapon of social reform. The *Chākyārs* have traditionally enjoyed absolute freedom of speech on the stage. Availing himself of this, Tholan introduced certain very effective changes. Personal references, pointed allusions, and innuendos were the weapons which were put into the hands of the Chakyars and which they used

* For further details *vide* the Cochin State Manual, page 199; also consult the Cochin Census Report 1911; also Cochin Castes and Tribes. It will be clear therefrom that these are intimately connected with the Kerala Brahmin class.

so unsparingly, whether the victims were princes or nobles, patricians or plebians, when the good of the society necessitated an exposure of their conduct. Of course, the serious characters are never the mouthpiece of this, but only the inevitable *Vidūṣaka*. In short from the days of Tholan (4th century A.D.) down to the present, *Kūthu* has been serving not merely as a pleasant recreation but also fulfilling the functions of a newspaper.

Kūthu, as suggested before, has three modes of entertainment, *Prabandham kūthu*, *Nagyār-kūthu*, and *Kūdiyāttam*. Of these, the first is pure narration with exposition; the second is pure acting while only the last variety has a semblance to theatrical representation. In the first and the last of these, all the trio, *Chākyār*, *Nagyār*, and *Nambiār*, have to be on the stage, while in the second variety the *Chākyār*'s presence is not needed. As for the time of acting the first is acted in the afternoons, the second just after nightfall and the last one, *Kūdiyāttam*, is generally acted only during night.

Prabandham-kūthu. In this the *Nambiār* works on the *mizhavu* and the *Nagyār* sounds the cymbal in tune the *Chākyār*'s acting. The *Chākyār* recites a verse from a *Prabandham*, generally that which deals with the story of Sri Rama, then he acts it; and then he proceeds to expound it, the greatness of the actor in this case is to be measured not so much by his histrionic talents, as by his power of exposition which is often illuminated by apt and suitable analogies to current social, religious and political events of a reprehensible character. It is here, as also in *Kūdiyāttam* that *Kūthu* discharges the function of a newspaper. The *Chākyār*, here, must be a sound critical scholar. The old generation of *Chākyārs* was like that, and, no wonder, even at the present day their explanations, their interpretations and their appreciations hold good. Thanks to the work done by them, Malabar became in ancient days the centre of literary criticism.*

Nagyār-kūthu. Here the *Nagyār* takes the place of *Chākyār*. The most interesting point in connection with this is that a woman appears *on the stage to act*. Here we have only *pure acting* and naturally this affords no scope for spoken satire. The actress is helped by the instrumental music of the *Mizhāvu* and the cymbal. Dressed in a queer way she first recites a verse which is afterwards acted in pantomime.

In *Kūdiyāttam*, the most important variety in the *Kūthu* family, we have the Sanskrit dramas staged. The term itself is quite significant. It is composed of two words, *kūti* meaning *combined*, and *āttam* meaning *acting*

* As a typical instance, I may mention the commentary of Mēgha-Sandēśa, *Vidyutlata*, written by a Nambudiri Brahmin, a work which would clearly show the advance made by Kerala in the matter of literary criticism and appreciation.

and yields the idea, *combined acting*. It is *mixed* or *combined* either because both the *Chākyār* and the *Nagyār* appear on the stage to act, or because more characters than one act on the stage, or because there is a mixture of narration and acting, or again, as we are inclined to think, because of all these.

The first preliminary in *Kūdiyāttam* is what is known as *Kūthū-Purappādū*, i.e. the starting of *Kūthu*. The stage is well adorned with green leaves, flowers, and fruits of cocoanut trees and plantains. There are a big lighted lamp and a *Naraṇḍara*, a measure full of paddy, kept facing the actor. When the preliminaries are arranged and the actor is ready to appear on the stage, the instrumental music is sounded. On this occasion the usual music of *mizhavu* and cymbal is supplemented by *madhalam kombhu*, and *kuzhal*. After sounding the *mizhāvu*, the *Nambiār* retires into the green room and, bringing some holy water, sprinkles it upon the stage, reciting the *Nāndi-śloka*, or the benedictory verse, of the drama that is to be acted. This is known as *Arangu* (stage) *Thalikkuka* (sprinkling with water) and with this is over all the items of *Nāndi*. Then the musical instruments are once again sounded, and after this enters the *sūtra-dhāra*, or the stage-manager of the play.*

The *Sūtradhāra* enters the stage and treats us to a queer kind of stepping, accompanied by dancing, which is known as *kriyachavuttuka*,—‘stepping-out the action’. After this he recites to the accompaniment of music some verses, dancing in a peculiar way all the while. This is followed by the *Prastāpana* of the play. Even though the text of the drama may have a *nati* taking part in it, she never makes her appearance on the stage. The *sūtradhāra* does her part also. This takes us to the end of the first day's acting.

On the second day the scene opens with the character that the *Sūtradhāra* has mentioned on the previous day. This will, generally, be the hero of the play. But even now the play proper is not begun, for this actor acts only what forms the introduction to the particular act of the play which is to be staged. This is known as *Nirvachana* and this takes us to the end of the second day.

Here it may be pointed out that on no occasion is a drama staged in full, but only particular acts. The chief reason for this is probably the long period of time it may have to run and the practical difficulties of staging. A full

* Here we have the distinction between the *Nāndi-Sūtradhāra* and the *Katha-sūtradhāra* of the drama. Note also, this makes clear the almost mistaken significance of such sentences as, ‘अलमकमतिविस्तरण ।’ which the *sūtradhāra* utters, as he comes upon the stage.

description as to how the Chākyār must act the various dramas is given in the books, *Krama-Dīpika* and *Ātta Prakarana*, books which form the actors' manual and guide. Each Chākyār family has got copies of these books, but it keeps them so jealously that they are not easily available. In spite of all my efforts I have not been able to get a copy of these yet.

The *Nirvachana* being over on the second day, the main story begins on the third day in the case of those dramas which have no Vidūśaka. In case, however, there is a Vidūśaka, the main story has yet to wait for three or four days. For on the third day the Vidūśaka comes on the stage and lords it over for the next three days at the least by the recitation of what are known as *Puruṣārthams*, or the *Aims of Life*. These are, according to him, four in number: (i) *vinōdam*, i.e. the enjoyment of the pleasures of life; (ii) *Vanchanam* or deception, (iii) *Aśanam*, i.e. feasting; and (iv) *Rājasēva*, i.e., service under kings. The exposition and acting of these take four days but are generally done in three days by rolling up the first and second varieties together. These four items bristle with wit and humour. It is here that the offensive social customs and manners, the oppressive conduct and behaviour of those in power are exposed and held up to censure and ridicule. It is here, in short, that *Kūthu* appears as the powerful weapon of civic and social reform.

For the realization of these *Puruṣārthams*, the people of the village of *Anadhīta-Mangalam*, i.e., the village of Illiteracy assemble together under the leadership of the village priest, whose qualification for this post by the way is that neither he nor his father nor father's father ever studied any scrap of the Vedas! Of those assembled the most important are the *Unni-Nambudiris*, the *Brahmachari* Nambudiris, the various types of Ambalavasis, and the Nayar element, comprising the temple musicians and the local magnates. It is indeed a motley crowd of Caste Hindus and embraces the *Brahmins*, the *Ambalavasis* and the *Nayars*. Here we have the unit of a Kerala Hindu village. There is, it must be remembered, only one actor on the stage and he has to act the assembling of this crowd, their deliberating as to what should be done to realize the *Aims of Life*, their quarrellings, and their final coming to a decision. The *Chākyār* here figures as a perfect mimic. In impersonating this typical assemblage one by one, the actor takes the opportunity to ridicule their social and moral vices. In this case it goes without saying that the success of acting depends entirely on the actor's power of mimicry.

On the third day of the *Kūdiyattam*, *vinōdam* is acted. The people of the *Village of Illiteracy* having assembled, they set about devising means as to how best they can satisfy their sexual passion. This occasion is utilized to indulge in a lot of abuse on the immorality current in the society. The names

of so many ladies are suggested one after another, but each one is given up for the reason that she has some failing or other. Here, then, we have a process of elimination wherein are displayed all the failings that man and woman are together liable to. It needs scarcely be said that this unsparing annual satire has been exerting a very salutary influence in keeping up the tone of morality of the society in a healthy condition. The next item, *Vanchanam* is generally mixed up with *vinōdam*. The *viddi*, i.e., fool, one amongst the remarkable villagers, is made the thief and the occasion is utilized for much moralizing of a very valuable nature.

On the fourth day we have the third of the *Puruṣārthams* described and acted. No sort of curtailment is ever made or allowed to be made. The feast is described and the feasting is acted most realistically, the *Chākyār* playing the role of an ideal glutton. Here we have mimicry in the purest and the most realistic form, teeming with illustrations, brimful of humour. It is, I am afraid, beyond my powers to give you any idea of this. I shall simply say, that even a chronic dyspeptic will evince the keenest relish for a feast, if only he were to see this acting.

On the fifth day we have the last of the *Puruṣārthams*, *Rājasēva*, acted, when the ruling chief and his magnates come up for their share of hauling-over-the-coals. The assembled villagers discuss between themselves as to which is the best king under whom they could take service. One suggests the chief of this place, another of that place. The various suggestions are over-ruled in favour of a particular chief. In this process of elimination the whole machinery of Government has its weakness revealed. The *Chākyār* ventilates all the grievances of the ruled. He describes in pitiful terms the hard lot of the people in general and the lower orders of the Government servants. The numerous sufferings, physical and mental, which these have to endure consequent upon the carelessness, the inconsiderateness and the indifference of the masters are portrayed in but too vivid colours. Even the crowned and anointed chief is not exempt from the criticism of the *Chākyār*, a fact which is true even at the present day. His acts which are oppressive or obnoxious or unpopular are mercilessly exposed and condemned. His policy, when it is not conducive to the well-being of the people, is criticised downright. In short the *Chākyār* brings home to the ruler how the people view him and his acts. And note this is done often and more the most part in the very presence of Royalty, a presence which only makes the *Chākyār* more unsparingly eloquent. Such open and unsparing criticism was, it needs scarcely be said, very valuable in those olden pre-newspaper days in that it tended to improve both the ruler and the ruled. In this feature our *Kūthu* fulfils the functions which the *Miracle plays* of Mediæval Europe were

performing. The three P's, the butt of the actors, in our case mean evidently men in authority, religious and secular.

After this long process of elimination, the leader comes to the conclusion that there is only one king on the face of the globe who is worthy of being served and that is none other than the hero of the drama they intend to stage, and the motley crowd of villagers start away to take service under him. Thus is this long, probably undramatic, as some may be inclined to think, but at least none-the-less entertaining and instructive, introduction connected with the drama to be staged. Herein we think we can find explanation for the tedious, as it apparently looks, *Prastāpana* and the sometimes undramatic description of a festival, which are indeed characteristic features of post-Kalidasa drama. This point will become clear, if any one institutes a comparative study of the earlier scenes of the works of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, and Harṣa.*

This takes us to the end of the fifth day. On the sixth day begins the story proper, *i.e.*, the particular act of the particular drama that is to be staged. Even in this partial fashion, the *Chākyārs* stage not all the dramas, but only a chosen few and these in order are Bhāsa's *Balacharita* and the third act of Pratignā-Yougandharayana, known as *Mantrangam*; Harṣa's *Nagananda*; *Dhananjaya*, a drama by one of the Perumals and of great literary and dramatic merit; and *Chūdamani*. This list, meagre though, still shows the Chākyār's partiality for the story of Sri Rama, for of these two, the first and the last, are devoted to the story of Rama. The preference for *Nagananda* shows but the impress left upon us by a Buddhistic wave which must once have swept over Kerala. The popularity of *Dhananjaya* can easily be explained in that it is a work from one of the beloved line of Perumals. It becomes, however, very interesting to inquire why the immortal bard, the sweet singer and master dramatist, Kalidasa was left in the lurch. The limitations of time and relevancy prevent me from entering into a full

* This is a very significant point, as it shows a definite growth in the structure of a Sanskrit drama. From this point of view the Sanskrit dramas can be divided into two classes (i) Pre-Kalidasa drama, Bhāsa being its representative and (ii) Post-Kalidasa drama, Harṣa being its representative. Kalidasa is the connecting link. The first of these wrote dramas for the stage but the second produced only literary dramas. In Kalidasa both characteristics are found but the literary aspects predominate and he is not a stage dramatist. Bhāsa was eminently a playwright. The "terse, vigorous, simple language" of his dramas, the great care and skill bestowed by him upon delineation of character and situation, these and the fact that his dramas could be staged with the most rudimentary stage equipments, point out that Bhāsa was first and foremost the actor's dramatist and only secondly the literary dramatist. This view further explains the justice of the praise bestowed upon him by the *Prince of Poets*, Kalidasa, a praise the reason of which many a pandit critic cannot understand. I think his works must have long held the stage in Kerala, not alone because one of his dramas is still a favourite piece with the *Chākyārs* but also because all his works have been unearthed from Kerala and that from the houses of Ambalavasis.

discussion of the subject and I shall therefore content myself by simply putting forth my own view of it, namely, that Kalidasa, and for the matter of that, every Post-Kalidasa dramatist, are not playwrights so much as masters of literary form.

On the sixth day of the *Kūḍiyāttam*, the *Chākyārs* act the chosen act of the chosen drama. All the characters appear on the stage, the male part being taken by the *Chākyārs*, and the female part by the *Nagyārs*. Even on this occasion the characters, except *Vidūṣaka*, never speak but only use the gesture language* which is greatly helped by the expressiveness of the eyes and the face. The actors come dressed in character, dressed, indeed, in a queer way. The mode of dressing is different in the case of the characters of different dramas. Thus for instance the characters of *Jimūta-Vāhana* (the hero of *Nāgānanda*) and Arjuna (the main character in *Dhananjaya*) and Sri Rama appear in different costumes. The inevitable *Vidūṣaka* appears in his weird dress. The main function of this character is to recite for the benefit of the masses a vernacular translation of every verse that the hero acts. The part played by him in this respect is very significant in as much as this marks a development in our mode of representing a Sanskrit drama, the more so because no provision is made for such a process in the dramas acted. Here, then, we have an innovation introduced by a discerning critic to make the drama more popular, a necessity that has to be satisfied so that *Kūthu* may more satisfactorily discharge its more important function, namely, social and civic reform. Tradition assigns this honour also to Tholan.†

* The use of the gesture language occupies a prominent place in our spectacular entertainments. A few words about the origin and justification of this may not be out of place here. The gesture language used here may be classified under the three heads of (i) natural gestures, such ones as are unconsciously used when the speaker is moved with great emotion; (ii) Imitative gestures which aim at reproducing the shape or any striking peculiarity of a thing or person or being and (iii) symbolic gestures. The last of these, the actors, I mean the Chakyars, must have taken from the Tantric symbols which the priests use when they conduct worship in the temples. It was not difficult for the Chakyars to come at these symbols, for, as we have seen, these are but degraded *Nambudiris*. These must have supplied the basis for the gesture language now current on the stage, later on developed by the addition of imitative gesture. This last must have sprung up from a convention in Nambudiri life. The orthodox Brahmins when engaged in their devotional rites or temple worship consider it irreligious to carry on communication with the temple menials in the local vernacular. Communication they cannot, however, avoid and hence out of a practical necessity, they devised a system of gesture language based on *imitation*. This also was later incorporated in the gesture code. It was introduced in the first instance to cater to public taste. The language of the dramas being Sanskrit, the vulgar mass was greatly handicapped and could not well appreciate the performance and this difficulty was obviated by the use of gesture language.

† The authorship of the Malayalam renderings of the verses in *Nagananda*, one of the dramas acted by Chākyār, has traditionally been assigned to Tholan, who, as we have said before, was the minister of the last of the Perumals, *Bhaskara Ravi Varma Cherman*.

I am now come to the end of my paper. In spite of its historic importance, in spite of its dramatic interest; in spite of its intrinsic worth, *Kūdiyattam* is gradually declining. The costly and the antique mode of representation, the absence of the so-called modern refinements, the open criticism in which it takes such peculiar delight, and lastly the want, or other difficulty of appreciation, these have contributed not a little to its decline. Taking *Kūthu* as a whole, we have, of course in our limited way, dance and music, narration and exposition, imitation and representation. There is enough difference in the mode of acting the different varieties of this family, and the sympathetic audience has enough food for enjoyment, both intellectual and emotional. Not only that, it has done much towards the education and the reformation of our society, and every discerning member thereof will but too willingly admit our indebtedness to *Kūthu* for the very valuable services rendered by it to our society. No innovations to suit changing times and needs are ever made and hence probably the waning and luke-warm interest that people now evince in this. The mode of dressing, the mode of acting, the essentials, in short, have remained the same, probably since the days of Tholan. It is time to effect some reformation or other so that it might make its appeal to *cultured moderns*. This seems to be necessary if these time-honoured heritages should be living and growing, but even as it is, its very antiquity is a perennial source of interest to us.*

Perumal. Scholars now seem to have agreed that this Perumal passed away in 382 or 385 A.D. (Compare Cochin Manual for the discussion of the subject). Tholan, therefore, must have lived in the latter half of the 4th Century A.D., and since he has translated the verses of *Nagananda* this work must have been written before the days of Tholan, at least during his time. That means that Sri Harsa, the author of *Nagananda*, must have flourished in the earlier decades of the 4th Century A. D. This, therefore, cannot be Sri Harsa Vardhana of Kanauj (602-648 A.D.). The view now put forth has given rise to two issues; (i) we have to find for Sri Harsha the author of *Nagananda*, a kingdom, preferably a Buddhistic one (ii) we have once more to settle the question of the authorship of the three dramas, *Priyadarsika*, *Ratnavali*, *Nagananda*. My own opinion about these questions I reserve for a future occasion.

* In preparing this paper I was greatly helped by the articles on *Kūthu* in the pages of the Malayalam monthly, *Bhasa Posliini*. I wish also to express my thanks to K. Ramanujam, Esq., the Curator of the Society, for some of his valuable suggestions.

KERALA LEGENDS II.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A., *The College, Ernakulam.*

IN our first series we were dealing with the legends connected with the temple at Iringalakuda. In this series we shall give the stories that have clustered round the greatest warrior prince of Cochin, we mean His Highness Rama Varma, the Maharaja of Cochin during the closing years of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century. It was he who withstood the destructive inroads of Tippoo Sultan; it was he who consolidated his kingdom. From the historical point of view he may be looked upon as the Alfred of Cochin. But it is not on account of this that people remember him and cherish his memory. To them, he is the *Saktan Tham-puran*, the Prince of Great Strength, the great, all-powerful hero, wandering about the length and breadth of his kingdom, redressing the grievances of his subjects, suppressing the insolent evil-doers, and subduing the haughty and oppressive nobles. So powerful and so long was his arm that no one dared do any wrong to another. He moved about like the veritable God of justice and his bare name was enough to stay the hand of oppression. The nature of the work that the prince had taken upon himself, and the times he lived in have produced a plentiful crop of stories. We shall in what follows give a few of them.

II. Saktan Thampuran.

The prince was born from the astrologer's point of view at an inauspicious moment. For it was on the dark Puṣya day in the month of Karkadagom. The elders of the family were much grieved on account of this. Then, as luck would have it, there was in a temple near by a holy *Sannyasin*, who was consulted as to how the evil effects could be warded off. Then His Holiness chanted some mantras over a handful of flowers, and handing them over to a princess asked her to keep them under the prince's bed for a period of forty-one days. He assured the elders that the prince would grow up to be the light and the glory of the family. It needs scarcely be said that the prophecy of the holy man was fulfilled to the very letter.

II.

In those days people suffered much at the hands of the Moplahs. After dark nobody was safe, much less the travellers. The early years of our hero were spent in rooting out the moplah disease. The punishments he inflicted upon them may appear to us inhuman; but the times were such and the evil done by them was so great. The most common of the punishments were

drowning them in the backwaters, sawing their bodies, setting them on fire and the like. We shall give here three instances.

The havoc caused by the young prince was so great that some of the moplal leaders met together and it was there resolved to make short work of him. The latter got information of this conspiracy through his spies. He disguised himself as a moplal and got himself admitted into their ranks. He took an active part in their deliberations and he himself hatched the plans to bring about the murder of the moplals' enemy. Every moplal wanted that he must be given the honour of killing the prince, and the prince himself was the foremost amongst them to claim this. To settle the dispute lots were cast and fortune favoured the prince. It was then settled that the disguised prince must lead the pick of the moplals at dead of night and take the prince by surprise. At the fixed time, the conspirators met at the rendezvous and began their march. As promised them, the prince had secured the key of the staircase, and opening it, he allowed all his companions to go up the landing. When all of them had entered, he quickly locked up the staircase. Then going up through a private staircase he came to the landing of the main stairs. He opened the door and then slowly went down, killing each and every one of them. Thus perished the flower of the moplals of the day, all killed in their own trap.

III.

It was usual with our hero to go about during nights to detect evil-doers. One night as he was roaming about, he saw a moplal proceeding in the direction of a Namboodiri's house, the master of which, the prince knew, was not at home. This and the general attitude of the moplal roused his suspicions, and so he quickly went to the house and hid himself in a convenient corner. The low whistle of the moplal was answered by the opening of a door and a female figure moved out into the darkness to the moplal. The prince did not lose this opportunity but soon got inside the house. In a couple of minutes, the female, it was the maid-servant, and the moplal entered the house and bolted the door. The prince took in the whole situation at once. He knew that the servant girl was in the pay of the moplal, and that the latter had come to violate the honour of the lady of the house. Under the directions of the maid, the moplal proceeded to the inner apartments. The mistress of the house was not in the meanwhile sleeping. She had heard the opening of the door and the stealthy steps of more than one person and thinking that something was wrong had bolted the doors and in fearful suspense was waiting for further developments. No long interval passed; approaching footsteps were heard and then a gentle knock. A push, a kick, and a few angry words from the moplal followed by the bewail, 'Alas that such

things should take place even during the time of Saktan Thampuram! and loud cries. But the prince was ready for it, for he was only two steps behind the villain. 'Hold,' he cried in his thundering voice and caught him in his iron grip. He assured the terrified lady that *Saktan* was everywhere to protect the helpless, and that she need not therefore be afraid. Then he marched out of the house with the miscreant in one hand and the wretch of a maid servant in the other, and entrusted them to the care of his followers who had in the meanwhile come there. After posting a couple of soldiers to guard the house, the prince went away. It needs scarcely be said that both the moplal and his accomplice were made to suffer the most exemplary punishment.

IV.

It was the occasion of the prince's birthday. His foster-mother awaited the arrival of her brave son. It was very late and yet the prince had not come to take his meal. The old princess was becoming anxious when towards afternoon, the prince was hastening to her. When questioned why he was so late, he said he had been engaged in a pious duty, namely, torturing to death a moplal who had killed a cow the preceding night.

V.

His Highness married more than once and there are current some stories about them, the following being a few.

In accordance with the fashion prevailing in her place, the consort had her nose ring; but it was something unknown at the court of the prince, and naturally she was made fun of. The poor lady was much grieved at being the butt-end of criticism. The prince somehow came to know of this. He caused to be made a number of nose rings exactly like the one the consort was wearing. He then assembled together the fashionable ladies of noble and aristocratic families, had their noses bored then and there and the nose ring put on. It was thus that the nose ring became current in Cochin.

VI.

At another time the consort expressed her wish to give a grand feast to her friends and relatives and the prince agreed to satisfy her wish. Not only that, he gave her a free hand in determining the menu connected with the feast. Much elated at this, she drew up a very elaborate list and handed it over to the prince. The latter carefully looked through it and issued the necessary orders.

The grand day arrived and the preparations were in full swing for the feast. The appointed hour was gradually approaching, and the guests had begun to arrive. The prince himself was to receive them. Leaves were laid and all were seated, and the numerous cooks began to serve. There was served all the paraphernalia of a grand feast; but one thing the consort had not

mentioned, the food, and this was absent. Alas, the mortification of the consort knew no bounds!

VII.

On another occasion the consort had a big palatial mansion built for herself. She did not inform the prince of this, her new venture. Her idea was to surprise him and then get the money spent from the Government. The prince knew of the affair but behaved as if he knew nothing. In due course, the building was ready and one evening when the prince came, she informed him that she had a new house constructed for her and that they would therefore go there. The prince appeared surprised and gladly proceeded to the new abode. The place was reached, but alas, the building was not there! The place where the building was looked like common ground, and his consort stood there quite abashed and humiliated. It needs scarcely be mentioned that it was the work of the prince, who had the whole thing razed to the ground in a couple of hours. The prince did not want that even his wife should do things behind his back.

VIII.

His wife was not blessed with any children and the prince was after all prevailed upon to allow her to make some pious offerings to beget a child. He granted her a round sum of money and himself superintended the performance of the various deeds which are supposed to be efficacious in this direction. After the ceremonies were over he came over to his palace. The princesses had heard of the lavish expenses incurred on his wife's behalf. His foster-mother went and complimented him on the pious turn of his thoughts and then finally remarked that he could have remembered his own family where also children were rare. 'The ceremonies,' he said in reply, 'were performed with my money, and I was all the while praying God to bless my family with children.'*

IX.

The two following stories will be of special interest as they show the prince's dealings with his pet officials and favourites.

One of the prince's most valourous and efficient generals, and hence the most trusted officer, was a *Thandan*. As a reward for the valuable services rendered by him in reducing the kingdom to peace and order, he was made the officer commanding the northern division of the kingdom. Haughty and arrogant by nature and conscious of his power and influence with the prince, he lost his head and began to ill-treat the Nayar population. Happening to see a beautiful Nayar lady, he made illicit overtures to her and when these were refused he insisted submission. Matters were coming to

*It is to be remembered here that the princes here, like their subjects, follow the *marumakka-thāyam* and not *Makkathayam*.

a crisis, when the prince happened to turn up at Trichur, the head-quarters of the Captain, as the *Thandan* was more popularly called. The lady, then, boldly presented herself before the king and informed him of the nefarious proposal of his Captain. To her, however, the prince did not seem to be sympathetic, for he advised her that under the circumstances it was better to yield to his wishes. The fountain of justice having run dry, as she thought, she nobly resolved to sacrifice herself to save her family from ruthless persecution and so sent word to *Thandan*, inviting him to her house. And since he had information that the prince had left Trichur, *like a veritable Kichaka*, he proceeded in all his pomp and glory to sacrifice the honour of a maiden at the altar of lust. He was received in a way befitting his exalted rank, and while the moments were flying, the sad victim was intently praying to God to save her from the dire fate that was so soon to befall her.

In the meantime the prince was not idle. He publicly departed from the town only to return in private with a couple of trustworthy followers, all disguised as travellers. These had come like innocent wayfarers and sought a night's lodging in the same house and were in a hidden corner but ready to strike when the supreme moment came. They were witnesses of his pompous entry and were listeners of his insolent ribaldry.

The prince, however, had not long to wait; for, the man of lust was in eager haste to satiate his lawless desire. The Captain prepared himself to retire to her room. He had scarcely touched the handle of the door when, in a voice like thunder, did the prince call out his name. It was the voice he had heard so often and its effect was instantaneous. The guilty aggressor stood rooted to the spot, shivering from head to foot. In the space of a second or two, the prince had put his iron grasp over his neck and was dragging him to the courtyard, while his attendants caught hold of his miserable associate.

The Captain had not many more moments to live. He was given the most tortuous death imaginable. The punishment given to his accomplices was no less severe.

X.

The chief of the *Ezhavas*, a tribe of non-caste Hindus, was in the lock-up for his misdeeds awaiting punishment. His followers thought of saving him by bribing the prince's favourites. Accordingly, they approached a member of the *Maliakkal* family, who stood high in the prince's favour and after heavy bribes induced him to intercede for their leader; and the *Ejamānan*, as he was popularly known, agreed to try his best. The prince, however, came to know of this and so arranged that the next time, the favourite presented himself at Court, the *Ezhava* must be shot dead in their hearing. As usual

the favourite came and they had not been conversing for long, when they heard the report of a gun near by. Pretending ignorance, the Raja inquired what the matter was and the news was brought that the Ezhava was shot dead. The Ejamanan realized the awkwardness of his position and trembled for his life. The prince, however, did not make any reference to his share; but the favourite learned his lesson, a lesson which he carried through life.

XI.

His Highness could never tolerate disobedience and bogus impostors.

His Highness had two nephews, the sons of his foster-mother. These princes somehow or other began to show a great partiality for the *Vaishnava* cult as propounded by His Holiness of the Udippi Mutt. His Highness did not want that his descendants should fall into the narrow groove of sectarian cult and hence warned them more than once. But they cared not to follow the well-meant advice of the Raja and continued to practise their faith in secret. Carried away by their religion, they wished that their religious preceptor should be brought over to their Kingdom and properly honoured and so secretly arranged for a meeting at *Chala Kudi*. Accordingly the Swamiyar came and was given a welcome best as they could command and was living there as their guest. His Highness came to know of this and after one of his hunting expeditions, he suddenly came down upon them and gravely insulted them.

XII.

Sometime hence, urged by the undue interference and unjust persecution of their uncle, the princes put themselves in communication with the British Government to have their uncle removed. But their communication was forwarded to His Highness. The Raja proceeded to his foster-mother and after explaining to her the treason committed by her sons freely pardoned them for her sake.

XIII.

On another occasion, the princes consulted an astrologer to know when their dread uncle would be removed from their path. The bogus fortune-teller announced that the Raja would meet with his death in the course of forty-one days. The Raja came to know of this affair and had the astrologer brought before him. He confessed that he had consulted the Raja's horoscope and had predicted his death. The prince then asked him if he had fixed his own death, to which he answered that he had twenty more years before him. Then the prince said that he had not twenty more seconds to live and quietly cut off his head.

XIV.

In passing we may remark that another astrologer was more fortunate.

One day the prince came across him and knew that he was a fortune-teller. To test his powers the prince asked him by which gate he would enter the temple that day. The astrologer was a shrewd man and said, 'May it please Your Highness, if I speak it out, Your Highness can easily change. So, I shall write by which gate the entry will be made and give it to Your Highness.' The prince agreed. When the astrologer had written it out, he ordered his attendants to cut a passage through the walls. This was done and the prince entered the temple through the new passage. Inside the temple precincts, the prince opened the letter and was agreeably surprised to see the incident correctly predicted. The prince was mightily pleased and rewarded the astrologer handsomely.

(To be continued)

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NOTES.

Primitive Religion in Mysore.

BY MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., M.L.A.

THE suggestive paper of Mr. Hayavadana Rao ought to induce men with leisure to devote some time to the investigation of the problems he refers to. He has alluded to a variety of topics. I shall endeavour to state my impressions on some of them, more with a view to stimulate enquiry than to offer considered conclusions.

Among the objects of worship, he has not referred by name at least to a prevalent form of Totemism. I refer to Cow-worship. This is not confined to primitive tribes or to the lower classes alone. The Brahmans and the higher classes of non-Brahmans are among its votaries. In this case, at least, no question of sacrificial offering of the object of worship takes place. In the Puranas and in our epics—I am not sure whether traces are not discernible in the Vedas—Kamadhenu is spoken of with great veneration. In the Ramayana we are told that the great Vasishtha depended for his Havyam and Khavyam upon it. He would not part with it to Visvamitra for any price. The story continues to describe the extraordinary prowess of Kamadhenu in creating armies at will and in destroying the array of forces ranged against Vasishtha. There are other stories relating to it in other parts of Ramayana and in the Puranas. In India, Cow-worship is everywhere to be found. In the northern parts of India where it has received more encouragement owing to the practice of a particular community in associating its religious practices with slaughter of this useful animal, one will find a Cow portrayed as exhibiting in its body all the recognised Deities of worship. It is as the Universal Mother that offerings are made to it. Though the people of the south do not carry their ideas of worship of the cow to the same high level, there is no doubt that the veneration shown to it is very genuine. What is it that is in the background of this deification? There can be no doubt that it is the cleanest and the most useful of the animal creation. Nothing that comes out of it is wasted. In life and death every atom of it is utilized. This may partly account for the homage paid to it. Its association with Sri Krishna may also account for the pre-eminence given to it. It may also be said that, to an agricultural and nomadic people, its form, its products and its progeny would endear it in every way. Some more light should be thrown on the subject and I dare say that our friends in the north would be able to add largely to our knowledge of the subject.

From cow to serpent is not an easy transition. However, as Mr. Rao devotes some space to dealing with its worship I shall say a few words: The cobra is the only one of the species that counts in this connection. Its appearance, the deadly effect of its poison and its stateliness infuse terror. One would hardly associate it with intriguing as apparently the Bible wants us to believe. Its surreptitious ways

may account for the belief that it tempted Eve on the sly. Why is it that the serpent is credited with having advised the first transgression? Whatever the primitive man found in the cobra to worship, his votive instincts have been strengthened by the place assigned to the object of his worship in later times. The Puranas are full of the serpent's doings. He is the soft bed on which Mahavishnu reclines in His Yoga Nidra. He is the ornament of Shiva and spreads his hood over the Linga form. He is specially favoured in places where Subrahmanya is worshipped. In fact he is supposed to be identical with the Deity. In Malabar he has houses constructed for him and offerings are made. I heard it from a reliable source that the cobra moves about the house and does no injury to the residents. I know of two instances in which it was found that the cobra submits itself to superimposed restraint. In one instance I was an eye witness to a huge cobra being captured. As soon as this was done, a Mantra man of my place drew a circle round it. Confined within this place, it would under no circumstances get out of it. It was pushed out several times and dragged yards away. It always came back within the circle. It was left for 30 minutes there and it would not move an inch from where it lay. Ultimately the Mantra man obliterated the circular line and the cobra fast ran off from its place of custody. The popular belief is that, once by means of incantations, you impose a restraint upon it, it would allow itself to be controlled even though certain death was before it. I was not an eye witness to the other incident, but I have no doubt about its authenticity. I heard it from my elder brother. My brother was coming to the village. Two miles from it a Sadhu told him that 10 yards from a mile stone on the northern side of a tamarind tree a cobra would be found which had been ordered not to leave the place until permission was given; that it would be holding its hood and that my brother should pronounce the word 'GO' on hearing which it would move out. My brother found everything as was described, a large number of people collected at the spot—but the cobra would not move. Then he said that the Sadhu had asked it to go. Whereupon the cobra swiftly ran out into the bushes on the banks of the Cauvery. It may be that mesmerism is responsible for this submission. I wish somebody would throw more light on this side of a cobra's character.

One more topic: Mr. Hayavadana Rao refers to the remarkable fact that almost all the Village Deities are Goddesses. He might also say that they are invariably of the type of widows and not of married women. This is clear from many marks of respect shown to them. Mr. Rao hints at the possibility of the matriarchal instinct being responsible for the worship. There is much to be said for this theory. A suggestion occurs to me. In village parts and elsewhere old women are believed to possess powers to ward off the effects of evil eyes; they are in great request for this and similar purposes. All nations have associated old women with witchcrafts. Whether for good or evil, resort is had to them on this account. I dare say that a well-inclined old woman of this kind is a village asset. Oftentimes her power for good would endear her to the villagers and not

infrequently her mischief-making proclivities would induce her neighbours to propitiate her. Could it be that in life and after death she was sought after either for good or evil? She would, if my surmise is correct, undoubtedly find a niche in the village for worship. If she was powerful in life, people would invoke her spirit to prevent others from committing mischief or to obtain boons. In this way her worship would be perpetuated. Every Indian knows how easily stories of this kind gain strength as years roll on. It seems to me this aspect of village worship deserves investigation.

I am coming to the end. Mr. Hayavadana Rao might usefully refer to the part that Brahmanism has played in making such worship more human than it originally was. The Brahman's philosophy has supplied a real want. He has engrafted into the worship the idea that everything on Earth is a manifestation of the supreme and that stone, animal, reptile or tree has in it the elements of worship, if the worshipper seeks God there. It is in this spirit, it will be found, that the cultured Brahman and the high class non-Brahman join in the worship of the village deity. Gradually in the south of India these people have rescued the worship from some of the vulgarities usually associated with it: I believe the same process is going on elsewhere. I hope the informing paper of Mr. Rao will have the effect which he desires.

The Kalabhras.

BV T. N. SUBRAMANIAM.

RECENTLY (*ante* XI, pp. 81—83) Mr. K. G. Saṅkara urged that the close of the Śāṅgam age cannot be later than c. 600 A.C. with the authority of the Vēlvikudi plates. He quoted there a part of the grant and discussed its meaning. It seems to me that he twists the natural meaning to suit the occasion. Since the text runs as 'கனப்ரனென்னும் கலி அரைசன்,' he takes it to mean a single person. First of all how is it possible for a single person to restrict the rule of many kings or rather generations of a dynasty? He says that since 'Ādirājarai' is in plural it should denote at least two Pāṇdyas. But where is 'Alvariya' to go? So he concluded that it means 'Countless Pāṇdyas through their last representative.' This use is not uncommon to us. But it came into use only after the 12th Century A.C. and was used only on the occasion of praising a king by a protégé of him. And here it is used for the Kalabhras on the occasion of praising the Pāṇdyas by the Pāṇdyan Poet. So we should not take this meaning. 'Alvariya Ādirājarai' therefore means only 'Countless Pāṇdyas.'

The other evidences also help us to take the above meaning. Before proceeding further let us see who are the Kalabhras.

