

69425

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XIV]

OCTOBER, 1923

[No. 1

**THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY.**

Bangalore, 14th August 1923.

A. R. BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Dewan of Mysore,*
in the Chair.

Mr. S. Srikantaiya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Joint Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT.

THE Committee of the Mythic Society have much pleasure in placing before you an account of the Society's activities during its thirteenth session, 1922-23.

2. MEMBERSHIP:—There has been a very gratifying, though small, increase in the membership of the Society, the total number being 552 as against 539 last year. We have on our rolls 28 life members, 195 resident and 307 mofussil members, 6 resident and 24 mofussil subscribers and 20 honorary members. Your Committee make a new appeal to the members to induce more of their friends to join the Society.

3. FINANCE:—Our collections from subscriptions amounted to Rs. 1,479-8-0; from life members Rs. 400-0-0; from grants Rs. 2,125. From sale of journals we realized Rs. 125-10-0, interest on investments Rs. 542-8-1,

and miscellaneous receipts Rs. 146-0-1, totalling Rs. 5,038-7-9. Out of this amount, the expenditure as shown in the accompanying statement of accounts, amounted to Rs. 4,602-3-1, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 436-4-8. The cost of printing continues to be very heavy and the Journal of the Mythic Society is one of the few publications which have not, despite all difficulties, raised the rate of subscription. The Committee hope that members in arrears will remit their annual subscriptions without delay and help to maintain the efficiency and prompt despatch of the Journal as heretofore, and will give no cause for reminders being sent and V. P.'s being resorted to to collect arrears. The arrears still to be recovered amount to Rs. 514.

4. MEETINGS:—We had quite a variety of very interesting papers. There were in all twelve meetings during the year. The first that call for notice are the papers of Prof. Sylvaïn Levi, the renowned patriarch of Oriental Studies, and Dr. Miss Kramrisch, who delivered lectures on *Greater India*, and the *Significance of Indian Art*, respectively. The other papers included those of Dr. R. Shamasastri, Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Mr. B. Puttaiya, Mr. D. B. Ramachandra Mudaliar, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, Mr. B. M. Rangaiya Naidu, Mr. S. T. Moses and Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami.

5. JOURNAL:—The Journal, all will admit, maintained its high level of excellence throughout the year and the thanks of the Committee are due to all the gentlemen that contributed towards this end. The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Messrs. K. G. Shankara, Pandit M. Raghaviengar, A. Rangaswami Saraswathi, K. G. Sesha Iyer, B. V. Kameshwara Iyer, Sarat Chandra Mitra, T. N. Subrahmanyam, K. Rama Pisharoti, P. V. Jagadisa Iyer, V. Venkatachela Iyer, L. A. Cammiade, Rao Saheb Dr. S. Krishnaswamiengar, and others have been of great assistance to us by their valuable contributions.

6. EXCHANGES:—The new exchanges secured during the year were (a) The Christian College Magazine, and the publications of (b) The Anthropological Society of Bombay, (c) The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, (d) The Purra Tatva Mandir, Ahmedabad, (e) Association Francaise des Amis de L'Orient, Musée Guimet, Place d'Iena, Paris.

7. LIBRARY:—Large additions were made during the year to the library. Books of the value of Rs. 304 were purchased, and one hundred and eighty-two volumes were added, besides the late Pradhana Siromani T. Ananda Rao's Library. The Muzrai Department kindly transferred the *Sacred Books of the East* for safe custody and the use of members. Attempts are being made to secure further additions to the Library.

8. THE HALL:—The hall and grounds are maintained in excellent condition, owing, in a large measure, to the Government grants for which we are

most grateful. The Government and the various semi-official associations arranged for their Annual Meetings and other functions in our Hall. The Lawyers' Conference and the Local Self-Government Conference also held their meetings in the premises of the Mythic Society.

VISITORS:—It is gratifying to observe that amongst the distinguished visitors to the Daly Memorial Hall were included the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir K. G. Gupta.

9. THE TABARD MEMORIAL:—The Tabard Memorial prize during the last Mysore University Convocation was awarded to Mr. B. R. Subba Rao, M.A., who obtained the highest number of marks in Indian History.

10. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has been graciously pleased to accept our invitation to be a Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society.

11. Last year we offered our hearty felicitations to Rajadharmaprabina Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, and Rajamanthraprabina Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, on the distinctions conferred on them by His Highness the Maharaja. This year we have the pleasure to congratulate again our two Vice-Presidents on their having received from the Government of India the well-merited title of "Dewan Bahadur".

12. The Committee welcome with very great pleasure Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, B.A., B.L., First Member of Council as a Vice-President of the Mythic Society.

13. The Committee desire to record their grateful appreciation of the work done for the Society by Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, General Secretary and Treasurer, who had to be relieved on his transfer to Nanjangud.

14. The Committee have received a communication from Mr. F. W. Thomas, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, inviting the attention of the Mythic Society to certain changes recently made in its rules concerning Branch and Associate Societies. Under the amended Rules it is open to us to seek admission as a Branch or an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society, and if the Mythic Society be admitted as a Branch or an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society, under the amended Rule 105, members of the Mythic Society will be entitled while on furlough or otherwise temporarily residing within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings; and if any member of any Branch or Associate Society should apply for election to become a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination by two other members of the Royal Asiatic Society as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary and such member may forthwith be elected by a vote of the Royal Asiatic Society at one of its meetings on his satisfying them that he is a member of the Mythic Society.

This is a great advantage and the Committee consider that steps may be taken to associate the Mythic Society as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society.

15. We beg to express our deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja, to His Highness the Yuvaraja and to His Highness the Maharaja's Government, for the encouragement and help which they have given us and for graciously continuing their grants to the Society.

FATHER TABARD'S REMARKS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Before proposing the formal adoption of the Report, I wish to make a few remarks.

As you all know, one of the objects of the founders of the Mythic Society was to create in Mysore a centre of high intellectual culture.

That aim was very ambitious, but we knew that Mysore had the talent if we could only bring it out and we felt that as Mysore, under the enlightened guidance of our revered Maharaja, had attained the foremost rank among Indian States in political and material progress, it was in the fitness of things that in the realms of intellectual culture, Mysore should also be first.

It would be presumptuous on our part to say that we have succeeded, but the considerable increase among our members and the recognition we have received from many learned Societies seem to tell us that outsiders have come to know that Mysore, through the Mythic Society, need not be afraid of a comparison in that respect also with any other part of India.

Mr. Mir Humza Hussain has borne eloquent testimony to the success we have so far achieved and voiced, we feel sure, the feelings of many when in his speech at the last Central College Day he said that the intellectual activity in Bangalore was due to the existence of the Mythic Society.

The facts that the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is seeking a more intimate association with us and that many Universities all over the English-speaking world are asking for complete sets of our Journal have also a significance of their own.

This success is due in a large measure to our Journal which, though devoted primarily to the history, archæology and ethnology of Mysore, still opens its pages to all scholars who have made a speciality of any branch in the field of Indian Research. We welcome them all but we would make a special appeal to those who would be willing to bring us contributions to the study of ethnology and ethnography in Mysore and Southern India, as so far the late lamented Mr. Nanjundaiya does not seem to have a successor in those two most interesting branches of Indian studies. It will be our

endeavour to see that our Quarterly maintains the same degree of excellence and continues to be issued with the punctuality which very few similar publications are able to emulate.

The Report gives a full account of the Society's activities and I need not expatiate on them.

I will content myself by making a new appeal for more life-members and more frequent donations as this is the only way for us to build up a funded capital which will ensure the future of the Society. An increase of ordinary members would also be of a great help to us to meet our ordinary expenses.

But to make our Society a complete success what we are in need of mostly is "enthusiasm". We are working for the glory of Mysore and no Mysorean can afford to remain indifferent. His Highness the Maharaja, our revered Patron, the Royal Mysore Family, His Highness' Government, all take a keen interest in the Mythic Society. I call then on all His Highness' subjects, on all the admirers of Mysore, to stand by me and help me to make Mysore better known still, not only in India, but all over the British Empire.

With these remarks I have the pleasure to move that the Report of the Mythic Society for 1922-23 be adopted.

Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

The re-election of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard as President, proposed in a few felicitous words by Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, First Member of Council, and seconded by Mr. K. R. Sreenivasiengar, Second Member of Council, was carried by acclamation.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, proposed and Mr. S. Cadambi seconded the election of the office-bearers for the ensuing Session.

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

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The Mythic Society has now entered on the fourteenth year of its existence and it is not necessary for me to express, as Chairman of this meeting, in glowing terms the work that the Society has been able to show during the past thirteen years. Successive Presidents of its annual meetings have given testimony to such work, and the record that is accumulating of its varied activities in the field of historic research is sufficient evidence of its usefulness and the good that it is doing to promote interest as well as a desire in the public mind for knowledge in the antiquities specially those relating to the State of Mysore.

I will not emulate my distinguished predecessors who have presided at your annual gatherings in the past few years by claiming notorious ignorance of the various subjects which the Society was formed to investigate and study. But although I yield to none of them in the extent of such ignorance, I must claim that I do sympathize with the work of the Society, and it is for this reason that I have accepted the kind invitation of Father Tabard to preside on this occasion. I thank you all for the honour you have done me, but as Chairman of this meeting, I find myself somewhat at a disadvantage, for it has been customary with me to make speeches only on matters of public administration and finance which deal generally with facts and figures, dry as dust and uninteresting to such a learned body of pandits as are represented by the Members of this Society. I must confess, however, that, before the days when the crust of officialdom settled itself hard on my temperament, I did take interest in historic studies and investigations, but the want of leisure has prevented me from making excursions in those interesting fields and thus from earning the fame of a Romesh Dutt or a Keene or a Stanley Rice, who have distinguished themselves in the world of letters in spite of being members of the Civil Service.

The name assumed by your Society has evoked comment in the past, but it is no longer mythic, judging from the large number of members on its rolls which has gradually increased to 552, although your critics, pointing towards the state of your finances, may attribute a mythic character to your resources, as I find from the Report, that you have a negligible balance and also large arrears of subscriptions due. This is certainly not a healthy state of affairs, and it is hoped that the appeal that has been made by the Honorary Secretary in this matter will receive an adequate response.

A Society like that of yours is, at the present moment, a great necessity in the country for more than one reason. With the tendency towards materialism and of pursuing activities for the material and economic development of the country, one is apt to forget past history which alone can bring sound lessons to the present generation. It was Prof. Max Muller that said:—"There is but one key to the present, and that is the past. There is but one way to understand the continuous growth of the human mind and to gain a firm grasp of what it has achieved in any department of knowledge, and that is to watch its historic development." Only the other day, Dr. Goodier, addressing a gathering in Bombay, laid emphasis on the importance of the study of history and said that nothing helped so much to encourage the long view as history, which enables a man to cast his mind back or forward to hundreds of years to look at things, but he did not overlook the other side. He referred to the fact that there is a tendency to indulge in the dreamy type

of mind which lays too much stress on the imaginary golden age and contrasts the present unfavourably with it. Even research scholars sometimes attempt to describe a spade which they discover amidst their explorations as a golden spoon. Such a tendency can only be counteracted by a critical faculty, and it is satisfactory to the ordinary mind to find that the work of the Mythic Society, as disclosed in its various reports and publications, has not been tainted with this defect.