Venkayya in giving the report of the Vēlvikudi plates (G.O. No. 574—17th July 1908, pp. 62—9) identified the Kalabhras with Kārṇāṭas referred to in the *Mūrtinayanār Purāṇam*. All the scholars including the late Mr. T. A. Gōpinātha Rao accepted this. And only Mr. Saṅkara opposes this. He says "We have

shown that the occupying Kalabhra himself was driven out, while the Kārṇāṭa king was not expelled at all, but died a natural death leaving no issue. The Kalabhra was succeeded by Kadum-Kōṇ, while the Kārṇāṭa king was succeeded by Mūrti-nāyanār, because there was no Pāṇdyā prince left to succeed. Finally, the Kalabhras are nowhere identified with the Kārṇāṭas. On the contrary, both in history and literature, they are mentioned separately" (*ante* X, pp. 178). We do not know whether Kadumkōṇ defeated and succeeded the Kalabhra directly or not. The text says that

“அளவரிய ஆதிராஜரை அகலநீக்கி அகலிடத்தை

கனப்ரனென்னும் கலி அரைசன் கைக்கொண்டதனை இறக்கியபின்

படுகடன்முளைத்த பருதிபோல் பாண்டியாதிராஜன் வெளிப்பட்டி” (39—42)

i.e., “after the defeat of the Kalabhras the Pāṇdyā prince came forth as the sun rising from the ocean” and captured the whole kingdom. From the analogy it appears that the Pāṇdyā line was unknown to the world while the Kalabhras ruled there. Thus the evidence of Periyaparāṇam that there was no Pāṇdyā prince left to succeed when a Kalabhra king died might be justified.

Again Mr. Saṅkara says that both history and literature consider the Kalabhras as different from Kārṇāṭas. There is no authority for this. Perhaps he is confounded because there is also a reference to Kārṇāṭas in the same Vēlvikudi plates as

“வானவன் செம்பியன் சோழன்

மன்னர் மன்னன் மாகருநாடகன்

கொன்னவின்ற நெடுஞ்சுடந்தேவந்

கொங்கர் கோமான் கோச்சடையன்”

(69—71)

That would not indicate so. We know that the Pallavas have the name Kādavas and the same Vēlvikudi plates refers to the Pallavas as

“செழும்புரவிப் பல்லவனைக்குழும்பூருட்டேச்சுழிய”

(78—79)

and

“நாற்பெரும்படையும் பார்படப்பரப்பிக்

கருநாது வந்தெதிர் மலைந்த காடவனைக் காடடைய”

(91—92)

The Kalabhras were powerful even as far as the beginning of the 8th Century A.C. For the Kotraṅgudi plates of Nandivarman (Pallava Malla) discovered by me says as follows:—

यस्यबलम् कळभ करवा पांड्य चोळ तुकुकोगनादयः ।

हरिवेशसमयाभिकाक्षिणोस्सेवितुनिरवकाशमासत् ॥

and they were also defeated by Vikramāditya II on his southern tour (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 204). Thus it would not be wrong to think that *Kōchchadaiyan's* victory was also over the Kalabhras and there is no necessity to refer that to another dynasty.

It is clear from Peripurāṇam that the Kārṇāṭas occupied Madura and ruled. But in history we do not know of any other occupation of Madura, than that of

Kalabhra. And it is not also possible to think that a dynasty other than that of Kalabhra occupied Madura. Thus the Kalabhras are the Karṇāṭas.

If the Kalabhra occupation of Madura is only for a generation, the property might have been claimed very easily by the successor. But it was not so in this case. The owners of the property wait for about 150 years even after the restoration. This shows the length of foreign rule. And if the foreign rule is only by a generation it is also improbable to think that the free properties were taken by force within that time as not to be reclaimed. At first I have said that one king cannot restrict the rule of many generations. The plates also in another place say in plural as

“வேள்விக்குடி யென்னப்பட்டது கேள்வியிற்றரப்பட்டதனைத்

துளக்கயில்லாக் கடற்றூனையாய் களப்ரராலிறக்கப்பட்டது

(110—112)

Thus the occupation of Madura was not by a generation.

But some may object why the text is in singular. The plates were written some 150 years after the restoration and the writer was not well versed in the history. And it might have been then natural to refer to that period as the ‘period of Kalabhra’ in the same way we refer to the time before 1850 A.C. as ‘the days of *Kalahakkāran i.e., rebellious man*’

Again I doubt his inference that Kadumkōn himself defeated the Kalabhras. From the text I have quoted above, we are tempted to think that the Kalabhras were defeated by some one else. The approximate date of the Kalabhra fall is $760 - (30 \times 6) = c. 580$ A.C. At that time, the powerful kingdom of the Tamil land was that of the Pallavas ruling over the Thondainādu. It was ruled by Simhavishṇu and after him by his son Mahēndravarman I. It is Simhavishṇu who emerged from the dark and tried to extend his kingdom in the South. The Vēlūrppālaiyam plates (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 512, Verse 31) say of him that “He quickly seized the country of the Chōlas embellished by the daughter of Kavira (*i.e., the river Kāvēri*) whose ornaments are the forest of paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca (palms)” and the Kāśākudī plates S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 356, Verse 20) say that Simhavishṇu vanquished “the Malaya, *Kalabhra*, Malava, Chōla and Pāndya (kings), the Simhala (king) who was proud of the strength of his arms, and the Kēralas”. Thus I think that the Kalabhra downfall was due to Simhavishṇu. To conclude the Kalabhras invaded and occupied the Pāndya land after the close of the Saṅgam period and about the close of the 6th Century A.C. Pallava Simhavishṇu invaded and drove the Kalabhras. Perhaps before he had succeeded in settling the land the Pāndya prince Kadum-Kōn came out from the dark and occupied his ancestral land. This is all the history we know of the Kalabhras and their occupation of Tamil land.

REVIEWS.

The Mysore Archæological Report, 1921.

THE Report before us is one of considerable interest, despite the circumstance that Praktana-Vimarsa-Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, the Director, had to stay at Headquarters throughout the year. The discovery, editing and publication of the Kudlur Plate of Mārasimha, will alone have been sufficient to justify the Department in our eyes and in the view of Oriental Scholars. But though this plate dominates the Report for the year, it is not all. We have besides a rich report of architectural detail and illustrations, numismatic conundrum and descriptions of manuscripts newly discovered.

The Kudlur plate of the Ganga king Mārasimha is dated A.D. 963 and is a valuable find. “Artistically executed as regards both writing and composition, it gives a full account of the kings of the Ganga dynasty from the beginning and then records a grant by king Mārasimha to a scholar named Vādighanghalabhaṭṭa.” A special feature of the plate is the seal which is beautifully executed and “is divided transversely into two unequal compartments, the upper enclosing about three-fourths of the space and the lower about one-fourth. The upper compartment has in the middle a fine elephant in relief standing to the proper right, surmounted by a parasol flanked by *chauris*, with the sun and the crescent at the upper corners. Behind the elephant is a lampstand with what looks like a *chauri* above it, and in front a vase surmounted by a dagger and a lampstand. The lower compartment bears in one horizontal line the legend, *Śrī-Marasingha-Dēvam* in Haḷa-Kannada characters.” It is the longest Ganga grant yet discovered, consists of 200 long lines of matter and is the only Ganga grant known with a label giving the name of the royal donor on the seal. Being one of the latest records of the dynasty, it gives a complete genealogy and is besides of great value as confirming the previously known Ganga records in various particulars and yielding some items of new information.

Among other records deciphered during the year was the inscription on a Buddhist image from Nepal, a note about which was published in these pages (*vide* pp. 98-99 of Vol. XII, No. 1, and pp. 203-204 of Vol. XII, No. 2). Mr. Narasimhachar’s suggestion that the symbols on the reverse of the old gold coins commonly known as *Virarāya paṇams* represents “*Śūśunāra* or the heavenly porpoise supporting on its back the collection of the stars and planets” is ingenious, but it is not possible to accept such an explanation until we identify the *Virarāya* to whom these coins are traditionally ascribed and see the connection between him and the symbol.

We congratulate Mr. Narasimhachar on his interesting Report and hope that

the Government will enable him to expedite publication of the Indexes to the *Epigraphica Carnatica*, the Karnāṭaka Sabdānuśāsanam and the Annual Reports of the Department. We hope also that interesting finds will be published in the form of notes from time to time by the Officers of the Department, instead of being delayed until the writing of the Annual Report at the end of a year, and of its publication several months later. The publication of such notes will facilitate previous discussion by scholars and enable the Department to give a more exhaustive account of the find when the report is written.

A. V. R.

The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. I, No. 4.

IT is refreshing to note that, in these days of journalistic hotch-potch, we come across a journal like the Eastern Buddhist. The 4th number of the first Volume contains brilliant articles each one of which is worthy of our attention. Although the same theme is almost presented in different ways it is a clear indication how the Japanese mind is balancing itself or trying to balance on the scales of practical philosophy chiefly as the result of the recent world-war. The journal emphatically asserts that the one lesson learnt of this terrible war which was characterized by a waste of world-wealth and great human sacrifice is that we are not enjoying the benefits of Real Civilization and that reconstruction of human life is very necessary to ensure permanent peace of the whole world. The journal advocates that the Washington Conference with its international gathering of the great statesmen and diplomats cannot achieve anything unless all its deliberations for the world peace are based on permanent principles of justice and humanity. Although Japan's development has been abnormal of late, the journal strikes a warning that materialism is the curse of modern civilization and commercialism leads mankind to the inevitable distrust and consequent warfare. While borrowing largely the inspiration from the Mahayana of the Buddhistic school of philosophers, it beautifully handles the modern problems on, purely, the basis of practical and human philosophy. The result of the war has been the revival of the idealistic tendency in man bringing into prominence the idea of universal brotherhood fortified by truths of philosophy and religious faith.

In place of the old rut of materialistic egotism, made conspicuous in the narrow conception of State, the journal advocates that any conference aiming at world-peace should emphasise the spiritual basis of human sentiments of mutuality to handle successfully the question of disarmament. The idea of State as the highest expression of human life should be given up and egotistic absolute statism must change to conform to the destiny of humanity on the spiritualistic agreement. The ghost-ego-soul of the imperialistic militarism and the ferocity of self-love should be substituted by charity and trained diplomats and statesmen should have an eye on the spiritual phase of human life. The belief that "each individual

ego gains its signification only when it loses and finds itself in the greater ego" is alone the keynote to make all conferences successful, and the journal strikingly points out how the realization of the Buddhist Ideal of a State in which 'no arms are resorted to' is possible by our attuning to the universal law of mutuality. The story of the Bodhisattwa and the hungry tigress where to save the helpless cubs, her own off-spring which the hungry tigress wanted to devour, Bodhisattwa offered his own body amply illustrates that world peace is not possible if there is not a sincere desire for mutual sacrifice. The journal urges for a League of Religions where we can sink our differences and emphasizing agreement we can evolve peace and harmony and help to increase our spiritual welfare. This is essential because our religions have ceased to be what they were really. "They have been too ready slaves to secular power, they have supported those that were wielding the most power at the time, they have given themselves up sometimes to the despotism of autocracy or to that of aristocracy or plutocracy; they have sometimes been "a lantern-bearer" to State absolutism and militarism. It is high time now for all religions to free themselves from all ties and to carry forward boldly the standard of love and light." These words true and significant we fully endorse and close by saying that the journal if continued in the same spirit will be an acquisition to all thinking minds anxious about world-peace and ever striving after human reconstruction on the lines of love and charity.

M. C.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.

ANNALS of the Bhandarkar Institute 1921-22, Vol. III, Part I, contain among other things two brilliant papers which deserve our careful attention. As is usual generally with the Institute publications the Annals and their contents are scholarly with a rich background of critical analysis. The editorial notes and the several reports of the several departments of the Institute show unmistakably the wonderful energy and enthusiasm characterising its alumni. The two papers under our review are 'The lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the Mahabharata Edition' by Bhavan Rao Pandit Pratinidhi, Chief of Oundh and 'The Jain Manuscript-Bhandars, etc., on their search' by the Late J. S. Kudalkar. It may be that some differences of opinion are to be and must always be found among the several schools of artists in India about drawing the pictures for our great national epic but the author of the article takes an authoritative stand in the formative genius which is the natural outcome of a good deal of observation carried on with a systematic search after types and reading into it the representative traditional characteristics. Whatever be the diverse opinion in delineating details, all will agree that the edition of Mahabharata with conspicuous and significant illustrations is sure to truly revivify the incidents of our national poem. We hold with the Chief in all soberness that in such a mighty national undertaking provincialism whether in designs or characters should be avoided. While we are not prepared in our review to go into details

of historical and sociological facts bearing on the subject we also believe that before the advent of Muhammadan and British rule in India and the foreign dominance on Indian Society there was a traditional uniformity in all Hindu sociological characteristics. Indian sculptures and statues of 300 B.C.—150 B.C. of Chandragupta and Asoka and engravings and pictorial representations at Sanchi, Bharhut, Bhilsa, Ajanta and Ellora and at Java clearly indicate the traditional purity without any of the foreign influences. As such the present attempt will be a sure success if the drawings are after the models of old sculptures and paintings in the caves or stupas, etc., bearing in mind that the Mahabharata treats of a theme which is a real fact. The Hindus are noted for their conservatism even in small matters no doubt but that the "Indian mythical subjects follow the path of symbolism and suggestion rather than of realism or naturalism" should not be lost sight of even in types and designs. We have a word of praise for the really instructive appendix, pp. 10, and the interesting plates attached.

With regard to the second paper "the Jain Manuscript Bhandars at Patan," a final word has been said on their search. Patan was the true centre of Jainism and the Ācāryas or preceptors of the Jain community wrote on all subjects of human knowledge especially between the 11th and 13th centuries. Although the beautiful city with its 84 squares and 84 bazaars was razed down to dust by Muhammadans, its ancient intellectual treasures were kept safe. King Kumarpala's 21 Bhandars and Vastupala's 3 Bhandars which cost 18 crores of rupees have made Patan Literature a marvellous collection of manuscripts. Ajayapal, the enemy of Jainism, wanted to destroy Jain Literature but all glory to minister Udayana who removed them to Jeselmere and other places. The great orientlists Col. Tod, Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Dr. Buhler, our illustrious Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. M. N. Trivedi have all done their best to unearth these treasures and to bring them to light. All honour to the Maharaja of Baroda and his Government who did brilliant service to the cause of Patan Literature. It is a matter for gratification that His Highness instituted a vigorous search all over India for ancient manuscripts and made the Central Public Library of Baroda a brilliant treasure house for all students of ancient research.

M.C.

'Karunatarangini.'

BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA, ESQ., B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

WE beg to thank the author for his kindness in sending us a copy for review. The publication is, we are told in the preface, a rendering into English of Sanskrit verses published by the same author a few years ago under the title of 'Vilapatarangini'. We are inclined to think that the same title would have been more appropriate to the present volume also. It contains four sections, three of which are expressive of sorrowful feelings caused by the separation of lovers and the

fourth is a moving presentation of a wife's longing for motherhood, which, to put it in the learned words of Professor P. Seshadri, is an instinct well known to be the feature of true womanhood all over the world but probably nowhere stronger than in India.

In the first section the separated lover blames himself for having undertaken sea voyage against the wishes of his wife as though he is making penitence for his folly in the following words :—

"Nay, go not, my lord, she followed ;

But prevailing upon her, with coaxing words to turn back, I set out, and am bewailing my fate here, drops of tears rolling down my cheeks."

Its counterpart is to be found in the musings of his love (the former's wife), in the second section, which are equally moving and run as follows :—

"Have I alas! offended you that you do not come back to me?

Even, if by chance, a fault there be, can you not forgive me?

Even if I am not to be pitied, are you to neglect your aged parents who have enthroned you as the idol of their heart?"

In the third is depicted, as already noted, a woman without a child bewailing her fate. Her intense feeling is given expression to in words which are significant in themselves, and which point to the Hindu belief that there can be no deliverance from this mortal world for childless people.

"When dedicated to Agni, a barren land becomes fertile. But one like me treated likewise yields nothing but ashes."

"Of what use are these jewels for me?

And of what use again is this Palace?

I am not, even now, destined to have a child, who is like eyes to the blind."

In the last section we find represented sorrowful feelings of a kind different from those in the first two. The husband grieves over the death of his beloved wife. He is unable to suppress the pangs of separation and bursts forth into tears at the thought of the likely questions of the child about its mother's absence.

The poems are simple and touching and strike the imagination and the finer chords in man. We reiterate the hope expressed by Professor Seshadri that the author will carry with him in all endeavours of this kind the goodwill and appreciation of all lovers of literature in India.

T.S.

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The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. XII]

JULY 1922

[No. 4

THE STORY OF JIVANDHARA.

Translated from the Uttarapurāṇam.

BY PROF. DR. E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

BOTH Buddhists and Jainas have utilized and adapted the great floating mass of ancient Hindu legends for the purposes of religious propaganda. The most extensive store-house of Buddhist stories is the Jātaka book, which has been made generally accessible by Professor Cowell and his collaborators.* Of similar works by Jaina authors I will mention here only those few which are available in English translations: Kathākōśa, by C. H. Tawney (London, 1895); Mērutuṅga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi, by the same (Calcutta, 1901); Hindu Tales, by J. J. Meyer (London, 1909); and the analysis of Hēmachandra's Pariśiṣṭaparva in Professor Jacobi's introduction to his edition of this work (Calcutta, 1891).

To Mr. T. S. Kuppusvami Sastri, an accomplished and indefatigable Sanskrit scholar, we owe critical editions of four different versions of one of the favourite legends of the Digambara Jainas: the story of Jivandhara or Jivaka, viz.

- (1) Jivandharacharitraṃ by Guṇabhadraśārya, Tanjore, 1907.
- (2) Jivandharachampū by Harichandra, Tanjore, 1905.
- (3) Kshatrachūdāmaṇi by Vādibhasiṃha, Tanjore, 1903.
- (4) Gadyachintāmaṇi by the same, Madras, 1902.

A Tamil poetical version of the same story was published by the celebrated Tamil Pandit, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Saminathaiyar:

* *The Jataka*, translated, 6 Vols., and Index, Cambridge, 1895-1913.

[We regret that owing to paucity of diacritic marks in italics, Roman letters have been used in this article for transliteration of Sanskrit words.—Ed., J. M. S.]

(5) Jivakachintāmaṇi by Tiruttakkadēvar, with the commentary of Nachchi-nārkkiniyar, Madras, 1887.

The Pandit mentions also (otherwise unknown) dramatical version of the same story (Jivandhara-nāṭakam by Harichandra) and another version of it in the bilingual Śrīpurāṇam.¹

This last work is, as Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri remarks,² admittedly of later date. Nos. (2) to (5) profess to be based on a Purāṇam, which can be no other but the Uttarapurāṇam by Guṇabhadra, of which No. (1) forms a portion.

The Uttarapurāṇam is a continuation of the Ādipurāṇam of Guṇabhadra's preceptor Jinasēnāchārya. He was the Parama-guru or chief preceptor of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I,³ and composed also the curious poem Pārśvābhya-daya, in which the whole of Kālidāsa's Mēghadūta is inserted.⁴ Jinasēna's pupil Guṇabhadra took up the work which had been left unfinished by his teacher, and his Uttarapurāṇam was consecrated by his pupil Lōkasēna in the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king (Kṛishṇa II) Akālavarsha on a specified day of Śaka 820. The corresponding Christian date is the 23rd June, A. D. 897.⁵ Another pupil of Guṇabhadra was Maṇḍalapurusha, who wrote the Tamil lexicon குளாமணி-நிகண்டு in the time of கிருட்டிணராயன், i.e. of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II (Akālavarsha).⁶

The precise time of Harichandra, the author of No. (2), the Jivandharachampū is unknown. As his work is based on the Uttarapurāṇam, he is certainly distinct from that namesake of his whose prose composition is praised in Bāṇa's Harsha-charitram. He may have been identical with the author of the poem Dharmasārmābhya-dayam (Kāvyamālā, No. 8). Both styled themselves 'Mahākavi Harichandra' and were Digambaras, and on pp. 147-150 of his edition of the champū, Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri notes some passages of the kāvyam which remind us strongly of the champū.

The author of No. (3), Kshatrachūdāmaṇi, and No. (4), Gadyachintāmaṇi, was Oḍayadēva Vāḍibhasimha, pupil of Pushpasēna. The title Vāḍibhasimha, i.e. 'the lion to the elephants, (viz.) disputants,' is known to have been borne by several different Jaina preceptors.⁷ In a letter of 31st March 1914, Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri drew my attention to the fact that Śrutasaṅgāra's commentary on Sōmadēvasūri's Yaśastilakachampū⁸ quotes a verse stating that Vāḍibhasimha and Vādirāja were pupils of Sōmadēvasūri, and to a verse of Vādirāja which occurs

* Press note:—As the letter n with two dots below it, standing for the Tamil ன, has not been secured, common n is used in all cases where such should occur.

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, page 285.

² *Ibid.*, page 287.

³ K. B. Pathak, J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, page 224; Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 407.

⁴ Cf. the preface of my edition of the *Mēghadūta*, page vii.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, page 217; Sir R. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, pages 120, 430; Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 411, n. 2.

⁶ Preface to *Kshatrachūdāmaṇi*, page 5; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, page 288.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 213, text line 18; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 186, 205; ZDMG (i.e. Journal of the German Oriental Society), Vol. 68, p. 698.

⁸ *Kāvyamālā*, No. 70, part I, p. 265.

actually in his Yaśodharacharitam.¹ Sōmadēva composed his Yaśastilakachampū in Śaka 881, Siddhārtha² = A. D. 959. This settles the time of his pupil Vādirāja, the author of the Yaśodharacharitam. His other pupil, Vāḍibhasimha, is perhaps identical with Oḍayadēva Vāḍibhasimha, the author of the Kshatrachūdāmaṇi and Gadyachintāmaṇi. Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri tells us that both Sōmadēva's Yaśastilakachampū and Vādirāja's Yaśodharacharitam are based on Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇam.³ I have shown elsewhere that Vādirāja was the Guru of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II Jagadēkamalla.⁴ Before composing the Yaśodharacharitam, he wrote a Pārśvanāthacharitam in Śaka 947, Krōdhana⁵ = A. D. 1025. I avail myself of this opportunity to mention a curious coincidence to which I have alluded already in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 698, n. 4. The Karhād copper-plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III were issued in Śaka 880, while his army was encamped at Mēlpāṭi, i.e. Mēlpāḍi (six miles north of Tiruvallam Railway station) in the old Chittūr Taluk of the North Arcot District.⁶ This statement has to be compared with the colophon of the Yaśastilakachampū, the text of which is corrupt, but which implies that in Śaka 881, Kṛishṇa III, having subdued the Pāṇḍya, Siṃhala, Chōḷa, and Chera kings,⁷ was in possession of Mēlpāṭi,⁸ i.e. Mēlpāḍi.

The lower limit of No. (5), the great Tamil poem Jivaka-chintāmaṇi by Tiruttakkadēvar (= Śridakshadēva in Sanskrit), can be ascertained from a fact which was brought to notice by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri,⁹ but overlooked by subsequent writers on this subject. The commentator of Buddhāmītra's grammar Vīraśōḷiyam, Perundēvanār, who was a pupil of Buddhāmītra himself, refers to the Nariviruttam of Tiruttakkadēvar.¹⁰ Buddhāmītra was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra II¹¹ who ascended the throne in A. D. 1062-63.¹² Consequently Tiruttakkadēvar must have lived before the second half of the eleventh century. He seems to have preceded Vāḍibhasimha. For, as suggested by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao,¹³ the title of one of Vāḍibhasimha's two works:

¹ Tanjore, 1912, p. 34, verse 49.

² See *Kāvyamālā*, No. 70, part II, p. 419.

³ See the last page of the Sanskrit preface of the *Yaśodharacharitam*.

⁴ ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 698.

⁵ See Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri's preface to the *Yaśodharacharitam*.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 281, 290.

⁷ The printed text misreads these names. The two editors could have found the correct reading in Peterson's Second Report, p. 155.

⁸ The printed text has *Mēlyāṭi*, and Peterson has *Mālyāṭi*, which he wanted to change to *Malayāḍri*.

⁹ Report for 1896-97 (Madras, 1898), p. 39.

¹⁰ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 118, note by Venkayya. According to Dr. Barnett (Catalogue of Tamil Books in the British Museum, p. 381), it is a fable in 51 stanzas and has been printed in செந்தமிழ் at Madura.

¹¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 197.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 9.

¹³ Preface to the *Yaśodharacharitam*, p. 4.

Gadyachintāmaṇi, i.e. 'the prose Chintāmaṇi,' presupposes the existence of a poetical Chintāmaṇi, which can be no other but the Jivakachintāmaṇi.

I shall here confine myself to a translation of the earliest redaction of the story of Jivandhara, viz. the one furnished by Guṇabhadra in his Uttarapurāṇam, leaving a detailed examination of the later versions to future researches. The translation is as literal as possible; words to be supplied are enclosed in round brackets. The style of the original is often brief and obscure, and the author has the habit of finishing sentences in the middle of a verse line instead of letting them run to the end of it in the customary manner. For the convenience of readers, I have prefixed headings to the single chapters of the story.

Jivandhara's Birth and Youth.

(Verse 1.) Once, while the famous Mahārāja Śrēṇika¹ was joyfully wandering about in the four splendid woods outside the perfumed chamber², he perceived the great ascetic Jivandhara, who was standing under a Piṇḍī-tree, absorbed in meditation. As (the king's) fancy was attracted by his figure, etc., he went up to the chief disciple Sudharma³, full of curiosity, worshipped him devoutly⁴, saluted him, assigned to him a seat that was suitable to his rank, and asked him respectfully, with outstretched hands: 'Is this venerable one a great ascetic who has just been freed of all (consequences of former) deeds, or who is he?'

(V. 5.) The other, who possessed four kinds of knowledge⁵, spoke as follows: for the conduct of good men never tires the mind either of the teller or of the hearer.

(V. 6.) Listen, O Śrēṇika! On the continent adorned by the Jambū-tree⁶, here⁷, in the country of Hēmaṅgada, there reigned⁸, king Satyandhara, the ruler of Rājapuram, delighting all, like the moon. He had a great queen (named) Vijayā, who seemed to be a second goddess of victory; a minister named Kāshṭhāṅgaraka, who was skilled in all (public) affairs; and a domestic priest (named) Rudradatta, who warded off (all) plagues (decreed) by fate.

(V. 9.) Once, while queen Vijayā was slumbering peacefully in her inner apartment, she had, in the last watch of the night, with clear consciousness, the two following dreams: The king gave her a diadem adorned with eight golden bells; and the root of an Aśoka-tree, under which she was standing, was cut off with an axe by somebody, but a young tree grew up. In order to learn the meaning of these two

¹ Śrēṇika or Bimbisāra, who resided at Rājagṛiha in Magadha, was a contemporary of the Jaina prophet Mahāvira.

² In Buddhist literature *gandhakuṭī* is the designation of any private chamber devoted to Buddha's use.

³ Cf. Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtram*, II, 1—3.

⁴ The derivative *bhāktika* (*bhaktimat*) occurs again in verses 330 and 400.

⁵ For the five kinds of knowledge, three of which are supernatural, see Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthadhigamasūtram*, I, 9.

⁶ i.e. in Jambūdvīpa.

⁷ Viz. in India. Cf. verse 119.

⁸ Read perhaps राजद् for राजन्.

(dreams), she went up to the king, regarded him respectfully, and questioned him. The king told her what was both pleasant and unpleasant (by saying): 'Immediately after my decease you will obtain eight-fold gain,* and at the end a son, who will rule the earth.'

(V. 13.) When the king saw that, on hearing (his speech), the queen revealed her mind by (experiencing) sorrow and joy, he consoled her by kind words. While time was thus passing pleasantly to both, some (being) arrived from the world of the gods and took his abode joyfully in the queen's womb, just as a beautiful swan in a pleasant lake (covered) with autumnal lotus-flowers.

(V. 16.) Once a rich great merchant named Gandhōtkaṭa, who lived in that town, perceived in the park Mañōhara-vana, the great ascetic Śīlagupta, who possessed three kinds of knowledge,† bowed to him modestly, and asked him eagerly: 'Venerable one! In consequence of bad deeds (in a former existence), all my sons have been short-lived. Shall I have any long-lived sons hereafter?'

(V. 19.) The great ascetic replied mercifully: 'Surely you will obtain very long-lived ones. Listen attentively to the following token of this (fact), great merchant! When you enter the forest in order to expose a son whom you will obtain, (but) who will die at once, you will obtain there a virtuous son. Having ruled the whole earth, he, being satiated with sensual pleasures, will at the end destroy (the consequences of his former) deeds and attain the bliss of salvation'.

(V. 22.) Having heard his speech, a Yakshī standing in his neighbourhood, impelled by the (former) good deeds of the future prince, went to the royal palace in order to assist the mother personally at his birth, and entered an aeroplane.‡ If one has performed good deeds in a former birth,§ deities generally wish to be near.

(V. 25.) Once, when the month of Madhu (March—April), which brings delight to all beings, had arrived, the confidential domestic priest|| entered the king's palace early in the morning. Finding the queen sitting without ornaments, he asked respectfully: 'Where is the king?'

(V. 27.) She replied: 'The king is sleeping and cannot be seen at all.' Considering her words a bad omen, he turned back.

(V. 28.) When, at the time of sunrise, he reached the house of the minister Kāshṭhāṅgaraka and saw him there, the knave told him in secret: 'The kingdom will belong to you. You must kill the king!'

(V. 29.) Hearing his speech, (the other) covered his ears in dread (and said): 'This king has entrusted me, the (former) workman,¶ with the dignity of minister.

* This refers to Jivandhara's eight wives.

† Cf. verse 5, note.

‡ Literally: 'a machine (in the shape) of Garuḍa.' A similar machine is mentioned by the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra in his recension of the *Pañchatantram*, which was finished in A. D. 1199; see Professor Hertel's edition in the Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XI, book I, tale 8—'The weaver as Vishṇu'.

§ Read perhaps प्राकृत for प्रकृत.

|| See above, verse 8.

¶ Cf. below, verse 477 f.

How should I do him wrong, like an ingrate? Rudradatta! Although you are clever, this which you foresee is very bad policy.'

(V. 32.) Hearing this, the domestic priest said: 'His future son would take your life. Therefore prevent this!', and went away quickly.

(V. 33.) In consequence of this bad deed, Rudradatta was attacked by disease on the third day, lost his life, and started on a very long and painful migration through the hells.

(V. 34.) The wicked minister Kāshhāṅgaraka, who wished to kill the king, because on the strength of Rudradatta's prophecy he feared his own death, advanced in the direction of the king's palace, together with two thousand princes who had been bribed by presents and were well provided with soldiers, and together with armed elephants and horses.

(V. 36.) Learning this, the king carefully sent away the queen sitting on the aeroplane, met the minister angrily, together with princes devoted to himself, who had been won over by a former minister, and who, at the sight of him, deserted the minister (Kāshhāṅgaraka); defeated the latter at once in battle; and forced him to fly from fear.

(V. 39.) When Kālāṅgaraka, the son (of Kāshhāṅgaraka), heard that the latter had been defeated in battle, he, full of anger, arrived at once with a numerous armed force.

(V. 40.) United with him again, the wicked Kāshhāṅgaraka slew the king in battle, and seized that kingdom.

(V. 41.) The vilest of ministers then obtained the kingdom, which gave him no happiness, just as poisoned food, or an ungrateful friend, or a religion permitting the slaughter of living beings (fails to do so).

(V. 42.) Then, having mounted the aeroplane,* queen Vijayā, who was, protected by the Yakshī, weeping, her body being scorched by the fire of sorrow reached a cemetery that was filled on all sides with thieves who were hanging down head foremost, (or) who were covering the stakes (on which they were fixed) with blood oozing in streams from wounds and mouths, and whose vital airs were fluttering owing to the pain produced by being split by the stakes,—and with witches who were dragging from the fire (of the funeral pile), cutting to pieces with sharp knives, and devouring a half-burnt corpse with manifold shrieks.

(V. 46.) Protected by the Yakshī, she gave birth there at night without pains to a lovely son, just as heaven (does) to the moon.

(V. 47.) She did not celebrate even a small festival (in honour) of the birth of a son, but experienced grief increased by adverse fate.

(V. 48.) The Yakshī at once placed on all sides lamps (consisting) of jewels.† When she saw her filled with sorrow, like a creeper consumed by a jungle-fire, (she said): 'Every rank is unstable. The beauty of youth is transient. Union

* See above, verses 24 and 37.

† This is done in order to protect the new-born child from demons; cf. Tawney's translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. I, p. 305, note ‡.

with relatives is perishable. Life flickers like a lamp. This body consists of nothing but impurity and must be abandoned by the wise in this world. The kingdom, (though) to be worshipped by all men, resembles (in brevity) a flash of lightning.* In all objects all feel desire only for their (momentary) conditions.† These are naturally transitory. Therefore desire ends in pain. Although an object exists, it may not excite our desire. If it exists and is desired by us, it may not belong to us. If it exists, belongs to us, and excites our desire, the same end (threatens) either these three (conditions) or our existence. He whose mind has entered the state of immutability and views the universe, does not perceive anything stationary anywhere or at any time. If one feels desire for objects existing, or for future ones, this may be (excused). (But) what intelligent man feels desire in vain for what is past?‡ If you thus consider the true state of the world, my dear Vijayā, do not suffer grief, nor feel desire for by-gones in vain. This illustrious, wise son will give you pleasure by crushing the bad conduct of enemies until (he attains) salvation. Take a bath! Collect your thoughts! Take proper nourishment! What avails this useless grief, which only causes the waste of the body? For even in a fresh birth you will not recover your husband by mourning. The migrations of beings follow diverse paths owing to the diversity of deeds'.

(V. 59.) By such reasonable speeches (the Yakshī) made her free from sorrow and remained at her side in person: such is the friendship of the good.

(V. 60.) When Gandhōtkaṣa himself came there and exposed the dead body of his own infant§, he heard the fine, deep voice|| of the little boy.

(V. 61.) Calling out: jīva, jīva (i.e. 'live! live!') as if it were (the boy's) future name Jivandhara, he found him, pleased that the prophecy of the ascetic had come true, stretched out both hands lovingly, and lifted the boy up.

(V. 62.) When the queen heard his voice and recognised Gandhōtkaṣa¶, she made herself known to him and handed (the boy) over to him, saying: 'Good sir, bring up (the apple of) my eye unknown to others!'

(V. 64.) He received (the child), saying: 'I shall do this', went home in haste, and handed it to his wife Nanda without telling her anything about its origin, saying, as if he were angry: 'You, forgetful one, have given this living infant into my hand without any examination and consideration, in order to expose it. This (boy) is full of life and virtues. Take him!'

(V. 67.) With greedy eyes she joyfully received with both hands the boy who surpassed the morning-sun in splendour.

* For विबुद्धात् read विबुद्धोत्.

† For paryāya, 'condition', see *Tattvārthādhigama*, V. 37.

‡ I owe the correct translation of verses 52—54 to the kindness of Professor Jacobi.

§ See above, verse 20 f.

|| The *Gadyachintāmaṇi*, page 30, line 18, shows that sneezing is meant. For the custom of saying jīva, 'God bless you!' on hearing another sneezing, cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chapter 28, verses 130 and 143.

¶ As in verses 69, 77, 380, the word āhvaṣa is here redundant at the end of a compound. Cf. in Tamil. ஏன்பவன் or ஏன்கிறவன் after proper names.

(V. 68.) The great merchant performed on his behalf the (usual) auspicious ceremonies and bestowed on him one day, at the end of the '(first) feeding with rice,' the name Jivandhara.

(V. 69.) By means of the aeroplane Vijayā went thence to a great settlement of ascetics which lay in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest, and resided there quite in secret.

(V. 70.) The Yakshī visited the distressed (queen). Wishing to dispel her grief, she pleased her daily by illustrating the course of the world and the path of the (Jina) doctrine by interesting stories suitable to her condition.

(V. 72.) Here (in Rājapuram) two beautiful younger (wives) of king Satyandhara : Bhamirati and Anaṅgapatākā, bore two sons Madhura and Bakula, who (later on) recognised the truth of the right doctrine* and accepted the commandments (incumbent on) lay-worshippers (*śrāvaka*), and these two also grew up under the care of Gandhōtkāṣa.

(V. 74.) In the same place (the following persons) became lay-worshippers : the king's general, named Vijayamati, the domestic priest Sāgara, the chief merchant Dhanapāla, and fourthly, the minister Matisāgara. Their wives were, respectively, Jayavati, Śrimattā, Śridattā, and fourthly Anupamā, and their respective sons Dēvasēna, Buddhishēna, Varadatta, and Madhumukha.

(V. 77.) These six sons, Madhura, etc., grew up together with prince Jivandhara, engaged in boys' games. (These seven boys were as dear to Gandhōtkāṣa) as his own life, and inseparable everywhere by night and day from this high-minded one, just as the (seven) categories, soul, etc.,† from the world. Then Nandā also bore (to Gandhōtkāṣa) in due course a son, Nandādhyā.

(V. 80.) Once some one who had the appearance of an ascetic, perceived in the park of the city the prince, who was engaged in the usual‡ boys' games, ball, etc., and asked him : 'Tell me how far from here the town is.'

(V. 81.) Jivandhara replied laughing : 'Although you are old, you are ignorant. Even a boy cannot err in this§. For who does not infer the proximity of a town from observing boys playing in the outer park of a great town, as that of the substance 'fire' from observing smoke?''||

(V. 83.) When (the ascetic) saw, heard, and examined his gestures, complexion, voice, etc. (he thought) : 'This is no ordinary boy. From his characteristics royal descent may be inferred.' Wishing to find out his family by some means, he asked him : 'Give me to eat!'

(V. 86.) The prince promised this, took him to his father, and said : 'With your permission, I have (promised) to give him to eat.'

* I.e. of the Jaina religion.

† See *Tattvārthādhigama*, I, 4.

‡ उक्त seems to be used for उचित.

§ For बालेक्षत्र read बालोऽप्यत्र.

|| The young prince alludes to the typical instance of an inference पर्वतो वह्निमान् धूमवत्त्वात्.

(V. 87.) When his father* heard this, (he thought) with joy : 'I must praise this well-educated son.' He embraced him repeatedly and said : 'My son, after the bath he will dine well with me. You may eat without anxiety.'

(V. 89.) (The prince) sat down with his companions and commenced to eat. Then he cried and bothered his mother after the fashion of small children : 'This is all hot. How can I eat it?'

(V. 90.) When (the guest) in the garb of an ascetic saw him crying, he said to the young prince : 'My dear, this does not become you. Although quite young in years, you are intelligent and surpass all in courage and other virtues. For what reason do you cry?'

(V. 92.) (The boy) replied : 'Listen, venerable one! You do not know the following advantages of this crying : The collected phlegm flows out, the eyes get clear, and the food cools down. Why do you forbid this?'

(V. 94.) When his mother heard this, she was pleased and gave him and his companions a proper amount to eat.

(V. 95.) After Gandhōtkāṣa had dined and seated himself comfortably, (the guest) in the garb of an ascetic, who had dined with him, spoke thus : 'I have conceived an affection for this boy in consideration of his cleverness and shall purify his mind in the great ocean of sciences.'

(V. 97.) When the great merchant heard his speech, he said : 'I am the chief of lay-worshippers and do not bow to any strange ascetic for any reason. You will probably feel hurt from pride if I do not do this.'

(V. 98.) When (the other) heard this, he told the truth about himself : 'I am the king of Simhapuram, Ariyavarma by name. After I had heard the (Jaina) doctrine from the ascetic Viranandin, my faith was purified. I made over my kingdom to Dhṛitishēna and vowed self-control. Unable to bear the great heat produced by the hot fire in the stomach, and of right faith, I assumed this garb (and became) your brother in the (Jaina) doctrine.'

(V. 101.) Having duly considered his speech, the great merchant made over to him his son with his companions. What will the wise not entrust to a worthy person, just as seed (is entrusted) to the field?

(V. 103.) He whose faith was right, accepted this great gift and conducted (the boys) in quite a short time to the end of all sciences.

(V. 104.) The prince who had attained the mastery of sciences, shone like the sun at the border of a cloud,† or like an elephant who has reached the first youth. After some time his preceptor, who exercised self-control, attained salvation.

Godavari.

(V. 105.) About this time a chief of forest-dwellers, Kalakūta by name,—a cow-killer and destroyer of the pious, whose colour resembled that of a grove of

* Read तत्पिता.

† Read रविर्वाग्मोदान्ते [Or, 'at the end of the cloudy (season)'].

(dark) Tamāl-trees, and who appeared to be darkness itself that had assumed human shape out of fear of the rays of the sun,—approached the cow-pen, in order to seize the herd of cows, accompanied by an evil-looking, merciless army,¹ who held bows and arrows in their hands, inspired terror by the loud sound of horns, and could not be resisted by anybody in their attack, just as bitter, powerful drugs.

(V. 109.) When king Kāshīhāṅgaraka heard this rumour, he caused to be announced in public that he would give the virtuous virgin Gōdāvarī, daughter of Gōpēndra and Gopaśrī, to him who should recover the cows.

(V. 110.) When Jivandhara heard this, he went near the robbers, accompanied by Kālāṅgaraka and surrounded by his own companions, and fought a long time, placing a long line of sharp arrows on his bent bow,² quickly dispatching an uninterrupted series (of them) with great dexterity, assuming all the positions taught in archery, dodging the arrow-shots of the enemies, changing his place quickly, shattering the arrow-showers of the enemies, and stopping the missiles (directed) at cowards.

(V. 114.) After he had defeated the robbers, just as policy (defeats) wicked plans, he entered the town that was adorned with fluttering banners,—kissed by the goddess of victory and filling all regions thoroughly with his fame, which surpassed (by its splendour) the moon, the shoulders *i.e.* (wings?) of the swan, and the jasmine flower.

(V. 116.) Attracted by the perfume of his fame, the eyes of people, just as bees, rested on the body of the prince, (which was as tall as) a tree³ and covered with the flowers of his valour, etc.

(V. 117.) At the bidding of the prince, the sons of the Vaiśyas unanimously reported to the king that he (*viz.* Nandāḍhya) had recovered the cows in fighting, and induced him to give the previously mentioned virgin Gōdāvarī in marriage to Nandāḍhya. Wonderful are the results of (brave) deeds!

Gandharvadatta.

(V. 119.) Here in Bhārata (*i.e.*, India), on the southern side of the mountain of the Khēcharas,⁴ gleamed the city of Gaganavallabha,⁵ as though Fortune (had alighted there) from heaven.

(V. 120.) The ruler of this town, the Khēchara lord Garudavēga, had been expelled by his heirs and deprived of his dignity. He built in Ratnadvīpa,⁶ on a mountain named Manujodaya, another town, named Ramaniya, and settled in this town. His wife was (named) Dhārīṇī.

1 For बलमादाय read बलमादाय.

2 Read कोदण्ड.

3 दृढभूज is an excellent conjecture of Mr. Kuppusami Sastri for दृ.

4 Khēchara is a synonym of Vidyādhara; cf. verse 159 f.

5 Cf. Hēmachandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparva*, II. 644, and *Kathākōśa*, translated by Tawney, p. 38.

6 For नृत्तद्वीपे read रत्नद्वीपे; see verse 139.

(V. 122.) One day their daughter Gandharvadatta, whose body was emaciated by fasting, having worshipped the Jina lords, brought a garland which was left over (from the offerings), in order to give it to (her father). Perceiving that she had reached the age of youth, the lord of the Khēcharas asked his minister Matisāgara to whom she ought to be married.

(V. 124.) (The minister) whose wisdom was boundless, told him the following prophecy, which he had formerly heard from a sage:

(V. 125.) 'Once I went to the Mandara (mountain), in order to worship the Jina lords. I circumambulated devoutly, and praised according to rule, the temple of Jina in the Nandana wood on the eastern side (of that mountain), bowed to the wandering ascetic Vipulamati, who was staying there, listened to the (Jaina) doctrine (expounded by him), and asked him: 'O you who are to be worshipped by the world! In whose exclusive possession will Gandharvadattā, the virtuous daughter of my lord, remain?'

(V. 128.) 'He who possessed the *avadhi*-knowledge,¹ replied as follows: 'On this continent,² in Bhārata (*i.e.*, India), in the lovely country of Hēmaṅgada, at Rājapuram, (ruled) king Satyandhara, who was distinguished by truthfulness. His great queen (is named) Vijayā. These two have an illustrious, prudent son. (Gandharvadattā) will become his wife by the election of a husband (by means of) the lute.'³

(V. 130.) Hearing the minister's speech, the lord of the Khagas⁴ was somewhat perturbed and again asked the minister Matisāgara: 'How can we enter into connection with dwellers on earth?'

(V. 132.) (The minister) related clearly the following other (story), which he had learnt from the ascetic: '(There was) in the same Rājapuram a great merchant named Vṛishabhadatta. His wife (was named) Padmāvatī. These two had a son, Jinadatta. Once, during the worship of the omniscient ones,⁵ the latter entered the park Pritivārdhana in that town, in order to devoutly worship the Jina Sāgarasēna, and you (also came there) together with his father (Vṛishabhadatta). When you saw him (*viz.*, Jinadatta) there, you made friends with him. Except the difference of bodies, there was no other difference between you both. While some days were thus passing, the chief of merchants appointed Jinadatta in his place, attained enlightenment, and was initiated in the presence of the ascetic Guṇapālā. The pious⁶ Padmāvatī also went up to (the nun) Kshānti, vowed self-control, and (thus) acted according to her noble birth. The wealthy Jinadatta occupied the place

1 According to the *Tattvārthādhigama*, I, 9, *avadhi*, the third of the five kinds of knowledge is "the transcendent knowledge of material things"; see Professor Jacobi, *ZDMG*, Vol. 60, p. 294.

2 *i.e.*, in Jambūdvīpa; cf. above, verse 6.

3 See below, and cf. *Kathākōśa*, p. 65 f.

4 Khaga is a synonym of Khēchara.

5 For केवलज्ञानं in verse 134 I propose reading केवलज्ञानं.

6 The word *svratā* occurs twice in the same sentence, evidently owing to a mistake.

of his father and enjoyed pleasures to his heart's content with Manōramā and other wives. He will, of his own accord, reach Ratnadvīpa on business. By him our desire will be fulfilled.'

(V. 140.) This (Jinadatta) came to (the king) in a few days. The lord of the Khagas received the guest with pleasure and thus addressed him respectfully: 'Friend, arrange for my daughter Gandharvadattā the election of a husband in your city!'

(V. 142.) Jinadatta took her along with the Khagas to Rājapuram, caused the election of a husband to be proclaimed in public, and erected in the park Manōhara a handsome great hall for the election of a husband.

(V. 144.) After the kings of the earth, who were experienced in arts and sciences, had assembled along with their princes, he performed the worship of the Jinas.

(V. 145.) Then Gandharvadattā entered the hall (erected) for the election of a husband, carrying her lute of auspicious marks, called Sughoṣhā, and stood playing a musical piece accompanied by singing, which was correct in notes, modes,¹ etc., and tuned to the (Rāga) Śuddhadēśaja,² (thereby) captivating (the hearts of) those kings.

(V. 147.) Desirous of lowering the pride produced by her lute-playing, Jivandhara entered the hall (erected) for the election of a husband; requested impartial, clever judges of lute-playing, who were approved by both (parties), to test merits and defects; and asked those who had been appointed for it to give him a faultless lute.

(V. 149.) They brought and gave him three or four lutes. As pieces of hair³ of the head or body and other defects were found on these, he rejected them all and asked the virgin: 'If you are free from envy, give me your lute'.

(V. 151.) She gave him respectfully the lute resting in her hand. The prince took it and played a musical piece accompanied by singing, which was high and low, attractive and sweet, conformed to the rules of art, and (would have) moved even the hearts of deer,⁴ while (the audience) exclaimed 'bravo' and offered him flowers.

(V. 154.) Being hit in the heart by (the god of love) who carries five arrows, Gandharvadattā adorned him with the garland (of victory). What does not happen if fortune is favourable?

(V. 155.) Some (of the suitors) lost their splendour, like lamps in daytime; the faces of others beamed like lamps at night.

(V. 156.) Pleased that she had won the prince by means of (her lute) Sughoṣhā,

1 'The two musical modes *śaḍja* and *madhyama-grāma* are meant.'—R. Simon.

2 To the kindness of Professor R. Simon I am indebted for the following remarks: 'The *śuddha-rāgas* are explained by Matanga in Kallinātha's commentary on Śārngadēva, II, 2, 27, and in the *Saṅgītasarvārthasārasaṅgraha*, 15. For *dēśaja* (also called *dēśīja*, *dēśākhyā*, *dēśakāra*, *dēśakrit*, *dēśakārī*, *dēśakriyā*); cf. Ahōbala, 340, 372; *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, I, 139, 150, 280 f., 282; Sōmanātha, III, 57, IV, 27; Dāmōdara, II, 10, 24; *Saṅgītasarvārthasārasaṅgraha*, 17; *Purāṇasarvasvam*, II, fol. 91; Śārngadēva, II, 2, 11, II, 1, 17, 45, III, 136, VI, 357 f., 712-714. The term originally means a popular local piece of music.'

3 Cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, CVI, verse 25 f.

4 Cf. e.g., Māgha, VI, 49, and Professor Hertel's German translation of Hēmachandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparva*, p. 144, n. 1.

Gandharvadattā thus addressed her lute in her heart: 'As though you were my go-between, you are dear to the family, sounding (or speaking) well, sweet, touching the hearts, the means of the union with the prince, and clever.'

(V. 158.) Instigated by his wicked (associates), Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka's son (Kālāṅgāraka)¹ then made an attempt to abduct Gandharvadattā.

(V. 159.) When the prince learned this, he mounted a rutting elephant named Jayagiri, and, accompanied by the Vidyādhara,² who were preceded by the strongest, angrily advanced against the enemy's army.

(V. 160.) Then Gandharvadattā's father, the Vidyādhara king Garuḍavēga, who was skilled in diplomacy, became the mediator between both (parties) and pacified the enemy's army.

(V. 162.) When he had brought about the union of the two (lovers) in wedlock, he felt satisfied. A father has no other (more important) duty than the marriage of his daughter.³

(V. 163.) The happiness of those two, whose delight was increased by mutual inclination, reached the highest pitch, as it arose from the union of equals.

Suramanjari.

(V. 164.) Once in the month of Madhu,⁴ which is the means of the budding of love, all the citizens along with the king went to take their pleasure in the park Suramalaya, in order to disport themselves in the wood,⁵ and displayed their wealth (of ornaments) on account of the great festival.

(V. 166.) In that town the chief of merchants had the name Vaiśravaṇadatta. From (his wife) Chūtamañjari he had a daughter, Suramañjari. The latter had a servant, Śyāmalatā, who, in order to proclaim the cleverness of her mistress, went about among the people, declaring here and there in public: 'This is a fragrant powder called Chandrōdaya. No other (powder) has a sweeter smell than this.'

(V. 169.) The Vaiśya Kumāradata had from (his wife) Vimalā a spotless daughter, Guṇamālā. Her eloquent, fair-browed servant Vidyullatā, filled with pride, wandered about praising repeatedly her own mistress' virtues in the society of experts: 'This is the best fragrant powder, called Sūryōdaya, which is covered with bees. Its like is not to be found even in heaven.'

(V. 172.) While such a dispute was continuing between those two (girls), whose minds were filled with growing jealousy, the adepts of that science were unable to decide it.

(V. 173.) Then the young lord Jivandhara himself examined the matter carefully (and said): 'The best of these two (powders) is the Chandrōdaya. If (you ask) for a proof of this, I shall furnish it distinctly.'

(V. 174.) He took both (powders) in his two hands and quickly scattered them about. (Attracted) by the excellence of its perfume, a swarm of bees covered

1 See above, verse 39.

2 See above, note on verse 119.

3 Cf. the end of the fourth act of *Śakuntalā*.

4 Cf. above, verse 25.

5 This statement is tautological.

the Chandrōdaya. When the experts who were present there, saw this, all of them praised only (the Chandrōdaya).

(V. 176.) Henceforth those two girls gave up the scientific contest between each other and made peace.

(V. 177.) While the citizens were enjoying themselves in this wood to their hearts' content, some naughty boys perceived a dog and mischievously teased it.

(V. 178.) It ran away full of fear, jumped into a tank, and was about to lose its life there.

(V. 179.) Prince Jivandhara had it pulled out by his servants and filled its ears with words of veneration.

(V. 180.) Accepting the veneration, (the dog) remembered its former existence and became a Yaksha named Sudarśana on the mountain Chandrōdaya.

(V. 181.) (The Yaksha) returned to the prince, excited the wonder of all by praising him aloud: 'By your favour I have attained such power,' and gratefully honoured him with heavenly ornaments.

(V. 182.) (He said): 'Prince, henceforth you must think of me in case of a calamity or of a festival,' saluted him, and returned to his own residence. Spontaneous benefits shall surely bear such fruit.'

(V. 184.) When the king (Kāshṭhāṅgaraka), having thus enjoyed himself a long time in the wood, was returning, his rutting elephant, called Aśanivēga, bolted at the noise and, without allowing himself to be stopped by others, madly ran towards Suramañjari's carriage.

(V. 185.) Perceiving her, the prince decided to act according to *vinaya* and *unnaya*.* Approaching at once, he tired (the elephant) by thirty-two sports (*i.e.*, movements?) and, without being tired himself, easily tied him motionless to his post.

(V. 187.) When the people saw this, they entered the town praising his knowledge (of the management) of elephants.

(V. 188.) Henceforth Suramañjari became smitten with love, her heart being agitated by the sight of prince Jivandhara.

(V. 189.) Her mother and father having inferred from her gestures, movements, and conversations that she was filled with affection for Jivandhara, they reported this to his father (Gandhōtkaṣa) and, with his consent, on (the day of) an auspicious constellation, bestowed (their daughter) with (great) riches on the prince. Thereafter he enjoyed pleasures to his heart's content, as (the object of) his love was worthy (of himself).

(V. 191.) The wicked king Kāshṭhāṅgaraka could not from anger bear that the people were continually conversing about the valour and good fortune of (Jivandhara), and said to Chandadaṇḍa, the chief of the watchmen of that town: 'The stupid Jivandhara has humiliated my rutting elephant by tying it up.† This highly conceited son of a Vaiśya is neglecting the occupations becoming his caste, *viz.*, the

* According to Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri, these are technical terms of the art of treating elephants (*gaja-sikshā*).

† For बाधनम् read बन्धनम् and cf. verse 187.

buying and selling of cucumbers, myrobalans, dry ginger, etc., and devoting himself to actions suitable for king's sons. Let this evil-doer at once enter the jaws of death!

(V. 196.) This man angrily attacked Jivandhara with an armed force. Learning this, the prince with his companions, and eager for fighting, met him and at once inflicted defeat on him without sustaining any losses (himself).

(V. 197.) Kāshṭhāṅgaraka angrily dispatched another numerous army of his own.

(V. 198.) When Jivandhara perceived this, (he thought) with a merciful heart: 'What avails this useless slaughter of miserable beings? I shall pacify that wicked Kāshṭhāṅgaraka by (other) means,' and thought of his friend, the Yaksha.*

(V. 199.) The latter appeared and, guessing Jivandhara's intention, put a stop to this whole (strife).

(V. 200.) Then the (Yaksha) friend made the prince mount the mighty elephant Vijayagiri and took (Jivandhara), with the latter's consent, to his own residence. For, it is the way † of friends to show their own house (to their friends).

(V. 202.) (Jivandhara's) companions and relatives, who were unaware of the event, all trembled like frail young shoots agitated by the wind, and were unable to support themselves. The clever Gandharvadattā, who knew the reason of his journey, was unmoved and comforted them all, saying: 'No danger threatens the prince. Therefore do not fear for him! He will soon return.'

(V. 205.) After Jivandhara had comfortably stayed a long time in the Yaksha's dwelling, he intimated to the latter by gestures his desire of leaving.

(V. 206.) Observing his wish, the Yaksha gave him a splendid seal-ring which (enabled its bearer to assume any) desired appearance,‡ and which accomplished (all) desired objects.

(V. 207.) Having descended from that mountain § and accompanied (Jivandhara) some distance, he saluted and left him, as no danger threatened him from any side.

Padmottama.

(V. 208.) When the prince had proceeded some distance, he reached a city named Chandrābha, which, on account of its whitewashed mansions, looked as if it were lighted by the moon.

(V. 209.) King Dhanapati ruled this town, like a regent of the quarters. His queen (was named) Tilōttamā, and the daughter of both Padmōttamā.

(V. 210.) When the latter was taking a walk in the wood, she was bitten by a poisonous snake. The king caused to be proclaimed in that town: 'On him who will free her from poison by (magic) jewels, spells, drugs, etc., I shall bestow this virgin along with one half of the kingdom.'

* Cf. above, verse 182.

† For सद्भावः I read स्वभावः.

‡ Cf. below, verse 403.

§ See above, verse 180.

(V. 212.) Hearing this, the snake-doctors (said): 'Even before now an ascetic named Āditya has predicted this,' and, from desire for the virgin, many (of them) came to cure her, (but) could not stop (the poison).

(V. 213.) At the king's command, servants hastened again to search for a doctor. By chance they perceived the prince and asked him excitedly: 'Do you perhaps know about poison?'

(V. 215.) He replied: 'I know a little about it.' Hearing his speech, they were pleased and joyfully conducted him (to the palace).

(V. 216.) He who was skilled in (magic) jewels and spells, thought of the Yaksha, pronounced a spell, and freed the princess from the effects of the poison.

(V. 217.) The king, who was pleased, inferred from the energy, complexion, and other characteristics of (the prince) that he must surely belong to a royal family, and bestowed on him his daughter and the above-mentioned half of the kingdom.

(V. 218.) Then (Jivandhara) long enjoyed himself together with the virgin's thirty-two brothers, Lōkapāla, etc., who gained his affection by their virtues.

Kshemasundari.

(V. 219.) After (Jivandhara) had stayed there some days, he once at night, impelled by fate and not observed by anybody, went a few gavyūtis* and reached a town named Kshēma in the district named Kshēma. In a lovely wood outside this (town) he perceived a temple of Jina that was adorned with a thousand pinnacles.

(V. 222.) As soon as he saw (this temple), he bowed repeatedly, with folded hands, circumambulated it three times, and began to praise it according to rule.

(V. 223.) Suddenly a Champaka tree appeared, which seemed distinctly to cover its surface with red paint by its (blossoms) springing forth.

(V. 224.) The Kōkilas, which had been dumb before, commenced to warble beautifully and sweetly, as though they had been cured (of their dumbness) by the medicine of his arrival.

(V. 225.) In the lake which lay near this Jaina temple, and which was filled with clear water resembling liquid crystals, all the water-flowers visibly unfolded themselves, with the humming of swarming bees, and the wings of the door of that (temple) opened by themselves.

(V. 227.) Observing this, he who had purified himself by bathing, devoutly worshipped Jina by (offering him) many flowers growing in that fine lake, and joyfully and eagerly praised him by suitable and desirable eulogies.

(V. 228.) In that (town) the chief merchant Subhadra and (his wife) Nirvriti had a daughter, Kshēmasundari by name, who was as faultless† as the goddess of beauty herself.

(V. 229.) Formerly, the great ascetic Vinayandhara had predicted that, in the presence of her future husband, the Champaka flowers and all the other (tokens would appear).

* 1 Gavyūti = 2 Kōs.

† Kshūna is the Prākṛit khūna = dōsha in Sanskrit; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 205, n. 1.

(V. 230.) The servants placed there and appointed to observe these (tokens) were filled with joy by the sight of prince Jivandhara.

(V. 231.) (They called out): 'Our appointment has borne fruit!', went to their master instantly, and reported* everything.

(V. 232.) (He said) joyfully: 'The words of ascetics are never untrue,' and formally bestowed on that illustrious one his daughter, who was worthy (of Jivandhara).

(V. 233.) He further said (to the prince): 'When I was formerly residing at Rājapuram, king Satyandhara gladly gave me this bow and these arrows. They are worthy of you. Therefore do you take them!'

(V. 235.) Jivandhara accepted them full of joy and lived pleasantly in that town. While his time was thus passing, one day Gandharvadattā visited prince Jivandhara by means of her magic art.

(V. 236.) When she found him comfortably seated, she returned to Rājapuram without anybody's knowledge. For, the happiness of their beloved (husbands) is a festival to wives.

Hemabha.

(V. 237.) After some days, the prince, the performer of good deeds, left this town, as before, carrying bow and arrows, and reached the town of Hēmābha in the district of Sujana.

(V. 239.) The lord of this (town) was named Driḍhamitra, his wife Nalinā, and the daughter of both Hēmābha. At her very birth somebody, it is said, had predicted as follows: 'If at the contest of archers on the sporting-ground in the Manōhara wood one will dispatch an arrow (in such a way) that it turns round near the target and flies back, this girl of lucky marks will become his wife.'

(V. 242.) When those who knew archery heard this prophecy, they were all intent on practising this. Prince Jivandhara also went to this place from desire for her.

(V. 243.) When the archers saw him, they said: 'Sir, do you know the bow-practice mentioned in the prophecy?'

(V. 244.) He replied: 'I know a little (of it).' They said to him: 'Hit this target!' He took the bow and arrow which were ready, and let the latter go. (The arrow) returned to him without reaching the target. When those present saw this, they informed the king.

(V. 246.) The king (thought): 'The species of creeper which I was looking for, was clinging to my foot,† and gladly gave his daughter in marriage to (Jivandhara) with (great) riches. This is called good fortune!'

(V. 247.) (Jivandhara's) brothers-in-law‡ were Gunamitra, Bahumitra, Sumitra, Dhanamitra, and others. Instructing all these in all arts, the prince stayed there a long time, enjoying (the fruits of) good deeds performed in former (births).

(V. 249.) When Nandādhyā observed that Gandharvadattā frequently went

* Read न्यबोधयन् for यन्.

† This is evidently a proverb.

‡ As Mr. Kuppusami Sastri remarks, the Sanskrit word *maithuna* is here used in the sense of the Tamil மைத்துனன்.

from (Rājapuram) to Jivandhara in secret and returned (again), he once asked her: 'Where do you go without anybody's knowledge? I too* would like to go (there). Tell it (me)!'

(V. 251.) She smiled and spoke distinctly as follows:—'If you want to go to the same place which I am visiting,—(there is) a couch named Smaratarāṅgiṇī, occupied by a deity. Lie down on this according to rule and think of your elder brother. In this way you will easily reach him.'

(V. 253.) Having heard her speech, he lay down on that couch at night. Then the magic art Bhōgiṇī conducted him on the couch to his elder brother.

(V. 254.) The prince and Nandāḍhya looked at each other with joy, embraced, asked about (each other's) welfare, and remained there. There is nothing more pleasing in this world than the meeting of loving brothers.

Srichandra.

(V. 256.) In the same famous district of Sujana lies another town, named Nagaraśōbha. (Its ruler was) a brother of that king Dṛidhamitra†, called Sumitra‡. The queen of the latter (was named) Vasundharā and the beautiful and clever daughter of these two Śrichandrā.

(V. 258.) When the latter had reached the beginning of youth, she once by chance perceived in the courtyard of the palace a couple of pigeons enjoying themselves to their hearts' content.

(V. 259.) Suddenly, the recollection of her (former) births came to her, and she swooned away.§ Those who stood near her were shocked to see her condition, carefully sprinkled her with water, cooled by sandal and khaskhas, calmed her mind by the refreshing draught produced by fans, waked her, and made her recover consciousness by kind words. What will not good friends do in difficult situations?

(V. 262.) When her parents heard this, they sorrowfully said to her daughter's friend Alakasundarī, daughter of Tilakachandrikā: 'Go and look after the girl, who has recovered from fainting.'

(V. 263.) This eloquent one went and asked the girl in secret: 'Mistress, tell me what the cause of your fainting was.'

(V. 264.) She (replied): 'If you want to hear the cause of my fainting,—for there is nothing that I do not want to tell you, (as) you are dearer (to me) than life,—listen with collected thoughts; and she recounted all her connections in former births, (which) she remembered completely.'

(V. 266.) Having heard all this, the clever Alakasundarī at once quickly went and communicated to both (parents) the cause of her fainting, as she had heard it before, with clear and agreeable words as follows:

* In अहं च (verse 250) and त्वं च (verse 251), च is used in the sense of अपि.

† See above, verse 239.

‡ A nephew of this Sumitra, who bore the same name, was mentioned in verse 248.

§ In Professor Leumann's translation of a Jaina romance (*Die Nonne*, p. 26) the heroine is fainting under similar conditions.

(V. 268.) 'In the third existence before the present one, this girl was, as she says, the beautiful daughter of Ratnatējas, the chief of the Vaiśya caste at Rājapuram in the country of Hēmāṅgada, and of his wife Ratnamālā, and bore the name Anupamā (i.e., 'the incomparable'), (but was such a one) not only by name, (but) also by virtues.

(V. 270.) 'In the same town, Kanakatējas, (another member) of the caste of Vaiśyas, had by Chandramālā a wicked, stupid son, (who) was named Suvarnatējas.

(V. 271.) 'To him (Anupamā) had been betrothed before by her parents; but, as they despised him, they married her to Guṇamitra, a jeweller of the Vaiśya caste. With him she lived happily for a short time.

(V. 273.) 'Once on a sea-journey Guṇamitra met his death in a dangerous whirlpool at the disembogement from the mouth of a river into the sea, and she went to the same place herself and found her death (there).

(V. 274.) 'Thereon (both) were reborn in a family of pigeons in the mansion of the Vaiśya Gandhōtkāṭa at Rājapuram; the husband was named Pavanavēgā and she Rativēgā.

(V. 275.) 'While the son (of Gandhōtkāṭa) was instructed in writing, this couple (of pigeons) itself learned the alphabet, saw how the husband and wife were quietly keeping the commandments (incumbent on) lay-worshippers, and happily lived there a long time, devoted to each other* in consequence of the affection which had come down to them from their previous birth.

(V. 277.) 'When Suvarnatējas died, he became a tom-cat in consequence of the hostility he had borne to (Anupamā).

(V. 278.) 'When he once happened to perceive that couple (of pigeons), he seized Rativēgā, as Rāhu does the disk of the moon.

(V. 279.) 'The male pigeon angrily attacked (the cat) with blows of beak, claws, and wings, and quickly forced him to let loose his mate.

(V. 280.) 'One day the male pigeon was killed in a snare that had been laid by bad (men) in a tree-hole near that town.

(V. 281.) 'When Rativēgā came home, she wrote (a report) with her own beak and informed all of her husband's death.

(V. 282.) 'Oppressed by the great grief of separation from him, she lost her life and was reborn as your beloved daughter Śrichandrā.

(V. 283.) 'When she saw a couple of pigeons to-day, she remembered her former births and consequently fainted necessarily. All this she told me clearly.'

(V. 284.) When the parents heard Alakasundarī's speech, they were quite shocked. Wishing to search for their daughter's husband, they (got) an account of her former births clearly painted on cloth and placed it, with presents and honours, in the hands of a skilful (man) of the caste of dancers, named Rangatējas, and of (the female dancer) Madanalatā, carefully enjoining their duties (on both).

(V. 287.) These two unfolded the cloth in a wood named Pushpaka, which was filled with many people, and themselves began to dance.

(V. 288.) The father of (Śrichandrā), who was taking a walk in that wood,

* In verse 277 read संसक्तं.

perceived there the great ascetic Samādhigupta. He circumambulated and saluted him, heard the truth of the (Jaina) doctrine (expounded by him), and then asked: 'Venerable one! Tell me where my daughter's husband in her former births is (now) dwelling'.

(V. 290.) Then he who possessed the divine avadhi—knowledge* said: 'He is now the son of a Vaiśya in Hēmābhapuram†, who has reached the age of youth'.

(V. 291.) As soon as the king heard the speech of the ascetic, he went there with the (two) dancers, his friends, and his whole retinue, and arranged a charming, wonderful dance.

(V. 292.) Nandādhya went together with the citizens to witness the dance. As he remembered his former births, he suddenly fainted.‡

(V. 293.) His elder brother Jivandhara made him recover consciousness by certain songs and rites and said to him: 'Tell me the cause of your fainting.'

(V. 294.) (Nandādhya) recounted whatever was painted on the cloth, and spoke to his elder brother as follows: 'I, the same (as before), have now been reborn as your brother.'

(V. 295.) (Jivandhara) was pleased and prepared (already) in advance a great festival on account of his marriage.

(V. 296.) Listen to the following other (event) that happened in connection with this.§ (There was) a lord of Kirātas who was known by the name of Harivikrama.

(V. 297.) Out of fear of his heirs, he went away and founded a town in a forest called Kapittha on the Diśāgiri (mountain). His wife (was named) Vanagirisundari.

(V. 298.) To this lord of the forest was born a son, Vanarāja. His servants were named Vaṭavṛiksha, Mṛityu, Chitrasēna, Saindhava, Ariñjaya, Śatrumardhana and Atibala.

(V. 299.) His son's companions were Lōhajaṅgha and Śrīshēna. When these two were once going to town, they perceived Śrīchandrā, who was enjoying herself in that forest and resembled the light of the moon.

(V. 301.) While they walked on, praising her, they perceived a horse which was going to drink water. They pushed its keepers aside, led it (to a tank), gave (water) to it, and felt satisfied.

(V. 302.) When afterwards these two benevolent (persons) returned from Harivikrama, they fully described in secret the great beauty of the body, etc., of that girl to Vanarāja, the profligate son of the lord of forest-dwellers.

(V. 303.) Hearing this, he felt desire for her, because, in his former birth as Suvarnatējas,|| he had been in love with her, and dispatched the two (with the order: 'Bring her to me by some means!')

* See the note on verse 128.

† See above, verse 237.

‡ Cf. Professor Leumann's German translation of a Jaina romance (*Die Nonne*, p. 43), where the hero is also fainting on looking at a picture.

§ For similar phrases cf. verses 363 and 461.

|| See above, verses 271 and 277.

(V. 305.) The two went off, accompanied by brave soldiers, found out the bedroom of that girl, dug a tunnel, carried the girl away, left in that tunnel a letter in which was written: 'Śrīshēna and Lōhajaṅgha, the two brave ones, have abducted the girl', and joined Vanarāja, at night, just as Saturn and Mars with the sickle of the moon.

(V. 308.) At the time of sunrise (Śrīchandrā's) two brothers, on reading the letter, learned the abduction of the girl and, at the prince's¹ command, quickly took up the pursuit.

(V. 309.) When Śrīchandrā saw that (her two brothers) Kinnaramitra and Yakshamitra were fighting with those two,² (she vowed) with sorrowful heart: 'Before I see (again) our temple of Jina in our town, I shall enjoy nothing here'; and lapsed into silence.

(V. 311.) Vanarāja's two companions defeated the two princes, carried off (Śrīchandrā), and joyfully delivered her to the king's son.

(V. 312.) When that lord of the forest observed that she was wholly indifferent to him, he called his go-betweens, who were skilled in means for attaining this (object), and said: 'Make her enamoured of me by (some) means'!

(V. 313.) Having received this commission, they who knew how to bring about both conciliation and disaffection, went to Śrīchandrā (and said), in order to insinuate themselves gradually into her heart: 'Why do you stand like this? Take a bath! Dress yourself! Deck yourself with ornaments! Put on a garland! Enjoy dainty food! Pleasantly converse with us without hesitation, Śrīchandrā! Through many births you have with difficulty attained human existence. Do not lose in vain this hard-earned (advantage) by indifference to pleasures! In this world there is no suitor superior to Vanarāja in beauty and other virtues. You do not open your eyes properly and do not see (him). Join Vanarāja, as Lakshmī did the first wielder of the discus (*i.e.*, Vishnu), as ornaments do the tree of ornaments,³ as moon-light does the full-moon! What fool, having obtained a crest-jewel, will despise it?' With these and other intimidating speeches did they trouble her.

(V. 320.) When Harivikrama heard from secret (agents) of her distress, he thought: 'The girl will perhaps perish by the molestation of these (go-betweens),' scolded Vanarāja, and made her dwell with his own daughters.

(V. 322.) Then Dṛiḍhamitra and all (her) other relatives approached with an armed force,⁴ in order to besiege that town, and their enemies (too) were ready for battle.

(V. 323.) When prince Jivandhara saw this, he was touched by pity. (Reflecting) thus: 'The fight will make an end of many people. What is the use of it?', he thought of the Yaksha lord Sudarśana.⁵

(V. 324.) As soon as he thought of the Yaksha, the latter took the girl and

¹ *Vis.*, Sumitra's; see verse 257.

² *Vis.*, Lōhajaṅgha and Śrīshēna.

³ Apparently the Kalpa-druma of paradise is meant.

⁴ For सन्नद्ध read सन्नद्ध.

⁵ See above, verse 182.

gave her to the prince, without anybody being harmed. Those who fear sin, decide quarrels by diplomatical means.

(V. 326.) As the desired object had been attained, all the (assailants) gave up fighting¹ and returned to town. Vanarāja followed them, in order to give battle.

(V. 327.) As soon as the Yaksha perceived this knave, he seized him by force and handed him over to the prince.

(V. 328.) The illustrious prince made Vanarāja prisoner² and halted with his army at a lake named Sēnāramya.

(V. 329.) There he suddenly perceived a powerful wandering ascetic who had come to ask for alms. He rose before him, duly saluted him, and devoutly gave him suitable dainty food. By this gift he acquired merit and beheld the five miracles.³

(V. 331.) When Vanarāja saw the fruit of this gift, he remembered his connections in (former) births and whatever had happened (to himself).

(V. 332.) Harivikrama approached with a great army, in order to fight. The Yaksha seized him too and placed him in the hands of the prince.

(V. 333.) Then Vanarāja revealed to all the whole (truth), as follows: 'In the third existence before this I was a son of merchants, (named) Suvarṇatējas. After my death I next became a tom-cat and attempted to kill this girl, (who had become) a female pigeon in her former birth. By some ascetic I was freed from enmity, as I heard (from him) how I had passed through the four stages of being⁴ known (to him); was reborn here; and caused her to be abducted from love of her.'

(V. 336.) When they heard his speech, they were pacified, as they recognised that he had not caused the girl to be abducted from arrogance, but⁵ from affection.

(V. 337.) They had the fetters of Vanarāja's father and of himself removed and set (both of them) free. For herein the righteousness of the good (shows itself).

(V. 338.) Then they went to the town of the king (*viz.*, Dṛidhamitra)⁶ and stayed (there) two or three days. (Thence) they went to Nagaraśōbha,⁷ and on their arrival bestowed the unhappy Śrīchandrā with great riches on the wealthy Nandādhyā.

Jivandhara's Former Births.

(V. 339.) When, after the celebration of the marriage, (Jivandhara) with his relatives returned to the town of Hēmathā, (some) men of his retinue, who, with

1 For साहाय्य read सहाय.

2 For बन्धीकृत्य read बन्दीकृत्य.

3 As Professor Leumann kindly informs me, *āscharya-pañchakam*, 'the five wonderful effects', *viz.*, a shower of heavenly flowers, etc., are mentioned whenever a saint of special merit has been hospitably entertained. Elsewhere (*e.g.*, at the end of *Āvatyara-chūrṇi* III) these five miracles are styled *pañcha-divyani*. For this term see also J. J. Meyer's *Hindu Tales*, p. 212, and Hertel's *Pañchatantra* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 374, 385.

4 These are: beings in hell, animals, men, and gods; see *Tattvārthādhigama*, VIII, 11 f.

5 For न तु I read किंतु.

6 See above, verse 237.

7 See above, verse 256.

the permission¹ of Satyandhara's son, had gone to the bank of a lake to fetch water there, were bitten by vicious bees and reported this, full of fear, to prince Jivandhara.