Although I should be treading on dangerous ground if I attempted to discourse on the immense possibilities that Mysore presents to the student of religion, folklore and pre-historic antiquities, still I am persuaded by the opportunity the present occasion affords me to indicate in a very general way and with the little information that I have acquired on the subject, the peculiar advantages of this country and the special features that it presents for the encouragement of such studies. These are matters of common knowledge to the Members of the Mythic Society, no doubt, but may very well bear repetition. Mysore is a country of wonderful and unlimited possibilities in many directions. This is one of the oldest of Nature's store-houses of mineral wealth, water-power and other material resources. These characteristics I have dwelt upon at some length in my addresses as President of the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibitions on more than one occasion. Further than these, Mysore possesses close historic associations with every religious, moral and philosophic movement of ancient India. Taking only a cursory glance over the pages of her ancient history, one cannot but marvel at the wonderful attractions that Mysore had in the past for the sage and the philosopher. The table-land of Mysore played an important part in the introduction and diffusion of Aryan culture and civilization in Southern India as a whole. In fact, Mysore could be described as the second Aryavarta. Like modern missionaries, Aryan sages and *rishis* acted as advance guards and emissaries of their faiths, penetrating through hills and fastnesses and establishing isolated settlements and some of them can be traced to Mysore. It is only too well-known that Mysore has figured conspicuously in the legendary history of India and there are many spots in the State which are intimately connected with the epic of Mahabharata. Was it not in Mysore that Arjuna, during his first great military expedition, was carried away by the charms of the Princess Chitrangada whom he eventually married and by whom he had his son Babruvahana?

Many of the scenes in the Ramayana are also laid in Mysore. In fact, Mysore forms the base from which Rama carried out operations against Ravana, King of Lanka. I think Mysore is one of the very few Provinces in India where reliable material and *data* exist for a correct and critical study

THE WESTERN GANGAS OF TALKAD.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR

R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THERE are two main branches of the Gangas—the Western Gangas of Talkād and the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. Both trace their name to the river Gangā or Ganges. According to the traditional account of the Western Gangas as given in some inscriptions of about the eleventh century in the Shimoga District, Harischandra had a son named Bharata whose wife, Vijaya-mahādēvi, at the time of conception, bathed in the Ganges to remove her languor, and the son born in consequence was named Gangādatta, whence his descendants were called the Gangas. The Kalinga account, as given in the *Indian Antiquary*,* is that Turvasu, son of Yayāti, being without sons, propitiated the river Gangā, by which means he obtained a son, Gāngēya, whose descendants were the Gangas. Though one account makes the Western Gangas the descendants of Ikshvāku of the solar race, yet the clear statement made in the Gummaredḍipura plates† of the Western Ganga king Durvinīta that he was of the lineage of Kṛishṇa, leads us to conclude that they were Yādavas like the Kalinga Gangas. The latter are mentioned by Pliny. They formed an important line in the seventh and eighth centuries and continued to rule down to the sixteenth century.

Among the dynasties that ruled in Southern India in early times, that of the Gangas of Talkād was one of the most interesting which held its own for nearly seven centuries from about the fourth to the eleventh. The Gangas ruled over the greater part of the present Mysore country, their territory being known as Gangavāḍi, a Ninety-six Thousand province. The existing Ganga-ḍikāras, properly Gangavāḍikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore even now, represent their former subjects. Their earliest capital was Kuvalāla or Kōlār, situated to the west of the Pālār river in the eastern part of Mysore. The capital was subsequently removed to Talkād on the Kāvēri, which continued as such until its capture by the Chōlas at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Ganga sovereignty came to an end. Though Talkād was the permanent capital, the royal residence was removed to a more central position at Maṇṇe or Mānyapura to the north-west of Bangalore in the eighth century in the time of Śrīpurusha, during whose long

reign the Ganga kingdom may be said to have reached the height of prosperity. The Gangas are stated to be of the Jāhnavēya family and of the Kāṇvāyana-gōtra, and are usually styled Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhiraḥ (or mahā-rājādhiraḥ). Their stronghold was Nandagiri (Nandidrug). They had an elephant for their crest. The titles Satyavākya and Nītimārga are as a rule applied alternately to the later kings. The foundation of the Ganga kingdom is attributed to the agency of a Jaina teacher of the name of Simhānandī.

It is interesting to note that several of the Ganga kings were not only patrons of literary merit, but were themselves scholars and authors of some important works in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. Thus Mādhava II is described as a touchstone for testing gold—the learned and poets, and as skilled among those who expound and practise the science of politics. He wrote a commentary on Dattaka's *sūtras* or aphorisms dealing with the branch, known as *Vaiśika*, of the Kāmaśāstra or science of love. Avinīta was worthy to be reckoned first among the learned. Durvinīta was the author of three works in Sanskrit, namely, a grammatical work known as *Śabdāvatāra*, a Sanskrit version of the Paisāchi *Vaḍḍakathā* or *Bṛihatkathā* and a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, who lived for some time at his court. In case this king is, as is very probable, identical with his namesake mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga* of about 850 as an early Kannaḍa prose writer, his many-sided scholarship is really worthy of admiration. Śrīvikrama was of a clear understanding resulting from the study of the fourteen branches of learning; he was specially skilled among those who expound and practise the science of politics in all its branches. Bhūvikrama was well versed in the meaning of all sciences. Śrīpurusha wrote a work on elephants, called *Gajaśāstra*. His son, Śivamāra, was able to compose poetry in three languages, probably Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Prākṛit, and was likewise a dramatist and a grammarian. He was also the author of a work on elephants, called *Gajāśhṭaka* which, it is said, was sung even by women while pounding grain. Eṭṭeyappa, who had the distinctive title Mahēndrāntaka, was the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Guṇavarma I, the author of the *Sūdraka*, the *Harivamśa* and other works. He is described as a Bharata in the arts of singing, instrumental music and dancing, and as an authority to great grammarians. Būtuga II was a touchstone to poets. He cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants the arrogant false disputants of the *ēkānta-mata* or Buddhism with the thunderbolts the arguments based on the scriptures. Maruḷa's poetry was lovingly praised by great poets. By his great learning Mārasimha was like a prodigy in the midst of the learned; he was an expert in grammar, logic, philosophy and literature, and of a remarkable intellect matured by an investigation of all the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Chāmuṇḍa-Rāva, the minister

* XIII, 275.

† *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912.

of Rāchamalla, wrote in 978 the *Trishashtīlakṣhaṇa-mahāpurāṇa*, popularly known as *Chāmunḍarāya-purāṇa*, giving an account of the twenty-four Jinas or Tirthankaras. Nāgavarma I, who was patronized by Rāchamalla's younger brother, Rakkasa-Ganga, was the author of the *Chhandōmbudhi*, the earliest Kannaḍa work on prosody, and a Kannaḍa metrical version of Bāṇa's *Kādambari*.

The following account of the education of a Ganga prince in the tenth century is worthy of notice:—

This intelligent prince, Satyavākya Narasimha-Dēva, learnt in his early age the science of politics, riding on elephants and horses, play at ball, wielding the bow and sword, the drama, grammar, medicine, poetry, mathematics, Bharata-śāstra, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, dancing, singing and instrumental music.

The Ganga kings were not only generally learned, but were also brave in war. They came into collision with several dynasties of kings such as the Kadambas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Pallavas, the Chōḷas, the Bāṇas and the Nolambas, and passed through various vicissitudes of fortune. The first king, Konguṇivarma or Mādhava I is said to have subdued the Bāṇas. Durvinīta gained victories at the battles of Andari, Ālattūr, Porulaṇṇa and Pernagara. The Kadamba king Mrigēśavarma, of the fifth century, claims to have overthrown the Gangas.* The Chālukya Kirtivarma, of the sixth century, is said to have inflicted damage on them.† In about 608, the Ganga kings are said to have attended on Pulakēśi,‡ and in 694 to have been brought into subjection by Vinayāditya §. Śrīpurusha defeated the Pallavas in a battle at Viḷarde. He slew Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kānchi and took away from him the title of Permāṇḍi, which is always afterwards assumed by the Gangas. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva, who attacked Gangavāḍi during Śrīpurusha's reign, imprisoned his son Śivamāra and appointed his own son Kamba as the viceroy of Gangavāḍi. Śivamāra suffered many calamities during his reign. He was twice consigned to prison by the Rāshtrakūṭas and reduced to the galling position of a feudatory. To regain independence appears to have been the one object next to his heart and in his persistent attempt to realize it he nobly sacrificed himself in a battle with Gōvinda III at Kāgimogeyūr in the Tumkūr District. His son Prithivīpati defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa at Śrīpurambiyam. Rājamalla I regained the Ganga kingdom which had been lost during his uncle Śivamāra's reign. He is said to have rescued his country from the Rāshtrakūṭas, who had held it too long, as Viṣṇu in the

* *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 24.

† *Ibid.* XIX., 17.

‡ *Epi. Ind.*, VI, 10.

§ *Epi. Car.*, XI, Dāvāngere 66.

form of a Boar rescued the earth from the infernal regions. His son Niti-mārga gained a victory over the Vallabha (Rāshtrakūṭa) army at Rājarāmaḍu. Būtuga II slew the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya as stated in Maṇḍya 41*. The scholars who had dealt with this inscription, not knowing the correct meaning of the expression *bisugeye kaḷanāge*, had accused Būtuga of treachery in connection with the killing of the Chōḷa Rājāditya. When I explained the expression in J. R. A. S. for 1909, the late Dr. Fleet wrote thus in the same Journal (p. 445):—"It is most satisfactory that it should be so conclusively shown that Būtuga was not guilty of any unfair behaviour in slaying the Chōḷa king." Mārasimha fought with the Chālukya prince Rājāditya for the possession of the Uchchangi fort and brought the Nolamba family to an end. The exploits of a few more kings are mentioned further on. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja took possession of the east of Mysore in 997, and his son Rājendra-Chōḷa captured Talkāḍ in about 1004 and brought the Ganga power to an end.

The Gangas had matrimonial alliances with the Kadambas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Nolambas and the rulers of Punnāḍ. Their copper grants generally begin with an invocation of Padmanābha or Viṣṇu. The only exceptions that have come to notice are the Tagare plates† which invoke Śankara and the Narasimharājapura plates‡ which invoke Jina.

The unusual names for kings, Avinīta and Durvinīta, which mean ill-behaved or wicked, are explained in the abovementioned Tagare plates by prefixing the words *ahita* and *ari-narapa* to them, thus giving us to understand that the kings were so only to their enemies. They are explained in the Narasimharājapura plates, also mentioned above, by stating that the kings were so only in respect of *avinīta* or ill-behaved kings and *durvinīta* or the wicked Kālī.

I shall now proceed to notice briefly an important set of Ganga copper plates recently discovered by me and to make a few observations on the pedigree and chronology of the Gangas, about which there has been a wide difference of opinion. The plates register a grant in A.D. 963 by the Ganga king Mārasimha to a Jaina scholar named Munjārya, who had the title Vāḍighaṇḡaḷabhaṭṭa. They give a full account of the Ganga dynasty and contain the longest Ganga inscription that has yet been discovered.

The plates of Mārasimha are seven in number, each measuring 12" by 6 3/4". The first and last plates are engraved on the inner side only. The writing is in beautiful Haḷa-Kannaḍa characters. The plates are strung on a circular ring which is 5" in diameter and 1/2" thick, and has its ends secured in the base of a square seal measuring 3 1/2" by 3 3/4". The seal, which is beautifully

* *Epi. Car.*, III.

† *Mysore Arch. Report* for 1918.

‡ *Ibid.* for 1920.

executed, 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 lamp-stand with what looks like a *chauri* above it, and in front a vase surmounted by a dagger, and a lamp-stand. The lower compartment bears in one horizontal line the legend *Śrī-Mārasingha-Dēvam* in Haḷa-Kannaḍa characters. A portion of the right hand lower corner of the first plate is broken off, and as the result of this a few letters at the ends of lines 1-6 are missing, but these can to some extent be filled up from the corresponding portions of other grants of the dynasty. The plates were in the possession of Kempananjayya, son of Siddamallappa, a resident of Āldūr, Chāmarājanagar Taluk, Mysore District, and are said to have been unearthed by him about six years ago while ploughing his land in Kūḍlūr near Daṇḍākanpura in Tirumukūḍlu Narsipur Taluk of the same District.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the portion (lines 178-189) giving the income and boundaries of the village granted, which is in old Kannaḍa. The Sanskrit portion, mostly in prose, also contains a number of verses here and there besides the five imprecatory verses coming at the close. Though partly similar in contents to the Keregōḍi-Raṅgāpura plates* of Rājamalla II, the Narsāpur plates† of the same king, the Gaṭṭavādi plates‡ of Eṇṇayappa, and the Sūḍi plates§ of Būtuga, the inscription is unique in several respects:—

(1) It is artistically executed as regards both writing and composition, and may be looked upon as a Sanskrit *Champu* work of considerable literary merit. (2) It is the longest Ganga grant yet discovered, consisting, as it does, of 200 pretty long lines of matter. (3) It is the only Ganga grant that I have seen with an ornamental *square* seal and with a label giving the name of the royal donor. (4) It appears to be the first copper plate inscription yet discovered of the Ganga king Mārasimha. (5) Being one of the latest records of the dynasty, it gives a complete genealogy and some items of information, especially about the later kings, not found in other published grants. Considering the quantity of matter contained in it, the inscription is remarkably free from orthographical and other errors. I think it is a genuine record of the period cited in it.

Before proceeding to remark on the new items of information furnished

* *Mysore Arch. Report* for 1919.

† *Epi. Car.*, X, Kōlār 90.

‡ *Ibid.*, XII, Supplement, Nanjangūḍ, 269.

§ *Epi. Ind.*, III, 158.

by the grant, it is desirable to exhibit the genealogy of the Gangas as given in it, as it may be looked upon as almost complete, there having been only two or three steps more before the dynasty was subverted by the Chōlas.

GANGA GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO THE PLATES OF MĀRASIMHA.

Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka

1 Mādhava-mahādhirāja I
Jayabhūṣaṇa

2 Mādhava-mahādhirāja II

3 Harivarma-mahādhirāja

4 Viṣṇugōpa-mahārājādhirāja

5 Mādhava-mahādhirāja III

Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara (or briefly K. D. P.)

6 Avinīta

7 Durvinīta

8 Mushkara

9 Śrīvikrama

10 Bhūvikrama
Śrīvallabha

Konguṇivarma-mahārājādhirāja

11 Nava-Kāma
Śivamāra I
Sishta-priya

A son

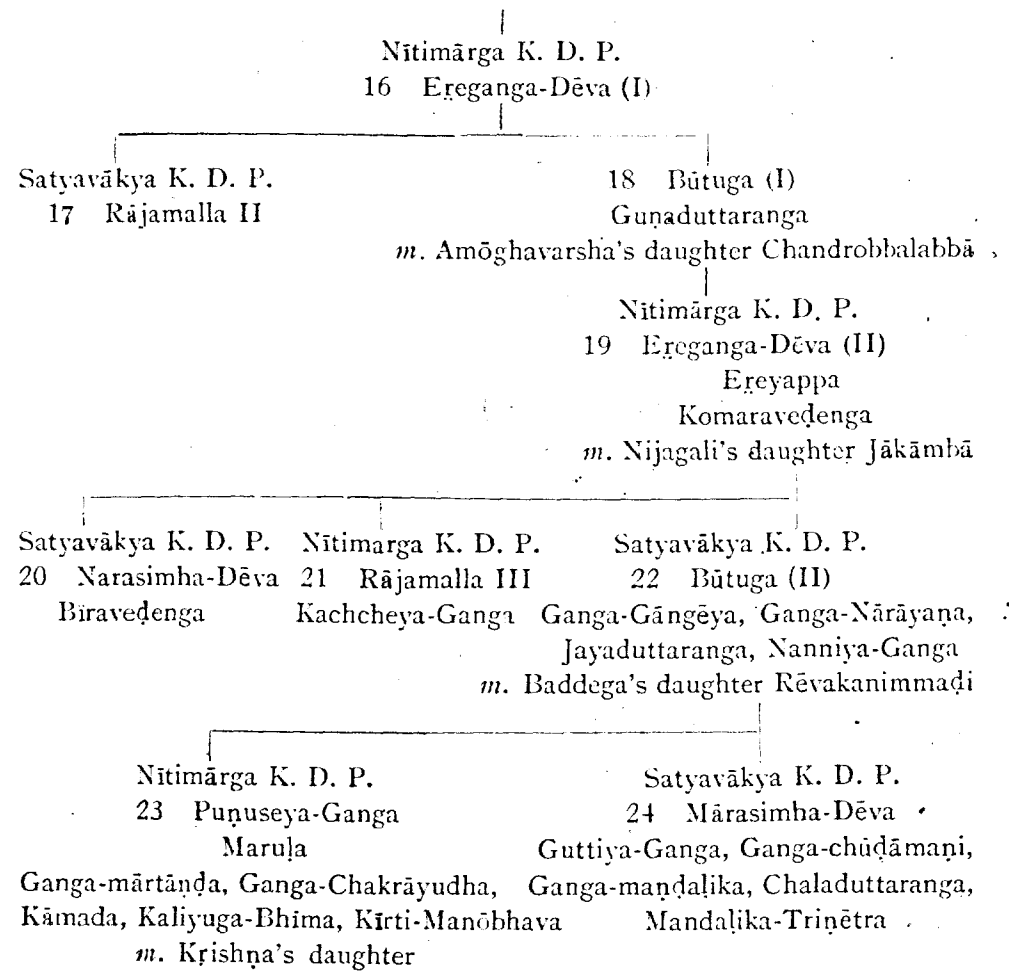
K. D. P.

12 Śrīpuruṣa
Bhīmakōpa, Lōkadhūrta, Rājakēsari

K. D. P.
13 Śivamāra-Dēva II
Saigoṭṭa

14 Vijayāditya

Satyavākya K. D. P.
15 Rāchamalla I



This genealogy is mostly identical with that given in several of the published grants. The points, however, in which it differs from that given in some of them may be noted here. Unlike the present grant, the Sūḍi plates of Būtuga state that 11 was the son of 10, that 12 was the son of 11, and that 21 and 22 were the sons of 20. The Vallimalai rock inscription * of Rājamalla I also makes 12 the son of 11. The mention of 12 as the son of 9 in the Narasimharājapura plates,† unlike the majority of the published grants, has to be looked upon as a mistake. Like the present grant, the stone inscription EC, VIII, Nagar 35, of 1077, mentions 20, 21 and 22 as brothers. It is worthy of note that from 15 onwards to the end, omitting 18, the titles

* *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 141.

† *M. A. R.* for 1920.

Satyavākya and Nitimārga are regularly applied to alternate kings. According to this grant Ereyappa (19) was a Nitimārga, as also his second son Rājamalla (21).

As stated before, the plates of Mārasimha are partly similar in contents to the Keregōḍi-Rangāpura, the Narsāpur, the Gattavāḍi and the Sūḍi plates. Some of the new facts given in them may now be noticed together with some peculiarities not observed in other grants. The first king is called Mādhava. The same is the case in a nearly contemporaneous stone inscription at Lakshmēśvar, * of 968, and in some later records in the Shimoga District, Nagar 35, of 1077, and Shimoga 4, of 1122, which, however, make Mādhava, the younger brother of Daḍiga to whom a few steps in the pedigree are prefixed. It is also stated in the present record that Mādhava obtained greatness by following the Jaina doctrine, that he severed the stone pillar by favour of the Jaina teacher Simhanandi and that his head was adorned with a frontlet made of *Karnikāra* flowers. Shimoga 4 likewise states that Simhanandi presented him with a sword, procured for him a kingdom, and placed on his head a coronet of *Karnikāra* flowers. There are also other inscriptions and literary works which refer to Simhanandi as the founder of the Ganga kingdom. The Udayēndiram grant of Hastimalla, of about 920, states that the Ganga lineage owed its greatness to Simhanandi. Nagar 35 and 36, of 1077, say that he made the Ganga kingdom, and Śravaṇa Belgōla 397, of 1178, tells us that he was the creator of the Ganga kingdom. Śravaṇa Belgōla 67, of 1129, refers to the same fact thus:—"The sharp sword of meditation on the venerable Arhat, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars the hostile army of the *ghāti* sins, † was vouchsafed by Simhanandi-muni to his disciple (Konguṇivarmā) also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?" In an old commentary on the Jaina work *Gommaṣasāra*, it is stated that the Ganga family prospered by the blessing of this sage.

The present grant seems to apply the title Jayabhūṣaṇa to Mādhava. It does not say that Viṣṇugōpa was a devotee of Nārāyaṇa, nor does it say that Mādhava, his son, was a worshipper of Tryambaka. Besides Bhīmakōpa, two other titles, Lōkadhūrta and Rājakēsari, are applied to Śrīpurusha. As

* *I. A.*, VII, 107.

† According to the Jainas, *karma* is primarily of two kinds—*ghāti* (destructive) and *aghāti* (non-destructive), each being again sub-divided into four classes. The *ghāti karmas* are (1) *Jñānāvaraṇīya* (knowledge-obscuring), (2) *darśanāvaraṇīya* (faith-obscuring), (3) *antarāya* (progress-obstructing), and (4) *mōhanīya* (deluding); while the *aghāti karmas* are (1) *āyuh* (determining the duration of life), (2) *nāma* (determining the character of the individual), (3) *gōtra* (determining the family), and (4) *vēdanīya* (giving pleasure or pain). These *karmas* are looked upon as sins.

in the Gattavāḍi plates, it is stated of Vijayāditya that he, like Bharata, refrained from enjoying the kingdom of his elder brother Śivamāra while he was in prison; of Rājamalla II that he distinguished himself in the battle of Sāmiya; and of Būtuga I that he defeated Mahēndra at Bīriyūr, Sūrūr and Sāmiya and captured elephants after routing the Kongas who opposed him. With regard to the capture of elephants by Būtuga I, it is interesting to note the statement that the capture was effected according to the ancient method mentioned in *Panchavāri*, which is probably a work on elephants. Ereyappa had the title Komaraveḍenga, married Jākāmbā, the daughter of king Nijagali of the Chālukya family, and captured the impregnable fortresses of Sūrūr, Nāḍugāni, Miḍige, Sūlīśailēndra, Tippēru and Penjaṛu. He had three sons: Satyavākya Narasimha-Dēva with the title Bīraveḍenga, Nītimārga Rājamalla (III) and Satyavākya Būtuga II. Rājamalla defeated the Nolamba king Anṇiga in the battle of Kottamangala. As regards Būtuga II, it is stated that he went to king Baddega in the Dāhala country and married his daughter at Tripuri; that on the death of Baddega he rescued the throne from Lallēya and gave it to king Kṛishṇa; that he killed Kakka-Rāja, lord of Achalapura, and defeated Dantivarman *alias* Bijja of Banavāsi, Ajavarman, the Śāntara king, Dāmari, lord of Nuḷugugiri, and Nāgavarman; that he conquered king Rājāditya, drove out Ēmaganduga from his country, burnt the fortresses of Tanjāpuri and Nāḷkēḷō, and gave lordly elephants, horses and great wealth to Kṛishṇa; and that he confuted the arrogant disputants of the *ēkānta-mata* (Buddhism). Many of these details about Būtuga are also given in the Sūḍi plates which, I venture to think, have been declared spurious on very weak grounds. In them though Achalapura is mentioned as Aḷachapura, probably by a slip of the engraver, Nāḷkēḷō of the present grant is correctly given as Nāḷkōṭe. The capture of Tanjāpuri is also mentioned in the Karhāḍ plates* of Kṛishṇa III. Būtuga's consort Rēvakanimmaḍi had the title Chāgaveḍangi. Maruḷa's first name was Puṇuseya-Ganga and his titles were Gangamārtāṇḍa, Ganga-Chakrāyudha, Kāmada, Kaliyuga-Bhīma and Kīrti-Manōbhava. He married Kṛishṇa's daughter and obtained from him an umbrella called Madanāvatāra which had never been obtained by any other king. In the Gattavāḍi plates and in Kannaḍa literature† the title Kāmada is applied to Ereyappa, the grandfather of Maruḷa. From the Hebbāl inscription‡ of Mārasimha, we may infer that the name of Kṛishṇa's daughter was Bijabbe. The fact of Maruḷa obtaining the umbrella Madanāvatāra from Kṛishṇa is also mentioned in Nagar 35. With regard to Mārasimha, it is stated that king Kṛishṇa, when setting out

* E. I., IV, 280.