(V. 342.) When the prince heard this, he thought wonderingly: 'This must have some reason,' and, to find it out, thought of the Yaksha.

(V. 343.) As soon as the latter appeared there, he overcame² the magic power of a Khēchara³ and placed this Khēchara before the prince.

(V. 344.) The prince asked him: 'For what reason are you protecting this lake?' The Khēchara spoke distinctly: 'Listen attentively, good sir! I shall tell you my story. (Formerly) I was named Jātibhaṭa and was⁴ the son of a wealthy gardener named Pushpadanta and of (his wife) Kusumaśrī at Rājapuram. In the same (town) Dhanadatta had by Nandini a son (named) Chandrābha, who was my companion. To him you were once expounding the (Jaina) doctrine. Then my heart was attracted by that doctrine, and I vowed abstention from wine, meat, etc. After my death I became in consequence of that (virtuous deed)⁵ a Vidyādhara in this life. In a temple of Jina (on the mountain) Siddhakūṭa, I perceived a couple of wandering ascetics, humbly approached them, and learned (from them) that we two⁶ had been connected in a (former) birth. In order to meet you, I remained (here) and protected this lake by magic power from being trespassed upon by others. I shall relate your connections in a (former) birth, as revealed (to me) by the divine avadhi (knowledge).⁷

(V. 351.) '(There is) a town (named) Puṇḍarīkī in Pushkalāvati a province of Vidēha on the east of (mount) Mēru in the eastern division of Dhātakī-khaṇḍa.⁸ The ruler of this (town) was Jayandhara. As his son by Jayavatī, (named) Jayadratha, you were born.⁹ When you had once gone to enjoy yourself in a wood named Manōhara, you there perceived in a lake a young swan. Out of curiosity you had it brought by skilled servants and intended to bring it up. In the air the distressed parents of (the swan) repeatedly uttered miserable shrieks. Hearing this, one of your servants pulled his bow-string as far as his ear, and killed the father of (the swan) by an arrow. Nothing (appears) illicit to the wicked! When your mother saw this, her heart was filled with pity, and she asked: 'What is that?' When one of the servants told her, the virtuous (lady) became angry with that servant who had needlessly shot that (bird), scolded him,

1 For निवीक्ष्य read निरीक्ष्य.

2 For विध्वस्त read विध्वस्य.

3 See the note on verse 119.

4 For अभवत् read अभवं.

5 For तत्फलामृतम् read तत्फलान्मृतः.

6 *Viz.*, the Vidyādhara and Jivandhara.

7 See the note on verse 128.

8 This is the name of the annular continent surrounding Jambūdvīpa beyond the salt-sea; see Kirfel's *Kosmographie*, p. 249.

9 For ऽभूजयद्रथः read ऽभूर्जयद्रथः.

and said to you: 'That was not right of you, my son! Unite this (young swan) quickly with its mother!' You (said): 'I have done this deed out of ignorance,' and blamed and accused yourself with a soft heart. On the sixteenth day after the day on which the young swan had been taken away (from its parents), you returned it to its mother, as the rainy season does the Chātaka (bird) to the line of rain-clouds, or as the month Madhu¹ does the mango-flower to its branch, or as the sunrise does the bee to the lotus-plant. When (your) time had passed pleasantly with these and other enjoyments, you suddenly felt, for some reason, disgust² with pleasures, put down the burden of the kingdom, and put on the burden of austerity. At the end of your life you left the body and became a god in Sahasrāra.³ Having lived there for eighteen 'oceans',⁴ and being satiated with heavenly enjoyments, you sank down thence and were reborn here in consequence of your good and bad deeds. That swan which had been killed by your servant was reborn as Kāsh-ṭhāṅgaraka. The latter killed your father in battle before you were born. In consequence of the sin committed by separating the young swan from its parents, you became separated from your relatives for sixteen years.'

(V. 366.) When (Jivandhara) learned these (facts) revealed by the Vidyādhara, he paid reverence to him, saying: 'You are (my) fellow in fortune.'

(V. 367.) Thence he went to the town of Hēmābha, reached it joyfully, and remained (there), enjoying to his heart's content the pleasures of love together with his friends.

Jivandhara meets his mother.

(V. 368.) The following other story is told in connection with this. On the day following Nandādhya's departure from his town,⁵ Gandharvadattā was asked by Madhura⁶ and her other friends: 'Tell us if you know where the two princes⁷ have gone.'

(V. 370.) She said respectfully: 'Both are living comfortably in the town of Hēmābha in the country of Sujana. Why are you anxious about them?'

(V. 371.) Having learnt the place where the two were staying, they all wished to visit them, took leave of all their relatives, and were gladly granted leave by them.

(V. 372.) On the way they rested at a settlement of ascetics in the Daṇḍaka forest. While the female ascetics came and looked at them with curiosity, the great queen,⁸ who also saw them, asked them full of kindness: 'Whence have you come, and whither do you want to go?'

¹ Cf. above, verses 25 and 164.

² For निर्वेगे read निर्वेदे.

³ This is the name of the sixth heaven; see Kirfel's *Kosmographie*, p. 292.

⁴ Vardhi (=Varidhi) evidently represents *Sagarōpama*. According to Kirfel's *Kosmographie*, p. 310, the life of the inhabitants of the uppermost storey of Sahasrāra lasts eighteen *Sāgarōpamas*.

⁵ Cf. above, verse 253.

⁶ See above, verse 73.

⁷ Viz. Jivandhara and Nandādhya; see above, verse 254 f.

⁸ Viz. Vijayā; see above, verse 69.

(V. 374.) When they told her the true facts, she distinctly recognised full of joy that this company of young men was the retinue of her own son, and asked them eagerly: 'Start (only) after you have rested here to-day! When you return, bring him (viz., my son) here!'

(V. 376.) They began to doubt thus: 'In figure she is not different from the reports (received by) Jivandhara. Could she be his mother?'

(V. 377.) (They promised her): 'We shall do so,' and pleased her by speeches referring to her dear (son). When they had thence gone a little farther,* they were harassed there by robbers, (but) overcame those flesh-eaters in fight by their valour. Going on, they accidentally joined on the road some other robbers.

(V. 379.) The citizens, being excited by the plundering of a caravan from Hēmābhapuram, lamenting, with their hands raised up, had reported this deed to the merciful Jivandhara. He, whose valour was inconceivable, went and intercepted the army of the robbers in fight, and returned the whole property that had been seized by them, to the merchants.

(V. 381.) Having fought a long time, prince Jivandhara, perceiving that the arrows dispatched (by the enemy) were marked by his own name, recognised that (his opponents) were Madhura, etc.

(V. 382.) These joined the prince, told him all the news from Rājapuram, rested, and stayed (with him) some time in comfort.

(V. 383.) Then they started with the prince for their own town and reached the Daṇḍaka forest, in order to halt (there a while).

(V. 384.) When the great queen saw her son, as Rukmiṇi did the god of love, she lamented, and her high bosom filled with milk from affection; her tremulous eyes were dimmed with tears; her slender body was quite emaciated; she had been scorched by thousands of cares; her hairs formed a (single) braid; her lips were bereft of their (red) colour by incessant hot sighs; and her rows of teeth were covered with a thick (crust of) dirt, as she had abstained from betel, etc. In the first moment, the sight of dear (persons) after a long period produces pain.

(V. 388.) With outstretched hands, he prostrated himself at her lotus feet, letting her drink,† as it were, the nectar of happiness, which was produced by the touch of her son, and which she had not enjoyed (for a long time).

(V. 389.) She affectionately welcomed him with hundreds of blessings: 'Rise, prince! Let hundredfold bliss be your share!', and spoke as follows: 'Prince, my grief has suddenly departed as though it had been greatly frightened by its enemy: the feeling of delight produced by your sight.'

(V. 391.) While the queen was thus conversing with her son, in the meantime the clever Yaksha arrived in haste out of affection for the prince.

(V. 392.) From devotion to the true doctrine of the Jinas, he honoured all (Jinas) separately by bathing, garlands, ointments, and all (kinds of) ornaments, dresses, food, etc.; dispelled the grief of the mother and of the son by sweet, true,

*For तत्रोत्तरं read ततोन्तरं.

† For हापयन् I propose पाययन्.

and reasonable speeches and by love-stories, etc. ; and returned to his own residence after he had thus shown them respect. This is (true) friendship, which is experienced by friends in calamities.

(V. 395.) The queen recognised that great fortune was awaiting the prince, and spoke in secret to him, who possessed both wisdom and courage, as follows : 'Kāshṭhāṅgaraka has slain your father, the great king Satyandhara, at Rājapuram and is ruling the kingdom. Consequently he is your enemy. It does not become you, who are high-minded, to renounce your father's throne.'

(V. 397.) Hearing this, he assented to her speech and thought : 'Valour shown at the wrong time produces as little fruit as seed sown out of season. I must await the time that is favourable for the enterprise.'

(V. 399.) Though filled with anger, the clever (prince) concealed it in his heart (and said) : 'Mother, when this plan is carried out, I shall send an army under the leadership of Nandādhyā to fetch you. Until then, you must wait here some days, free from care.'

Vimala.

(V. 401.) He left with her everything that was necessary for her, and some retinue, and himself went to Rājapuram.

(V. 402.) Having reached it, he sent his servants, etc., in advance and instructed (each of them) separately not to communicate his arrival to anybody ; assumed the disguise of a Vaiśya by the power of the magic ring ;* entered the town ; and resided in some shop.

(V. 404.) When the merchant Sāgaradatta observed that, owing to the presence of (Jivandhara) in this (town), many kinds of jewels and other articles brought unheard of profit, he gave him his own daughter Vimalā, whose mother (was named) Kamalā, (in marriage), as (the prince) had been predestined (to her) by the prophecies of astrologers.

Gunamala.

(V. 406.) While he was pleasantly living there some days, he once entered Kāshṭhāṅgaraka's hall of audience in the disguise of a wandering ascetic.

(V. 407.) Perceiving him, (Jivandhara) bestowed (on him) blessings and honours, and said : 'Listen, O King ! I ask you for food as a worthy guest. Give me to eat !'

(V. 408.) Hearing this, (the king) granted his wish, saying : 'This is, (like) an excellent flower, the means (of production) of the fruit of my efforts.'

(V. 409.) (Jivandhara) occupied the place of honour and ate. Then he left (the hall), joined the company of princes, and declared (to each of them) separately : 'In my hand I have drugs of sure effect, *viz.*, powders, etc., by which one can make others subject to himself. Whoever likes may purchase them.'

(V. 411.) When they heard this, (they thought) : 'Look at his impudence ! How does such an old age (suit) the preparation of powders, pigments, etc., by which one can make others subject to himself !'

* See above, verse 206.

(V. 412.) They all laughed at his speech and said to him : 'Best Brāhmaṇa ! Well-known in this town is a virgin named Guṇamālā, who has become an enemy of men because Jivandhara did not praise her fragrant powder.* Subdue her by your powders, pigments, etc. ! When we see that, we shall purchase all your spells, drugs, etc., at high prices.'

(V. 415.) Feigning anger, he replied : 'Your Jivandhara is a blockhead. Is he perhaps able to judge the difference between fragrant powders, etc.?'

(V. 416.) Then all angrily told the Brāhmaṇa : 'How dare you talk of that excellent man so unrestrainedly and inconsiderately ? Have you, who are puffed up by defective knowledge, not heard the proverb : Self-praise and blaming of others are no better than death ?'

(V. 418.) Thus scolded by them, he praised himself proudly : 'Haven't I too admirers of your description ?', promised that he would make Guṇamālā his slave † in an instant, and went to her house.

(V. 420.) There he called one of her servants and told her : 'Inform your mistress that a Brāhmaṇa is standing at the door !'

(V. 421.) She reported this message of the Brāhmaṇa to her mistress. Thereon the latter allowed the old Brāhmaṇa to enter, received him suitably, and asked him : 'Whence do you come, or whither do you want to go ?'

(V. 422.) He replied : 'Afterwards I have come here, and before I shall go again.'

(V. 423.) When the girl's servants heard this, they laughed. The Brāhmaṇa said to them : 'Do not laugh like that ! Old age produces *perversity*. Will not this be your fate (too) ?'

(V. 425.) When (Guṇamālā) asked again and again : 'Where do you want to go ?, (he said) : 'My going (will continue) until I reach a worthy girl.'

(V. 426.) When she heard the Brāhmaṇa's speech, she said jestingly : 'He is old in body and age, (but) not in heart,' seated him in the place of honour, ate herself, and said : 'Now go quickly whither you want to !'

(V. 428.) He praised her, saying : 'You have well spoken to me, my dear,' got up with difficulty, stumbling and resting on his stick, and mounted her couch as if she had told him (to do so).

(V. 429.) When the servants saw that, (they called out) : 'Look at his impudence !', and attempted to stop him by laying hands on him.

(V. 430.) (He said) : 'You have spoken quite correctly. Shame suits only women, not men. If shame were common (also) to the latter, how would then the union of men to women, produced by love, be (possible) ?'

(V. 432.) When she heard this speech of the old man, she thought : 'This is no mere Brāhmaṇa, (but) one who has visited me by means of the magic art of

* See above, verses 169—176.

† *Ghaṭadāsī* corresponds to the Tamil கண்ணகரிசு. Cf. *Kumbhadāsī* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtram* (p. 184, l. 3 ; p. 348, l. 4 ; p. 363, l. 13), and the article 'Tonicatchy' in *Hobson-Jobson*.

changing his appearance'; and kept her servants back, saying: 'What harm is there? The Brāhmaṇa is my guest. Let him remain here!'

(V. 434.) At the end of that night the old man, who knew the different notes of the (Rāga) Śuddhadēśaja,* sang a long time sweetly and pleasing to the ears.

(V. 435.) 'This is ornate, lovely, and pleasant to the ears, like prince Jivandhara's song at Gandharvadattā's marriage.' (With these thoughts Guṇamālā) rose in the morning, humbly approached him, and asked: 'Which sciences do you know?'

(V. 437.) (He replied): 'I have studied the sciences of virtue, politics, and love repeatedly and carefully. In these, the fruit of virtue and politics is ascertained from the science of love. If (you ask) how this (happens), I shall make some remarks on it. (There are) five senses, and their objects are taught to be fivefold, *viz.*, 'touch', etc. Touch is, as tradition says, eightfold, *viz.*, 'hard', etc. The wise declare 'taste' to be sixfold, *viz.*, 'sweet', etc. 'Smell' is considered to be twofold: 'artificial' and 'natural'; either of them is found in good-smelling and evil-smelling lifeless things. 'Colour' is fivefold, being divided into white, black, etc. The 'notes' are seven, *viz.*, shadjā, etc., and are produced by living (beings) and lifeless (things). Thus there are twenty-eight (objects of the five senses). They have fifty-six varieties, being again doubled by the two alternatives 'desirable' and 'undesirable.' Of these, (the objects) of those who have performed good deeds are desirable. These good deeds (are produced) by virtue. 'Virtue' is called by the good the avoidance of forbidden objects. Consequently wise men who avoid forbidden objects and enjoy the remaining ones, are in this world considered professors of the science of love. In some of the (objects) enjoyed by you faults are found.

(V. 445.) When she heard his speech, she said: 'You must give (me) instruction, in order to remove these faults. I shall become your pupil;' and the Brāhmaṇa instructed her in the arts, etc.

(V. 447.) One day all (the princes)† again went to that wood, in order to enjoy themselves. He (*viz.*, Jivandhara), who was staying there with Guṇamālā, in a secluded spot, showed (her) his real appearance. When the virtuous girl looked at him, she was ashamed and began to suspect (him).

(V. 449.) Seeing her keeping silence, he at once regained her confidence by (repeating) former remarks (of his) referring to the fragrant powder, etc.‡

(V. 450.) Again assuming his former appearance, he lay down on a couch of flowers and commanded her: 'Shampoo my legs!'

(V. 451.) When the princes observed her performing this duty from affection they were all astonished and praised his spells, etc.

(V. 452.) Then he went home from that wood. Guṇamālā secretly informed her mother and father of Jivandhara's arrival, and they both bestowed her on him as his wedded wife.

(V. 453.) After Jivandhara had stayed there some days, enjoying pleasures with her, he mounted the rutting elephant Vijayagiri, followed by all his relatives

* See the note on verse 146.

† Cf. above, verse 410.

‡ Cf. above, verse 173 f.

and surrounded by an army of four arms,* while the people were praising his high fortune; and entered Gandhōtkāṭa's house in full splendour.

(V. 456.) When Kāshṭhāṅgaraka heard of his festival (procession), (he exclaimed) angrily: 'Look! The son of the Vaiśyas is mad and does not fear me in the least,' and openly bore him a grudge.

(V. 457.) When his chief ministers observed this, they quickly pacified him by reasonable speeches like the following: 'Fate has openly favoured this powerful prince Jivandhara; Gandharvadattā has joined him, like the goddess of fortune herself; a Yaksha is in league with him as his unfailing friend; he is closely united with Madhura and other companions; and his courage is unshakable. It is not advisable to quarrel with him. There is no reason for fighting with a strong one.'

Ratnavati.

(V. 461.) The following other (story) is told in connection with this. In the province of Vidēha (lies) a highly renowned city called Vidēha.

(V. 462.) Its ruler was king Gōpēndra, who overthrew his enemies. (He had), by queen Prithivisundarī, a virtuous daughter (named) Ratnāvati.

(V. 463.) The latter made the following vow: I shall adorn with the garland (of victory) him who knows how to hit the Chandraka.† None else I desire for my husband.'

(V. 464.) When her father heard this, (he thought): 'In this world Jivandhara is a famous expert of archery. Therefore I shall take my daughter near him.'

(V. 465.) He went to Rājapuram with his daughter and with an army, and caused to be proclaimed in public that the election of a husband (would take place).

(V. 466.) When the lords of the earth and of the Khēcharas heard this proclamation, they all went at once to Rājapuram, in order to win the virgin.

(V. 467.) When prince Jivandhara saw that at this election of a husband those numerous princes failed to hit the Chandraka, he bowed to the Siddhas; paid reverence to his teacher Āryavarmā;‡ stood on that wheel, full of splendour and without stumbling, just as the morning sun does on the mountain of sunrise; hit (the mark); and uttered a war-cry that made the quarters of the horizon resound.

(V. 470.) Then the umpires praised him: 'He has hit well', and (Ratnāvati) joyfully placed the garland (of victory) on the prince's neck.

(V. 471.) (Among the people present) there, the good ones were pleased (and said): 'The union of those two is indeed suitable, as that of autumn with the cluster of swans.'

(V. 472.) The wise ones of middle quality showed indifference (and said): 'The virtuous are everywhere victorious. Is this to be wondered at?'

(V. 473.) The mean ones, with Kāshṭhāṅgaraka at their head, who had been

* *Viz.* elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry.

† According to the other versions, this was a machine (*yantram*) which moved quickly on a wheel (*chakram*). Cf. *Kshatra-chūdāmaṇi*, p. 109.

‡ See above, verses 99-105.

(already) before humiliated by him, remembered this. Prompted by evil anger, (these) knaves attempted to abduct the virgin in the tumult of fight.

(V. 474.) The prudent Jivandhara was aware of their enmity and dispatched to the (former) vassals, etc., of the Mahārāja Satyandhara many envoys, with presents and with the following message: 'I was born by Vijayā to the lord Satyandhara. In consequence of my former deeds, I was separated from both (parents) immediately after my birth, and grew up under the protection of this chief of merchants (Gandhōtkaṭa). That wicked Kāshṭhāṅgaraka, who used to earn his living by selling wood, coal, etc., had been appointed minister by your king. When the low-born knave found an opportunity, he, like a snake, killed him and seized the kingdom himself. He must be quickly uprooted, as he is not only my own, (but) also your enemy. Even if he would fly into the nether world, I shall surely kill him to-day. Hence the faithful vassals, soldiers, servants, high officials, and other dependents of king Satyandhara must from gratitude uproot that ingrate.'

(V. 482.) When they heard his message, many (of them) joined him, as they were convinced that this prince was really the king's son.

(V. 483.) With an armed force he attacked him (*viz.*, Kāshṭhāṅgaraka) in person, fought a long time in many ways, and defeated his army.

(V. 484.) Mounted on the powerful rutting elephant Vijayagiri, he slew the mighty, proud Kāshṭhāṅgaraka, who was seated on the renowned elephant Aśanivēga, and angrily beheaded his enemy by his discus.

(V. 486.) When (Kāshṭhāṅgaraka's) army saw this and withdrew* out of fear of destruction, he inspired it with confidence by proclaiming an amnesty.

(V. 487.) He assembled all his relatives, received them respectfully, and pleased them by conversations, etc., suitable for the occasion.

(V. 488.) Having worshipped the Jinas and having performed the (prescribed) auspicious ceremonies, he was anointed to the kingdom by the Yaksha and all princes, celebrated the great festival of his marriage with Ratnāvati, and crowned Gandharvadattā as chief queen.†

(V. 490.) United with his mother, his wives, etc., who had been fetched by Nandādhyā†, etc., he attained universal sovereignty and ruled, full of power, subduing his enemies, easily protecting all his subjects according to rule, and, playfully enjoying desirable pleasures: the fruits of his good deeds.

Conclusion.

(V. 492.) Once when the king was taking a walk in the park Suramalaya, he perceived the ascetic Varadharmā, approached him, bowed to him, listened to his exposition of the truth, accepted the commandments, and became pure in faith. Nandādhyā, etc., also accepted righteousness, the commandments, and the vows.§

* For भयादुपगते read भयादुपगते.

† Perhaps माह्व्या: may be read for मह्व्या: . Otherwise मह्वी would be used in the sense of महर्षि.

‡ Cf. above, verse 399 f.

§ For the commandments (*vrata*) and vows (*śīla*) see *Tattvārthadhigāma*, VII, 1 f. and 16.

(V. 494.) With these intimates of his, he passed the time pleasantly. One day he perceived in a forest of Aśoka trees a herd of monkeys fighting with each other, while the fire of anger was burning in them¹ and he felt disgust² with the world.

(V. 495.) In the same forest he saw a wandering ascetic named Praśastavaṅka, listened respectfully to the account of his own births (which the ascetic gave him) in the same way as he had heard it before,³ and worshipped the Jinas with increasing purity.

(V. 497.) Hearing of the glorious arrival of (Mahāvira), the lord of Jinas, in the park Suramalaya, he went and worshipped the highest lord, and bestowed his kingdom according to rule on prince Vasundhara, the son of the great queen (Gandharvadattā).

(V. 499.) The high-minded one, who was free from infatuation, together with his maternal uncle and the other princes, *viz.*, Nandādhyā, Madhura, etc., vowed self-control, renouncing all earthly bonds. For, after the lords of the world have enjoyed its pleasures, they become free from desire.

(V. 501.) Together with Satyandhara's great queen (Vijayā), her eight beautiful daughters-in-law, *viz.*, Gandharvadattā, etc., and their mothers at once vowed complete self-control before (the nun) Chandanāryā. A single important reason causes many to reach their aim.

(V. 503.) 'This one, about whom you asked, O king,⁴ is the great ascetic Jivandhara, who is powerful and practises severe austerity. He is now a Śrutakēvali.⁵

(V. 504.) 'After he has overcome the destructive sins,⁶ has become a houseless Kēvali, has associated with the founder of the (Jaina) religion, and has attained salvation,—he who has sacrificed (*i.e.*, destroyed the consequences of) all his deeds, is filled with the eight desirable qualities,⁷ is of firm mind, and spotless, will enter highest bliss on the mountain Vipula.'

(V. 506.) When Śrēṇika had heard this nectar-like speech of the chief disciple Sudharmā, he was satisfied. Who will not feel satisfaction at the (Jaina) doctrine?

(V. 507.) With joined hands I salute that lord Jivandhara who, in consequence of former good deeds, won eight virgins hard to be won by others; who at

1 Cf. Jātaka, No. 408, verse 92.

2 For निवेग read निवेद.

3 Cf. above, verses 351—366.

4 See above, verse 4.

5 The Digambaras name five Śrutakēvalis, the last of whom was Bhadrabāhu; see Sir R. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, pp. 122, 124. A Kēvali is one who possesses omniscience (*Kēvalam*).

6 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 199, n. 4.

7 For संपूर्ण read संपूर्ण. According to the Tamil dictionaries an Arhat possesses eight qualities (எண்குணம்.) Cf. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 107, n. 1.

the head of battle dispatched into the other world the enemy who had killed his father; and who became an ascetic, dispelled the darkness of his deeds, and was illumined by the splendour of salvation.

(V. 508.) As, through ignorance, Jivandhara had mercilessly separated a young swan from its parents for sixteen days, so he suffered separation from his own relatives for sixteen years. Do not commit this sin, ye pious ones!

(V. 509.) Death of his royal father; his birth on the cemetery; arrival of the merchant; benefit conferred on the Yaksha; his rise; slaying of his enemy; consider this wonderful play of fate in (the life of) Jivandhara!

Here ends the story of Jivandhara in the holy Trishashṭi-lakṣhaṇa-mahāpurāṇa-saṅgraha composed by the venerable Guṇabhadra-chārya.

THE ANCIENT STORY OF DEVARAYADROOG.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society)

BY REV. F. GOODWILL.

THE old fort of Devarāyadroog stands about ten miles east of the town of Tumkur, from which it is approached through some miles of hilly jungle country. About thirty miles to the east the hills about Nundydroog and the famous Droog itself loom up through the haze. The distance is not too great for night signalling to have been accomplished in old days, though if done its meaning must have been extremely limited.

For some centuries after the history of Nundydroog becomes traceable through extant inscriptions, the story of Devarāyadroog remains hidden, if indeed the hill was early appropriated to military use. The long rule of the Gangas, from the second century to the close of the tenth century of the Christian era, over a considerable part of the Mysore country, is unmarked by any known reference to Devarāyadroog. Unimportant inscriptions from the end of the fifth century show the Gangas in power in the adjoining Doddaballapur Taluk; the sixth century gives evidence of their rule in the Bangalore District; and they are clearly at Tumkur in the seventh century. But, though the whole surrounding district bears some evidence of Ganga authority, there is nothing forthcoming as to the religious or military significance of Devarāyadroog through all these centuries.

Neither did the Cholas leave any sign here of their rule in the land for about one hundred and twenty years.

The Hoysalas, by their capture of the Chola capital of Talkad in 1116 A.D., regained the country for the Kanarese peoples. They were a brilliant and cultured dynasty, liberal in their creed, ready supporters of the four great religions of their kingdom; and their women-folk especially were conspicuously liberal in their support of all creeds. By about the beginning of the thirteenth century they were in undisputed power—so far as any dynasty in early Indian history reigned without serious opposition—from Conjeeveram to Poona and Raichur. It is in this century that we have the first authentic reference to the hill which is our subject. The date of it is 1269 A.D. At this time Narasimhadeva was ruling his kingdom from Dōrasamudra, more properly Dvārasamudra, now better known as Halebid. An underlink of his, with the formidable name of Kumāra Vīra Chikka Kētayya Dannāyaka, was then in authority in Ānebiddajari, as Devarāyadroog was then and for long after called. The name had its origin in

the activities of a rogue elephant, believed to be under the influence of supernatural powers, which did much damage and caused a great scare in the town, but finally, in attempting to walk up a very steep part of the hill, slipped and fell to its death. It is significant of the former fauna of these hills that the word "Āne" = "elephant" is part of the name of at least three spots in the neighbourhood of the hill. Now the surrounding forest is so overgrown with pestiferous lantana that it is likely soon to be entirely devoid of animal life.

Our hero of 1269 was possibly a son-in-law of the previous Hoysala king, and is said in the inscription to have been "a champion loved by his subjects". The country was worth raiding, and Gūlēya Nāyaka, joining with some Irugōlas, came burning, raiding and driving off cattle. The repulse of the invaders seems to have been entrusted to one Appeya Nāyaka, and he pursued them, destroyed and slew them, and "recovered the cows". But alas! this young hero fell in the forest and gained Siva lōka all too soon. This illuminating story is taken from his Vīrakkal which is in Tumkur, and possibly this fact indicates the direction of the pursuit—westward, toward the open country, free of the encompassing hills.

Several inscriptions of the time of Rāmanātha Dēva, 1279 and later, shed some light on the political life of the time; his royal residence from which he ruled over the Tamil districts of his father and over Kolar was but little to the east of Devarāyadroog at Kundani,* near to Devanahalli; but there is no discovered inscription that throws any light upon the position of our subject in the life of the countryside.

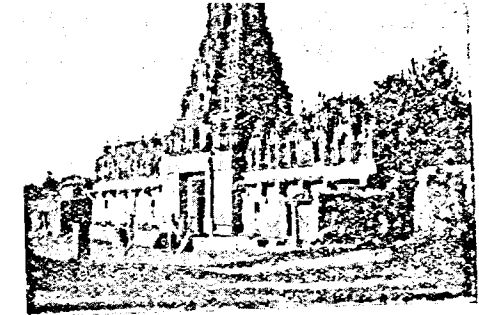
The Hoysalas pass, and the kings of Vijayanagar take their lands and authority. The next clear reference to Devarāyadroog is dated 1387 A.D. It is found in a beautifully cut inscription, 5' x 3' 4", engraved on the living rock just above the pool to which reference is made in it. It tells how Pōleya Nāyaka of the bodyguard of Harihara Rāya built the pond, which he called by his own name Pōleya Samudra, *lit.* "the sea of Pōleya". It is not possible that the pool can ever have been more than a mere catchment of surface water, and that of small area. But when we remember the value of water on such hills in the hot weather, and against times of siege, we know that every builder of a tank was a benefactor, and that every such work was worthy of a name vastly greater than would be fitting elsewhere. That this gentleman was of the bodyguard suggests that Devarāyadroog was then of considerable importance, as it had been a century before. And important enough that every addition to its water-supply was of value.

The kingdom of Vijayanagar hastens in the sixteenth century to its fall, but before that happens the marriage tax is remitted by the great minister

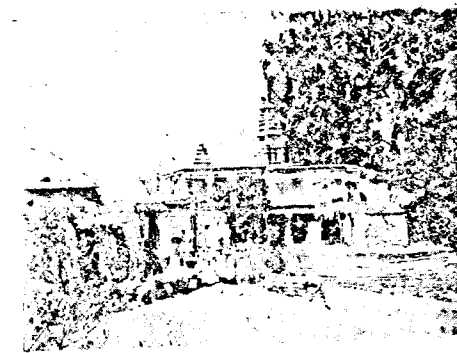
* This capital is in the Salem District, and shows vestiges of its past greatness.



Bastion (probably Tippu's) on East of the Hill.



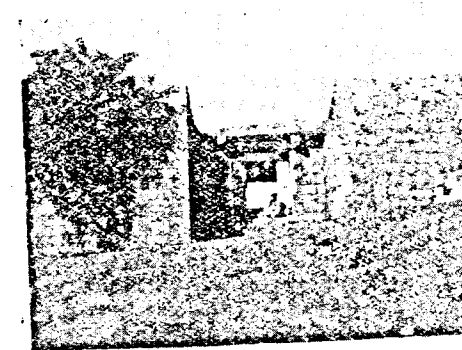
Temple in village on site of the old Pettah.



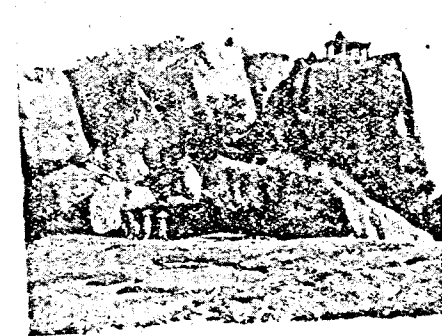
Narasimha temple on the upper Hill.



Magazine on Summit of the Droog.



Some good walling on Summit, North-East.



A general view of the upper Hill.

DEVARAYADURGA.

331

Krishna Raja, "the great minister skilled in listening to instruction," over wide areas; Penukonda, Gooty, Kurnool, Nāgamangalam, Mulvāyi (Mulbāgal) and Rāyadurga all share in the joy of the remission.

After the fall of the capital in 1565, the dynasty continues to rule, with lessened territory but with possibly more pretentious titles, from the new capital of Penukonda. These kings claim to be "kings of Karnātaka". One of the first, Tirumala Rāja, gives Mallasamudram, "in the Ānebiddajari Sthāna", as an Agrahāra; but the fact is not illuminating, except that it shows us that the Droog is still a centre of active political life.

For clearer records of Devarāyadroog it is necessary to look on to the end of the seventeenth century, when the present Mysore dynasty had gained authority in the country which they still rule with such lustre. Dodda Devarāya well deserved his name of "great", for he was great in his deeds for the land. He made ponds, wells, roads, built temples and chatrams on a remarkably extensive scale. This indicated more than is at first sight apparent—that the country was at peace, and secure from marauding enemies. There was still reason to acknowledge something of the suzerainty of Vijayanagar, though the representative of the dynasty was now a fugitive from Penukonda and had taken refuge with Sivappa Nāyaka at Bednore. The Mysore line had now settled in the island fortress of Seringapatam, and it may be that Sivappa Nāyaka's threat against it was but an occasion for the acknowledgment of the overlordship of Vijayanagar, which could not really have amounted to anything. Perhaps it was the proximity of Chenrāyapatna to his threatening neighbour of Bednore that made Dodda Devarāya hand over this town to the prince of Kānkanahalli.

Chikka Devarāya is more closely connected than any previous ruler with this hill fort of Devarāyadroog. It was then in the hands of a robber chief called Jadaka, and had been called after him Jadakanadurga. In 1696 Chikka Devarāya conquered the hill, and the territory that had been dominated by it, and gave his own name to the new fortifications which he built upon it. What were the extent of the earlier defences we have no means of knowing. Probably they were very extensive, perhaps as wide in their sweep as the later works of the Mysore king. Away down on the plain to the West of the main hill are extensive remains of defences and buildings, which local sages indicate as the site of the "palace" of olden days. There is every reason to believe that the fair-weather palace of the ruling power was here, rather than on the hill itself, to which it was easy to retreat in days of stormy war. The temple which stands in the village on the middle level of the defence was built at this period. A record of three years later is to the effect that some of the military leaders of Chikka Devarāya gave the priest of

the Droog temple lands to provide for the observance of the public worship and festivals of the god and goddess Lakshmi-Narasimha. Another copper-plate from the temple says that in 1713 the image of Lakshmi-Narasimha was set up at Nidjgal, the ancient "Suragiri", a few miles from Devarāyadroog by the side of the Bangalore-Tumkur line. "Tātāchārya" was then "archaka" of the Droog temple. It seems to the writer as if a real connection existed between the two temples of the same foundation, but the present incumbent at the Droog temple knows nothing of it. But this is not surprising, seeing that the ancient town about the fort of Nidjgal has passed away, leaving only a few pillars and one or two ruinous temples to indicate its site and former glory.

A few words on one incident in the history of Nidjgal is worth noting in passing. In 1770 it held the Mahrāttas up for three months, under their great leader, Mādhava Row. After the siege had begun Sirdar Khān was sent from Bangalore to enter the fort and to take command of the garrison of 3000 men. And right gallantly he held his command, until at last the fort was taken by the impetuous rush of the Bēdars of "Chittledroog" under their Pālegar. Infuriated at the long resistance, Mādhava Row ordered that the noses and ears of all the survivors should be cut off. Hyder had himself inflicted this penalty on Mahrātta plunderers, and the times thought such mutilation not unreasonable. When the gallant leader of the defence was brought forward and asked to show cause why he should not be disgraced with but rest, he replied that if his captor willed he might be mutilated like others, that the *disgrace* would be to the mutilator, though the pain and shame would be his. The spirited answer won the appreciation and clemency of the Mahrātta leader, and the gallant Sirdar Khān retained his nose and ears *in situ*.

At the time when the Mahrāttas moved on Nidjgal they seem to have left Devarāyadroog entirely alone, and the reason for this passing by is not apparent, unless they were anxious to push on rapidly toward Bangalore and the heart of the kingdom. Some months later, after they had circled and captured Nundydroog and Devanahalli, they returned and laid siege to Devarāyadroog and captured Tumkur also. It may be that the shot marks on the Penukonda gateway, on the West, were made at this period, also the shot marks on the gateway leading up the main hill itself. These last seem to have been made by a gun or guns planted on the hill to the South, which is well known still as "Pirangi Betta". It was on this hill that the British detachment twenty years later found a long and handsome gun, of the type known as "Malabar" gun, and it is quite possible that it was left here by the Mahrāttas. The Mahrāttas held the Droog till 1772,

when it was returned to Hyder Ali, but they still retained for some time their hold on Dodballapur and Kolar.

It was about twenty years later, as already indicated, that a mixed force of British troops and Mahrāttas attempted the capture of the Droog. The British force was the famous Captain Little's detachment, which left Bombay in the middle of May, 1790, and joined "Purseram's" army of Mahrāttas, which was on its way to join Cornwallis for the capture of Seringapatam. The Detachment consisted of the 8th Native Infantry, 800 men, under Captain Little, and the 11th N. I., 800 men, under Captain Alexander M'Donald. A little force of Artillery under Captain Thompson was made up of one Company European and two Companies of Native Artillery, which worked six small six-pounder guns. The Mahrātta army wasted six months *en route* in the reduction of Darwar, a useless piece of enterprise. While the Detachment was on service here, the 9th N. I. also joined, and continued the march with the other two regiments. They marched *via* Hubli for Mysore territory, and joined Cornwallis on May 28th, 1791, when he had already turned from Seringapatam toward Bangalore for lack of transport and food for his troops.

Early in July this force arrived with the rest of the army in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, where the officers took the opportunity to lay in a stock of liquors, tea, etc., luxuries to which they had been long time strangers. The story from this point should be told in the words of Lieut. Moor, the historian of the Detachment, and later one of the wounded at Devarāyadroog. It may be pointed out that the British-born troops with this Detachment were very few indeed; and probably none but the British officers with the Indian troops, and the gunners who dragged a gun partly up the hill, were present at the attempted capture of the Droog.

"July 8th marched North towards Sera and Chittledroog. Soon after leaving the Grand Army we passed a very thick, rugged jungle, 4—5 miles in depth, and so full of ravines and covered with underwood that we had a very irksome march through it. Several of our tumbrils were upset, one of which could not be got out of the ravine into which it fell until the ammunition was unpacked. This jungle was called Nizgul Pass, from having a fort of that name near its Southern entrance.

"The army encamped among hills, on one of which was a fort called Dooridroog, in the enemy's hands, and of which the Bhow, expecting, it was said, that it would surrender without opposition, ordered a part of our detachment to take possession. Captain Riddell was accordingly sent on the 13th with the 9th battalion, and a grand division from the 8th and 11th, to possess himself of the fort. The party, after marching 3 or 4 miles,

entered a thick jungle, through which a narrow, rugged road continuing two miles brought them to the foot of the hill on which the fort was situated, whence for the last hour guns had been uselessly fired. A party of Mahratta horse reached the foot of the hill before the party under Captain Riddell.

"The Grenadiers of the 9th, under Lieutenants Moor and Rae, and Lieutenant Harding, with a grand division of the 8th battalion, accompanied Captain Riddell up a very steep hill, or rather rock, very difficult of ascent, that might by a few men rolling stones down it have been defended; but no opposition was attempted, except from great guns which did no mischief. On ascending this hill, which is not fortified by art, it was found to be divided from the fort hill by a chasm in which the town was situated, extending a little way up the fortified hill, from whose summit the post whence it was reconnoitred may be about 800 yards in a direct line, although of course considerably more by the descending route through the Petta. (*Note.*—This hill was evidently Pirangi Betta, but the distance to the main hill is very much more than 800 yards.)

"The fort was seen irregularly, from the unevenness of the ground, but apparently well built on the summit of the hill or rock, leading to which were counted 13 different gates, and as many walls built on the side, and at the bottom between the two hills, besides other fortifications scattered over every place favourable to ascent.

"This being ascertained, the party were ordered to enter the Petta (whose gates, three in number, included in the 13 were weak), through which it was necessary to pass, and it was expected if the enemy made any stand there, the party would, by following them closely after routing them, be able to carry gate after gate by entering with the fugitives. Unfortunately, however, the enemy evacuated the Petta on the approach of the sepoys; and no opposition was made, excepting from great guns, and a feeble fire of musketry, until the party passed six of the gates, some of which were strong and well built. Advancing to the seventh, the enemy, it was found, had in considerable numbers lined the wall, and shouting, beating drums, and blowing horns, as if to encourage the troops to defend it, gave the party a smart, but ill-directed and precipitate discharge of musketry, immediately on the appearance of the advance of the grenadiers, whereas had they reserved their fire until we came under the wall hardly a man could have escaped. As it was, Lieutenant Moor only, with a few of the leading grenadiers, was wounded. Most luckily, opposite the gateway, at the distance of about 30 yards, were two very large rocks, behind which our party was covered from the enemy's musketry. Reconnoitring minutely from behind these rocks, and finding the near appearance of the wall confirmed that it

exhibited in advancing to it, of being compact, well built, and having in no place a breach or derangement favourable to immediate assault, the idea of proceeding farther was necessarily relinquished, especially as the party had no implements of force to apply to the gate or of ascent to apply to the wall. It was therefore judged expedient to retire, which was done without material annoyance, the enemy attempting no sally on the party when retiring, so that no opportunity could be seized of entering the gate.

"Our loss was very trifling—we had none killed. Lieutenants Moor and Rae, of the 9th Grenadiers, and a few sepoys wounded; the latter officer near the shoulder, while reconnoitring behind the rocks, by which he has totally lost the use of his arm; the others near the shoulder also, but of no permanent ill-consequence.

"As, from the Bhow's expectation of non-resistance, no doolies had been sent with the party, the wounded people were badly off for conveyance, and a more awkward place for wounded men to crawl down than this hill can hardly be imagined; in ascending which it was necessary to go without shoes, or very cautiously, to prevent fatal slips. About five o'clock the parties reached the foot of the hill, and soon after dark some doolies arrived, which Mr. Cruso (the surgeon with the detachment) hearing so much firing, had sent. The town was plundered, as usual, by the Mahrattas. The enemy, we may suppose, lost very few or no men, as we fired but a few platoons to cover those reconnoitring and the retreat.

"The Bhow, it seems, was much exasperated at the garrison, and next morning Capt. Little with the remainder of the detachment, accompanied by large parties of the Mahratta infantry and cavalry, marched to the hill, and with great difficulty pulled one of our six-pounders up the first hill, but were unable to get the carriage up; and judging from the appearance of the fortifications and the disposition of the enemy that the pursuit was not likely to be successful, it was relinquished. Our loss was very trifling, and the Bhow's under twenty killed and wounded, and those chiefly while plundering and burning the Petta, which they did completely.

"On the top of the unfortified hill one of those unwieldy, enormous pieces of ordnance before called Malabar guns was found; it was ornamented with inscriptions and devices, and upon the whole the handsomest of this kind of guns that came under the observation of any in our detachment.

"After continuing two days in the neighbourhood of Dooridroog, the army continued its march Northerly toward Sera."

Later in the campaign the officers of the detachment learned, when they reached Harihar, that some of the Mysore officers who had been entrusted with the care of the fort of Shimoga, and had been taken prisoners on its

fall, were imprisoned at Harihar and were "in distress for necessities". The officers of the detachment not only made representations to the Mahrattas for the better treatment of their prisoners, but also sent the prisoners two hundred rupees and some tea, etc., to relieve their distress. Some Urdu books, which they had brought from "Dooridroog" were also given to the prisoners to relieve the tedium of their durance.

"We enquired of them about Dooridroog, which fort they were acquainted with and said it was as strong a hill as any in Tippoo's dominions, and that we never should have taken it; we admitted to them that the Bhow's army would never have taken it, but after seeing the fall of Sāvandroog and other forts of that description there remains little doubt but that the grand army would have given a good account of Dooridroog also."

The Droog's fortifications are wide and well-planned, and there is no doubt that it had all the capacities of a first-class hill fortress. One bastion to the East was probably built in Tippoo's time; it overlooks the Dobbspet—Madgiri road, which runs along the valley. But the task of capture that lay before the army as it stood before the seventh gate, which leads immediately to the last defences, does not compare in difficulty with the work done by the grand army in the capture of Nundydroog and Sāvandroog.

The tower of the temple was repaired by Krishnarāja Wodeyar's queen in 1858, and at the same time the Maharaja himself repaired the Vimāna and a good set of the ten incarnations on the East wall. It is rather singular that the inscription recording this declares it done "as an offering to Siva".

One of the lower heights of the Droog was used during the early days of the Commission as a summer residence for General Dobbs, and the remains of his office and of other buildings are still to be found here and there on the slopes. In those days the forest around must have abounded with game, for General Dobbs in his autobiography speaks of the large numbers of "tygers" that frequented the neighbourhood. In one year no fewer than forty "tygers" were killed by him and his officers. Still the hill is used as a summer residence, and two large bungalows still crown the lower elevation, but the game has disappeared and the "tygers" too have gone for ever.

THE AGE OF THE BRAHMANAS.

BY MR. B. V. KAMESVARA AYYAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

PART II.—Continued from last issue.

THE future tense in 'āvartsyan', 'yakshyamānāh' clearly evidences this point. If the year ends with amāvāsyā, it goes without saying that the last day of the last month of the year must also be the same amāvāsyā and the other months also should be amānta. Even leaving out all other evidence which the Kaushītaki furnishes for the amānta, the very passage where we have to construe the expression 'Māghasya amāvāsyā' shows that the amāvāsyā is the last day of the last month of the year, that with the Māgha amāvāsyā closing the year and the month, the next month (that is, the first month of the next year) could only be known as Phālguna, with the pūrṇimā falling on the fifteenth day.

If it is all so plain, it may be asked—how then is it that Vināyaka has construed this passage from the pūrṇimānta standpoint. I have not been able to get a copy of this commentary and cannot therefore say how he has reconciled his explanation here with the other passages of this Brāhmaṇa which clearly indicate the amānta and whether he has adduced reasons for putting a pūrṇimānta interpretation on this passage. But Ānartīya's bhāṣhya on the corresponding passage of Śākh: Śr. s. throws some light on this.

Śākh: Śr. s. XIII—19 (3) runs:

तैषस्यामावास्यायाऽएकाह उपरिष्टात् दीक्षेन् माघस्य वा (4) तेषां माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसथः
काल्युनस्य वा.

Ānartīya's bhāṣhya.

तैषः = पोषः । तस्य यामावास्या तां लोका मार्गशिरसोऽमावास्यामाहुः । कृष्णपक्षादिमासाङ्गीक
रणेन मा तैषस्य भवति । ज्योतिषामयनेऽपि कश्चित् कृष्णपक्षादिमासाङ्गीकरणमस्ति । स्वश्रुतिलि
गानि च विद्यन्ते । ... माघस्येति विकल्पः कृष्णपक्षादिमासाङ्गीकरणेनैव ॥

Ānartīya here probably follows Vināyaka. It looks more like an apology than a valid reason for adopting the pūrṇimānta in this text. It simply amounts to this: 'People call Taisha-amāvāsyā as Mārgasiras-amāvāsyā. But when we accept the krishṇapākshādi, that is the pūrṇimānta, it is only Taisha-amāvāsyā. Even in astronomical science, pūrṇimānta is recognized in some places. There are also some texts in this Śākhā in favour of the pūrṇimānta.' Ānartīya does not explain why the pūrṇimānta should be preferred here to the amānta generally accepted in other parts of both the

Brāhmaṇa and the Śr: sutra of this Sākhā. Indian astronomy ~~recognized~~, indeed, a pūrṇimānta; but no evidence has been adduced to show that it was recognized earlier than the early centuries of the Christian era. Ānartīya adds that there is also the evidence of the Kaushītaki itself for the pūrṇimānta. It would have been better if he had pointed out the particular texts. If he meant the texts declaring Phalgunī-paurnamāsī to be the month of the year, I have already tried to show that they cannot form any evidence for the pūrṇimānta or pūrṇimādi; and I cannot think of any other texts in the Kaushītaki that would support a pūrṇimānta.

That the Śāṅkhāyana Śr.-sutra, which may be said to be the earliest commentary on the Kaushītaki, shows decisively that Māgha amāvāsyā is that which occurs fifteen days before the Phalgunī pūrṇimā, not the amāvāsyā that occurs before the Māghī full-moon will be seen from Śāṅkh. Śr. s. XV—13:—

माघ्यामावास्याएकाह उपरिष्टात्दाक्षित (7) अष्टम्यां सुत्यमहः (13) इष्टिभिः पञ्चशेषं (14) फाल्गुन्यां प्रयुज्य चातुर्मास्यानि (15).

Here it is expressly stated that it is Phalgunī-pūrṇimā that occurs at the end of the paksha which begins on the day succeeding Māgha amāvāsyā; and Ānartīya has to explain (and cannot but so explain) माघ्यामावास्या उपरिष्टादेकाहे as फाल्गुनस्य प्रथमाहे. When the expression Māghāamāvāsyā is clearly and unmistakably used in one part of this sutra as the one that falls *before* the Phalgunī-pūrṇimā, there will be no justification for understanding it otherwise in another part of the same sūtra where there is not the slightest indication that it is used in a different sense.

The reason which has induced Vināyaka and Ānartīya to assign a pūrṇimānta sense to the Kaushītaki passages (XIX—2 and 3) is perhaps, as in the case of Dr. Thibaut, the desire to reconcile these prāśnas with the Vedāṅga Jyotisha, which states that the year ends with Pausha-amāvāsyā.* There is no need to consider that the Vedāṅga puts together the calendar elements which are to be found scattered in the several śākhās. That this treatise was composed several centuries after the period of the Brāhmaṇas is and must be admitted by all. Whether the calendar elements expounded in this treatise are those which were true for the time when it was written or true for the time of the Brāhmaṇas is a question to be decided only after a comparison of the several points on which they agree or differ. I shall endeavour to show in the sequel that there are several material points in which they differ and the Vedāṅga is, as is more reasonable, an attempt to

* Cf. माघशुक्लप्रवृत्तस्य पौषकृष्णसमापिनः । Ved. Jy.

adjust the calendar to the time of its composition. But to revert to the thread of my argument.

It will not be a justifiable procedure to detach the expression 'Māghasya amāvāsyā' in these two prāśnas of the Kaushītaki (ignoring the clear indications of the amānta, which they themselves contain) from the other parts of the Brāhmaṇa which unambiguously imply the amānta and explain it without any reference to these other parts—not to speak of innumerable passages in the other śākhās which imply the amānta. A hypothesis for which there is ample evidence and which alone can consistently explain all the passages of a single work and which can also satisfactorily explain all other works of a similar nature must not, even as a mere hypothesis, be set aside in a particular context till unassailable reasons, not those that look like special pleading, are adduced to prove the inapplicability of the hypothesis.

From the foregoing enquiry, I am led to hold (1) that in the Brāhmaṇas Phalgunā beginning with the Phalgunā śukla-pratipad is the first month of the year, (2) that Phalgunī-pūrṇimā falls on the fifteenth day of this month, (3) that the first fourteen days of the month are allowed for the ṛitu-sandhi, (4) that though vasanta nominally begins with the śukla-pratipad that immediately succeeds Māgha-amāvāsyā, the full-moon of Phalgunā, which occurs immediately after the close of the ṛitu-sandhi is the first parvan of the new-year and is the first day for commencing all deva-ceremonies.

Now there is a passage in the Śat: Br. which distinctly states that the ṛitus are divided into two sets, one being known as deva-ṛitus and the other as pitṛi-ṛitus, that vasanta, grīshma and varshā are deva-ṛitus and śarad, hemanta and śīśira are pitṛi-ṛitus, that when the sun turns north, he is in the deva-ṛitus, that is, brings about the deva-ṛitus, and when he turns south, he is among the pitṛi-ṛitus* and that if one sets up the fires when the sun moves southward, he pleases only the pitṛis who are mortal.† It is this same distinction that is referred to in the passage of Taitt: Sam., familiar to all Brāhmans (V—IV—12—55.)

‘षड्वा ऋतवः, ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः (ऋतवः), ऋतून्वेदेवान् पितॄन्प्रीणाति ॥

According to these texts, the deva-ṛitus occupy the period of the sun's northward course from the winter to the summer solstice and the pitṛi-ṛitus occupy the six months of the sun's southward course. This is the

* वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षा, ते देवाऋतवः । शरद्वृद्धमन्तश्शिशिराः, ते पितरः स यत्र उदगावर्तते देवेषु (ऋतुषु) तर्हि भवति etc. Śat: Br.—II—1—3.

† The appropriateness of the names deva-ṛitus and pitṛi-ṛitus is seen from the circumstance that during the deva-ṛitus the sun goes north, in the direction of the devas and during the pitṛi-ṛitus, he goes south in the direction of the pitṛis.

conception about the uttarāyana and the dakṣiṇāyana that persists till to-day. But it may be asked that, while the rains commence about three weeks before the summer solstice, the Śat : Br. passage would have it that varshā ends with the summer solstice and this will conflict with the course of the seasons in India. This objection is mainly based on the notion that śarad is a dry season, beginning with the close of the rains. But the idea of śarad being a dry season after the close of the rains is one that crept in at a far later date than that of the Brāhmaṇas—one which was started by the arrangement of the seasons, as expounded in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa according to which śarad begins two months after the summer solstice. That this Vedāṅga scheme of seasons is not warranted by the Brāhmaṇas will be evident from the following considerations.

1. The Śatapatha says, as just shown, that the first season in the southward course of the sun is śarad. The Taitt : Sam.* says that when the sun with his rays returns downward (i.e., to the south) it rains, rains as if hiding the heavens, the abode of the sun. Śarad is thus a period of heavy rains.

2. Taitt : Sam. VII—4—8 says that, if the satra dīkshā should be commenced on the full-moon of Phālgunī, the vishuvat rite would fall in sām-megha—that is, at a time when the sun would be hidden behind the clouds and it would not be possible to behold the sun and celebrate the vaishuavati rite in honour of the sun. This can be only if the vishuvat day should occur in a period of continuous rains. Now the Phālgunī-pūrṇimā is the first *parvan* of vasanta. Counting 6 months and 24 days from it,† we arrive at the middle part of Śarad, which the Vedic text characterises as 'Sammegha'.

3. Śat : Br. XIII—6-1 states that it is in Śarad that crops ripen and their sap is developed. This would be impossible without rains, though there might otherwise be plenty of water-supply. It is in accordance with this that Śat : Br. II—2-3 says that śarad is marked by lightning (and rain) and when the rains cease, hemanta‡ sets in.

4. Śat : Br. XIII—6-1 states that vasanta is the feet of the year, varshā and śarad form the waist and śiśira is the head. From this, it may be seen that the first season of the year is vasanta and the last is śiśira and

* यदाखलु वा आदित्योन्यदृग्दिशिभिः पर्यावर्ततेऽथ वर्षति । धामच्छदिव खलुवै भूत्वा वर्षति. Śāyana overlooks the reference to the summer solstice here. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is not explicit.

† 12 days for dīkshā + 12 for upasads + 6 śaḍaha māsas. If the prāyaṇiya atirātra and chaturvimśa are counted separately, it will be 6 months and 26 days.

‡ Dr. Eggeling, the learned translator of the Śatapatha, is influenced by the post-vedic conception of Śarad and notes here: 'During the autumn or sultry season succeeding the rains, there are frequent displays of sheet-lightning along the horizon at night'. How about hemanta marking the close of the rains?

varshā and śarad form the middle portion of the year. Varshā is on this side of the summer solstice and śarad on the other side.

5. The seasons are stated to be three, five, six or rarely seven, according to the requirements of the particular *arthavāda*. These statements are not, however, discrepant. Thus : Śat. Br. IV—4-17 says, 'Let him have three upasads; for there are three seasons in the year'. Śat. Br. XII—8-2-33 says there are three, grishma, varshā and hemanta with reference to the three sacrificial cakes mentioned in the context. In the next sentence, it adds 'there are six seasons in the year—vasanta and grishma represented by the two āśvina cups (of milk), varsha and śarad, by the two sārāsvata cups, hemanta and śiśira by the two aindra cups.' Hemanta and śiśira are frequently put together and spoken of as a single season as Ait : Br. I—1 says; 'पंचर्षवः हेमन्तशिशिरयोः समासेन, तावान् वै संवत्सरः' 'The seasons are five, by putting together hemanta and śiśira. Thus much is the year.* When seven seasons are mentioned (which is rarely) it is with reference to the occasionally intercalated thirteenth month, † treated as a separate season.

The basis of all these versions is the division of the year, reflected in the chāturmāsya, into three primary seasons—the warm, the rainy and the cold—each divided into two sub-ritus, the warm comprising vasanta and grishma, the rainy comprising varshā and śarad, the cold comprising hemanta and śiśira.‡ The features of each primary season became more prominent in the second sub-division. Śarad would be according to this the latter and more characteristic part of the rainy season and would justify the statement of the Taitt : Sam. that the period of sammegha (अतिवर्षणक्षमा—Sāy.) occurred in this secondary season.

Dr. Thibaut says, 'the Indian year broadly divides itself into three seasons—warm, rainy and cold.' But Prof. Jacobi points out, 'it would be difficult to say exactly when either the cold or the warm season begins in India. The rainy season is the only one in India, whose limits can be fixed more or less accurately.'

How far, we have now to see, does the Brāhmaṇa scheme of seasons fit in with the actual course of the seasons in the region of the Ganges from Delhi to Magadha, the scene of Brāhmaṇic activities. The Brāhmaṇic scheme cannot be more than a very rough approximation to the real course of the seasons. For these reasons: (1) The seasons in the Brāhmaṇas are

* That is to say, hemanta-śiśira closes the year. This would show that vasanta began the year. Śāyana reads समासेन for समासेन.

† Called in the Kaushītaki 'त्रयोदश—अधिचरमास' or 'उपचर'.

‡ Cf. Kaush : Br. XIV—5 "तस्माद्वन्द्वं समस्ता ऋतवः आख्यायन्ति, ग्रीष्मोवर्षा हेमन्त इति".

represented by the *lunar* months, while the natural seasons are determined by the course of the *sun*. (2) The rains occupy scarcely more than three months,* while the Brāhmaṇa scheme allots four lunar months, presumably on considerations of symmetry. As observed by Dr. Thibaut, 'a division on the basis of three different seasons can never be quite accurate, because the rainy season occupies less than four months—strictly speaking, not much more than three months. If therefore the principle of four-monthly divisions is to be adhered—as it actually was—a compromise has to be arrived at, in so far as either some weeks previous to the beginning of rains or some weeks after the cessation of rains have to be comprised within the rainy season.'

The doctor concludes that 'if four months must go to the rainy season, they can only be June to September'. Now the S. W. monsoon which determines the course of rains in Northern India normally begins in the beginning of June. Risley in his Census Report (para 14) points out that the setting in of each monsoon is preceded by cyclonic storms, some of which penetrate far inland and give useful rain, so that if the S. W. monsoon sets in in the beginning of June, there will be showers in the latter part of May. It will therefore be not improper to say that, if four months have to be allotted to the rainy season, we may allow about six weeks *before* the summer solstice or the early part of the rainy season and about ten weeks after.†

Now let us see what the Brāhmaṇas say. Kaush : Br. I—3 says that Āshāḍha (amānta) is the first month of varshā. Phālguna (amānta) is thus the first month of vasanta and of the year when the sun starts north. Phālguna and Chaitra constitute vasanta; Vaiśākha and Jyeshtha are the grishma months; Āshāḍha and Śravaṇa are the first half or the beginning of the rains (varshā). Bhādrapada and Āśvayuja form śarad or the heavier part of the rains. This is the theoretical arrangement of the seasons according to the Kaushītaki. But if we allow a fortnight for the ritu-sandhi, as the Brāhmaṇas appear to recognize, the rains will commence about the middle of Āshāḍha, that is about four and a half months after the turning northward of the sun on Phālguna śukla-pratipad; that is, about six weeks before the summer solstice. But to connect the commencement of the uttarāyaṇa with a *lunar* date like the Phālguna śukla-pratipad, which

* Cf. Ramayana Kishk : Kaṇḍa XXVI cl. 13 etc.

पूर्वोयं वार्षिकमासः श्रावणः सलिलगमः । प्रवृत्ताः सौम्यचत्वारोमासाः वार्षिकसंज्ञिकाः ।

नायमुद्योगसमयः प्रविशत्वं पुरीं शुभाम् । कार्तिकेसमनुप्राप्ते त्वं रावणवेधयत ॥

Kartika, here the fourth month of the rainy season, is recommended for the expedition as the rains will have been practically over. This is of course the later seasonal arrangement.

† In the West Coast, the S. W. monsoon begins in the third week of May—the middle of the solar month, Rishabha, which is accordingly known as *īḍavāḥpādī*.

will be constantly shifting backwards and forwards from the winter solstitial point can only be a conventional procedure; and the margin of a fortnight allowed by the Brāhmaṇas, will, in a way, compensate for the deficiency of the lunar ritus. As a convention, the Brāhmanic scheme of seasons beginning with amānta phālguna at the winter solstice may be considered a passable arrangement.

Anyhow the convention is there, as evidenced by the Kaushītaki which shows that Phālguna (amānta) was the first month of vasanta and the Śatapatha which states that vasanta commenced with the northward ascent of the sun. Nor can we be certain, at this distance of time, when the first rains fell or the last rains ceased at the time of the Brāhmaṇas. We have simply to accept the convention as it stands revealed in the Brāhmaṇas and see how far it tallies with the present meteorological conditions.

The Vedāṅga Jyotisha sets aside this Brāhmanic scheme. According to this treatise, the sun starts on his northward circuit on Māgha-śukla-pratipad and the first two months of the year—Māgha and Phālguna (amānta)—are said to constitute the season of śiśira; the varshā commences about the time of the summer solstice and śarad, beginning two months after, is therefore regarded as a dry season. This is equally defective as rains continue for about a fortnight after two months from the summer solstice. Another defect is that according to the Vedāṅga, summer (Grishma) would commence a month after the vernal equinox, whereas April and May nearly corresponding to the two months from the vernal equinox are the hottest months of the year. As between the two schemes of seasons—the Vedāṅga and the Brāhmanic, there is hardly a correct choice; the defect in either scheme arises from the attempt to determine the course of the seasons with the help of lunar months. Even at the present day, when the forecast of the rains is based on scientific observations, it is not seldom falsified by the freaks of the monsoon currents.

That the Vedāṅga is really an attempt to modify the Brahmanic scheme to a later period will be seen from the fact that the former differs from the latter in certain essential respects. (1) In the Vedāṅga, the old year closes with Pausha amāvāsyā and the new year commences with Māgha śukla-pratipad on which day the sun starts north. In the Brāhmaṇas, the old year closes with Māgha amāvāsyā and the new year begins on Phālguna śukla-pratipad. In the scholarly review of my original paper, Dr. A. Macdonell writes: '.....The dating for the winter solstice [in the Kaushītaki Br.] corresponds exactly with that of the Jyotisha save to the extent that the Brāhmaṇa has the amāvāsyā of Māgha, the Jyotisha the śukla-pratipad, an infinitesimal distinction.' I cannot understand this.

In both the Vedāṅga and the Brāhmaṇa, the sun starts north on Sukla pratipad—only it is the one after Pausa-amāvāsyā in the Vedāṅga and it is the one that succeeds Māgha amāvāsyā in the Brāhmaṇa. It is not one day's difference, as Dr. Macdonell appears to think. It is a whole month's (lunar) difference. Dr. Thibaut, by some ingenious manipulation, the authors of 'the Vedic Index' by the invention of an āmādi month, and Vināyaka and Ānartīya by the more easily understandable employment of the pūrṇimānta have tried to show that the Māgha amāvāsyā of the Kaushītaki is identical with Pausa amāvāsyā of the Vedāṅga. I have tried to show, with what success it is for Vedic scholars to decide, that this identification is contradicted by the very passage of the Kaushītaki about the Māgha amāvāsyā, that it is in conflict not only with the entire tenor of this Brāhmaṇa but with all the evidence that Brāhmaṇic literature furnishes.

2. The first ṛitu of the year in the Vedāṅga is śiśira and vasanta commences only two months after the sun has gone on his northern journey. In the Brāhmaṇas, the first ṛitu of the year is vasanta. Somākara in his Bhāṣhya on the Vedāṅga has thus to explain this discrepancy.

‘ननु यद्येवं कथं ऋतूनां वसन्तो जायत आद्यः ? तत्पूर्वाः श्रुतय इति । उच्यते । तास्तुवर्णानां

*क्रमानुष्ठानाभिधायकत्वेन प्रवृत्ताः’

That is to say, astronomically śiśira is the first season of the year; but the Vedas speak of vasanta as the first for ritual seasons. The Brāhmaṇas are the first of the varṇas and vasanta is, according to the Vedas, the season of the Brāhmaṇas.

According to Dr. Thibaut's theory, vasanta begins with Phālgunī full-moon, midway between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox. He does not make it quite clear whether the new year also begins on the same day. If this is his view, the importance that the Brāhmaṇas attach to the winter solstice would vanish and the year and the months would be pūrṇimādi. In this case, the disparity between the Vedāṅga and the Brāhmaṇas would become even wider.

3. In the Vedāṅga, the two equinoxes are recognized; they have not been noticed in the Brāhmaṇas. What is even more noteworthy is that the word *vishuvat*, which corresponded to the summer solstice in the Brāhmaṇas, is transferred to the equinoxes in the Vedāṅga. This would bespeak not only an advance of knowledge since the time of the Brāhmaṇas but also a studied change of nomenclature.

4. The nakshatra ecliptic of the Vedāṅga begins with the winter solstitial point with the sun at Śravishṭhā. In the Brāhmaṇas, there is no reference

whatever to any connexion between the nakshatras and the winter solstice. The nakshatras of the ecliptic are divided into two sets, one those lying north from the east point and those lying to the south of the east and in this division, Kṛittikā stands first. Thus Śravishṭhā is the first nakshatra in the Vedāṅga, while Kṛittikā is the first in the Brāhmaṇas. Garga explains this disparity as due to Kṛittikā's ritual importance, though for that matter, Kṛittikā is rather avoided in the rituals.*

In the review of my original thesis, Dr. Macdonell writes:—‘The discrepancies between the Jyotiṣa and the Brāhmaṇas are clearly overstated; the Kaushītaki is sufficient to show that in one reckoning the year began with the new-moon of Māgha and that the reckoning from spring was not exclusive but only one mode of reckoning.’

The essential points of a luni-solar calendar are (1) when the year begins, (2) whether the seasons ran from the beginning of the month or from the middle, (3) how the ṛitus are arranged, (4) whether the equinoxes are recognized or not, and (5) what is the position of the nakshatras in the ecliptic. In all these points, there is vital difference between the Vedāṅga and the Brāhmaṇas. How then the discrepancies are overstated I cannot say. The Kaushītaki does not state that in one reckoning the year began with the new-moon of Māgha, as the Doctor states. It says that the year began on the next day after māgha-amāvāsyā while the Vedāṅga says that the year began with the next day after Pausa amāvāsyā. There is at least the difference in nomenclature, even if it should be held that the attempt to prove their identity has succeeded. Dr. Macdonell appears to think that in the Brāhmaṇas the year was reckoned in two ways (1) beginning from the winter solstice (2) beginning from spring which fell forty-five days after the winter solstice. Even in this case, there would be a difference between the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedāṅga; the Brāhmaṇas being assumed to begin the spring forty-five days after the winter solstice whereas the Vedāṅga begins it sixty days after.

Now to sum up. Dr. Thibaut holds that the Māgha amāvāsyā in the Kaushītaki refers to the one that falls fifteen days *before* Māgha full-moon and vasanta commenced with Phālgunī-Pūrṇimā forty-five days after. I have endeavoured to show that the Māgha amāvāsyā is the one that fell fifteen days *after* Māgha full-moon and vasanta nominally began with the northward ascent of the sun, but a fortnight was allowed for the ṛitu-sandhi and vasanta was held to commence with the Phālgunī-pūrṇimā. Dr. Thibaut has not noticed the other passages of the Kaushītaki, not to speak of several

* कर्म is another reading for क्रम.

* Cf. अग्निश्चरन्मिलपचायन्ति । गृहान् हृदाहुको भवति । Taitt : Br. I—1—2—7.

... Vedic texts which would conflict with his interpretation. I have examined them all and tried to reconcile my interpretation with all such passages.

The coincidence of the winter solstice with Māgha amāvāsyā (amānta) would approximately correspond to the position of the nakshatra Māgha at the summer solstice. This would roughly correspond to the coincidence of the nakshatra Kṛittikā with the vernal equinox. Thus both the lines of enquiry, one based on the nakshatras of the ecliptic in the Brāhmaṇas and the other based on the Vedic texts about the months, ṛitus, and the year, would converge towards the same conclusion and point to 2300—2000 B.C. as marking the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas.

CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS.

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AS is generally the case with all ancient buildings of every class, the main principles guiding the construction of forts are enunciated in the *Silpa Śāstras*—the MAYAMATA and the MĀNASĀRA—and before proceeding to furnish a detailed description of the actual buildings, a few cogent extracts from these architectural works may be given.

In this connection the Madras Epigraphical Department in their Annual Report for the year 1909-10, pages 107 and 108, say :—

“It is stated (in the record from Machērla, Guṇṭūr district) that Visvakarma, the son of Brahman, was the progenitor of the architects and was the father-in-law of the Sun. This Visvakarman is stated to have converted the rays proceeding from the Sun, his son-in-law, into divine weapons such as the discus of Vishnu, etc. Some famous *Āchāryās* of Visvakarman family are enumerated and are represented to have been “experts in cutting liṅgas (of Siva), in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian Iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*) and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping the geometry (*Kshētra*) involved in the study of the *Vāstu* [Śāstra] (architecture) and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession”. In the southern temples too, the term *Tachchāchāriyakkāni*, so often met with, means an endowment set apart exclusively for the architects who were to look after the repairs in the temple. No. 188 of 1909 from Avanāsi in the Coimbatore district states that the duties of these architects consisted in ten kinds of repairs (*dasa-kriyai*) which are not, however, enumerated.”

In Sanskrit Literature the fort is known by the name of *Durga*, which means “to protect from outside enemies, wild beasts, floods, fire, etc.” The forts are classed under three varieties in accordance with the range or extent of the fortifications. One kind of fort encloses the king’s palace only; the second encloses the king’s palace as well as the temple of the God he worships. In the third variety, not only are the palace and the royal temple enclosed by the fortifications, but also the dwellings of the people of the town, with the streets and bazaars therein.

In the old works on town-planning, several varieties of forts are enumerated under the *sāstraic* names and described as follows :—

1. *Giri-durga* or mountain fort.
2. *Vana-durga* or forest fort.
3. *Jala-durga* or fort surrounded by a water-moat.
4. *Pañka-durga* or fort surrounded by mud or moist land.
5. *Irina-durga* or fort built on sandy ground.
6. *Daivata-durga* or natural fort or cave fort.
7. *Misra-durga* or fort coming under one or two of the above varieties.

The above main headings are further sub-divided, and these sub-divisions may be enumerated as follows :—

1. *Giri-durga* in three sub-divisions—(1) at the foot of a hill, (2) in the middle of a hill, or (3) at the summit of a hill.
2. *Vana-durga*—(1) which is surrounded by a thick forest of trees, and (2) with forest and water around.
3. *Jala-durga* in three varieties. (1) One surrounded on all sides by an excavated moat full of water, (2) a fort with the water of a river or lake on one, two or three sides and no water on the fourth side, (3) a sea-fort on the sea-shore with the sea on one or all sides.
4. *Pañka-durga* in one variety only, with deep mud around so that wild animals or other enemies cannot approach.
5. *Irina-durga* which has neither the protection of moats, forest or other exterior defences but depends on the strength, the height and thickness of its rampart walls.
6. *Daivata-durga* which commands a strong natural position such as in caves or among rocks and has little of artificial construction.
7. *Misra-durga* as above stated.

These various forts may be built in a square, rectangular, triangular, octagonal, circular, undulating or any other form suited to the site on which they are erected. Thus a regular form can be adopted on open ground devoid of natural obstacles, but in a hill the walls will have to follow the declivities or prominences of the ground.

The minimum number of walls in a perfect type of fort should be twelve. The outer or rampart walls should be especially high and thick, with a minimum height of 12 cubits or 18 feet and be built of stones or brick.

Grains, oils, salts or other foods, cloths, medicines, luxuries, metals, timbers, etc., have each of them a fixed place of storage in a fort.

Running from east to west there should be either twelve, ten, eight, six, or four main streets. Cross streets or lanes are determined not by even numbers but by convenience or necessity. If a Vishnu temple is the

principal one it may be situated either in the centre of the fort-town, the west, north or east sides. In the case of its being Siva who is the presiding deity it may be central or north only.

If two entrances are required, they may be on the east and west, and north and south, or they may be on the four sides opposite the cardinal points.

In the interior planning of forts of sizes, each is known by separate names as follows :—

1. Dandaka-Durga.

In this form of fort there is only one main street containing a small landlord's or zemindar's residence and the houses of a few hundreds of people and all the conveniences necessary to them, such as wells, water-tanks, etc. This latter provision is usual to all kinds of forts, and so need not be repeated below.

2. Katakamukha.

From north to south there is one main street, and crossing it in the centre from east to west are three streets. The houses, or some of them are superior and two or three storeyed.

3. Vedibhadraka.

In this there are three cross roads from east to west and also three from north to south. At the corner where these six streets intersect there are large storeyed houses.

4. Bhadraka.

From north to south are four main streets and from east to west six. This and the succeeding forms of fort-town are known as *paṭṭaṇam* or city forts. The three previous are forts pure and simple.

5. Bhadramukha.

Five streets from north to south and five from east to west with the king's palace in the centre and the temple on the west, or the palace in the west and the temple in the centre of the town.

6. Bhadrakalyana.

Six main streets crossed by six others and a large tank, with many houses of the inhabitants all enclosed by extensive rampart walls.

7. Mukhabhadra.

Seven main cross streets, a great temple with high gopurams, large and extensive bazaars for supplying the needs of many people.

8. Subhadra.

From north to south twelve streets, and from east to west eight, with the courts of the king and his ministers and other officers of state.

9. Vijaya or Jaya.

A fort with one, two, or three walled enclosures surrounded by ramparts; and fortified walls with a lofty building of the King's palace and quarters for a small regiment.

10. Nagara.

Many walled enclosures, with numerous streets having gateways or openings in the walls to connect the outer and inner streets. There are the royal courts, containing the king's palace, zenana, pleasure grounds, and gardens both for the king and the populace. Many rich men's houses there may be.

These ten varieties of forts and their enclosed towns are the chief kind used in town planning detailed in the ancient *Silpa sāstra*. The streets in the above ten varieties have houses on both sides and are known as *sarva vidhi*. There are six other classes but they only differ on minor points and need not be detailed.

In the ten classes of forts there are many interesting buildings such as temples and their mandapas, the palace buildings, etc., of ornate architecture standing among trees, and all designed according to *sāstraic* principles and embellished with fine carving and sculpture.

An outline description of the various classes of buildings is given below.

Motif of Palace construction.