† See my Introduction to Nāgavarman's *Kāvyaśālōkanam*, p. 43.

‡ E. I., IV, 350.

on an expedition to the north to conquer Aśvapati, himself performed the ceremony of crowning him as the ruler of Gangapāḍi.

It is interesting to note that the donee was an eminent scholar of varied learning honoured by several kings. He was an eminent poet, knew the essence of the science of grammar, was well versed in the three schools of logic and in the Lōkāyata Sāṅkhya, Vēdānta and Bauddha systems of philosophy, and acquired fame as Vāḍighaṅḡaḷa in Jainism. He was the teacher of Būtuga, an instructor in politics in Vallabha-Rāja's capital, a councillor of Kṛishṇa III and the *śruta-guru* or religious preceptor of Mārasimha. He was a Jaina, though his grandfather appears to have been an orthodox Brāhman. His father, though a Brāhman, was also a great warrior causing joy to the king of the Varāta country by his valour. The donee was apparently the author of some grammatical work, as he is stated to have introduced a system of grammar free from doubt and controversy.

A few remarks may now be made about the Gangas and their chronology in the light of some of the discoveries recently made. Oriental scholars are aware of the controversy between the late Dr. Fleet and Mr. Rice with regard to the genuineness of the numerous Ganga grants published in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Dr. Fleet pronounced the whole series spurious, some of them at any rate on very weak grounds, and other scholars have simply followed suit. He also stated that the genealogy given in the grants was fictitious. Fortunately for the Gangas, the Penukoṇḍa plates came to light and Dr. Fleet admitted their genuineness and said "My conclusions about it (the grant) are that we have here at last a genuine early Ganga record."* This grant confirms with a slight difference in one detail the first three steps of the pedigree given in the other grants. My discovery of the date 437 for the accession of the Pallava king Simhavarma,† probably the second of that name, has, along with the palæographical evidence, led Dr. Fleet to assign the date 475 to the Penukoṇḍa plates. The Vaḷḷimalai rock inscription of Rājamalla I confirms with the exception of one detail four steps from Śivamāra I, as given in the other grants. The Maṇṇe plates‡ discovered by me give 817 as the date of accession of Rājamalla I. On palæographical grounds also the Vaḷḷimalai inscription may be assigned to about the same period. A stone inscription of Śrīvikrama, father of Śivamāra I, has also been discovered.§ I have also discovered several genuine Ganga grants and published them with facsimiles in my Reports from 1910 onwards.

* J. R. A. S. for 1915, 472.

† M. A. R. for 1909 and 1910.

‡ *Ibid.* for 1910.

§ *Ibid.* for 1917, 38.

About two of them, namely, the Gummaredḍipura plates¹ of Durvinīta and the Melekōṭe plates² of Mādhava, Dr. Fleet wrote to me thus in 1913: "It (the Gummaredḍipura grant) may quite possibly establish the existence of a Ganga king named Durvinīta; and even if it should recite and establish all the early pedigree which I regard as fictitious, it would not thereby establish the authenticity of certain records, asserting that pedigree, which are palpably spurious. On the side of its being a genuine early record, there are, of course, the points which you have stated in your Report. But there are other points in it, and about it, on the other side too. The question is a complex one, requiring much thought. For palæographic reasons, it was certainly not written before about A.D. 650; that is, at least a century later than the time to which you refer it. A similar remark applies to the Melekōṭe plates of Mādhava which you refer to about A.D. 400." It will thus be seen that he was almost inclined to admit the genuineness of these grants, though he differed from me about their period. This was, it must be remembered, before the discovery of the Penukoṇḍa plates. Since his lamented death, I have discovered these genuine Ganga grants—the Beṇḍigānhalli plates³ of Vijaya-Kṛṣṇavarma, the Uttanūr plates⁴ of Durvinīta, the Tagare plates⁵ of Polavīra, the Keregōḍi-Rangāpura plates⁶ of Rājamalla II, the Narasimharājapura plates⁷ of Śrīpurusha, and the Kuḍlūr plates⁸ of Mārasimha. If Dr. Fleet had lived to see these grants also, he would certainly have changed his opinion about the pedigree cited in the Ganga grants being fictitious. In fact, there were only a few intermediate steps from Mādhava (III) to Śrīvikrama that had to be admitted, those above and below these having already been confirmed by admittedly genuine records on copper and stone. The late Dr. Hoernle, in a letter dated 20th December 1912, wrote thus about the Gummaredḍipura record of Durvinīta: "I must say that the appearance of the characters as seen on your facsimile *does* suggest genuineness." Another scholar in England wrote thus about the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta: "The plates of Durvinīta are, no doubt, most important. They continue the demonstration of the genuineness of the early Ganga inscriptions, being in full agreement with those previously known. I believe that the work of the Mysore Archaeological Department in connection with this dynasty will always be remembered to its credit." The Islāmpur plates⁹ of Vijayāditya, which are unobjectionable on palæographic grounds, have been pronounced spurious by Professors Sten Konow and Pathak on account of some errors of orthography.

1. *M. A. R.* for 1912.

2. *Ibid.* for 1910.

3. *Ibid.* for 1915.

4. *Ibid.* for 1916 and 1917.

5. *Ibid.* for 1918.

6. *Ibid.* for 1919.

7. *Ibid.* for 1920.

8. *Ibid.* for 1921.

9. *E. I.*, XII, 48.

Several of the Rāshtrakūṭa and other grants which are accepted as genuine are full of such errors.

It must not be understood from the conclusion of the previous paragraph that I consider every one of the published Ganga grants to be genuine. Far from it. To be admitted as genuine, they have to stand certain well-known essential tests, and if they miserably fail, then we are at liberty to stamp them as spurious. Such appear to be the grants of Harivarma, such as the Tanjore plates*, of 248, the Tagaḍūr plates,† of 267, and the Āldūr plates.‡ A great difficulty with the Ganga grants, especially the earlier ones, is that they are either wrongly dated, such as the grants of Harivarma, or not dated at all. The only exception is the Merkāra grant,§ of 466, which, on palæographic and other grounds, Dr. Fleet considered to be spurious. The specific dates assigned by Mr. Rice to Avinīta and Durvinīta are based on the date of the Merkāra grant and on his supposition that the word *Vijaya* in the Mallōhalli grant,¶ which really means 'victorious', stands for the cyclic year of that name. These dates are therefore not tenable. As stated in my Report for 1920 (p. 48), the work *Avantisundarikathā*, discovered by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, gives a clue to the period of Durvinīta. In the introductory chapter, it says that Bhāravi stayed for some time at the court of Durvinīta, and that he was a contemporary of Viṣṇuwardhana, evidently the first Eastern Chālukya king, and of Simhavishṇu, the Pallava king of Kānchi. Briefly, the account given of Bhāravi runs thus:—In the city of Kānchi in the south of India ruled a king of the Pallavas, named Simhavishṇu, who was a great patron of learning. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasimha incarnation of Viṣṇu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse, the king enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus:—"In the north-west there is a town named Ānandapura, the crest-jewel of Ārya-dēśa, from which a family of Brāhmanas of the Kauśika-gōtra migrated and settled at Achalapura. Nārāyaṇasvāmi, a member of this family, had a son named Dāmōdara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bhāravi. He became a friend of king Viṣṇuwardhana. On one occasion, he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse." On hearing this account the king, desirous of seeing the poet, invited him to his court. The

* *I. A.*, VIII, 212.

† *E. C.*, III, Nanjangūd, 122.

‡ *M. A. R.* for 1921.

§ *Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 1.

¶ *E. C.*, IX, Dodḍa-Ballāpur, 67 and 68.

poet caused great joy to the king by reciting his poems. The king gave him a respectable dwelling to live in and supplied all his wants.

This extract establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Simhavishnu, the Ganga king Durvinīta and the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnūvardhana (I). This connection of Durvinīta with Bhāravi affords a clear explanation of the statement in most of the grants that Durvinīta was the author of a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*. The period of Durvinīta according to the newly discovered work will thus be the first half of the seventh century. And this is exactly the period assigned to the Gummaredḍipura plates of Durvinīta by Dr. Fleet on palæographic grounds. Durvinīta had a long reign of more than forty years; his period may be taken to be 605 to 650. Taking this as the basis, we have to adjust the periods of the earlier kings. There will be no difficulty in this if we take Avinīta to be the sister's son of the Kadamba king Krishnavarma II. With regard to the later kings, my discovery of the date 788 in a stone inscription* of Śrīpurusha will serve as a landmark. According to some of his published grants, 788 would be the sixty-second year of Śrīpurusha's reign. This need not be considered an impossible length for a reign, for Amoghavarsha I had one as long. Further, it is almost certain that his father did not reign. In these circumstances the chronology suggested by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil† appears to be reasonable and may be provisionally adopted. His separation of the Gangas into two dynasties, namely, the Paruvi and the Talkāḍ, is rather ingenious. Collateral branches of the Ganga dynasty are referred to in some records; e.g., the Chikballāpur plates‡ mention a branch, a member of which named Jayatēja was ruling in 810, and the Narasimharājapura plates§ of Śrīpurusha mention a chief of the name of Nāgavarma who belonged to the Pasiṇḍi-Ganga family. But the Paruvi dynasty of the Gangas does not seem to be alluded to as such in any published record. The suggestion is, however, useful as it removes some difficulties in the allocation of some of the earlier kings.

* M. A. R. for 1918.

† *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 107.

‡ M. A. R. for 1914.

§ *Ibid.* for 1920.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. II.—On an Ætiological Myth about the Spotted Dove.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

IN trying to explain the origin of things, to account for the kind of life which appeared to primitive man to be inherent in all objects around him, he framed the most fantastic ideas which he entertained about the same into the shape of myths or fanciful stories.

Then again, ætiological myths are stories told to explain the origin not only of natural phenomena, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, trees, plants and the like, but also of the coloration, and of the markings on the skins and plumage of beasts and birds, as also of the natural peculiarities of trees and plants. As for instance, there are ætiological myths or stories which explain how the bear came to have a shaggy tail, why the robin's breast is red, why the cross-bill has got a twisted bill, why the crow is coal-black in colour, why the Chimraj or large-tailed drongo has got two long tail-feathers, why the rat's tail is round and hairless, and how the aspen-tree came into possession of leaves that quiver.

As an example of an ætiological myth accounting for the coloration of birds, I shall give below the following Malay folk-tale, which explains how the crow became coal-black.

In the time of King Solomon, the argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*) and the crow (*Corvus splendens*) were great friends. The former was then daintily dressed; while the latter was reputed to be a skilful painter. One day, addressing his friend the crow, the argus pheasant said: "Friend! show your skill in painting by decorating my plumage."

The crow replied, "O argus! I am willing to do so, provided you do the same to me."

The argus pheasant having agreed to this proposal, the crow painted the former so daintily that the argus pheasant became, as it is to the present day, one of the most beautiful-plumaged birds in the world. When it came to the turn of the argus pheasant to fulfil his own part of the compact, he backed out of it, saying that, as the day of judgment was too near at hand, he was unable to decorate the crow.

Thereupon a fierce quarrel ensued over this matter between the two birds. As the result of this, the argus pheasant upset a bottle of ink upon the

crow's body which, thereupon, became coal-black. It is for this reason that the crows are jet-black even to the present day and are great enemies of the argus pheasant.*

The Garos of the Assam Hill Tracts narrate the following myth to explain how the Chimraj or large-tailed drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus*) came to have two long lateral tail-feathers, and why the rat's tail is round and hairless:—

Once upon a time, the Chimraj and the rat were in the habit of combing each other's hair and plumage. The rat performed his task so diligently that, owing to this reason, the Chimraj possesses, even up to the present day, two beautiful and long lateral tail-feathers. But, after his own tail had been combed so well by the rat, the Chimraj set to work, but performed his task so lazily that he simply rolled the rat's tail between his hands and rubbed it. Owing to the Chimraj's perfunctory work, the rat's tail is, to this day, round and hairless.†

Curiously enough, many of these myths have gathered round birds which, by reason of their possessing the powers of flying and singing, play a conspicuous part in folklore, as messengers between heaven and earth—as fire-bringers, soul-bringers and baby-bringers. As for instance, the Andamanese have a myth in which Biliku is stated to have been the first human being and to have created the earth and the first Andamanese. Another of their myths goes on to say how, one day, Biliku, being very angry, commenced to cast fire-brands all round. This fire had been made from the wood of the sacred Purum-tree. One of these fire-brands got stuck in the tree and became transformed into the Sun. Now the ancestors of the Andamanese, who lived on the other side of the Strait, did not possess any fire. But, one day, while Biliku was sleeping, the bird kingfisher stealthily went up thither, stole fire from her, and brought it to them. When she woke up, she was greatly offended on finding that fire had been stolen from her and, in order to give vent to her anger, threw a fire-brand (or, as some say, a pearl-shell knife) at the kingfisher and went up to reside in the sky (or, to some place towards the north-east).

I shall now pass on to the consideration of the more immediate subject of this paper.

One of the most common birds of the Indian countryside is the Spotted Dove (*Turtur suratensis*). It is found throughout the whole of India and Ceylon and is abundantly met with in well-wooded tracts of country. It is a well-known and familiar bird and frequently visits gardens surrounding houses and utters a trisyllabic call-note.

* *Malay Magic*. By W. W. Skeat. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pages 130-131.

† *The Garos*. By Major A. Playfair. London: David Nutt. 1909. Page 136.

The Bengali names of this bird are (1) *Chaval Ghughu*; and (2) *Teliā* (? *Tiliyā*) *Ghughu* (that is to say, "the dove which bears marks of sesame on its body").

Its names in Hindi are (1) *Chitroka*; (2) *Fakhta*; (3) *Perki*; (4) *Chitla*; (5) *Kangskiri*; and (6) *Panduk*.

Now, the Bengali appellation of this bird, namely, *Tiliyā Ghughu* or "the dove which bears marks of sesame on its body") clearly alludes to the following ætiological myth which accounts for the origin of this most familiar bird of the Indian gardens and wood lands:—

Once upon a time, there lived a householder, in whose family there was a girl named Chitu. On one occasion, the *materfamilias* of this household, who was Chitu's maternal grandmother, gave Chitu one *poā* of sesame and told her to pick out therefrom the bad seeds and keep them separate.

In obedience to her grandmother's request, the girl separated off the bad sesame and made over the good seeds to her granny.

Having obtained the good sesame, the grandmother weighed it and found that it weighed only half a *poā*. Thereupon she asked Chitu: "Chitu! what has become of the remainder of the sesame?"

Chitu replied: "Granny! wherefrom shall I get more sesame?"

Hearing this tart reply, the grandmother flew into a towering rage and dealt her grand-daughter a smart slap on her cheek. Having been thus severely assaulted, Chitu died then and there.

Immediately afterwards, Chitu's maternal grandmother came across the bad sesame which had been picked out by the girl and kept separate in another place. Having got it, she weighed the good and bad sesame together and found, to her intense consternation and grief, that both the kinds of grain made up exactly the quantity given by her to Chitu, namely, one *poā*. Thereupon she cried out:—

"*Uṭh re Chitu pur pur.*"

"*O Chitu! get up. (I have, now, got) the full quantity (of sesame).*"

Saying these words, she sprinkled the whole quantity of sesame upon her own body. As soon as she had done this, Chitu's maternal grandmother became metamorphosed into a spotted dove, and, uttering the aforementioned words over again, flew away.

It is said that if, at noon-time especially, this bird's trisyllabic call-note is heard, it will be found to bear a striking similarity to the undermentioned words uttered by Chitu's maternal grandmother at the time of her metamorphosis:—

"*Uṭh re Chitu pur pur.*"

"O Chitu! get up. (I have, now, got) the full quantity (of sesame)."^{*}

In the preceding ætiological folktale, the grandmother who, by a mistake, had slain her grand-daughter Chitu, is punished by being transformed into a spotted dove.

But, in an analogous ætiological myth which is current among the Garos of the Assam Hill Tracts, it is the two persecuted young girls who are metamorphosed into two doves, as will appear from the following brief sketch of this story:—

A wealthy Garo had four daughters of whom the two elder ones were named Awil and Singwil; while the names of the two younger daughters were Nose and Dimise. Their maternal grandmother, who used to live at her son-in-law's place, did not at all love her grand-daughters and, therefore, often made false accusations against them to their mother. On hearing of these complaints, the latter used to beat her daughters mercilessly.

One day, on the false accusation of the grandmother, Awil and Singwil were cooped up by their mother in a pig-sty. As they had become disgusted with the cruel persecution of their maternal grandmother, and as they did not want to put up, any longer, with the merciless chastisements which they used to receive at the hands of their mother who did not care, in the least, to ascertain whether or not the old woman's accusations were false, they transformed themselves into two doves and flew to their mother who was working, at that time, in the fields. They, subsequently, flew to their father who had gone to the market. Having flown into the presence of their parents, they cooed and informed the latter that, owing to the cruel wrongs that had been done to them on their grandmother's false accusations, they had changed themselves into doves.

Hearing their words, the parents wept and implored them most earnestly to resume their human shapes again. But the doves did not pay any heed to their parents' tears and entreaties and, picking up two necklaces which their parents had hung up for them, flew far, far away.[†]

In the preceding Garo ætiological myth, the persecuted grand-daughters transform themselves into doves. But, in a Malay ætiological bird-myth which bears some similarity to the Garo story, a girl, who is, time after time, not allowed to accompany her parents to the latter's scene of work in the forest, gets disgusted with her parents for their repeated refusal to gratify her wishes, changes herself into a kind of ground-pigeon which is called *Tekukur* by the Malays, as will be evidenced by the following *resume* of this Malay folktale:—

* *Vide* the Bengali Monthly Magazine *Pracāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Pausha 1329 B.S. (December 1922—January 1923). Page 399.

† *The Garos*. By Major A. Playfair. London: David Nutt. 1909. Pages 119-123.

Once upon a time, a maiden lived in the forest with her parents and a little sister. When she grew up to girlhood, she became very much desirous of accompanying her father to the forest where he was engaged in clearing a patch of jungle for a rice plantation. But her parents, however, put her off several times on various excuses. This displeased her so much that, one day, taking off her bracelets and ear-rings and keeping them behind the door, and placing her little sister in a swinging cot, she metamorphosed herself into a ground-pigeon called the *Tekukur* and flew away to the clearing. On her arrival there, she informed her mother of the place where she had kept the bracelets and ear-rings. Hearing these words, her mother was astonished and, returning home, found to her consternation and sorrow that her daughter had really disappeared from the house. When she returned to the bird in the forest-clearing, the latter repeated its former words which it concluded by cooing like a dove. Both the sorrow-stricken father and mother tried to capture the bird. But their efforts in this behalf proved unavailing, as the bird flew away farther and farther into the forest.^{*}

The Khasis inhabiting the Khasia Hills in Assam believe that, at one time, the doves could sing, and relate the undermentioned ætiological myth to explain why the doves ceased to sing and began to coo.

It is stated by the older Khasis that, once upon a time, there lived in the forest a very happy family of doves. The youngest member of this family was a beautiful female named Ka Paro. She was the darling of the family and was never allowed to visit the grain-fields for fear lest she might be snared by the fowlers or killed by wild beasts.

One day, Ka Paro managed to get on to the top of a neighbouring tree bearing bunches of luscious berries. To this tree also, a smart-looking young Jylleit (a species of forest-bird possessing gorgeous green and gold plumage) used to come to pick the berries. Having seen him, Ka Paro began to admire him. In course of time, these feelings of admiration ripened into those of love and intimacy. In order to please her lover, Ka Paro daily used to sing to him.

After some time, U Jylleit solicited permission from Ka Paro's parents to marry her. But, for the purpose of testing the constancy or fickleness of his love for their daughter, they deferred giving their consent till the ensuing winter when the supply of berries would come to an end.

As soon as the berries were over, U Jylleit flitted away to 'fresh fields and pastures new', and was never again seen by Ka Paro and her parents. From that time forth, Ka Paro ceased to sing and began to give vent to her sorrow in sad and plaintive cooings.

* *Malay Magic*. By W. W. Skeat. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pages 126-127.

It is for this reason that the doves coo sadly even in moments of their greatest happiness.*

One thing, however, remains to be pointed out; and this is the fact that, in the Bengali ætiological myth, the grandmother, who had accidentally killed her grand-daughter Chitu, is, as the result of her excessive grief at this death, metamorphosed into a spotted dove. Now, this incident has an exact parallel in an Albanian ætiological myth about the origin of the cuckoo, which is to the following effect:—

Once upon a time, there were two brothers and a sister. The latter accidentally killed one of her brothers by stabbing him with her scissors. On account of this accidental death, she and her surviving brother mourned for such a length of time and with so much vehemence that both of them were metamorphosed into a pair of cuckoos. At night-time, the brother cries out to the deceased one: "*Gjou, gjou*". While, by day, the sister cries out to her dead brother: "*Kuku, kuku*" or "Where are you?"†

By comparing the preceding Bengali, Garo, Malay and Khasi ætiological myths we find:—

- (a) That, in the Bengali folk-tale, the slayer of the girl is transformed into a spotted dove;
- (b) That, in the Garo story, the persecuted and much-chastised girls are metamorphosed into doves;
- (c) That, in the Malay myth, the girl, whose wishes have been repeatedly thwarted, is changed into a ground-pigeon;
- (d) And that, in the Khasi folk-tale, the dove, who is forsaken by her lover, ceases to sing and begins to coo sadly.

MITRADEVA OR MULADEVA.

An Episode in Sunga History.

BY A. RANGASVAMI SARASVATI, ESQ., B.A.

A small statement in the Harshacharita, wherein the author recounts the fates of some famous sovereigns who lost their lives by treachery or folly has afforded some information to the historians of India about the history of the Śunga period. This is about the fourth king in the list of the Śunga sovereigns given in the Purāṇas. This king, Vasumitra or Sumitra, who as a youthful prince guarded the sacrificial horse on behalf of his aged grandfather Pushyamitra and defeated the Yavanas, according to the story of Kālidāsa's historical drama Mālavikāgnimitra, is said to have been killed treacherously. He was surprised while in the midst of actors by one Mitradēva, who 'severed his head with a scimitar as a lotus is shorn off from its stalk'. Nothing more was known either about the sovereign Vasumitra or his assassin Mitradēva. Referring to this incident the author of the chapter on Śunga history in the *Cambridge History of India* says "Who Mitradēva was, we can only conjecture; but it seems not improbable that he may have been the king's minister and a Kāṇva Brahman of the same family as Vasudēva who is said to have brought about the fall of the dynasty through the assassination of its last king Dēvabhūti. It may be that we have here an indication of the growth of that influence which so often in Indian history has transferred the real power in the State from the prince to the minister, from the Kshatriya to the Brahman."