In a fort of whatever dimensions, a fourth or a third part is occupied by the palace. This palace may be situated in the east or west of the fort. The remainder of the space is occupied by the people. The entrance to the palace must be on the east or north, as a general rule, but we learn in some other *silpa* works that they may be on the four sides, facing the cardinal points. Not only should the town fort be surrounded by a moat, but the king's palace should be equally so protected. The palace entrances should each be surmounted by a gopuram and the main entrance by one of greater height. In the palace, may be gardens, tanks, residences of the high officers or ministers of state. They may all be placed in the positions found most suitable, but the Raja's deities, pleasure gardens and armoury buildings must be on the west. The interior of the palace may have two or three concentric enclosures, the king's palace and the greater buildings occupying the centre.

The coronation or durbar halls are of the greatest importance and should occupy a position in the front. They should be erected on lofty basements and their roofs should be shaped as a temple *vimāna* but of lesser height. These must be erected in brick only and not in stone masonry. This rule applies equally to all domestic buildings except temples where both stone and brick are used.

The Zenana or *antahpura* for the Queen must be separately built on the north or west of the main buildings.

To the right or left of the front portion are the stables for the elephants and horses.

The Raja's palace should have from three to seven storeys of an imposing and lofty height.

There are further details in the *sāstra* about many other parts of the palace, but those already given will be sufficient for our present purposes.

Motif of Temple construction.

According to the *sāstras* or Hindu mythology, the site of a temple must first be one suitable to the God to be worshipped. When this is ascertained and the site fixed, the kind of temple, for there are three, is then determined. Of these three, the first variety is a *Giri-dēvālaya* or hill temple, the second a *Nagara-dēvālaya* or town temple, and the third is an *Agrahāra-dēvālaya* or village temple.

The place where there are *sanyāsis* and *yōgis* is called *Maṭha* or *Mutt* and *Brindāvanam* or *Āshrama*. The *Mutt* and *Āshrama* should be situated near the temple.

In a hill-temple of a main or superior deity a number of enclosures and gopurams are unnecessary, and single courtyard with one gopuram is considered sufficient.

The second or town temple must be enclosed in three, five or seven *prākārās* or *courtyards*, and several *gōpurās* with a beautiful *vimāna* having *kalasas* over the *sanctum*.

In the third or village temple, one *prākāra* with a one to three storeyed *gōpura* and a small shrine *vimāna* is what is most suitable.

In all these classes of temples, when there is a tank, it may either be inside or outside the precincts of the temple.

Wells, store-rooms, kitchens and other buildings necessary for temple usage, must all be inside the enclosing walls.

The 16-pillared *maṇḍapam* or hall, the *abishēka* or bathing hall of the image, the *ardha-maṇḍapa* or hall between the sanctum and front *mahā-maṇḍapam*, and outside these near the *gōpuram* the *bali-pīṭham* and *dvaṛa-stambha* or flag staff are all necessary in a perfect temple.

In a Vishnu temple, the image of *Garuḍa* must appear on the *vimāna*, the court walls, *gōpurams* and other places. While in the temple of Siva, this image is replaced by that of the *Nandi* or bull. In the case of a temple of Subrahmanya a *barhi*, or *mayil* (peacock) is the distinguishing figure. In this way, the temples of the other superior and minor gods are distinguished

by the various *vāhanas* or vehicles of the gods and the emblems peculiar to them.

It is the ancient Hindu belief that there must be festivals at certain times or periods monthly, six-monthly, yearly, on the birthday of the God, the king and the *gurus*, and on other auspicious days and times.

The *śilpa sāstra* gives very clear and detailed rules for the making of the various images and their vehicles, including the great cars, the ornaments including the jewels of the processional images, the correct measurement or dimensions of various *maṇḍapas*, with their high basements and pedestals. Rules fixing the proportions of all parts of a temple are enunciated in detail, but these need not be gone into for the present.

Some particulars may now be given relating to *theatres, courts and dwelling-houses* of various designs.

Rangasala or Theatres.

There are two varieties, the *dēvaraṅga* and *manusharaṅga*. The first was a hall for dancing before the images, but at the present time such is not in vogue. This is also supported by lithic records; for, the following remarks are recorded in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part III, pages 263 and 378:—

‘The acting of dramas in temples is mentioned in a Tanjore Inscription of the time of Rājārāja I. The present record (No 199 of 1907 on the north wall of the central shrine in the Mahāliṅgasvāmi temple at Tiruviḍaimaruthūr, Tanjore district), contains though incidentally, an earlier reference to dramatic performances by introducing the term *nāṭakasāla*. Another record (No. 154 of 1895 on the same wall) provides for the drama called *āriyakkūttu* which must have been a regular dramatic performance in which dancing and singing were evidently given a prominent place. *Śākkalkūttu* which is referred to in some other inscriptions of the time of Rājendra-chōla was evidently another variety of a dramatic dance’.

The second variety is the only kind which is in use at present and it should be situated in about the centre of the town or in the precincts of the palace. There are only two compartments in the main building, the stage and audience hall. In front of the stage, there should be a lofty 56-pillared hall for the audience. In front of the latter, may be a porch, and a verandah can surround the whole building. On the cornice of the walls above the pillars, there should be scenic representations, either carved or painted, of divine musicians, dancers, *gandharvas*, *yakshas*, *vidhyādaras*, *apsaras*, or divine dancing girls. The protecting deities of theatres are Brahma, Viṣṇu, Siva and Gaṇeśa, Lakshmi and Saraswati, and they may be represented

therein. The front of the stage may be screened by a curtain, or by double doors like a temple. The stage should be raised on a height of four feet and its length or breadth should be fixed suitably. Before the play begins, the actors perform worship with clasped hands, with offerings of flowers and rice, and beautiful songs to the protecting deities. A theatre in a palace should be like the latter in the beauty of its decorations.

Nyaya Sala or The Court of Justice.

In the *Mahābhārata* and other ancient epics, rules are given for the constructions of village courts, the *grama-sabhā* or *pañchāyet*, and the larger courts in towns and large cities. For the design, dimensions, accommodation and construction of these buildings, directions are given in the *śilpa sāstra* but these books are not now looked into.

Superior Dwelling-houses or Mansions.

In the *Visvakarma “Śilpa Sāstra”*, there are 45 varieties of houses described in 5 groups of 9 each. These groups are named (1) *Vairāja*, (2) *Pushyaka*, (3) *Kailāsa*, (4) *Mālyaka*, (5) *Trivishṭapa*. In the first of the groups, the houses are seven-storeyed. The main entrance is on the east. The front portico has three arcades, of equal width separated by 4 piers. In the interior there are 4 main halls for conducting weddings or festivities. A second type has the porch divided into three arcades, the central one of which is broader than the other two. This class of building has such a porch on each of the four faces. The porch has small domes surmounting the cornice over each of the piers. This class is named *Mandara*. The third type is of the rest-house kind and has one porch with only one door or opening through it. The house may have a dome over the central hall. The plan of the building is rectangular. The fourth has the entrance on the north side and has pillared halls on the right and left sides with a wedding hall in the centre, and the kitchens and lesser rooms in the rear. The whole should have a sloping roof. The fifth has entrances on four sides. The porch has 4 *stambhas* or piers and raised benches in the visitors’ room. The bed-rooms, store-rooms, etc., are duly arranged in plan. The sixth variety has an arched porch on four sides. The main building has a pillared-hall of one to three storeys. Around the four sides is a veranda. The seventh has a porch on two opposite sides, such as the east and west, or north and south, and the main building may extend to 7 storeys in height. There are three rooms on each of the four faces. Over the four corners of the roof are small domes or pediments. The eighth has three rooms on each of the four faces, and the central one of each projects in front. It may be one to five storeys in height. The ninth or last type

of mansion has a small tank and porch in front which may be on the north or south and may be one to five storeyed. These are nine outlines of the types of high class houses or mansions.

The remaining 36 need not be described, as they are but varieties of the above, suited to their size and to the social and other circumstances of the owners or occupiers.

BHASA'S PRATIMANATAKAM.

BY K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A. (HONS.)

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ACT III.

(Then enter Sudhākara) (1)

Sudhākara—(Having done sweeping and the like). Well, whatever had been ordered by the worthy Sambhavaka I have now done. I shall, then, sleep a while. (Sleep.)

(Entering)

Soldier—(Approaching the servant and striking him) Fie, thou son of a bastard! How, now, dost thou desist from work? (Beats him.)

Sudhākara—(waking up) Beat me, beat me.

Soldier—And what wilt thou do, if beaten?

Sudhākara—My unfortunate self has not a thousand arms like *Kārtha-vīrya*.

Soldier—And what wilt thou with thy thousand arms?

Sudhākara—I will kill thee.

Soldier—Come on, slave. I shall release thee when thou art dead. (Beats him again.)

Sudhākara—(crying) You can, O lord. May I know my crime? (2)

Soldier—No crime, no crime, is it? Have you not been told by me that the whole harem, headed by Queen Kausalya is coming to visit the *Statue-House* of His Majesty King 'Daśaratha, who has gone to heaven on account of the sorrow caused by Prince Rama's exile from the kingdom? And what have you done here?

Sudhākara—See, my lord, the *Statue-House* has been cleared of its dove-cots. Its walls have been whitewashed and adorned with the finger prints of sandal. The doorways have been hung up with wreaths and garlands. And sand has been spread. What is it that has not been done by me? (3)

Soldier—If so, then in good faith go. I shall hence now and inform the ministers that everything is ready.

(Exeunt all)

Pravēśaka. (4)

(Then enter Bharatha and his Charioteer with the chariot.) (5)

Bharatha—(Anxiously) Charioteer, long has been my sojourn in my uncle's court and hence I know nothing of the events (there). I have been

definitely told that His Majesty is not well. Tell me, therefore, 'What is my father's disease?'

Charioteer—'Indeed great mental anguish.'

Bharatha—'What say the physicians?'

Charioteer—'Physicians, however, are not clever at it.'

Bharatha—'What does he take and where lies he?'

Charioteer—'On the floor, without taking food.'

Bharatha—'Is there any hope?'

Charioteer—'God.'

Bharatha—'My heart is throbbing (7); drive the chariot.'

Charioteer—As my noble prince orders. (Drives the chariot.)

Bharatha—(Observing the speed of the chariot) Really wonderful is the speed of the chariot!

'These, the trees, seem to run, the river seems to be in flood, and the earth seems to fall into the felloes, because of the indistinct vision caused by the quick motion of the chariot. The spokes cannot be distinguished, and motionless seems the wheel on account of speed; and the dust raised by the horses falls before but does not follow (8).'

Charioteer—Noble Prince, from the luxuriant growth of trees, Ayodhya must be near by. (9)

Bharatha—Ah, the eager haste of my mind longing for the sight of my people.

'Now, indeed, do I seem to bow down my head at the feet of my father and to be raised up by the loving king; to be eagerly welcomed by my brothers; to be drenched in tears by my mothers; to be acclaimed by the courtiers thus—'How like unto him! How great, yet, how modest!'; and to be ridiculed by Lakṣmana for my dress and my speech.' (10)

Charioteer—(To himself). Alas, what a pity! Knowing not the death of the king, the prince is proceeding to Ayodhya cherishing vain hopes. I know; but I cannot inform him. For,

'The death of his father, the greed of his mother, and the exile of his eldest brother, of this triad of evils, who can inform?' (11)

(Entering)

Soldier—May you live long, O Prince!

Bharatha—Well. Is Satrughna come to receive me? (12)

Soldier—The Prince, indeed, is waiting near by. The Preceptor, however, informs you thus:

Bharatha—What's it, what's it?

Soldier—The Kṛittika influence runs for twenty-four minutes more. The Prince will, therefore, enter Ayodhya only after Rohinî has begun. (13)

Bharatha—Very well, so shall it be. I have never yet transgressed the words of the preceptors. Thou mayst go.

Soldier—As my Prince orders. (Exit.)

Bharatha—Where, now, shall we take rest? (14) Well, I see. We shall rest for a while in the temple that is visible amidst the trees. Thus, both rest and worship can be had. Further, good manners require that cities are entered, only after having rested near it for a while. Therefore, stop the chariot.

Charioteer—As my noble Prince orders. (Stop the chariot.)

Bharatha—(Getting down from the chariot) Charioteer, rest the horses in a quiet place.

Charioteer—As my noble Prince orders. (Exit.)

Bharatha—(Going some distance and observing) The sacred precincts are profusely scattered over with flowers and fried rice. The walls have finger prints in sandal. The doorways are hung up with wreaths and garlands. And sands are spread. Can it be the full moon celebrations, or but the daily theistic festivities? Of what deity can this be the shrine? The external symbols of weapons or the flags also are not seen, well, I shall go in and see. (Entering and looking) Ah, what exquisite workmanship of the stones! Ah, what expressiveness of features! Though representing Gods, these idols remind one of human beings. Can it, indeed, be the cluster of four deities? Or, why, let them be anything; but still I am glad at heart. (15)

'Since it is an idol, it is proper to bow down my head; but it is rather a vulgar obeisance to offer it unto a god without *Manthras*.' (16).

(Entering)

Dēvakulika—(17) Ah! When after my daily work I am looking to my physical needs, who is it come to the *Statue House*, who looks but little different from the *Statues*? Well, I will in and see. (Entering)

Bharatha—I bow down.

Dēvakulika—Don't, indeed, don't make obeisance.

Bharatha—Why, ho!, no?

'Is there anything to be spoken to me; is any holy-man to be awaited, or art thou to lead me? Why this prohibition?' (18)

Dēvakulika—Not, indeed, for these reasons, am I prohibiting you, sir; but only to prevent a Brahmin's making obeisance mistaking these for Gods (19). These are Kṣatriyas.

Bharatha—Is it so? These are Kṣatriyas! What may the names of these worthies be?

Dēvakulika—They are *Ikṣvāku Princes*. (20)

Bharatha—(gladly) Sayest thou Ikṣvaku Princes? These are those Lords of Ayodhya!

'These are those who have gone in the very front of the Devas in their destruction of the Asura strongholds! These are those who have on account of their good deeds proceeded to the abode of Indra, followed by their citizens and people! These are those who have acquired the whole earth which has been conquered by the valour of their arms! These are those whose career could not be finished for a long time even by Death, the Free Hunter!' (21).

Ah, accidentally have I attained a great object. Tell me who this worthy sire is.

Dēvakulika—This is Dilipa, the Light ablaze of Dharma, and the performer of the *Visvajita* sacrifice, for which the requisites got together were the best of its kind.

Bharatha—My obeisance to him who was always devoted to Dharma. Tell me who this is.

Dēvakulika—He is, indeed, Raghu who used to be purified both at rising and retiring by the consecrated chants of thousands of Brahmins.

Bharatha—Alas, powerful indeed is Death, since it overcomes even such defence. My obeisance to him who gave unto the Brahmins all the fruits of his kingdom. Tell me who this is.

Dēvakulika—This is Aja who gave up his kingdom on account of the sorrow caused by the loss of his beloved spouse and whose *Rajas* was being daily washed away by his *Avabhṛtasanam*.

Bharatha—My obeisance to him whose sorrow was so praiseworthy. (Seeing the *Statue* of Dasaratha and becoming confused) (22). My mind, being overcome with great reverence has not quite grasped it. Tell me who this is.

Dēvakulika—This is Dilipa.

Bharatha—The great grand-father of His Majesty. The next?

Dēvakulika—The worthy sire, Raghu.

Bharatha—The grand-father of His Majesty. The next?

Dēvakulika—The worthy sire, Aja.

Bharatha—Father's father (23). What, what—

Dēvakulika—This is Dilipa, this is Raghu, this is Aja.

Bharatha—Let me ask you something: are the statues of living kings also put up? (24).

Dēvakulika—No, indeed; only of the dead.

Bharatha—Well, let me take leave.

Dēvakulika—Wait.

'Why dost thou not inquire of this *Statue* of Dasaratha, by whom both his kingdom and his life were given up as the dowry?

Bharatha—Ah, father! (Fall into a swoon. Reviving a little) 'Be calm, O my heart. Know thy father is dead, he for whom you have been anxious, and now be brave. If that vile term, *Sulka* has reference to me, then must my body be really purified.' (25)

Ah Sire!

Dēvakulika—(Aside) What, Sire? This looks like the wail of the scion of the Ikṣvaku race (26). (Aloud) Sire, art thou Bharatha, the son of Kaikeyi?

Bharatha—Well, yes. I am Bharatha, the son of Dasaratha; but not of Kaikeyi.

Dēvakulika—Then I wish to take leave.

Bharatha—Wait. Speak out the rest.

Dēvakulika—(Aside) I have no other go. (Aloud) (27) Listen, thy worthy Sire, Dasaratha, is dead. I do not know why Rama has gone to the forest accompanied by Sita and Lakṣmana.

Bharatha—What, what, also my brother gone to the forest? (Falls into a deep swoon)

Dēvakulika—Revive, O Prince, revive.

Bharatha—(Reviving)

'Hurrying to Ayodhya, now a wilderness being abandoned both by my father and brother, am I now like a thirsty man after a river emptied of its waters. (28)

Sir, let me hear the details and thus steady my mind. Tell me, therefore, the whole story, keeping back nothing.

Dēvakulika—Listen, when His Majesty was crowning the worthy Rama, your mother said:

Bharatha—Stop.

"Recollecting that accursed dowry, my father was addressed, 'Let my son be king'; convinced of faith in my brother, he was addressed, 'Child, dear go thou to the forest.' Seeing him thus clad in the bark of trees, the king came to an unnatural end. And, fie! the natural shower of abuse is by the subjects turned on me" (29). (Falls into a swoon).

(In the postscenium)

Make way, Sir, make way!

Dēvakulika—(Observing) Ah! 'In time have the queens come when their son has swooned away. The touch of the mother's hand, though without water, acts like a handful of water.'

(Then enter Sumantra and the Queens).

Sumantra—This way, ladies, this way.

'This is, indeed, that *Statue-House* of our king, which in height surpasses even palaces; here unshowered by porters and unimpeded the travellers pay their homage without even a bow.' (30)

(Entering and observing) Don't, ladies, don't enter.

'Here lies fallen a certain youth, resembling our king.'

Dēvakulika—'Enough of mistaking him for a stranger, welcome him; he is Bharatha.' (Exit)

Queens—(Quickly approaching) Ah! dear son, Bharatha!

Bharatha—(Reviving a little)—Sir. (31)

Sumantra—Long live Your Ma—(Having thus said half, sadly) Ah, the resemblance of Voice! I thought the king's *Statue* was speaking.

Bharatha—What now is the state of the mothers?

Queens—Child, this is our state (Remove the Veil).

Sumantra—Ladies, suppress your sorrow.

Bharatha—(Observing Sumantra) Such good manners tell me. Sire, are you not Sumantra? (32)

Sumantra—Prince, yes. I am Sumantra.

'Followed by the miseries of a long life, and preyed upon by thoughts of ingratitude, have I, since the king's demise, been existing, the Charioteer of an empty chariot!

Bharatha—Alas, Sire! (Rising up) I wish to be told the order in which I should pay my respects to the mothers.

Sumantra—Well. This is Queen Kausalya, the mother of the noble Rama.

Bharatha—Mother, I who am innocent offer you my obeisance.

Kausalya—Dear child, be thou free of sorrows. (33)

Bharatha—(Aside) Rather a taunt. (Aloud) I am blessed. Then, then?

Sumantra—This is Queen Sumitra, the mother of the noble Lakṣmana.

Bharatha—Mother, I who am left far behind by Lakṣmana, offer you my obeisance. (34)

Sumitra—Dear child, be thou famous.

Bharatha—Mother, I shall try. I am blessed. Then, then?

Sumantra—This is your mother. (35)

Bharatha—(Angrily) (36) Ah! Accursed!

'Standing between these, my mother and mother, thou dost not shine, like the dirty river rushing in between the Ganges and the Jumna.'

Kaikeyi—Dear child, what have I done?

Bharatha—Ask you what you have done?

'You have driven us to infamy; my noble brother to the bark-garment; the King to the abode of Death; the whole Ayodhya to incessant weeping;

Lakṣmana to the beasts; mothers with their sons and daughters to sorrow, the daughter-in-law to the fatigues of a journey; and yourself to the bitterest scorn.' (37)

Kausalya—Child, why don't you, the prince of manners, honour your mother? (38)

Bharatha—Mother, do you say? Mother, you are my mother. Mother; I offer you my obeisance.

Kausalya—No, no. This is your mother.

Bharatha—Was formerly; but not now. See madame.

'On account of evils ingrained in nature, love is forfeited and children are made non-children. This Dharma shall I first establish in the world that a mother forfeits the mother's claim by her cruelty to husband.' (39)

Kaikeyi—Child, I have said thus that His Majesty may keep his word.

Bharatha—What's it, what's it?

Kaikeyi—That my son should become king.

Bharatha—And in what relation does that Sire stand towards you?

'Is he not the son of my father? Is he not the next in succession? Are not the brothers loving one another? And do not the people like it? (40)

Kaikeyi—Ask those who are greedy of the dowry. (41)

Bharatha—'Deprived of the kingdom by the bark-garments he has been ordered by you to walk out to the forest accompanied by his wife. Is this also stipulated in the dowry?' (42)

Kaikeyi—Child, at proper time and place shall I inform you.

Bharatha—'If thou lovest infamy, why mention us; if the pleasures of royalty, will not the king give them? If, however, thou lovest the title '*King's mother*', speak out truly, if my brother also is not thy son. Regrettable has been thy action.

'Covetous of the kingdom, you cared not for the life of the King and you sent out the eldest son, saying, 'Go thou to the forest.' Your heart, O lady, must, alas, have been created by the Creator as hard as a diamond in that it did not burst even on seeing the daughter of *Janaka* clad in bark-garments. (43)

Sumantra—Prince, here are Vasiṣṭa and Vāmadēva come to welcome you with Coronation and send you this message. (44)

'As the unprotected herd of cattle goes to ruin, when devoid of their protector, so the subjects, devoid of a ruler, go to ruin.'

Bharatha—Let the subjects follow me.

Sumantra—Where dost thou go, abandoning Coronation?

Bharatha—What, Coronation? Give it unto her ladyship here. (45)

Sumantra—Where goest thou?

Bharatha—There go I where lives the friend of Lakṣmana. Without him, Ayodhya is not Ayodhya. That is Ayodhya where is Raghava.

(All Exeunt.)

NOTES.

The Third Act is very important, probably more important than any other in the whole drama, because of the reference to the *statues*; but this historic reference and the consequential importance attached to it must not be allowed to so completely engross our attention, as to make us blind to the dramatic beauties. We shall, therefore, first consider the dramatic aspect.

From the point of view of dramatic technique, this Act forms the pivot of the whole drama. With the death of Dasaratha the *complication* has reached its last limit. But when Bharatha rejects the Kingdom, we have the most serious of the complications resolved. Here begins the *Resolution*. And it is as much on account of this, as on account of the unique dramatic contrivance utilized here that the drama has been named after the chief incident of this Act. It is called the *Pratima-Nāṭaka*, or the *Statue-Drama*, because of the important part played by the *Statues*.

The *character* and the *passion* interest are also of a very high order, indeed powerful enough to arrest our attention and compel our admiration. Here is presented to us the princely Bharatha who, as the drama hath it, has been from his boyhood brought up at the court of his maternal uncle and is hence almost a foreigner to Ayodhya, the prince in whose name have been given birth to the series of tragic circumstances. The noble prince, the embodiment of all the best traditions of his family, smarting under the manifold injuries, all the result of the mischief wrought by his *own* mother, and revealing the sublime nobility of his character as the scene unfolds itself, centres in himself the chief character interest. The unhappy queen, the sorrowful Kaikeyi, repenting her *unguarded* words, is scarcely less interesting, as she stands humbled and humiliated by her righteously indignant son. The various passions of longing and sorrow, anger and indignation, fear and hatred, coursing through the veins of one and all and clashing each with each and finally resolving into sublime pathos, afford the greatest passion interest. Thus from the dramatic point of view, this Act is very interesting.

1. Sudhākara—This does not seem to be a proper name; but is the name of a class of people whose professional work is white-washing.

2. The sentence may be interpreted to mean thus: 'Can I know, O Lord, what my fault is?'

3. Note the preparations. The white-washing the walls, adorning the doorways with wreaths and garlands, spreading the paths with white sand and scattering flowers, these have much in common with the preparations generally made in Kerala on the occasion of some distinguished visit.

4. From this conversation it seems clear that the *Statue-House* has long been unkept. Note the hurried, P. C. R. works have quite a modern look. It is interesting to inquire why it has not been kept properly. Are we to suppose that it has not been put in order even at the time of putting up the *statue* of Dasaratha? If so, then it reveals a state of affairs not very creditable to the state; but probably everybody was too much engrossed to pay much attention to minor details.

Or, it is being made neat after putting up the statue of Dasaratha, to which special attention is being paid as the queens intend to pay a visit to it? But this supposition does not seem to be quite sound, since *Sudhākara* is engaged in clearing the dovecots also.

Or, many days have elapsed since the putting up of the King's statue and now that the queens are paying a visit, it is re-washed and cleaned and adorned. This would mean that Bharatha turns up many days after the death of Dasaratha. This view is borne out by the fact that since the death of Dasaratha many days have elapsed, enough indeed to prepare a statue. Note secondly, the business-like, aggressive tone and attitude of the superior officer. These seem to have got over the first shock of sorrow consequent upon the tragic course of events and the City has calmed down to a state of normal quiet. Thirdly, the queens are now coming out of the harem. This shows that the ceremonies connected with the death of the King are all over, which, in the absence of his elder brothers, Satrughna must have performed.

This scene forms a happy interlude between the piteous tears and tragic death delineated in the Second Act and the manly indignation and noble resolve of Bharatha depicted in this Act.

5. Bharatha himself opens the main scene. He says he has for a long time been residing with his uncle and hence feels a stranger to Ayodhya. The news that his father has become incapacitated lies heavy upon him. He anticipates more or less the worst and so to ease his mind he once more questions the *Sūta* of the King's state. In the conversation following he evinces all the fond solicitude of an affectionate son. If Rama has given us the ideal of a dutiful son, Bharatha impresses us with the ideal of an affectionate son.

6. The sentence may be interpreted to mean this: 'What can be his desire?' That is, what is he longing for? And the answer, 'God', means God alone knows it'.

7. The *throbbing* of the heart is supposed to indicate a coming calamity, the shadow of the coming event. This, therefore, steepens Bharatha in greater misery. Note the latter half of the verse depicts the true state of the King, *i.e.*, the dead King. But Bharatha has no eyes and ears for it.

The picture that the charioteer draws of the state of *Dasaratha* is a master-piece. It is so brief, yet so touching, and no wonder that Bharatha becomes steeped in misery. He is in eager haste to reach Ayodhya and hence the direction to the driver to quicken the speed. The latter realizes how much the news has upset him and he has his own mind heavy with the terrible secret. He is afraid that he may unconsciously divulge it in an unguarded moment. Hence to divert his attention, he busies himself with his own work, and goads the horses to their highest speed. The driver has been so successful that the speed of the chariot arrests the attention of Bharatha and brings about a change in the sad current of his thoughts.

8. Here is a beautiful description of the flying chariot, as beautiful as that of Kalidasa, and the poet evinces his keen powers of observation.

The verse is capable of being interpreted in a different way. The phrase, 'because of the indistinct vision caused by the speed of the chariot,' may also be taken as an adjectival phrase qualifying *trees*. Some take the second quarter of the verse by itself, and then it may be rendered thus: 'Like a flooded river, the earth seems to fall into the felloes.' The addition of the simile does add to the beauty of the statement, and so we prefer our own interpretation, the more so because in that case we have one more picture introduced. The river seems to be flooded because of the indistinct vision caused by the speed.

9. The relief thus introduced is not to last for long; for Ayodhya soon comes into view, and Bharatha once more loses himself in unpleasant thoughts.

10. With the immediate prospect of seeing his beloved parents and brothers, it is not so much sorrow as anxious longing. Bharatha is here expressing himself quite in the spirit of boy who is the beloved of all in the family. Note the relation between Lakṣmana and Bharatha. They seem to have been the chums amongst the brothers and hence is Bharatha afraid of being mocked at by Lakṣmana for his queer dress and speech. The former of these must have been quite peculiar for the keeper of the Statue-House mistakes him for a Brahmin (*cf.* notes following). Note the expression, *Bhāṣa*. What does *Bhāṣa* mean by it? Are we to understand by it the spoken language or only the accent and intonation? If it means the former, then we have to assume that Sanskrit was not a spoken language at that time, since it cannot admit of variations. And so it must refer to *Prākṛit* which has to be accepted as the then spoken language, for this admits of variations:

If, however, it refers to only accent and intonation, then there is no difficulty to assume that Sanskrit was the spoken language. This latter is the view we accept.

This also suggests what Bharatha is destined to find at Ayodhya. His falling at the feet of his sire, his being bathed in the tears of his mothers,—but not of joy, as he expected,—his being praised by his officers, these are anticipated as if it were.

11. The poor charioteer feels repugnant for the deception he is practising on Bharatha and is overwhelmed with compunction. In this brief soliloquy he seems to justify himself. None can pick up the boldness necessary to announce any one of the three sorrows; much less therefore all the three.

Bharatha would still have continued to allow his 'fancy to weave a charm for his relief' but the entry of the soldier prevents it.

12. Bharatha inquires if Satrughna is come to welcome him. He makes this inquiry not because he is specially disposed towards him, but because he is younger to him. As *Bhāsa* has it, Lakṣmana is the second brother, Bharatha the third and Satrughna the youngest. It is to be noted that it is the duty of the younger brother to receive the elder brother. This must not therefore be taken as showing any partiality for him, the more so because it has already been shown that the little partiality he has is for Lakṣmana.

Unlike in *Valmiki*, *Bhāsa* keeps Satrughna at Ayodhya. The variations between *Bhāsa* and *Valmiki* are so many and so vital that we shall take up the subject for consideration when we have come to the end of the drama. As regards Satrughna, he has been left at Ayodhya, and he must have performed the ceremonies in connection with the death of the King. It is also worthy of note that neither Bharatha nor Rama performs these ceremonies. Have we here a suggestion that one of the brothers only need perform the obsequies of the father?

13. Here is an instance of a popular belief that it is not considered auspicious for a prince to enter his capital during the *Kṛttika* influence. Hence the injunction to stop outside the city till the influence of *Rohini* begins. Note how Bharatha subordinates his anxious solicitude for his father and the eager haste to meet his beloved people to obedience and good manners.

From this statement it is clear that Bharatha arrives at Ayodhya on the *Kṛttika* day. According to *Valmiki* the coronation of Rama was to have taken place on the *Puṣya* day. Rama started to the forest on the same day. It is more or less a day and half's journey from Ayodhya to

Sṛugivērapura. Hence the next act must have taken place on the third day. The minimum period required between the first and the third act is *twenty-three* days, and between the second and the third act *twenty days*. But the presence of the statue of Dasaratha shows that it must be a longer period. No clue, however, seems to be available to determine this, except the fact that it is impossible to get ready a statue in a couple of week's time.

14. It seems better to add after the query the stage direction—(*wandering about and looking*). In the speech following there is an instance of good manners.

15. All the historical importance of act centres round this speech of Bharatha. We shall lay down one by one the various points made clear by this speech :—

- (i) Bharatha is quite familiar with temples and the Statue-House has all the appearance of a temple.
- (ii) The preparations made there suggest to Bharatha that it is a day of temple festivities. The full-moon day is an occasion for festivities in some of the temples. [Some such festivities would seem to have been current in Kerala, as could be seen from an old poem, the *Chandrōtsavā*, written in the local Vernacular.] It is worthy of note that such festivities are a common day occurrence in orthodox theistic centres.
- (iii) The deity enshrined in a temple can be known from the external presence of the deity's peculiar weapons or the symbols of His flag.
- (iv) Bharatha's appreciation of statues clearly shows that the art of sculpture has attained to a high degree of perfection. Further, the material on which the sculptor worked was *stone*, probably granite.
- (v) Even though the figures *enshrined* look too much like human beings, as his words imply, even though it *was not very common to have more than one shrine in a temple*, yet Bharatha has not the least suspicion that it can be a *Statue-House*. *The whole thing suggests to him only a temple and nothing more than that*. This shows that Bharatha is *completely ignorant of Statues and Statue-Houses*.

From these, two things are quite clear: (i) Sculpture as an art has attained to a high degree of perfection; (ii) Idol-worship is in an advanced stage. Our remarks about this we give in the concluding portion of our notes.

16. This verse is found interpreted in another way also. "Being an idol,

it is but proper to bow down one's head; devoid of *mantras* shall I bow down, as the vulgar offer it." Such an interpretation seems to be not quite happy. Such a view can be tenable only on the supposition that Bharatha is justifying his obeisance by a reference to the Sudra method of doing it. This may stamp Bharatha as a man of broad-minded views but this will be an anachronism. And is it after all such a great fault as to necessitate a justification? On the other hand our interpretation seems to be quite natural and more proper to the occasion. He cannot be held to be justifying his conduct. Here is only the natural expression of what he feels. To offer obeisance to God is a duty imposed upon him by the code of religious conduct. The satisfactory performance of it requires he must do it with the proper *Mantras*, and these he cannot use, since he does not know to which deity the shrine is dedicated. He is, therefore, in an awkward predicament and can discharge his duty only in a half-hearted manner. It is this idea that Bharatha is now giving expression to.

17. Note the speech of *Dēvakulika*. He is struck with *Bharatha's great resemblance to the statues*. This shows that the statues are not merely symbolical, but that they exactly resemble the person intended. This is an additional fact to show that the art of sculpture has attained to a high degree of perfection.

This statement gives rise to another question: If the statues were true to life, how is it that Bharatha does not recognize any of them, at best his own father? Well, the answer is simple enough. He is *fully* under the impression that the statue-house is a temple and the statues are idols. Secondly, his mind is busy with the tender concern for his father and is full of the sweet thoughts of home. Thirdly, he is completely ignorant of all statue affairs. And lastly, he may have been standing at a respectable distance. Naturally therefore he does not recognize even his father among the statues.

18. The idea of the verse may not be quite clear and we shall add a word of explanation. In some temples, as is the case with some of the temples in our land, the efficacy of worship depends upon our doing it in a particular form and order and a stranger finds it difficult to worship properly without guidance. In other temples, and this seems to be the case with the sacred shrines on the East Coast, the efficacy depends upon our utilizing the services of a priest connected with the temple. With these in view does Bharatha ask him if he has to be given any directions, or if he has to utilize the service of himself, or of some other holy man.

19. This statement of *Dēvakulika* seems to be very important. As the statement stands, the genitive *Brāhmanasya* must be taken as referring to

Bharatha. It cannot be taken to mean the obeisance to a Brahmin. For Dēvakulika knows the statues represent Kṣatriyas. If we accept this reading, this statement becomes important, for it shows Bharatha is clad in the garb of a Brahmin. This would suggest that Kṣatriyas and Brahmins have different modes of dressing in the kingdom of Ayodhya. Such a distinction, however, is not to be had in the kingdom of Kēkaya, where the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins are dressed in the same way. Hence we find Bharatha, returning after a very long stay in Kēkaya, dressed like a Brahmin. And note this statement is quite in keeping with the anticipation of Bharatha that he will be made fun of for his dress. (Cf. 10.)

If the reading as given in the text is the correct reading, the suggestion we have given before seems to be relevant. Since the text does not seem to be finally settled, we make bold to suggest a better reading, better from a literary point of view. Instead of देवतशङ्कया ब्राह्मणजनस्येति read देवतशङ्कयाऽब्राह्मणस्येति ॥

It is not proper to offer obeisance to a non-Brahmin mistaking it for a deity, and this means that Dēvakulika is announcing to Bharatha that the figures before him represent neither Gods nor Brahmins and is thus fully discharging his duty. In this case *Abrāhmanasya* cannot refer to Bharatha. For, if Dēvakulika has recognized him to be not a Brahmin, then the prohibition itself need not be made, since it is not improper for a Kṣatriya to offer obeisance to a Kṣatriya, much less for a Vaiśya. Hence the prohibition is relevant only in case Dēvakulika doubts Bharatha to be a Brahmin. Hence in this case also we have the same historical point suggested.

20. Here begins the unfolding of the wonderful and unique dramatic contrivance utilized by our dramatist to inform Bharatha of the sad course of events at Ayodhya. By devising such a method, the ministers and the Queens are saved from their awkward predicament of narrating the painful incident. Further such a process necessitates for Bharatha the suppressing of the full outburst of his emotions. The first ebullition of his sorrow being thus over, Bharatha is able to meet the minister and mothers in a more prepared way without making a scene.

21. Note the noble eulogy that Bharatha heaps upon his glorious predecessors and his sincere thankfulness for being accidentally enabled to pay his respects to them. In the conversation following there is brought out by appropriate epithets the outstanding characteristics of his noble predecessors. The description by Dēvakulika of the statues suggests one more point about them. The statues are adorned with something symbolical of the peculiar character of the King whose statue it is. The statue of Dilipa must have some peculiar symbol to suggest that he is the *embodiment of Dharma*. Similarly Raghu's statue suggests that he is the *embodiment of*

Charity and that of Aja that he is the *embodiment of Love*. The great sorrow caused by the loss of his spouse Aja has been cherishing so long and in such impaired strength that it ascends the height of sublime pathos and rouses the wonder and admiration of all. Note the term, *Avabrthasnanam*. It means the final bath after a *Yaga* is over. The King's life has been one continuous *Yaga* and his daily bath is as good as an *Avabrthasnanam*. Consequently, in the same way as the bath purifies the body removing all the dirt and dust (i.e., Raja), in the case of Aja it leads to the purification of his mind. Such sorrow purges the king's mind of all its Rājas, i.e., all Rājasa qualities.