The first scholars who brought the passage containing the above information to the notice of historians were Dr. Hall and Dr. Bhau Daji. In the preface to his *Vāsavadattā* Dr. Hall gives the substance of the passage thus:—"Agnimitra's son, Sumitra, was slain by Mūladēva." Dr. Bhau Daji from a more perfect copy of the same work, as he says, gives the following:—"Mitradēva having joined a company of actors cut off the head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra, who was very fond of dancing, just as a lotus should be sliced off.†" The commentary of the Harshacharita by Śankara which till recently has been the only commentary available has a note

* *Folk-tales of the Khasis*. By Mrs. Rafy. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1920. Pages 104-105.

† *Vide* the article on *Bird-Mythology* in *The Calcutta Review* (No. CCXXV) for July 1901, pp. 72-73.

* *Cambridge History of India* I, c. 521.

† *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, p. 193.

on the passage. The passage and Śankara's note thereon are given below :—

अतिदयितालास्यस्यचक्षुषमध्यमध्यास्यमूर्धनममिलनयामृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्यसुमित्रस्य
मित्रदेवः (मूलदेवः) ।

Śankara's commentary :—

सुमित्रराजा मित्रव्यसनी स्वौजनपरिवारइव नटजने विश्वः मूलदेवेन नटत्वमाश्रित्य हतः ॥

The reading of the name of Vasumitra's assassin, Mūladēva, in Dr. Hall's Manuscript is not supported by Dr. Bhau Daji's Manuscript. But Śankara does not afford any more information about Vasumitra or his assassin Mitra-dēva. The Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library recently discovered a new commentary of the Harshacharita. The name of the commentator is Ranganātha. He has a short note on the passage. The note is सुमित्रस्यराजः मूलदेवः कर्णसुतः ॥ Unfortunately the note is too short. It identifies Mūladēva with a Kārṇīsuta, but does not afford any more information either about this Mūladēva or how he managed to kill Vasumitra. But the identification by the commentator of Mūladēva with Kārṇīsuta is very important.

There are several allusions to the name Kārṇīsuta of Mūladēva in literature. The Sanskrit lexicon Trikāṇḍaśeṣha mentions the word in the following line :—

कर्णसुतो मूलदेवो मूलभद्रः कलाङ्कुरः ॥

According to this lexicon, the names, Kārṇīsuta, Mūladēva, Mūla-bhadra, and Kaḷāṅkura refer to the same individual. This note is very important and is supported by several passages in ancient Sanskrit literature. The editors of the Kāvya-mālā in their introduction to the Kaḷāvīlāsa of Kshēmendra have the following :—

मूलदेवनामाकश्चिदतिप्राचीनः कलाशास्त्रप्रवर्तकआसीत् । अस्यैव कर्णसुतः कलाङ्कुरः, मूलभद्रः, एतान्यपिनामान्तराणि सन्ति । कादम्बरीकथायां विन्ध्याटवीवर्णने “कर्णसुतकथेवसन्निहितविपुलाचला” इत्यादि सन्ति । कथासरित्सागरेचनवासीतितमेचतुविंशोत्तरशततमेचतरे मूलदेवकथावर्तते । तत्रचविक्रमादित्यमभायामूलदेव-आसीदित्यादिवर्णितमस्ति ॥

Mūladēva, it should be noted, is the individual who teaches his pupil Chandragupta in Kshēmendra's Kaḷāvīlāsa about the various ways in which the sons of the rich and the genteel are decoyed and ruined by 'Dhūrtas', rogues, about whose methods the work dilates very interestingly. Mūladēva was, according to the previous note, an ancient author of Kaḷāśāstra or 'the Amatory Science'. He is also known as Kārṇīsuta, Kaḷāṅkura, and Mūla-bhadra. There are allusions to Mūladēva in the Kādambarī of Bāṇa and the

Kathāsaritsāgara. The reference to Mūladēva in Kādambarī is found in the description of the Vindhya forest at the very beginning of the work and is the following :—

कर्णसुतकथेव सन्निहितविपुलाचला शशोपगता च ॥

The commentary of the Kādambarī by the Jain authors Bhānuchandra and his disciple Siddhachandra (*protégés* of the Emperor Akbar) has the following note on the passage :—

कर्णसुतः कश्चिच्छात्रविशेषः तस्यकथावृत्तान्तस्तद्वदिव । उभयोस्तुल्यतामाह सन्निहितेति । सन्निहितासमीपवर्तिनोविपुलाचलौविपुलाचलसङ्गौपलायौयस्यांसाकथा । शशस्तस्यमन्त्रिमुख्यस्तनोपगतासहिता च । अतएव“कर्णसुतःकरटकःस्तयशास्त्रप्रवर्तकः । ख्यातौतस्यसखायौद्वौविपुलाचलसङ्गौ । शशोमन्त्रिवरस्तस्य” इति बृहत्कथायां कथानिवध्दा । पक्ष्मीज्ञहिताः समीपवर्तिनोविपुलाः पृथुकाचचलाः पर्वतायस्यांसाकथा । शशोमृदुलोमका लाघ्रवृक्षावा तनोपगतासाहेता च । शशोलोभ्रनृभेदचपशो इत्यनेकार्थः ॥

This note gives the information that Kārṇīsuta was a Kshatriya, and that he had two friends called Vipula and Achala and that he had for his minister a person named Śaśa. As an authority for this statement the commentary quotes a short passage from the Bṛihat-kathā which says that Kārṇīsuta, otherwise known as Karatāka was the propagator of the science relating to theft (स्रयशास्त्र), that he had two friends by name Vipula and Achala and had a minister called Śaśa. These verses are not found either in Sōmadēva's Kathāsaritsāgara or in Kshēmendra's Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī, although both these works narrate some stories about Mūladēva. Both the works profess to derive their subject matter from Guṇādhya's work which is said to have been written not in Sanskrit but in Paisāchi. The early Western Gānga King Durvinīta is said in his inscriptions to have translated the Bṛihat-kathā into Sanskrit. These lines might have been taken from Durvinīta's Bṛihat-kathā or some other redaction of the same work which has not come down to us.

Again there is a reference to this same individual in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā. The following passage occurs in this work in the course of the description of the nuptials of the heroine Vāsavadattā :—

“मञ्जुमारुरोह वरारोहावासवदत्ता । अलकेन्द्रिकलाङ्कुराद्विजितनगरमण्डनाः अपरेपाण्डवाइवसादिव्यच

क्षुषः कृष्णागुरुपरिमृष्टाश्च ॥

In this passage the term Kaḷāṅkura which is already shown as a synonym of Mūladēva occurs. The Sanskrit commentator of the Vāsavadattā has the following note about the passage :—

तत्रसमाजकेचिन्कलाङ्कुराद्वकर्णसुताइव । “कर्णसुतःकरवटोमूलदेवः कलाङ्कुरः” । इतिकंशः । विजिताः कामशास्त्रकलाभिज्ञतया निजिताः नगरमण्डनाः वेश्याः यैस्त । “रूपजावातुर्गणिकावारस्त्रीपुरमण्डना” इति हारावर्क पक्षे विजितनगरस्यमण्डनभूषणयैस्त सवोत्कृष्टभूषणादितिभावः ।

The allusion here is to Kalāṅkura who is said to have conquered dancing women. The commentator says that Kalāṅkura was another name of Mūladēva, who is said to have conquered dancing women by his knowledge of Kāmaśāstra. In support of his interpretation he quotes a line from some versified dictionary (Kōṣa) wherein the name occurs. According to this the names Karṇīsuta, Karavata, Mūladēva and Kalāṅkura refer to the same individual. It is not known from which Sanskrit lexicon the above line is taken. It is different from the line already quoted from the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. It differs from the latter in that it does not give the name Mūlabhadra and gives instead the name Karavata. This word seems to have been mutilated in the verse from the Bṛihatkāthā quoted by the commentator of the Kādambarī and the original form of the word seems to have been Kharapaṭa. The latter form of the word is found in the drama Mattavilāsa of the Pallava sovereign Mahēndravarmān. In this drama when the Buddhist mendicant is charged by the Kāpālīka with the theft of his begging bowl he exclaims 'नमो बुधाय'. Replying to this, the Kāpālīka says "नमः खरपटायेति वक्तव्येन चारशास्त्रप्रणीतं । अथवा खरपटादप्यस्मिन्निधिकारबुद्ध्याधिकः कुतः —

वेदान्तेभ्योगृहीत्वार्थान्द्येमहाभारतादीप ।
विप्राणांमिषतामेव कृतवान्कोशसञ्जयम् ॥

According to this drama Kharapaṭa appears to have written a work on theft. This statement is in accordance with what is quoted in the commentary of the Kādambarī from the Bṛihatkāthā. There he is said to have been the propagator (प्रवर्तक) of the science of theft स्तयशास्त्रः which is the same as चारशास्त्रः.

The next reference to Mūladēva seems to be found in the work called Avantīsundarikāthā discovered by the Madras Manuscripts Library. The reference is in one of the verses at the beginning of the work wherein the author, probably Daṇḍin, extols some famous Sanskrit authors before him. Unfortunately the verse is broken and incomplete and is given below:—

सनारायणदत्तायोदेवदत्ताश्रयाकथा ।
मूलदत्तादि..... ॥

The verse appears to refer to some work which gives the story of Mūladēva, Nārāyaṇadattā and Dēvadattā.

The next important reference to Mūladēva or Karṇīsuta* in point of date is found in the verse portion of the Kasakkudi plates of the Pallava Emperor Nandivarman Pallavamalla. There while describing the donor Nandivarman, the son of Hiranya, the following two verses are given:—

संग्रामविजयः कलापरिचये कर्णी सुतः कामुके रामावारणतन्त्रवाद्यविषये वत्सेश्वरः श्रीधरः ।

कामो वामविलोचना सुकविता बन्धस आद्यः कविः तन्त्रावापविधौ स्वयन्नयमरोधमः प्रजारज्जुने ॥ २९ ॥

*My attention to this reference was drawn by Mr. R. Gopalan, B.A. (Hons.), Research Scholar, Madras University.

स्वामीनः पलवानां कुलभरणपटुस्तत्त्विकस्सर्वभामो भव्याव्यायामविद्विबिनयगुणगुरुवधतेसाधमृषा ।

हैरण्योभामवगम्योहरिचरणपरः शुद्धमात्मनवायो लक्षण्योरोहिणीजः सुलभमुचरितो नन्दवर्मानोरदः ॥ ३० ॥

The sovereign is in the above verses compared to the ancient heroes Arjuna, Karṇīsuta, Rāma, Udayana, the Lord of the Vatsas, Manmatha, Vālmiki, etc. He is compared to Karṇīsuta in his familiarity with arts कलापरिचय.

The Daśakumāracharita popularly attributed to Daṇḍin also has a reference to Karṇīsuta. This is found in the chapter of the work called Āpahāravarmacharita which is the second book in the latter portion or Uttarapīṭhikā of the work. The reference begins with the following sentence:—

इत्युक्त्वा शयतमभ्युत्थितोऽहं नगरमाविश श्वेवचोपलभ्य लोकावाशुलुब्धसमृद्धपूर्णपुरमिति अर्थानां नश्वरत्वं च प्रदर्श्य
प्रकृतिस्थानमूनिवशास्यन्कर्णी सुतप्रहिते पथि मतिमकरं । अनुप्रविश्य च दूतसमाजमक्षुर्भूतस्समगं स । तेषां पंचविंशति
प्रकारासु सर्वासु दूताश्चाश्रयासु कलासु कौशलं अक्षभूमिहस्तादिषु चात्यंतदुरुपलक्ष्याणि कटकमार्गाणि etc.....

This extract refers to Karṇīsuta as an author who had written on gambling with dice. The few sentences that follow appear to be merely giving the summary of what Karṇīsuta should have written in his work on gambling. It is at least as interesting as Śarvilaka the scholarly burglar's dilating upon the various intricacies in the art of housebreaking in the famous drama Mr̥chchakatī of Śūdraka which passage also seems to refer to another work of this very author Mūladēva.