22. The stage direction and the subsequent speech of Bharatha clearly show that he recognizes his father. With the knowledge that those are the statues of his venerable ancestors he must have gone nearer them. He cannot indeed recognize the statues of his forefathers because in the first place he does not know any of them. Even in the case of his father, it cannot be said that he fully recognizes him, for he has been living away from him since his boyhood. This, then, may be adduced as a further argument to justify Bharatha's not recognizing the statues earlier. Circumstances, however, much more than his recollection of his father's features, must have helped him to recognize the last of the statues as that of his father. The next in order after his grandfather is his own father. Secondly, he has heard that his father is not well. Naturally his mind becomes rent up with anxious feelings, a thousand doubts and agonies. He wants to know the truth, but dares not frame the question for fear of hearing the worst. Hence he tries a new method and asks him to repeat the names once more, so that he may ward off the unpleasant news for some time more.

23. If Dēvakulika had been shrewd enough, he could have learnt that Bharatha was the son of Dasaratha. But he is probably surprised at the change that is come over the face of Bharatha, a change which to Dēvakulika appears to be very strange, and hence the comment of Bharatha appears to be lost on him. Further, the recognition at this stage would have but ill-served the dramatic method, for, then, the announcement of Dasaratha's death could not have been made in such a pungent form.

Note the expression '*what, what*'. Here he is evidently trying to frame the pregnant question which will settle his doubts once and for all. The phrase, '*what, what*'—seems to introduce the question that Bharatha puts later on—'*Are the statues of living kings also put up?*' Note his suppressed mental anguish. Probably he feels that he has revealed himself. But his clumsy hesitation gives him a *momentary relief*. Dēvakulika realizes that something is wrong somewhere, though he does not realize now who the

stranger is, has not the least inkling that he is standing before Ayodhya's mighty emperor. The strange behaviour of the visitor strikes pity into his heart, and he repeats the names once again.

24. Like the dying man catching at a straw, Bharatha hopes that his father might after all be not dead. Probably it may be the custom that the statues of living kings also are put up. And yet he stands prepared to hear the worst. And hence he frames the necessary question. None too soon comes the reply. Alas, the worst is known, his anxious suspense is over. His natural firmness comes to his rescue and in his own dignified way he prepares to take leave so that he may give free vent to his feelings and thus ease his bleeding heart; hence he bids him good-bye. But Bharatha is not to be let off so easily. He has something still worse to hear. So Dēvakulika, with his curiosity roused, asks him why he does not inquire of the statue of Dasaratha, who has forfeited his life and his kingdom in the name of *dowry*. It needs scarcely be said that the method of announcement is very beautiful and dramatic. Note also the condemnation implied. This seems to be rather unconscious, for Dēvakulika cannot have motive to wound the feelings of one who is a stranger to him. Hence this enhances the pathetic effect. Bharatha now knows that his mother is *instrumental* in bringing about the catastrophe. And now he reels under this blow, this double blow, and he falls down into a swoon.

Note again Bharatha's question. Does it imply that he is entirely ignorant of statues and statue affairs, or only of the custom of putting up statues for living kings? The general tenor of his remarks here and elsewhere shows that the former is the more correct suggestion and this is in keeping with the view we have put forth.

25. Bharatha's speech shows that he is sorry not so much on account of the death of the King as on account of his own ugly share in it.

26. This statement of Dēvakulika appears to be a soliloquy and hence we have added the necessary stage direction. Hearing the exclamation of Bharatha and seeing his natural exhibition of sorrow, Dēvakulika seems to doubt the truth of who Bharatha is and hence the question. Though he is prepared for it, the announcement takes him by surprise; he repents of his harsh statement and feels the awkwardness of his position. Most unguarded has been his statement which may even be construed as treason, if only Bharatha follows the footsteps of his mother! Naturally therefore he quails as he stands before Ayodhya's mighty monarch. To make the best of his position, he wishes to escape and so bids him good-bye; but this time it is Bharatha who stops him; for he wishes to know the whole course of events in all their details, so that he may determine what he may do to vindicate his honour in the eyes of the world.

~~seems that here also the stage directions are omitted~~; and hence we have added the words *aside* and *aloud*. Note the announcement of his brother's exile, close upon the heels of the news of the King's death, comes upon Bharatha like a clap of thunder from the blue vault of heaven. Never has he been more unprepared, and naturally he swoons away.

28. Note the happy comparison with the King dead and his brother exiled; Ayodhya is like a river that has emptied itself of its waters; in other words, life has ebbed away. He compares himself to a thirsty traveller.

Note the statement following. The question of dowry he has been told is at the bottom of the King's tragedy. But what the connection between the death of the King and the exile of the brother is he cannot now understand, and hence he calls for fuller details. He expects that the dowry is the cause of his brother's exile and hence is afraid that Dēvakulika may not give all the details for fear of implicating his own mother. Hence the orders not to keep back anything. We seem to see Bharatha's eyes fixed in full upon Dēvakulika, and the latter quailing before him.

29. With the mention of the Coronation of Rama, Bharatha easily understands the course of events. In thus making him anticipate for himself the events and the part played therein by his mother, the pathos of the situation is greatly enhanced, which gets its finishing touch, when he falls down swooning. This is further useful from a dramatic point of view; for though he is right in the main outlines, he does not know the minute details. And this justifies the harsh treatment he gives his mother.

At this crucial moment are the Queens announced. This introduction has been especially appropriate and happy. As Dēvakulika aptly remarks, nothing can so well soothe the disturbed peace of mind of Bharatha. But, as the situation then stands, the presence of the widowed mothers only enhances his sorrow and rouses his anger.

30. The speech of Sumantra shows that he is in total ignorance of the arrival of Bharatha. This requires a word of explanation, in as much as the preceptors have sent word to Bharatha that he must wait outside for sometime. But we may point out that this move of the preceptors is only an *anticipated one* and that they have stationed a soldier on the route with definite instructions. And before the soldier takes to them the news of the prince's arrival, Sumantra may have started for the *Statue-House*. Or probably the latter may have been busy in the harem. Anyway it seems clear that neither Sumantra nor the Queens have any idea of meeting Bharatha in the Statue-House and they are quite unprepared for this meeting.

Note the verse given expression to by Sumantra. Here is given something more about the Statue-House. In the first place, the Statue-House is

a beautiful structure. He says that it is ~~taller than even palace~~ suggests that it is a monument of architectural skill. Secondly, it is open to the public; all may enter and pay their respects to the revered rulers of Ayodhya. Note also that the Kings of Ayodhya, when they die, become only dearer and more accessible to the people; for now they can dispense with all formalities of a court visit.

31. This exclamation of Bharatha is not the result of his recognizing the new comers. Note also his succeeding speech is addressed to Dēvakulika. He is ignorant of the arrival of the queens and the minister.

32. Note Bharatha does not recognize Sumantra but he thinks it must be his minister from his behaviour and conduct. Why, his conversation shows that he has not recognized even his mothers, even though they have removed the veils. It is worthy of note that, in spite of his burden of grief, which is powerful enough to suppress all his activities and good sense, he does not forget good manners. Here is the strength of innate nobility and innocence.

33. So steeped is she in misery, so well has she realized the poignancy of the sorrows, that the noble queen can invoke on her son nothing other than *freedom from sorrows*, indeed the result of the loving solicitude to see that this her son at least may be free from sorrows. We cannot hold with Bharatha that Queen Kausalya has intended any taunt. The statement of Bharatha, however, gives a natural touch to his character, and he may indeed be pardoned for the unwarranted interpretation. Indeed in the position in which he is, he can find nothing other than a taunt. For, in the eyes of Kausalya, is not the cup of *his* happiness full? His father is dead, his elder brother, his only rival, exiled; and the kingdom is given to him; and so in short, he has everything to make life easy and happy. Thus in the pious wish of his mother, which is the outcome of parental solicitude, Bharatha can find only the deep pangs of a wronged woman.

34. Note the conversation between Bharatha and Sumitra. Here is the first suggestion to the mothers of his own position and his resolve. He insinuates herein that he is very sorry that Lakṣmana has left him behind. For, as a beloved brother should he not have taken him also? The blessing of Sumitra has been quite appropriate. She wishes him to become famous, the fame that her own son has achieved, thereby suggesting that he can follow his footsteps and be like him. Bharatha understands the current of her thoughts and hence he says he will try.

35. With the announcement of Kaikeyi, the situation becomes very dramatic and is characterised by an under-current of pathos which is so strong that we begin to feel for the unlucky queen some pity. The utter failure of her schemes, which now appear to be abnormally monstrous, the

~~...but none the less undeserving, treatment meted out to her by her~~ righteously indignant son, and her own words which suggest it that 'the dirt is not so black as is painted'—these rouse our sympathy for the ill-fated queen.

36. The text reads सरोषमुत्थाय. Evidently the word उत्थाय must be omitted and so we have given only *Angrily*. Note the verse following. The contrast only works to her discredit. By standing in the company of Kausalya and Sumitra, Kaikeyi seems to be more cruel than she would otherwise be.

37. Note the beautiful summing up of the results of Kaikeyi's deeds. Bharatha seems to have put into it all the bitterness of his heart and we believe Kaikeyi must have shrunk back on hearing this expression of manly indignation from her noble son.

38. Note the interference of Kausalya. This gives Bharatha an occasion to explain his position.

39. Note the noble view expressed by Bharatha. The tie between the mother and the son is the strongest of all worldly ties. But even this tie snaps, when the mother oppresses the father.

The third quarter of the verse is capable of being interpreted in another way. '*I am the upholder of Dharma but a mother*' etc. If we take this view, the idea becomes slightly different. For, he is here laying an exception to the usual Dharma. According to the former, he is laying down a new code of conduct.

Note the continuous succession of cruel stabs that Bharatha inflicts on his mother.

40. Note the beautiful idea here. Bharatha is laying down Rama's claims to the throne, and thereby suggesting the cruelty of his mother's action.

41. What does Kaikeyi mean here? Does she mean that her parents are to be asked, that she is not to blame if she asked the kingdom for her own son, but her parents who insisted on getting the kingdom as the dowry? It looks like that. At least Bharatha seems to understand it in this sense.

42. This is a beautiful reply to the statement of his mother. He assumes he can understand the position of Kaikeyi and so shifts his position and asks her if the exile of Rama is also stipulated in the dowry. To explain her position she ought to give out the whole truth. But like a wise woman she thinks that it is no use arguing with her son at that time and so says she will explain her conduct on a future occasion.

43. Note this concluding portion of Bharatha's condemnation of his mother. Manly indignation, wounded honour, uncontrollable sorrow for the

unnatural end of his father and the exile of his brother, natural unlucky and miserable queen, these predominate his heart one after another. The verses are so beautiful and appropriate that there is unconsciously produced in our minds some pity for the unhappy queen.

44. Bharatha would still have continued this sad review; but at this stage are announced the spiritual heads of the kingdom who are come to welcome him ready with everything for the Coronation. This opportunity is utilized by Bharatha to give his mother one more stab (Cf. 45) and to explain his intention.

Thus ends this Act. It needs scarcely be said that our venerable dramatist shows his great powers of delineating *character* and *passion*, in the matter of which this Act is rarely rivalled by any other in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature.

A Note on the Statues.

Of all the dramas of Bhāsa, there is none that has attracted the attention of research scholars so much as *Pratima-Nāṭaka*. Such attention has been paid to it, because mention is here made in the Act we have been considering of *statues* which, as we have mentioned, have been utilized as a unique dramatic contrivance. There has been only one department of human skill in which *ancient* India cannot boast of any achievement and that is in the beautiful art of sculpture. But the mention of statues here and their happy use once and for all show without scope for doubt and controversy that at least at the *time* of Bhāsa, the art of sculpture has attained to a high degree of perfection. And this leads us to suppose that it must have had a history at that time; in other words this art must be supposed to have been earlier than Bhāsa.

We shall, to begin with, sum up what we can directly get from the drama about the statues. In the first place, then, the statues exhibit exquisite workmanship. Secondly, they are made out of stones, probably granite (Cf. 15). Thirdly, they are not merely symbolic but carry real likeness with them (Cf. 17). Fourthly, statues are put up for all dead kings. And lastly, these are kept not exposed to the inclemencies of the weather but in a house. As regards the statue house, we know (i) that it is a magnificent structure adorned with all the skill of the architect; (ii) that it has outwardly all the appearance of a temple; (iii) that it is built not in the city itself but in the suburbs; (iv) that it is looked upon as a place of worship; (v) that it is in charge of a keeper; and (vi) that it is open to the public. It need not be specially pointed here that these points suggest that the art of sculpture was in a developed stage at the time of our poet.

Still another point of great historical importance made out from this act is that *idol-worship* is in a developed stage at the time of our poet. It is clear from the statement of Bharatha that *majestic temples were reared in those days*, that *they were a common feature*, that *the same structure would contain more than one idol* and that *they were dedicated to various gods*. Further, the deity enshrined could be known by *the presence outside of the weapons or the symbols* peculiar to the deity. Again, there *were daily festivities in some temple*, especially those in orthodox centres, while *the full-moon day was a common festive occasion*. In view of this explicit reference to *idol-worship in a developed stage*, the statement that Hinduism borrowed its idol-worship from Buddhism requires revision, if we accept for Bhāsa the antiquity that is assigned to him.

Again, the statement of Bharatha shows that he is completely *ignorant* of *statues and statue-houses*. For even in spite of some anomalies, such as the absence of the external symbols, the presence of more than one shrine, *which, therefore, seems to be not very common*, Bharatha can see in the Statue-House *only a temple*. This betrays his entire ignorance of statues, but his great familiarity with idols and temples.

From the ignorance that Bharatha pleads, it seems that the art of sculpture is *not very old* but *new*. Why, the art is unknown in Kekaya. And when we bear in mind also the sanctity attached to statues, we are more or less driven to the conclusion that *the art of sculpture must have sprung up from the art of idol-making*. Such a view would also help us to explain to some extent the sanctity that is attached to statues. If this view is tenable, then we can rightly hold that the making of idols must have given the sculptor the necessary training in the art. And it seems that the art of sculpture is not yet recognized as an independent art, has not been assigned its deserving place amongst the *Fine Arts*. In other words, the sculptor, though he is no longer a mere *artisan*, is yet not accepted to be an artist; and the art, at the stage at which we meet it here, is only a utilitarian art.

With the art of sculpture in such a degree of perfection, it may seem queer to us that the capital of Dasaratha, the fair city of Ayodhya, should not have been adorned with the beautiful statues of its mighty sovereigns, but that these should have been shoved into a suburban villa. The view that we have put forth above seems, however, to be a sufficient answer to this. Further, the Hindus treat their kings as Gods and it is quite in keeping with this attitude that the statues of their kings should have been kept in a sacred groove in a secluded place far from the bustle of the city and that in a structure which has every appearance of a temple.

A word more and we have finished. The keeping of the statues in a

unnatural end of his father and the case of his brother, ~~intended for~~ suburban villa, its appearance of a place of worship, the visit of the queens, these put us in mind of ancestor-worship that is current amongst the Nairs in Malabar. And this gives rise to a very interesting question from the solution of which some important historical matter may be obtained. Is there any connection between the statue affair mentioned here and ancestor-worship? If there is, what does that represent, the beginnings or the decay? Where was ancestor-worship current, when and to what extent and in what form? A consideration of these questions will, we hope, be interesting and important. But for want of reference, we are unluckily prevented from pursuing the subject. We hope, however, to take up the subject on a future occasion.

In conclusion, I must add a word of apology. I have been told that based on this Statue incident a serious controversy is being carried on in the pages of the valuable Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society and elsewhere. If I have not drawn upon them for the greater elucidation of the subject of Statues, if I have not utilized herein the valuable light thrown upon this subject, it is not because it is not profitable or interesting. This regrettable and probably unjustifiable omission is solely due to the fact that I have unfortunately no access to those pages. I have added this note so that I may not be misunderstood or misjudged.

ON SOME VESTIGES OF THE CUSTOM OF OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICES TO WATER-SPIRITS.

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It is Sir E. Tylor who, in his great work, *Primitive Culture*, promulgated his theory of the religion which is known as "*The Theory of Animism*". The word "*Animism*" is derived from the Latin term "*anima*", which, like the corresponding Latin word "*Spiritus*" from which the English word "*Spirit*" is derived, means the "*the breath*" and hence "*the soul*" which all primitive peoples have a tendency to identify with the breath. Animism may, therefore, be defined as "*The Belief in Spiritual Beings*".

This *Animism*, as distinguished from the wider sense in which Sir E. Tylor uses it, namely as "*a Doctrine of Universal Vitality*," and which Professor Marett distinguishes by the distinctive appellation of *Animatism*, is one of the principal mental characteristics of all peoples living in a low plane of culture.

Now, along with this idea of "*Spiritual beings*," there is another idea, namely, that of "*power or rather of many powers*" which lies at the basis of Animism.

To my mind, the following description which Sir Herbert Risley gives of the religion of the Animistic tribes which live on the Chota Nagpore Plateau, holds good of the Animistic beliefs which are current among all races of people throughout the globe:—"What the Animist worships and seeks in strange ways to influence and conciliate is the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or tendencies, making for evil rather for good; which resides in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree, which gives its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generates jungle fever, and walks abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, small-pox or murrain."

Now, the animistic belief that a spirit or power resides in the rushing river or the flowing stream survives even to the present day in enlightened Great Britain. The rustic folk of the English countryside still believe that a water-spirit or water-wraith dwells in the rivers Tees, Skerne, Ribble, Spey, and Dee. It is believed that all these water-spirits require human victims in order to appease them. There is a popular belief to the effect that the spirit or

wraith of the river Spey, which is spoken of as "She", demands at least one human victim every year; whereas—

"Bloodthirsty Dee

Each year needs three."

The water-spirit which dwells in the river Tees is called "Peg Powler" who is described as being a kind of Lorelei possessed of hair of green colour and having an unappeasable penchant for human victims. The froth or foam which floats over the waters of this river is called "Peg Powler's suds"; while the finer, less sponge-like foam is designated "Peg Powler's Cream."

The spirit who resides in the river Ribble rejoices in the name of "Peg O' Nell." She requires a human victim every seventh year. It is popularly believed that, unless a bird, a cat or a dog is drowned in the stream on "Peg's night," it is certain that a human being will get drowned there.*

Sometimes the illiterate English peasantry believe the stream itself to be a spirit who captures his victims, as will appear from the undernoted list of folklore which has been recorded in respect of the river Derwent in Derbyshire in England. Now a man got drowned in this river in January 1904. With regard to this drowning fatality, an old woman neighbour of the deceased, with a triumphant tone in her voice, complained as follows: "He didna know Darrant. He said it were nought but a brook. But Darrant got him. They never saw his head, he threw his arms up, but Darrant wouldna let him go. Aye, it's a sad pity,—seven children. But he shouldna ha' made so light of Darrant. He knows now. Nought but a brook. He knows now." ("She talked of the river as if it were a loving personage or deity" wrote the translator, "I could almost imagine the next step would be to take its offerings.")†

In India also, there is current the same belief that every river or stream has its indwelling spirit who requires a human victim or sacrifice to appease him or her. In the Kandi sub-division of the district of Murshidabad in North-Western Bengal, two female water-spirits named Shāta and Jātha are popularly believed to reside in tanks and ponds and to demand human sacrifices. Among the Khasis of the hill tracts of Assam, who rejoice in the name of U. Yak Jakar, he is believed to live in pools, ponds and other large bodies of water. It is said that, whenever he sees a human being, he rises to the surface of the water, drags the latter to the bottom thereof, and kills him by drowning. But so long as he stands he can do no harm to any one.‡

* An Introduction to Folklore. By Marian Roale Cox, London. David Nutt, 1897, pages 147-148.

† The Handbook of Folklore. By C. S. Burne, London. Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited, 1914, pages 27-28.

‡ Folktales of the Khasis. By Mrs. Raly, London. Macmillan & Company, Limited, pages 145-146.

Similarly, the Lushais, who are another aboriginal tribe living in the hill tracts of North-Eastern India, believe that all streams are inhabited by spirits or demons who are called "Tui-huai". These water-spirits who are uniformly malevolent, can be propitiated by the offering of sacrifices.*

In India, the aforementioned belief has undergone a peculiar and curious modification which is to the effect that, whenever a tank or pond is excavated and no water comes out of it, it is popularly believed that this absence of water is due to the fact of no human sacrifice having been offered to the water-spirit or "the shadowy being of unknown power or tendency" who dwells in that tank or pond, and that, therefore, it is urgently necessary to kill a child and offer it by way of sacrifice to that being, in order that that tank or pond might get filled with water to the brim.

For reasons which I shall presently state I am of opinion that this modified belief was a part and parcel of the mental equipment of the Non-Aryan aborigines of India.

So far as these researches go, we have found that, in the remote past and possibly during historic times, the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits or water-wraiths was widely current in North-Eastern, Western and Central India, and that the vestiges thereof still exist in those parts among races of people who have Non-Aryan aboriginal blood in their veins.

Anthropologists are of opinion that the Dravidian type of people at present resident in India probably represents the Non-Aryan aborigines or the original inhabitants of this country, who have now been modified to some extent by the absorption of Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements.

The Santals are a people of this Dravidian type, who reside in the Santal Parganas and Chota Nagpore in North-Eastern India. Now, some vestiges of the custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits are traceable, even at the present day, in the folklore of these Santals, as will appear from the following examples thereof:—

In the pathetic Santal folktale entitled "*Seven Brothers and Their Sister*"†, it is stated that the seven brothers had a tank excavated in order that their names might be perpetuated by it. But, as their ill-luck would have it, no water came out of it. Thereupon he consulted a *Jugi Gosae* (most likely a Santal soothsayer) who advised them that, if they would offer their sister as a sacrifice to the spirit of the tank, it would be filled with water. Acting up to his advice, they ordered her to fetch water from that tank. Accordingly

* The Lushai Kuki Clans. By Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, London. Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1912, pages 65-66.

† Santal Folktales. By A. Camben. Pokhuria Santal Mission Press. Pages 106-107.

she went inside the empty tank to fill her pitcher with water. As soon as she went into it, water began to flow out and gradually filled up the tank till she was drowned in it.

Similarly, in another Santal folktale entitled: "*The Girl who always found Helpers*",* it is narrated that, once upon a time, there lived six brothers and a sister. All the brothers were married; but sister remained a maiden. Whenever they left their home on business, their wives, who hated their maiden sister-in-law from the bottom of their hearts, harassed and worried her in every possible way. When they came to know of their wives' cruel conduct towards their sister they made up their minds to punish them mercilessly. With this object in view, they had a deep well dug. (It is not, however, stated in this folktale whether or not water had come out of the well.) On the pretence of propitiating the water-spirit, they ordered their wives to take in their hands offerings of rice and the like, go to the well, and stand round the brink thereof. As soon as the wicked women arrived at the well with the offerings in their hands, and stood round the margin thereof, their husbands from behind pushed them into the well whereinto the latter fell head foremost. Thereafter the well was covered up.

Travelling further eastwards from the Santal Parganas and Chota Nagpore, we arrive in Bengal where (as well as in Orissa) people of the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type have their habitat. Now, this very interesting type of Indian humanity has been evolved by the extreme intermingling of peoples of Aryan ancestry with Tibeto-Burman and Mongoloid folks and other aboriginal inhabitants.

Now, some vestiges of the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits still exist in the folklore of the Bengalis who belong to this Mongolo-Dravidian type and who have a strain of Dravidian blood flowing in their veins. This is evidenced by the undermentioned examples of Bengali folklore from North-Western and Eastern Bengal:—

In the following legend which is recited in connection with the ceremonial worship of the goddess Chapetā Shashthī, there is a mention of the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to the water-spirit in order that a newly-excavated tank might get filled with water.

This ceremonial worship is performed in the month of Bhādra (August-September) in the villages of Panchthuphi in the Kandi-subdivision in the district of Murshidabad in North Western Bengal.

On this occasion, the goddess Shashthī is worshipped with the offering of 7 pieces of dhaḍā (ধাড়) or small pieces of clothing, 7 coconuts, 7 bael fruits (*Aegle marmelos*), 7 palm-fruits (*Borassus flabelliformis*), 7

* Op. Cit., pages 119—124.

plantains, 7 mangoes, 7 balls made of parched rice sweetened with molasses (মড়ির লাড়) and 7 sweetmeats made of clotted cream (পেড়া). (Mark that seven is a sacred number.)

The following articles are also used in the worship of this deity:—(1) bamboo-leaves; (2) oil and turmeric; (3) curdled milk (দুগ); (4) fruits of the *Luffa acutangula* (jhinga); (5) a trayful of the offering of unboiled rice (অবনোঁচালির নৈবিধি); (6) sweetstuffs; and (7) thread made of unbleached cotton (ধর লুতো).

The celebrant of this worship has to bake a flattened cake of the paste made of ground rice. She has to give pieces of the rice-cake to others and also to partake of it herself. The fruits, the sweetmeats made of clotted cream and the sweetened balls of parched rice are distributed to the children. The small pieces of clothing (বড়) are distributed to the children in order that they may wear them.

The worship of this goddess must be performed on the margin of a tank.

The legend referred to above, which is recited on the occasion of the worship of this goddess, runs as follows:—

A *Baniya* or merchant had a son, a daughter-in-law, and seven grandsons. He had got a tank excavated; but water did not come out of it. He came to know in a vision that, if his eldest grandson would be offered as a sacrifice to the water-spirit or the presiding spirit of the tank, water would come out of it. So he held up the child to the Jātha (or the old female-spirit who resided in the tank); and his son cut it up.

As soon as the sacrificed child's blood began to gush out, water also began to flow out into the tank.

Now, two old female-spirits, one of whom named Shāta, and the other Jātha, who dwelt beneath the tank, began to quarrel as to which of them would take possession of the child. While they were quarrelling, the goddess Shashthī arrived there and took possession of the child.

When the mother of the sacrificed child came to worship the goddess Shashthī at the tank, her deityship told the child: "Go to your mother, by holding the thread of unbleached cotton which has been tied on the stalk of a *Jhinga* fruit (*Luffa acutangula*) which has been set afloat by her in the tank."

The child obeyed this behest of the goddess and thus its mother got it back.*

Then again, in the legend which is recited in connection with the ceremonial worship of the goddess Nātāi, in the Eastern Bengal, an incident which

* Vide pages 41—44 of Srimati Kiranbalā Dāsi's *Vratākathā* which has been published by the *Bangīya-Sahitya-Parishat* of Calcutta.

is strikingly similar to that occurring in the legend of the worship of the goddess Chapetā Shashthī, is mentioned. It is as follows:—A Baniyā or merchant had a son named Srimanta, a daughter-in-law named Dhanapatkumari, and a grandson. He had got a tank excavated; but no water came out of it. He came to know, in a vision, that if his grandson be offered as a sacrifice to the presiding spirit of the tank, water would come out of it.

So Srimanta took his son to the tank, cut him up into two pieces, and threw the same into the tank, whereupon water gushed out and filled it up.

The mother of the sacrificed child happened to go to the tank in order to bathe in its waters. Having gone there, she worshipped the goddess Nātāi. Being pleased at her worship, her deityship made herself manifest to her and made over her missing son to his mother who took him home to the great delight of all.

It is popularly believed that lost things are recovered by worshipping the goddess Nātāi.*

We now leave North-Western and Eastern Bengal and travel to Western India which is inhabited by the Maharatha Brahmans, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs, besides various other races of people.

According to the latest anthropological researches, the Maharathas, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs belong to the Scytho-Dravidian type of Indian peoples.

Now, the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits appears also to have been prevalent among the Maharathas of Western India, who, as has been stated above, belong to the Scytho-Dravidian type of Indian humanity and have, therefore, a strain of Dravidian blood in their veins. This is testified to by the mention of the aforesaid custom in the undermentioned Maharatha folktale which has been recently collected and published from Western India:—

In the Maharathi nursery tale entitled "The King and the Water-Goddess", the king of a town named Atpat excavated a tank for the benefit of the villagers. Though he strove hard to get it filled with water, no water flowed out of it. This greatly distressed his mind; and he was at his wits' end to find out what expedient he should adopt in order to have the tank filled up with water. As a last resort, he prayed to the water-goddess for help in this matter.

Being satisfied with his prayers, she advised him to sacrifice to her the eldest son of his daughter-in-law, by doing which, she said, the tank would be filled up with water.

* Vide pages 107—111 of Sri Paramesaprasanna Raya's *Meyeli Vratākatha* published from the Asutosh Library, No. 50/1, College Street, Calcutta.

Accordingly, by a clever ruse, the King obtained possession of his grandson from his daughter-in-law. He then bathed and anointed the child, and, after rigging the latter out with valuable ornaments, took him into the middle of the waterless tank and made him lie down as if on a bed, telling him, at the same time, not to budge or stir.

Being greatly pleased with this offering of a human sacrifice, the water-goddess caused a large volume of water to flow out of the bed of the tank and fill it right up to the brim. Thereby the child was drowned.

When the king's daughter-in-law returned from her parental home whither she had been sent for a visit, and guessed out what had happened to her son during her absence, she and her brother went to the margin of the tank and worshipped the water-goddess with offerings of curds, rice, butter and betel-nuts which had been placed on a leaf of the cucumber-plant,* and prayed as follows: "O water-goddess, Mother of all, if any of our family has been drowned in this tank, be gracious enough to restore him to life, and give him back to us."

Being highly satisfied with this worship, the water-goddess brought the sacrificed child back to life and restored him to his mother.†

(Note the striking similarity between the incidents of this Maharathi nursery tale with those of the Bengali legends connected with the ceremonial worship of the goddesses Chapeta Shashthi and Natia.)

In the Central Provinces (of India), there are various legends current on the subject of great tanks and reservoirs of water having been filled up with water after human sacrifices had been offered to the water-spirits presiding over them. It is said that the Banjara (most likely a member of a non-Aryan aboriginal tribe), who excavated the Sangor Lake, was obliged to sacrifice his son and daughter-in-law to the presiding spirit of the lake. When this had been done, the lake became filled with water. Even to the present day, so strong is the belief among the Banjars that the waters of this lake are tainted with the blood of their tribesmen that none of them would drink water out of it. It is popularly believed that, since that time, the presiding spirit of the lake has levied his yearly toll of two victims by bringing about the death of two human beings by drowning.‡ (Compare it with similar belief, mentioned

* Compare this use of the leaf of the cucumber-plant as a platter for laying the food-offerings to the water-goddess upon, with the similar use of the leaf of the closely-allied cucurbitaceous dhudul-creeper (*Luffa degyptiaca*) for placing the food-offerings to the kites and the jackals upon, in the Jintiya-worship of North Bihar. Vide my paper "On a Bihari ceremonial Worship of Totemistic Origin" in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. IV, pages 124-125.

† Deccan Nursery Tales. By C. A. Kincaid, London. Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1917, pages 112—114.

‡ Vide Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's paper on "Human Sacrifice in Central India" read on the 4th February 1921, before the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta.

Supra of the English country-folk that the water-spirits or water-wraiths of the river Spey and Dee respectively levy a toll of one and three human victims every year.)

I have been hitherto dealing with instances of human sacrifices which are offered to the water-spirit or water-wraith under the belief that, by propitiating him or her, the tanks or ponds would be filled with water.

But I shall deal with that aspect of the custom according to which human sacrifices are offered to the water-spirit for propitiating him when it is believed that he, in his wrath, has filled a tank or reservoir with flood-waters and, in consequence thereof, has caused the embankments thereof to be breached.

As an instance of this, I may cite the case of a human sacrifice which occurred in 1914 in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces (of India). It came about as follows: In July 1914, the bund or embankment of a tank burst and was repaired. But, on account of the heavy rainfall of that year, it was about to be breached again. The panic-stricken villagers sacrificed many goats to propitiate the presiding spirit of the tank who, they supposed, had been offended and was, therefore, causing the embankment to burst. But they thought that he was not appeased thereby.

Shortly afterwards, the Zamindar's agent dreamt a dream in which the presiding spirit of the tank appeared to him and said that a human being should be sacrificed to him and that offering of anything else would not satisfy him.

The agent communicated the fact of the dream to four others among whom was the Kotwar. This news spread like wild fire throughout the village but was apparently received without any feelings of surprise. Parents hid their own children and awaited the development of events with the greatest anxiety. At last on the 6th August 1914, a child was obtained. Its forehead was besmeared with vermilion, and, thereafter, it was taken to the tank where it was throttled; and its lifeless body was thrown into it. The District Superintendent of Police reported: "The tank was saved; and peace settled over the village."*

Floods in rivers also were and are still attributed to the wrath of the offended water-spirit; and it is sought to appease his anger by sacrificing a human child to him. This is testified to by the existence of a custom in Berar (in Central India) through which the river Purna flows. Now, whenever this river is in flood, the inhabitants of the villages of its banks seek to propitiate the offended river-spirit by resorting to the device of offering him

* Vide Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's paper on "*Human Sacrifice in Central India*" read before the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress at its eighth annual sessions, on the 4th February 1921.

a vicarious human sacrifice, that is to say, by offering him the substitute of a human victim. This is done by taking a child in its cradle to the over-flooded river and placing it in the waters thereof. When the cradle has been washed by the river-water the child is taken out.

Closely akin to the aforementioned forms of the custom is that of offering a human sacrifice to the water-spirit or the spirit of the Sea; whenever a ship or any other kind of Sea-going vessel, for some reason or other, gets stuck to her moorings and cannot be started on her voyage. This sacrifice is offered under the belief that the water-spirit has got angry with the sailors and that his wrath can be appeased only by the killing of a human victim and offering his body to the former. We have come across vestiges of this third form of the custom in the folklore of Bengal and the Punjab.

In a Muhammadan version* of the well-known Bengali folk-tale entitled *Śita-Basanta*, a merchant is about to set sail for a trading enterprise: But the ship gets stuck to her moorings and cannot be started for her intended voyage. The captain of the vessel says that, unless a human sacrifice is offered (apparently to the spirit of the sea), the vessel will not start. Thereupon Basanta, the co-hero of the tale, who is wandering about in a helpless condition, is seized and about to be sacrificed, when, on the intercession of the merchant's wife, his life is spared.

Similarly in a folk-tale from the Punjab, a human sacrifice is offered for raising a fair wind. Most probably, in this case, the water-spirit has been, for some reason or other angered and, in order to give vent to his anger withholds a fair wind and, thereby, prevents the ship from leaving her moorings and starting on the intended voyage. The human victim appears to be immolated for the purpose of propitiating the offended water-spirit and, thereby, coaxing him into raising a fair wind to enable the ship to set sail.†

* Compiled by Ghulam Kadir and published by Afazuddin Ahmad from No. 155-1, Masjid-bari Street, Calcutta.

† Temple and Steel's *Wide-awake Stories* (1884), page 147.

REVIEWS.

"A Study of Caste."

BY P. LAKSHMINARASU, 367 Mint Street, Madras.

Price Rs. 1-8-0.

THE writer of this small book is already known to the public as the author of *The Essence of Buddhism*; and the present book also bears Buddhistic imprints. The treatment of the subject is neither scholarly nor impartial; and it seems to be actuated with a blind prejudice against the Brahmins and the Brahminical ideals.

The author considers that the *Caste system* is peculiar to India and that it considerably differs from the *Class system* that existed and exists in other countries, in all the essential characteristics of "Mutual repulsion, hierarchical organization and hereditary specialization." It is a pity that he forgets that *Caste* is not peculiar to India, and that the independence and privileges of the priestly class are entirely Indo-European in origin. Both among the Romans and the Greeks there existed a priestly class exercising uncontrolled authority over kings and people. How far the caste system of Vedic India, in spite of its later day rigidities, resembled that of Greece and Rome may be gleaned from the following observations of A. H. Greenidge in his *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*.

"We may now form some idea of the nobility of birth.....
"Their special claims to honour were the exclusive possession of the sacrifices
"and higher religious rites of the State, the exclusive knowledge of its laws, and
"the sole possession of that citizenship which resulted from higher birth and
"from inherited wealth and culture."

The author seems to hold that India before Buddhism was suffering from one continuous evil of a caste-ridden Brahmin Hierarchy, and that any good that may be found in the later Hinduism is due to the advent of Buddhism. This is really doing a great injustice to the intelligence and ability of the other castes and civilizations, especially Dravidian which was in no way inferior to the Aryan. Apart from the questionable Divine origin of caste, there are certain important factors which go to show that the caste system in India was not forced upon an unwilling and illiterate mass by the exclusive genius of the Indo-Aryans alone, and that the priestly Brahmin is not solely responsible for its later day rigidities. It is much to be regretted that the author is not able to recognize some at least of the advantages of the system in the early days of civilization and to discern the sublime and salutary conception of the Vedic Rishies in their happy blending of the caste and the class systems of human division. While the four divisions of people in the Purusha Sukta hymn appear to denote the

"Rigidity of caste, the elevation or degradation of castes and the observance of caste rules mentioned by well-known Sutra writers like Gautama, Apastamba and others reveal the freedom allowed to the qualified people in all respects including inter-dining and inter-marriage. The incidents like those of Satyakama Jabali, and the possession of Brahma Vidyas like Panchagni Vidya by Kshatriyas, and the elevation of well-known Kshatriya families to Brahminhood—all of which are mentioned by the author to suit his own purpose—confirm the nature of this freedom. Apart from the recognition or non-recognition of the self-denial, piety and learning of the Brahmin, it should be admitted that, from the dawn of Rig Veda down to the early Sutra period, it is the culture and civilization of the Indo-Aryan with his adjuncts of caste that made the glory of India what it was. If at all any responsibility is to be attached to the degeneracy of *Vedic caste* into its later form of social rigour, it is to the advent of *Buddhism* and *Jainism*. While the degeneracy of Purvamimamsic ritualism was viewed with contempt not only by Buddha but by all Vedic scholars of the time, the rigidity of Buddhistic and Jainistic preachings of celibacy and strict morality and the penetration of monks into villages and towns under the support of powerful emperors changed the outlook of society in general, creating isolation in regard to diet, marriage, social order, religion, etc., and compelled the Brahmin leaders to cast off the old customs and bring forth new codes of Ethics and Religion to suit the time, thus unconsciously helping the rigours of caste. The laws of the Hindu legislators always expressed the mind of the society; and it is this wonderful adaptability that gained for the Brahmin the unique respect from all.