The next important reference to Mūladēva is found in Kshēmendra's work Kalāvilāsa. There is a small passage about Mūladēva in the beginning of this work which is given below:—

अस्ति विशालं कमलालितपरिप्वङ्गमङ्गलायतनम् ।

श्रीपतिवक्षस्थलमिव रत्नोज्ज्वलमुज्ज्वलं नगरम् ॥ १ ॥

तत्राभूदभिभूतप्रभूतमायानिकायशतधूर्तः ।

सकलकलानिलयानांधुर्यः श्रीमूलदेवाख्यः ॥ २ ॥

नानादिदेशागतधूर्तैरुपजीव्यमानमतिविभवः ।

सप्रापविपुलसम्पदमात्मगुणैश्चक्रवर्तीव ॥ ३ ॥

भुक्तोत्तरं सहृदयैरास्थानीसंस्थितं कदाचित् ।

अभ्येत्य सार्थवाहोदत्तमहार्होपहारमणिकनकः ॥ ४ ॥

प्रणतो हिरण्यगुप्तः सहितः पुत्रेण चन्द्रगुप्तेन ।

प्राप्तासनसत्कारः प्रोवाच मुहूर्तविश्रान्तः ॥ ५ ॥

अतिपरिचयसंप्रतिभातवपुरतो मादृशामियं वाणी ।

ग्राम्याङ्गनेवनगरेन तथा प्रागल्भ्यमुपयाति ॥ ६ ॥

आश्रितजनतनयोयंतवविद्वन्निजमुताधिकस्सत्यं ।
 नयथाप्रयातिनाशंतथास्यबुद्धिप्रयच्छपाराम् ॥२०॥
 इतिविनयनम्रशिरसातेनवचोयुक्तमुक्तमवधार्य ।
 तमुवाचमूलदेवःप्रीतिप्रसरैःप्रसारितैःप्राज्ञः ॥२१॥
 आस्तामेषसुतस्तेममभवनेनिजइवप्रयत्नपरः ।
 ज्ञास्यसिमयोपदिष्टंशनकैस्सकलंकलाहृदयम् ॥२२॥
 इतितस्यशासनेनस्वगुतंनिक्षिप्यतदुहेमतिमान् ।
 नत्वाथसार्थवाहःप्रययौनिजमन्दिरमुदितः ॥२३॥

The substance of the above passage is:— “ There was a famous individual called Mūladēva, who was well versed in all arts (Kālās) and who became the leader of hundreds of Dhūrtas. Being attended upon by the Dhūrtas of the various countries he attained to great prosperity as an emperor by his own qualities. When once he was sitting along with men of taste, a caravan merchant Hiranyagupta approached him along with his son Chandragupta. After having been received duly the merchant requested him to have his son so instructed that he might not be ruined. On hearing the humble request of the merchant, Mūladēva was pleased and replied thus, ‘ Let your son be with me, and he will learn the essence of all arts (सकलंकलाहृदयम्)’. On this the merchant left the boy with Mūladēva and having bowed to Mūladēva returned to his house. In this extract Mūladēva is called a Dhūrta, and the leader of all Dhūrtas. The word ‘ Dhūrta ’ in modern phraseology means a thief. But from the use of the word in the several extracts quoted above, it does not seem to have meant quite a thief, but one who was versed in the arts referred to and being a gallant did not care for the orthodox way of life. Also Mūladēva seems to have been called a Dhūrta (thief) on account of his work on ‘ theft ’ (स्तेयशास्त्रः, चारशास्त्रः). The place where Mūladēva lived is not plain from any one of the above extracts. The verse at the beginning of Kshēmēndra’s Kālāvilāsa which describes Mūladēva’s birth-place is defective both in grammar as well as in sense. With a slight change in the verse as it is found, the name of the place might be construed as Viśālā, * Ratnōjvala or Ujvalanagara. Again, all these might be descriptive terms of a town whose name is lost. Still it is plain that the individual described is the same as the Mūladēva that is referred to in the Kādambarī, the Harshacharita, Vāsavadattā and Mattavilāsa under various names. Kshēmēndra in his work Kālāvilāsa seems to give the substance of what Mūladēva

* According to the Sanskrit Lexicon Amara, Viśālā is another name of Ujjain.

must have written in several of his works. Again there are stories of Mūladēva in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Sōmadēva and Bṛihat-kathāmanjari of Kshēmēndra. Both these works claim to give in Sanskrit the substance of the Bṛihat-kathā of Guṇāḍhya which was written in the Pāśāchi dialect. But it will be plain from a close study of their subject-matter that they must have added much to and altered the original form of many stories of the Bṛihat-kathā. As an example of this, the story of Mūladēva can be quoted. Two stories about Mūladēva are found in both these works, one in the cycle of stories called ‘ Bētālapanchavimsati ’ in the Śaśāṅkavatīlambaka and the other in the last or the Vishamaśīlambaka. Mūladēva is one of the characters in the fifteenth story of the cycle. Manasvāmi, the hero of this story, a Brahman youth, sees Śaśiprabhā, a princess who falls in love with him. He rescues her from being killed by a mad elephant. Struck by the beauty of the maiden he also felt a pang of love for her. But soon the maiden was taken to her father’s palace leaving Manasvāmi to devise his own means for getting at her. Being at a loss how to do this, he has recourse to the help of Mūladēva who is called a Guru (Preceptor) and a Dhūrtasiddha as well as a Dhūrtaśekhara. Mūladēva and his friend Śaśi devise means by which Manasvāmi succeeds in enjoying not only Śaśiprabhā, the King’s daughter but also marrying Mṛigaṅkavati, the girl who was intended for the minister’s son and Śaśi is made finally to marry Śaśiprabhā.

The story about Mūladēva in the Vishamaśīlambaka is also interesting. This story is narrated by Mūladēva himself who is said to have been in the Court of Vikramāditya. In this story Śaśi is made a companion of Mūladēva. The story narrates how Mūladēva married a girl at the city of Pātālīputra, and immediately deserted her and how the girl managed to have intercourse with him in the disguise of a courtesan at Ujjain and begot by him a son and later on had Mūladēva bound up and brought to her by that very son. In this story also Mūladēva’s name is as usual connected with Dhūrtas and he is called Dhūrtaśikhāmaṇi, Dhūrtaśirōmaṇi and Dhūrtapati. The courtesan with whose help the heroine of this story managed to keep on the appearance of a courtesan while at Ujjain is named Dēvadattā. Again in this story Mūladēva is said to have maintained a Tīnthā (gambling house) at Ujjain and he was himself an expert at it. The story as narrated seems to have had a double object, one to show that there are women who do not forsake virtue in spite of adversity and sore temptations and the other to show that the city of Pātālīputra was a very civilized place and the people of the place could not be beaten in culture or cleverness even by Ujjain, the capital of Vikramāditya and the abode of Mūladēva, the great master of taste and culture. The kernel of the story

seems to have belonged to a period when the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra was just being eclipsed by the rising city of Ujjain. The name Viśāla of the place where Mūladēva lived according to the Kalāvīlāsa seems to be another name of Ujjain. These stories are narrated in a similar manner in Kṣhēmendra's Bṛihatkaṭhāmañjarī. The particular terms used to indicate Mūladēva in his work are बहुवृत्तशतावासः, धूर्तपुरुषः, महामतिः and धूर्तेशः.

All this information is augmented from a new source which was not available till recently. This is the drama Padmaprābhṛitaka* by Śūdraka. He seems to be the same as the author of the famous drama Mṛichchakatika. Like him he is the Lord of the city of Ujjain or Avanti. From the short description of the city at the beginning of the story it is plain that the drama must have been written at a time when Ujjain was the most important city of India. The city as well as its people and their vocations are very picturesquely described. This portion is given below :—

अहोनुखलुवसुन्धरावधूजम्बूद्रीपवदनकपोलपल्लेखायानानाभाण्डमृच्छाया अवन्ति सुन्दर्या उज्जीयन्याः
पराश्रीः । इह हि—
पुण्यास्तावदुदाभ्यासाः
द्विरदरथतुरगनिनदाधनुगुणनिःखनाः
दृश्यश्राव्यविदुदा
श्वतुरुधिसमुदयफलेः कृताविपणिक्रिया ।
गीतवाद्यदत्तहाम्यं
कचिदपि च विटजनकथाः कचिन्मकलाः कलाः
क्रीडापक्षिष्वधश्मसाः
प्रचुरकरवलयरशनास्वनागृहपट्टयः ॥

The hero of this drama is Mūladēva whose other name is Karṇiputra. He is at the beginning of the drama described by the following terms :—

अनेकशास्त्राधिगतनिष्पन्दबुद्धिः, सर्वकलाज्ञानविचक्षणः; व्युत्पन्नयुवतिकामतन्त्रसूत्रधारः, कर्णीपुत्रः,
indicating by these that he had mastered many sciences, that he had very sound knowledge of all arts (Kālās), that he was a master of the science of Erotics. In two places in this drama Mūladēva is described as Dhūrtāchārya, the preceptor of Dhūrtas.

* This work has been published along with three other ancient dramas under the name चतुर्भाषी in the Dakṣiṇabhārati series by Messrs. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. Ramanatha Sastri. The names of the four dramas are Padmaprābhṛita, Ubhayābhisārīka, Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda and Pādatāḍitakam whose authors are Śūdraka, Vararuchi, Syāmilaka and Iṣvaradatta. The present writer is preparing a short critical note on the value of these ancient dramas to literature as well as history. Copies of the publication can be had for Rs. 2 each from Messrs. M. Dorasvami & Co., No. 368, Mint Street, Madras.

(१) “भवतु धूर्ताचार्य, किमिति त्वया दिवा प्रदीपो ज्वालने क्रियते । केनाभिज्ञोऽहं युवयोगेन्या न्यमनेरथ मूकदूतकानां नयनसङ्गतकानां । अपिच, मण्वारिस्ममूलदेवसखः शशोऽहं नैनामप्रतार्यागमिष्यामि” इत्युक्ता प्रस्थितोऽस्मि ।

(२) एष इति मोक्ष्याहरति—“ननु भोः धूर्ताचार्यप्रविश्यताम्” इति ।

(३) किम्वदीपि—“गृहीतो वस्त्रितकरयार्थः । कितवाचार्यो मूलदेवो न ज्ञायते” इति । मामिवम् । देव
दूतासुरतसंक्रान्तस्यापि विपुलागतमेव हृदयम् । किम्वदीपि—“तदपि मूलदेवो यथाव्यम्” इति । आम् । भवान्स्वल्पसत्याजैवः
किमिदानीं स्वाशिक्ष्या विपुलानोपालभते, यथाप्रणयकोपा नुनयार्थमधिगतः कर्णीपुत्रः ॥

(४) कर्णीपुत्रोऽपि पाटलीपुत्रविरहात्स्वजनदर्शने तु कोभृशमस्वस्थः । मण्वारिस्ममूलदेवो वा प्रस्थास्यते ।

Padmaprābhṛitakam belongs to the class of Sanskrit dramas called Bhāṇa, which has got only one character and deals with subjects relating to ‘love’. The character that is so introduced in this drama is Śaśa, who is called a friend of Mūladēva. The plot of the drama deals with Śaśa's mission in appeasing the anger of Dēvadattā, Mūladēva's courtesan, and bringing about the culmination of the love between Mūladēva and Vipulā. Vipulā is said to have been a sister of Dēvadattā. It has already been noticed that the love between Mūladēva and Vipulā is alluded to in the passage quoted from the Kādambārī and in the comment on the passage which quotes from the Sanskrit Bṛihatkaṭhā. Similarly the love between Mūladēva and Dēvadattā is alluded to in the Avantisundarikāthā of Daṇḍin as well as the Kathāsaritsāgara of Sōmadēva and the Bṛihatkaṭhāmañjarī of Kṣhēmendra. Both these stories from their very form appear to have been developments of the story whose kernel is seen in the Padmaprābhṛitaka. The Padmaprābhṛitaka not only uses the word Dhūrtāchārya with reference to Mūladēva but also calls him simply Āchārya. Again the drama says that Mūladēva had his relations in the city of Pāṭaliputra.