How far the Post-Buddhistic systems of Religion and Philosophy were indebted to Buddhism is no doubt an important question; but how far Buddhism itself is indebted to the Brahminical culture is equally important and deserves the careful attention of all. That the teachings of Upanishads much influenced Buddha should be admitted; and we may, in the light of recent researches in regard to the antiquity of the Bhagavata cult, safely infer that Buddha drew some of his inspiration from the latter which, along with the other Upanishadic schools, had sunk into insignificance during the period of ritualistic glamour that preceded Buddhism. From the similarity of Buddhism and Vaishnavism, the author not only considers the latter to be the off-shoot of the former but fancifully ascribes all other systems to Buddhistic source. It is curious that even the Vaishnava doctrine of *Prapatti* which finds its parallel in ancient Mazdaism should be ascribed to Buddhism.

We do not want to follow the author in his treatment of other religions in the country and his denial of Soul and God, but shall remain content with pointing out that no further light has been added to the vexatious question of Social Reform beyond what has already been thrown on the matter.

V. S.

'Kanarese Literature.'

BY E. P. RICE.

*A Study and a Criticism by Vidyabhushana M. A. Narayana Sastry, M.A.,
Lecturer in Kanarese, Karnatak College, Dharwar.*

WE have perused with much interest the pamphlet before us. It is a spirited criticism of Mr. Rice's book on Kanarese Literature. By making the following assertions, *viz.*, *the first modern scholars to give with any fulness a connected view of Kanarese literature were the German Missionaries Wruth and Kittel and Kanarese printing owes its inception to missionaries, etc.*, the author Mr. Rice has done injustice to the other workers in the field. We do not grudge the credit given to the missionary but on the other hand there is every reason for us to be grateful for what the missionary enterprise has done to kindle and stimulate a love for Vernaculars in the Karnatak people. It has to be admitted that there is a paucity of scientific books in the Kannada language. This is explained as being due to the lack of state and public patronage. We are not inclined to agree with the critic here in view of the fact that a large volume of scientific literature has been brought forth in the Bengali and Telugu languages, which are also suffering under the same disadvantage. We ascribe the want of scientific books in the Kannada language more to the apathy of the educated public towards the development of their vernacular and to the want of necessary organization to do the work than to anything else.

2. To say that the Kannada language is famished for noble thoughts and sentiments is to deny the very existence of a literature for Kanarese. As observed by the critic, nowhere is the theme of love so highly exalted as in the Indian Vernaculars. He quotes several literary works in support of his arguments to refute Mr. Rice's assertions. In doing so, he appeals to the educated public and the Mysore University to elevate the language from its present depression. It is for the University and the public to respond to it and we hope it will be done.

T. S.

The Jaina Gazette, Volume XVIII, No. 4.

THE Jaina Gazette is of engrossing interest in that it deals with matters pertaining to Jainism, its relation to other religions, its philosophy and the customs and practices of its votaries. Though there is a vast Jaina population in India and their religion was once a strong force in the formation of ancient Indian History, the vital principles, etc., of that religion are not so well known as they ought to be. The main object of the Journal seems to be to educate the people and to correct the wrong impressions entertained by other religionists about their religion. This object seems to be well served in view of the scholarly articles that are appearing in the Journal.

2. The number before us contains valuable articles which are well worth study. The first of them gives in a nut-shell the basic principles of Jainism, a

perusal of which gives a clear idea of the Jaina beliefs and practices and removes all misunderstanding about them. The second is a review of 'Kunda Kunda's Panchastikayasara' by Professor Chakravarthi. Herein is given an account of the Jaina Philosophy as compared and contrasted with other philosophical systems of India. In the next, 'The age of Kunda Kunda,' Mr. Seshagiri Rao contests the statement made by Professor Chakravarthi that the saint's patron was one Siva Skanda Varma of Kanchi and gives as an alternative that the saint's patron came of the Andhra Kadamba line. In support of his statements he refers to a lead coin and six clay seals discovered at Ramathirtham in the Andhra country which relate to the saint's period. The writings on the seals are stated to be of a language which very much resembles the kind of Prakrit used by Kunda Kunda in his work 'Panchastikayasara'. He also tries to contradict Professor Chakravarthi's theory, *viz.*, that Kunda Kunda was the author of Tirukkural and flourished somewhere about Kanchi, on the ground that Kunda Kunda was a great Prakrit scholar, that the work is free from the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects and that it is highly improbable that he could have subjected himself to such a self-denying rigour in composing the Tirukkural. In the next article, 'Jainism and Dr. Gour's Hindu Code' an attempt is made to disprove the statement made by the Doctor that Jainas are Hindu dissenters and that their religion is an offshoot of Buddhism. This is followed by two other articles, *viz.*, 'Pramana-naya-tatwalokalankara' and the 'Confluence of Opposites', the former of which deals with philosophy and the latter is a review of the book of the same name by Mr. C. R. Jain. Lastly appear the correspondence on Hindu Code and Jaina Law and the accounts of the Jaina Sabha activities, which disclose the keen interest taken by the leaders of the community to safeguard their political and religious interests.

The Journal is well got up and supplies a real need.

T. S.

Memories of the Archæological Survey of India.

No. 10—A Guide to Nizam-ud-din.

BY MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

WE are glad to be in receipt of this excellent monograph beautifully illustrated. Nizam-ud-Din is a village four miles to the south of Shahjahanabad (Delhi City) and takes its name after the saint Shaikh Nizam-ud-din. Though a village, it is full of historical and religious memories.

The saint after whose name the village is so called flourished during the time of Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties. He was respected both by Jalalu-d-Din and Ala-ud-din and it is noteworthy to observe that the saint himself did not care for the favours of these emperors. Mubarak Khan, who assumed the title of Qutb-ud-din and whose short and inglorious reign full of plots and treasons is well-known, did not treat the saint with due respect which is said to be miraculously

dynasty to the Tughlaqs.

The saint's name may be well remembered by his chief disciple Amir Khusrau, one of the most celebrated poets and saints of India. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din was a Chishti saint and he is also the founder of a Sufic order known after him as Chishtiya Nizamiya.

The village is full of tombs of the above saints and others and the present monograph is a very valuable guide to this place of religious and historic importance. The author has taken great pains to collect enormous materials which throw a flood of fresh light on this unattractive subject which was not unearthed even by Jadunath Sarcar who is generally considered as an authority on subjects Moslem.

K. D.

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Vol. II, pt. II, Hindustani Books—By Prof. J. F. Blumhardt	..	..	1900
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Vol. II, pt. IV, Bengali, etc., Books—By the same	..	..	1905
Vol. II, pt. V, Marathi and Gujarati Books—By the same	..	..	1908
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By Prof. V. Fausbll.	..	..	1897
Catalogue of Two Collections of Persian and Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library—By E. D. Ross and Prof. E. G. Browne			
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Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office—			
By Prof. H. Ethé	..	..	Oxford 1903
Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office—			
By Prof. J. Eggeling, pt. I, Vedic MSS.	..	..	London 1887
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Do	III, do	..	1891
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Director-General of Archæology, Simla—

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 6. The temples at Palampet.
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TO

RAJASABHABHUSHANA

REV. FATHER ANTONY MARY TABARD,

M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E.,

PRESIDENT, MYTHIC SOCIETY.

As members of the Mythic Society we desire to tender to you who have been its President from its inception and were one of those who took a large part in its foundation, our very hearty and sincere congratulations on the recent bestowal upon you by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore of the Honourable title of RAJASABHABHUSHANA.

To every one who has the privilege of your personal acquaintance your selection by His Highness for this distinction cannot but be a matter of real gratification but to the members of the Mythic Society it is a special cause of pride and of rejoicing. You have as President of the Society for so many years, by continuous, untiring, beneficent and enthusiastic effort, succeeded in erecting upon the foundations which you helped to lay, a solid, useful and we hope and believe, enduring fabric, the Association of which we are the members. For that we are proud to owe you a great debt of gratitude, a debt which we are ever ready to acknowledge and are never likely to repay. More than this, the genial and friendly spirit in which you have clothed all your Presidential acts, the ever ready sympathy and help which you have extended to every member among us have won for you from year to year in increasing measure the affection and esteem of all.

It is a pleasure to us to believe that among the reasons which have led to the bestowal upon you of this latest distinction, one may be found in the services you have rendered to Mysore through the medium of our Society, in your consistent and sympathetic labours, by your own researches, and by enlisting the aid of numerous other competent persons, to stimulate and foster in His Highness's subjects, a patriotic interest in the study of the history of their country, and in her many monuments of historical, archæological and architectural importance.

by you of honour and nonou, and that we welcome the opportunity of offering you our congratulations and expressing our hope that you may long remain among us in the enjoyment of them.

The addresses to be presented to you this evening are in different languages, but though the form of each is different, the spirit of each is the spirit of all: each speaks for the whole Society, and each may serve, we hope, to convey to you some measure of the gratification and pleasure we derive from the event which has been the occasion of this gathering, and of our earnest hope for your future happiness and prosperity.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Your sincere friends,

TO
RAJASABHABHUSHANA
REV. FATHER ANTONY MARY TABARD,
M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E.,
PRESIDENT, MYTHIC SOCIETY.

புஜ்யரான அய்யா,

சரித்திரவாராய்ச்சியில் மிக்கமேன்பாடுடைய இம்மீதிக் சங்கத்தின் அங்கத்தினர்களான நாங்கள் இச்சங்கத்தை நிலைநாட்டினது முதல் அதன் அந்மகூடராய் விடாமுயற்சியுடனும் பெரும் புகழுடனும் அதன் கீழ்மத்தை பரிபாலித்து வரும் தங்களுக்கு மாட்சிமை தங்கிய நம்மைஞர் தேயத்து மகாராஜா அவர்கள் பட்டப்பெயரில் பெருமைபெற்ற “ராஜசபாபூஷண” என்னும் கௌரவத்தை அன்புகூர்ந்து அளித்ததற்காக அளவிடவொண்ணாதவாந்தத்தை யடைந்துளோம். அச்சிறப்பு எங்களுக்குச் சேர்த்ததென்று சொல்லவும் வேண்டுகோ?

தங்களின் அருமை பெருமைகளை நன்குணர்ந்த அனைவருக்கும் இச்செய்தி இயம்ப முடியாத சந்தோஷத்தைக்கொடுக்கும்போது, தங்களின் நேர்பரிச்சியம் என்னும் பெரும் பாக்கியத்தைப்படைத்த எங்களுக்கு அவரினும் அதிக உவப்பு உண்டாகாமற்போகுமோ?

ஐரோப்பாவின் பூத்தோட்டம் என்னும் பெயர் புனைந்த பிரான்சுதேயத்தில் உயர் குலத்தில் தோன்றி இளம்பருவத்திலேயே துறவு பூண்டு, இப்பரதகண்டத்திற்கு ஓர் நிதியாய்த்தோன்றி ஆங்கிலத்தில் அதிபுணராய், ஆரியவண்ணையின் ஏற்றத்தை அன்புடன் ஆராய்ந்து, அவ்வாராய்ச்சித்திரட்டை இன்றியமையாததும் இடைவிடாததுமான தங்களுடைய பெரும் முயற்சியால் எல்லாரும் உணரும்படிசெய்தபேருதவியன்றோ இச்சங்கத்தின் மேன்பாட்டிற்குக் காரணமாயிற்று. அத்தகைய உற்சாகம் தங்களிடத்தில் நீடிழிகாலம் நிறைந்து எங்களுக்கும் ஓர் தூண்டுகோலாக என்றும் இருக்குமென்று நம்புகிறோம். தாங்கள் சரித்திரவாராய்ச்சியிலும் இன்னும் ஏற்றமுள்ள விஷயங்களிலும் இச்சங்கத்தின் அபிவிருத்தியை எங்களால் இயன்றமட்டும் சோம்புதலில்லாமல் அதிகப்படுத்துவதில் எங்களில் முதன்மையான நிலைமையை மெடுநாள் வகித்து, இத்தகைய கௌரவங்கள் பலவற்றை இன்னும் மென்மேலும் அடைந்து அதுபவிப்பீர்களென்று முழுமுதற்கடவுளைப் பிரார்த்திக்கின்றோம்.

மாட்சிமைதங்கிய மகாராஜாவின் குடிகள் அனைவரும் இச்சங்கத்தின் கீழ்மத்தில் அன்பை வைத்திருப்பது இயல்பே; ஏனெனில் தங்களுடைய ஒப்புயர்வில்லாத சரித்திரவாராய்ச்சியாலும், அத்தகைய ஆராய்ச்சியில் பண்டிதரான நம் சங்கத்தின் அங்கத்தின

இன்று தங்களுக்கு நாங்கள் மிக்க அன்புடன் அளிக்கும் சந்தோஷப்பத்திரங்கள் பல பாவையிலிருப்பினும் அவைகளின் கருத்து ஒன்றேயாம். எல்லாம் தங்களின் ஏற்றங்களை யே எடுத்துரைப்பனவாம். அவைகள் ஒவ்வொன்றும் தங்கள் இச்சங்கத்தின் அக்கிராசனா திபத்தியத்தை நெடுங்காலம் ருன்றாகளிப்புடன்கிடுத்து, தங்களை முன்னிட்டு நாமெல்லோ ரும் பெருமையை அடைந்து தங்கள் பாக்கியத்தில் ஈடுபட்டு இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதே எங்கள் பிராத்தனையை எங்கும் நிறைந்த கடவுள் நிறைவேற்றுவரென்றும்பும்

தங்கள் பீதி பாத்திரரான,
இச்சங்கத்து அங்கத்தினர்கள்.

అయ్య,

“మిథికి సాసైటి” సాంఘికులైన మేము తమకు శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారు ఒసంగియుండు “రాజసభాభూషణ” యను బిరుదును గుఱించి మిగుల అభినందించుచున్నారము. ఇటువంటి బిరుదులకు ఇదివరకు భారతేయలే పాత్రులుగానుండిరి. యూరోపు దేశీయులకు ఇటువంటి రాజసన్మానము లభించుటకిదియే మొదలు. తాము యూరోపు దేశీయులయినప్పటికిన్ని భారతేయులతోనే కీభవించి భారతదేశమునే మాతృదేశముగా స్వీకరించియున్నాము. తాము ఈ మైసూరు రాష్ట్రమునకు వచ్చినది మొదలు యావజ్జీవమును ఈ రాష్ట్రముయొక్కయు ఈ రాష్ట్రీయులయొక్కయు ఔన్నత్యమును ప్రపంచమునకు వెల్లడిజేయుట మొదలుగాగల దేశసేవను ముఖ్యపనిగా నైకొనియున్నాము. అందునకు తమ అగ్రాసనాధిపత్యములో ఈ సంఘము చెందియుండు ప్రపంచ ప్రసిద్ధియే దృష్టాంతముగాయన్నది. తమ అస్తవలన ఈ సంఘము జనించినది మొదలు శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారున్న వారి సర్కారున్న చేసియుండు సాహాయమునకు మేమంతయు కృతజ్ఞులుగావున్నాము. ఏలికవారియొక్క పోషణోహండి పెరిగినట్టి ఈ సంఘము చేయుచుండు దేశ సేవకుమెచ్చి, అగ్రాసనాధిపతులైన తమకు ఈ బిరుదునొసంగినారనుటకెంతమాత్రమును సందియములేదు. తమకు కలిగియుండు గౌరవమును మేమందరును మాకు కలిగినట్టే భావించుచున్నారము. ఇదియే సాంఘికులందరికిని ప్రోత్సాహమును పురి గొల్పి సంఘముయొక్క మరింత నభివృద్ధికి కారణముగు గాక.

తాము ఎల్లకాలమందును శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారియొక్కయు వారివంశపు వారియొక్కయు ముఖ్య స్నేహితులుగానుండి, ఈ రాష్ట్రముయొక్క హితచింత నమునే చేయుచున్నాము. తామొనరించుచుండు స్వాధ్వరహితమైన దేశ సేవమరింత మెచ్చికువచ్చి ఈ సంఘము తమ అగ్రాసనాధిపత్యములో ఏలికవారి ముఖ్యానుగ్రహమునకు పాత్రమై, ఇంకను బౌద్ధత్యమును చెందుగాక. తమకు శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారియొద్దయు బ్రిటిష్ సాంబ్రాజ్యమువారియొద్దయు ఇంకను అనేక గొప్ప మర్యాదలు గలుగుగాక అని కోరుచున్నాము.

ఆ కరుణానిధియైన పరమేశ్వరుడు తా మొనరించుచుండు దేశసేవకు యే యొక్క- కుండకము రాకను, తమకు చాలునంత ఆయురారోగ్యమును, ఉల్లాస మునుయిచ్చి, బ్రోచుగాకయని ప్రార్థించుచున్నాము.

ఇట్లని సంతోష సూచకముగా యిచ్చినట్టి మంగళశాసనము.

శ్రీ కృష్ణ రాయగుణర
త్నాకల్ప కల్పకందు * మాధికదాన
శ్రీమతుకా గతలోకా
లోకాంతర సకలసుకవి * లోకస్తుత్యా.

అభినందనపత్రిక.

ని తి హా సి క స భా ధ్య క్ష రా ద రా జ స భా భూ ష ణ

రవరేంద్ర ఘాదర్ ట్యావిర్,

ఎం. ఎ., ఎం. ఆర్. ఎ. ఎస్., ఎం. బి. ఐ., యవర సన్నిధియల్లి

ఇదే సభాసదస్యరూద నావుగళు ఒప్పిసిన అభినందనపత్రిక వసందర:-

భూరే,

ఈ సభియన్ను స్థాపింపుదరల్లి ప్రముఖరాగి నింతు, ఆదియించలూ కాయగినినాద మూడిద తమగే శ్రీమూ మృసూరు మూరాజరవరు ఈ వర్షద సవరాత్రియ మూదోత్సవ కాలదల్లి “రాజసభాభూషణ” ఎంబ బిరుదన్ను దయసాలిసిచ్చకాగి నమ్మ దృదయ గతనాద సంతోషవన్ను ఈ మూలక తమగే అరికే మూడుత్తేనే.

శ్రీమూ మూరాజరవరు తమగే ఈ గౌరవవన్ను తోరిసిచ్చు తమ్మ పరిచితరాద ప్రతి ఒబ్బరిగూ సంతోషకరవాగిదే; అదరి ఈ సభియ సదస్యరిగాదరిం విలేషనాద చిత్తసమున్నతిగూ ఆనందక్కా కారణవాగిదే.

నావుగళు సదస్యరాగిరతక్కు ఈ సభియ సంస్థాపనగే అధ్యక్షరాద తావు సంతతవాగి లేరవూ ఆలస్యవీల్లదే ర్దేయించ లోకమితాధావాగి మూడిద ప్రయత్నదించ కట్టడవు బాల్లతవాగి నింతు, కాయక్రమవు సారోద్ధారవాగియూ ప్రయోజనకారియూగియూ జరగువదేందు దృఢగోళరక్కు అవకారవుంటూగిదే. తావు మూడిద మూదుసకారక్కు అనుగుణనాద కృతజ్ఞతీయన్ను తమగే సమర్పిసలు నమగే రక్కువిల్లా. అదరించలే తమ్మ లుపకారద ఖుణభారవు నమ్మ మేలే ఎండేదిగూ ఇరువుదేంబువుదే నమగే ప్రతిష్ఠేయన్నంటునూడిదే. అధ్యక్షరాగి తావు నడిసిద సమస్త కాయగళియూ తమ్మ సౌజన్యవూ మిత్రభావవూ తుంటి తుళుకాడుత్తలివే.

నమ్మల్లి ప్రతి ఒబ్బ సదస్యరిగూ అనురాగవన్ను తోరిసి సమాయనూడిరువిరి. ఇంథా సద్గుణగళు, తమ్మల్లి నమ్మ ప్రీతియన్ను గౌరవవన్ను వర్ణవర్ణ అధికవాగి ఆకర్షణ మూడివే.

ఆదకారణ తావు ఒందరమేలొందు గౌరవవన్ను సంపాదిసిరతక్కు నమ్మ ప్రతి ష్టిగూ సంతోషక్కా కారణవేందు నావు భావిసతక్కుదేనూ అష్టర్కవల్ల, మత్తు ఇంథ

ಶ್ರೀಮಹಾರಾಜರವರು ಈ ಬಹುಮಾನವನ್ನು ತಮಗೆ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಅನೇಕ ಕಾರಣಗಳು
 ತ್ತವೆ. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಒಂದನ್ನು ನಾವು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ದೇಶದ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ
 ಯೂ, ಸುಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳು, ರಾಸನಗಳು, ಇವುಗಳಿಂದ ಪ್ರದರ್ಶಿತವಾದ ಪುರಾತನ ನಾಗರಿಕ
 ವಿಚಾರಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿನ ಜನರಿಗಿರುವ ಅಭಿಮಾನವು ಪ್ರರೋಚಿಸುವಂತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಸಂಗತವಾದ ಸ್ವಂತ
 ಲೋಧನೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇತರರ ಸಹಕಾರದಿಂದಲೂ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ತಾವು
 ಮಾಡಿದ ಉಪಕಾರವು ಇಂಥಾ ಘನತೆಯನ್ನು ನಮ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜರು ತಮಗೆ ತೋರಿಸಿರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ
 ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯಕಾರಣವೆಂದು ನಂಬಲು ನಮಗೆ ಬಹಳ ಆನಂದ ಉಂಟಾಗಿದೆ.

ತಮ್ಮ ಗುಣಾತಿಶಯಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ವಿವರಿಸಲು ಭಾಷೆಯು ಲಂಚಿಸುವದರಿಂದ ಅವುಗಳ ಸಾರವನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶ್ಲೋಕದಿಂದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ:—

ಕೋಶಿವೇಶಃ ಸವಿದ್ಯಾನಾಂ ಕಃ ಪರಃ ಪ್ರಿಯವಾದಿನಾಂ ||

റമിറനഡ് എ. എം. ബെലഡ്

“മിത്തിക്കു സൊസൈറ്റി”യുടെ ജനനം മുതൽ അതിന്റെ സ്ഥിരം അദ്ധ്യക്ഷസ്ഥാനം വഹിച്ചിരുന്നാലും ആ യോഗത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥാപനയിൽ അശ്രാന്തപരിശ്രമം ചെയ്ത നേതാക്കളിൽ ഒരുവനും ആയ അങ്ങേയ്ക്ക് ഈയിടെ മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു ബഹുമാനസൂചകമായ “രാജസഭാഭൂഷണം” എന്ന സ്ഥാനം നൽകിയതിൽ പ്രസ്തുത യോഗത്തിന്റെ അംഗങ്ങളായ ഞങ്ങൾ അങ്ങനെ ഹൃദയപൂർവ്വം അനുമോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുവാൻ താല്പര്യപ്പെടുന്നു.

ഇങ്ങിനെയിരിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥിതിക്ക് അങ്ങേയ്ക്കു കീർത്തിസ്സുചകമായ ബഹുമതികൾ മേൽക്കുമേൽ ലഭിച്ചുകാണുന്നത് ഞങ്ങൾക്ക് അത്ഭുതം സന്തോഷത്തിനും അഭിമാനത്തിനും കാരണഭൂതമാകുന്നതിലും, അങ്ങയെ അനുമാദിക്കുവാൻ ഇടവരുത്തിയ ഈ അവസരത്തെ സന്തോഷപൂർവ്വം കൈക്കൊണ്ട് ഈവക കീർത്തിയോടെ അധികംകാലം ജീവിച്ചിരുന്നു കാണുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ അഗ്രാഹിക്കുന്നതിലും ഒട്ടും അശ്വസ്തത്തിന്നു രാരില്ലല്ലോ.

ഭവന മൈസൂർരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ അഭിവൃദ്ധി ഉദ്ദേശിച്ച് അങ്ങു ചെയ്യും ചെയ്യുന്നതും ആയ പ്രവൃത്തികളാണെന്നു കരുതുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക് അതിയായ പ്രീതിയുണ്ട്. ആ പ്രവൃത്തികൾ ഏതുവിധമാണെന്നുവെച്ചാൽ, അങ്ങയുടെ ഏതും ഒരുപോലെ സ്വരാഷ്ട്രീയമായ അനുകമ്പയോടുകൂടെ സദയം അറിവുവരുത്തുകയായി ചെയ്യുന്ന സ്വന്തം അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനായി സമർത്ഥരായ പല ഇതരജനങ്ങളുടെ വിലയേറിയ സഹായത്താൽ മഹാരാജാവുവിരുമനസ്സിലെ പ്രജകളുടെ ഹൃദയത്തിൽ ഒന്നനുസ്മിതിയിലെത്തിക്കുളള സ്വരാജ്യചരിത്രം, പുരാതനസ്ഥാപന ഏകാകര്യം, വിവിധതരത്തിലുള്ള കെട്ടിടസ്ഥാപനം മുതലായ വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ സ്വരാജ്യാഭിമാനം ജനിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനാലും അകുന്നു.

ഇന്ന് അങ്ങക്കായി സമർപ്പിക്കുന്ന മംഗളവക്ത്രങ്ങൾ നാനാഭാഷകളിലായതുകൊണ്ട് അവയുടെ പ്രകൃതം ഭേദപ്പെട്ടാണെങ്കിലും അവയുടെ രാഷ്ട്രം ഏല്ലാവരിലും ഒന്നുതന്നെയാകുന്നു; ഓരോന്നും മുഴുവൻയോഗത്തിന്റെ പ്രതിനിധിയുടെ നിലയിലാണ് സംസാരിക്കുന്നത്. ഓരോന്നിലും ഈ സഭയ്ക്കു കാരണഭൂതമായ സംഭവത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള അപാരമായ സന്തോഷത്തെയും പ്രീതിയേയും ഏതാണ്ടു പ്രദർശിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അങ്ങയുടെ ഭാവിദശയ്ക്കിന്നും ഐശ്വര്യത്തിനും ഞങ്ങൾ അശംസിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും സ്മരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു.

M. Manorama Press, Kottayam.

സംസ്കൃതമാധ്യമം അംഗമനോഹരം.

മോ മാനനീയ രേവരേണ്ഡ് ടെവാർ മഹാശയ.

ശ്രീമതുകൃഷ്ണക്ഷമാപാല വിതീർണ് വിരുദോജ്വലം ।

സന്തോപാതിശയേന ത്വമഭിനന്ദാമഹേ വയം ॥

इह खलु भवाननवरत लोकोपकार निरतो विद्याधिनयादि महितश्च पूर्वमेव महद्भिः एम्. वि. ई., केसरिहिण्ड प्रभृत्युपाधिभिर्भूषित इति नैतदाश्चर्यम्. इदं पुनराश्चर्यमिव प्रतिभाति यदिदानीमस्मत्प्रभुणा महीशूर महाराजेन श्रीमत्कृष्णगजेन्द्रेण पाश्चात्येष्वनन्यसाधारण "राजसभाभूषणा" स्य विरुदराजेन सभाजितोसि. वस्तुतस्तु गुणग्राहिणास्मन्महाराजेन तदर्हाय भवते समुचित विरुदवितरणं सांप्रतमेवैतत्.

त्वया किलात्र कल्याणनगर्या प्राचीनधर्मादि रहस्य विचारधियामुपकाराय श्रीमत्कर्णाट जनपदेन्द्रेण श्रीकृष्णभूपेन्द्रेणोदारहृदयेन वितीर्णा साहाय्यसंपत्तिमधिगत्य निर्मितायामेतद्राज्य हितचिन्तकस्य श्रीमतो डेली प्रभुवर्यस्याङ्कितेनालङ्कृतायां शालायां प्रतिष्ठापिता "मिथिक् सोसैटी" त्यभिख्यावती विद्यासमितिस्तदा तदा विदुषामुपन्यासैस्तत्प्रचौरैश्च श्रोतृजनानन्ददायिनी सहृदय हृदयाह्लादिनी सती न केवलमस्मिन्देशे भारते वर्षे वा परन्तु सकलेष्वपि पाश्चात्यजनपदेषु सुप्रसिद्धिमुपनीतित्यहो लोकाराधनैकतान चित्तवृत्तेस्तव दृढव्रतत्वमित्यलमतिविस्तरेण.

अधुना खलु पाश्चात्य मत चरित शास्त्रादि निष्णातोपि भवान् भारतीय मत धर्म चरित सम्प्रदायादि जिज्ञासा कुतूहलित स्वान्तस्तदर्थमनवरतमनल्पेन प्रयासेन तदन्वेषण विचार प्रसिद्धि विदधानस्सन्नास्माकीन एव नत्वपर इति दृढं प्रत्ययं प्रतिपद्य प्रमोदसरणिमुपनीता स्मः. इयमेवासाधारणी प्रतीतिस्तावदूर्दर्शिनोऽस्मन्महाराजस्य श्रुतिपथमनुप्राप्य नचिरत्त्वा "राजसभाभूषण" पद भाजनमकार्षीदिति परमानन्द परिपूरितान्तःकरणा स्मः.

अतश्चेदानीम् —

लोकेशानुग्रहेण त्वमायुरारोग्य भाग्यवान् ।

भूया भूरियशाश्चेति नित्यमाशास्महे वयम् ॥

زینتِ یم لے دیم بی آئی دیم آریس لبکہ لے عاقل فرزانہ مبارک باشد
پو خطاب تو شدہ راجہ سجھا بھونگفت چہ یگانہ و چہ یگانہ مبارک باشد
باد ہر روز تو ہم پایہ جشن نوروز خانہ ات پچو طرنب انہ مبارک باشد

ہر چہ در سینہ نہانت بردن می آید
تنہت نامہ دیوانہ مبارک باشد

گزشتہ

اراکین انجمن تواریخ قدیم دیتھک سائی

ہلال پریس بنگلور سٹی

HILAL PRESS, BANGALORE CITY

ان اغزاز کے ساتھ ہمارا درمیان ہیں۔

(4) سولے اسکے ہموار کے یقین سے مستر ہوتی ہر کہ جو اسباب کے اغزاز کے باعث ہوئے ہیں ان میں سے بھی ایک کا کہ اپنے اس سائنسی کے ذریعہ سے ملک سیور کی غذا ادا کی ہے اور وہ یہ ہیں کہ اپنے کچھ اپنے ذاتی تحقیقات سے اور کچھ دیگر قابل اطمینان تائید سے مسلسل درمہد روانہ کوششوں کے بدولت ہر مائیس کی رعایا میں اپنے ملک کی تاریخ کو وطنی محبت کے ساتھ بڑھنے کا اور اپنے ملک کے کثیر التعداد تاریخی تعمیر اور قدیم لایام یادگاروں کی تحقیق کرنے کا چکا پیدا کر دیا اور اس کو تقویت بخشا۔

(5) آج شام کو جو تہنیت نامے اپنے ہر یہ نظر ہوئے وہ مختلف بانوں میں ہونگے اور اگرچہ ہر ایک کا قالب مختلف ہوگا مگر ہر ایک کی روح سبکی روح ہوگی۔ ہر ایک کا کہاساری سوسائٹی کا کہنا ہوگا اور ہم کو امید ہے کہ آج کا ہر ایک تہنیت نامہ ہمارے مسرت اور خوش حالی کا جو ہموار موقع پر حاصل ہوئی ہے۔ اور آپ کے آئندہ کی خورسندی و ترقی کے متعلق ہمارے جو دلی آرزو کا اظہار آپ کے کچھ مدت تک ضروری کر رہے ہوں گے۔

ہلال پریس بنگلورٹی

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قطرہ در اظہار مسترت بہ تقریب جشن تہنیت خطاب جامعہ سبھا بھوشنا
بہ ریورنڈ فادر انٹونی میری ٹیا برویم۔ ای۔ ایم۔ بی۔ ایم۔ آر۔ ایس۔
انخصو پر نور مہاراجہ ملک سیور کر نل سری کرشناراج وڈیر ہادرجی سی لکشی جی بی

عزت افزائی شانہ مبارک باشد رونق افروزی کا شانہ مبارک باشد
لے خوش آں نرم کہ دریا دوتوئے می نوشد گردش ساغر و پیما نہ مبارک باشد
اندرا جس جشن کہ چوں قفل مینا خیزد ہمہ آوازہ مستانہ مبارک باشد
تابو دور و تو بہر صبح و مسافر قلیط ق و گرفت سبہ صد دانہ مبارک باشد
درانا جیل ہمہ نام و نشان روشن بسر زلف دو تا شانہ مبارک باشد
توئی آن شمع کلیسا کہ میجا افروخت گفت پروانہ بہ پروانہ مبارک باشد
علم و فضل تو شدہ سرمہ چشم حیرت فیض عام تو بشکرانہ مبارک باشد

حاصل ہوا ہے اسپریم ممبرن میٹھل ساسٹی آپ بہت جوش و عقیدہ مند می کے ساتھ مبارزہ
کرتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ اس سوسائٹی کے آپ تبدلے پریڈنٹ ہے ہیں۔ اور آپ ان اھم
ایک ہیں جو اس ساسٹی کی بنیاد ڈالنے میں زیادہ حصہ لیا تھا۔

(2) جس شخص کو آپ سے ذاتی تعرف رکھنے کا فخر حاصل ہے اور سکو یہ سچی مسرت کا باعث ہے کہ ہر ائسن نے آپ کو اس اعزاز کیلئے انتخاب فرمایا۔ مگر تھک سے سائٹی کے ممبروں کیلئے یہ اعزاز فخر و شادمانی کا ایک مخصوص سبب ہے آپ نے سوسائٹی کے پریذیڈنٹ کی حیثیت میں سابقہ اپنی متواتر ان تھک فیاض رجوئیلے کو ششوں ایک بنیاد پر جسکے ڈالنے میں آپ بھی سامع تھے ایک مستقل کارآمد اور یہ ہمارا یقین ہے کہ ایک پریپار انجمن کے ممبروں کا فخر حاصل ہے یا کہنے میں کامیاب ہو چکے اور آپ کی اس کامیابی پر یہ کو فخر ہے کہ ہم سب کے زیادہ ممبروں کی شان میں جسکا اعتراف کرنے کے لئے ہم ہمیشہ تیار ہیں۔ اور جس سے کہ دشی عامل کرنی دشوار امر ہے اس سے زیادہ قابل قدر یہ بات ہے کہ آپ کا طرز انما از صدارتی کارروائیوں میں ہر دو فخر زیادہ دو شانہ حرکات سے ملو تھا۔ آپ کی ہر وقت کی ہمدردی اور امداد جس سے کہ آپ نے سائٹی کے ہر ایک ممبر کو مستفیض فرمایا اس سے آپ کی محبت و آپ کا اعزاز ہمارے دل کو سالہا سال سن کر آگیا (3) پس اس صورت میں کوئی تعجب خیز امر نہوگا۔ اگر آپ کی مسلسل قدر افزائی پر فخر اور مسرت

	PAGES.
<i>Papers read or contributed—</i>	
Acting in Kerala	283—294
Ancient Hindu Education as revealed in the works of Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali	156—170
Annual meeting. The report of the eleventh—of the Mythic Society	1—9
Bhasa's Pratimanatakam	58—69 and 275—396
Brahmanas. The age of the—	171—192 223—249 and 357—366
Buddhist image from Nepal. A—	203—204
Construction of forts	367—374
Devarayadroog. The ancient story of—	349—356
Greater India. Expansion of India beyond the seas	10—44
Human sacrifices to water spirits	397—405
Influence of Oriental Literature on the West. The—	125—140
Jivandhara. The story of—	317—348
Ko chen Kannan Chola. Notes	95—102
Kalinga History. Notes on—	247—260
Kalabhras. The—	304—306
Legends. The—of Kerala	90—94 and 295—301
Malnad Chiefs	45—57
Primitive religion in Mysore	141—155 and 302—304
Periapurana or the lives of the great Saiva devotees	194—202
Solar signs in Indian Literature	67—89
Satiyaputras of Asoka's Edict No. 2	100—102
Tholkappya's Religion II	207—208
Tirumangai Alwar and Danti Durga	261—267
Vikrama Era. The founder of the—	268—282
<i>Books reviewed, etc.—</i>	
Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.—Vol. III—(1)	309—310
Archæological Report, Hyderabad—1918—19	113—114
Do Indian—1918-19—Part I	216—217
Do The Mysore—1921	307—308

Caste—A study of—by R. L. ...	..	206—210
Correspondence	..	103—104 and 211
Djawa, the Quarterly Journal of the Java Institute ..	..	308—309
Eastern Buddhist. The—, Vol. I—(4) ..	..	212—214
Epigraphical report. Madras—, 1920-21 ..	..	215—216
Goods and Bads; outlines of the Philosophy of life by A. G. Widgery ..	..	214—215
Heart of the Bhagavad Gita. The—, the Gaekwad studies in Religion and Philosophy—III by L. M. Bhagavat of Kurutkoti—published by A. G. Widgery ..	..	104—107
Indian Boat designs. The origin and ethnological significance of—, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal ..	..	114
Indian Review of Reviews, August 1921 ..	..	211—212
International Bureau of Sciences. The— ..	..	408—409
Jaina Gazette. The—, Vol. XVIII—(4) ..	..	108—109
Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University ..	..	408
Kanarese Literature by E. P. Rice—A study and a criticism by M. A. Narayana Sastry ..	..	310—311
Karunatarangini by K. Krishnamacharya ..	..	409—410
Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 10—A guide to Nizamuddin by Moulvi Zafar Hasan ..	..	217
South Indian Shrines and South Indian Festivities by P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar ..	..	109—110
Talamana or Iconometry by T. A. Gopinath Rao ..	..	110—113
Tile mosaics of the Lahore Fort by J. Ph. Vogel ..	..	204—205
Treasure trove. The Publicity Bureau ..	..	



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