From the whole of the previous discussion it will be plain that the death of the Śunga sovereign Vasumitra must have been brought about by the scholar Mūladēva, who is said to have written works about a number of Kālās. The circumstances which brought about Vasumitra's death also lend additional weight to the supposition. Vasumitra is said to have been killed by Mūladēva while in the midst of actors, with whom he is said to have had as much confidence as with the women of his own harem. Mūladēva, the Dhūrtāchārya (Preceptor of Dhūrtas), might have introduced himself into the harem as a dancing master and killed the sensuous sovereign. Mūladēva is said to have so introduced himself into other harems also in the extant stories about him which merely appear to have had their origin in the present instance.

It cannot be known what induced Mūladēva to perpetrate the crime. He does not seem to have met with any retribution for his act; on the other hand posterity seems to have cherished his name as that of a great writer. This presupposes that Vasumitra must have been a weak and effete prince as has been supposed by historians and his murderer only became a popular hero for the time being. The murder of the weak prince appears also to have been a timely god-send, especially as the country at that time was threatened by dissensions within and invasions from abroad.

Prof. Rapson, in chapter XI of the *Cambridge History of India* while dealing about the coins of the Śunga period, notes a coin with the legend Mūladēva, whom he seems inclined to place after Vasumitra. Could it be that Mūladēva who is said to have killed Vasumitra became for a time the sovereign until power was wrested from his hands? Again Mūladēva is said to have been an elder contemporary of Vikramāditya and was one of his courtiers. It appears very natural from all this to suppose that Mūladēva who brought about the death of Vasumitra ruled for a time and issued coins in his own name. But soon he was brought under subjection by Vikramāditya, in whose court he continued as a courtier. Again Vikramāditya, whosoever he might have been, seems to have brought about the death of Vasumitra by his courtier Mūladēva and himself attained to power. According to this latter supposition Mūladēva need not have ruled as a king and Vikramāditya would be the successor of Vasumitra on the throne.

It now remains only to consider who the author of the new drama Padma-prābhṛitakam was. He was a king of Northern India with his capital at Ujjain. He was also the author of the drama Mṛichchakaṭi whose main object was to celebrate the change of rule at Ujjain and to describe the corruption of justice (अव्यवस्था) at Avanti. The new sovereign who is said to have come to power after the revolution is called Āryaka. The famous Sanskrit poet Daṇḍin in the beginning of his newly discovered work Avantisundarikathā refers among the ancient authors whom he praises* to Śūdraka* who is said to have conquered the country several times and purified it and to have written a work describing his own history. Can it be that the Āryaka of the Mṛichchakaṭi is merely a pseudonym of the famous King Śūdraka?

* The writer has discussed in another article whether Śūdraka is the same as the Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who conquered the whole of Northern India, defeated and repulsed the invading foreigners, established an era in his own name, was a great author and patron of authors and how he is represented in ancient literature, epigraphy, and numismatics.



BHASA'S PRATIMA-NATAKAM.

BY K. RAMA PISHAROTI, ESQ., M.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.

(Continued from page 606—Vol. XIII—No. 2.)

ACT V.

(Then enter Sita and a Tāpasi.)

Sita—Madam. I have swept the hermitage clean and decorated it with flowers. I have offered worship unto the gods with what is available here. Now that my lord is not come. I shall be tending the young plants and watering them.

Tāpasi—May she prosper! (1)*

(Then enter Rama.)

Rama—(Sadly) (2) Deprived as the fair city of Ayodhya was of my sire and myself, Bharata left it and with everything ready for my coronation came to my presence. But Bharata, the abode of virtue, had again to be sent back to the very same place for its protection. Alas, what a pity that one should alone bear the great burden of sovereignty. (i) But such it is. Well, I shall now seek out my partner, Maithili, to drive away these sad thoughts. Where now can the princess of Vidēha have gone? Ah, these trees have their bases, indeed, newly watered, which shows that Maithili cannot be far off. (3) (Walking about and looking) Thus then—Eddying and foaming do the waters stand at the foot of the tree; these birds, flying down in thirst, do not drink it being muddy; the insects, which are drenched, when their burrows are filled with water, flit to the place around; and the foot of trees has new water-marks made on it as the water goes down. (ii)

(Looking) Ha, here is the princess of Vidēha! Alas, indeed!

That hand of hers, which becomes tired by merely holding a mirror feels now no pain even by carrying water-pots. Alas, that the forest should harden the delicate bodies of women as well as of creepers! (iii)

(Approaching)† Maithili, have you finished your work?

Sita—Hem, my lord. Long live, my lord.

Rama—Princess, if your work is done, sit down. (4)

Sita—As my lord commands. (Sits down.)

* The numbers marked in Numerical figures refer to the Notes while those in Roman figures refer to the number of the Verse.

† Read उपगम्य for उपेत्य।

Rama—Princess, thou seemst desirous of asking me something. What is it?

Sita—The colour of my lord's face appears like that of one whose soul is eaten up by sorrow. What may it be? (5)

Rama—In season are indeed my thoughts. The wound in my heart is similar unto what is produced when the body is struck down by the God of Death. The various fruits, resulting from the striking of the darts of sorrow, fall again and again in the same place. (iv)

Sita—What may, my lord's sorrow be?

Rama—To-morrow is the anniversary of the worthy sire, my father. The manes desire the performance of the *Nivapana* rites in the best manner laid down in the Kalpas. How to perform this is what I am thinking* about. (6) Or—They will, indeed, be content with anything, for they do know what my present state is. Only I wish to offer the oblations in a way befitting Rama and his father. (v)

Sita—My Lord, Bharata will perform the *Śrādha* in all grandeur; my lord will do it with fruits and water, consistent with the state (of each?). Such will best please the father. (7)

Rama—Princess, (8) The sight of the fruits arranged by our own hands on the Darbha grass will put father in mind of our forest life, and even there he will cry. (vi)

(Then enter Ravana in the disguise of a mendicant.)

Ravana—Ha! Ho!

(9) Of uncontrolled mind always, I have taken up this form and now, do I go desirous of stealing away the daughter of King Janaka, like the oblations devoid of proper intonation and Mantras, after having deceived the descendant of Raghu who has offended me by his murder of Khara. (vii)

(Walking about and looking) Here is the gate of Rama's hermitage. Well, I'll get down, (getting down) (10) I will now conduct† myself as a guest. (Aloud)‡ I'm a guest. Who's there?

Rama—Welcome to the guest!

Ravana—The voice, indeed, suits well the form.

Rama—(Looking) Ha, a worthy sire. Worthy sire, my obeisance to you.

Ravana§—Happiness attend thee.

* Read चिन्तयामि for चिन्त्यते ।

† Add तावत् after अनुशस्यामि.

This has to be added to make it clear.

§ Read Parivrajaka for Ravana.

Rama—Worthy sire, take that seat.

Ravana—(To himself) How now, I am ordered by him? (11) (Aloud) Well. (Sits down.)

Rama—Princess, bring in water.*

Sita—As my lord commands. (Going out and coming in) Here is water.

Rama—Attend upon the worthy sire.

Sita—As my lord commands.

Ravana—(Afraid that his disguise will be discovered) (12) Enough, enough.†

Unique on earth is she, indeed an *Arundhati* amongst mortal women, as whose husband every woman sings your praise. (viii)

Rama—Well, then, bring on; I shall myself attend upon you.

Ravana—What, shall I ease the shadow and then trouble the substance? Words themselves constitute the guest's welcome. I am honoured. Sit down.

Rama—So be it. (Sits down.)

Ravana—(To himself) Well, I shall also behave‡ as becomes a brahmin. (Aloud) I belong to the *Gōtra* of Kāśyapa. I am studying the *Vedas* with their *Angas* and *Upāngas*, the *Dharmasāstra* of Manu, the *Yoga-sāstra* of Mahēśwara, the *Artha-sāstra* of Bṛhaspati, the *Nyaya-sāstra* of Medhātithi and the *Śrādha-kalpa* of Prachetasa. (13)

Rama—What, what, do you say *Śrādha-kalpa*? (14)

Ravana—Why this partiality for *Śrādha-kalpa* over the heads of all *śrutis*, why?

Rama—Sire, I have lost my father and hence is it.§

Ravana—Enough of your doubts; ask me anything.

Rama—Sire, in the *Nivapana* rites what shall I offer|| my oblations with?

Ravana—Whatever is given with devotion is *Śrādha*.

Rama—Sire, whatever is given without devotion becomes futile. I ask you which is the best.

Ravana—Listen, Darbha amongst grass, sesame amongst medicinal herbs, leguminous seeds amongst fruits, whale amongst fish, vulture amongst birds, cow or rhinoceros amongst beasts,—these and the like are laid down for human beings.

Rama—Sire, 'and the like' shows there is something else to be known.

Ravana—Yes, what could be had through greatness.

* Add अर्घ्यम् before and च after पायम् ।

† The stage direction reads प्रकाश for प्रकाशना, and अलमल for भवतु भवतु ।

‡ Add तावत् before अनुशस्यामि ।

§ Add after एषः 'कथंनिवर्तयिष्यामीतिचिन्तयामि' । and omit इदानीम् before it.

|| Read तपिष्यन्ति for तर्पयामि ||

Rama—Sire, this is my resolve: (15) Two things have I, if they can achieve it. If my penance is weak, there is the bow; and if the bow is weak, there is the penance. (ix)

Ravana—There are they living in the Himalayas.

Rama—Do you say 'Himalayas'? Well then.

Ravana—There live on the seventh peak of the Himalayas, drinking the waters of the Ganges as they run down from the benign head of the real Siva, some animals their backs of sparkling blue and sides of shining gold, which rival the wind in speed. The great sages, *Vaikhānasa*, *Vālakhilya*, *Naimisiya* and others glorify their *Śrādha* with the offer of these animals which approach them the moment they think of them. When offered these, the manes realize the fruits of having begotten children and, freed of all decay, reach the heaven with shining frames. There, dwelling in aerial cars and similar unto the Devas, they are not forcibly drawn back into the cycle of life. (x)

Rama—Princess. (16) take leave of your foster children, the deer and the trees, the Vindhya mountains, and your dear friends, the creepers. There shall we live in those Himalayan forests beautified, as if by many a cluster of shining medicinal herbs. (xi)

Sita—As my lord commands.

Ravana—O, thou son of Kausalya, enough, enough of thy too fond thoughts. These man cannot see.

Rama—Sire, do they live in the Himalayas?

Ravana—Yes.

Rama—Then, indeed, you will see:

'The Himalayas shall either show me those golden deer, or pierced by the force of my arrows he shall become another *Krauncha*.' (xii)

Ravana—(To himself) Ha, insufferable is his haughtiness.

Rama—(Looking around) What's this seen like a flash of lightning?

Ravana—O, son of Kausalya, even here Himavan offers his worship to you. That is the golden deer.

Rama—God be praised for it. (Thy greatness is this.)

Sita—Thank God! Hail to thee, my lord!

Rama—No, no. If it is come here of its own accord, it is but the good fortune of my father, and he indeed deserves it. Princess, ask Lakṣmaṇa to worship it. (xiii)

Sita—My lord, have you not sent Lakṣmaṇa to welcome back the preceptor returning after his pilgrimage?

Rama—So, then, I shall myself go.

Sita—My lord, what then shall I do?

Rama—Attend upon the worthy sire.

Sita—As my lord commands.

(Exit Rama.) (17)

Ravana—Ah,¹ Rama now approaches it with the materials for worship. The animal having taken to running without caring² for the worship, he has strung his bow.³ Ah, what strength, what valour, what vigour, what speed! (18) No wonder the whole world is filled with the two syllables *Ra.-Ma*. (xiv)

That animal has at one jump entered the thick of the forest, beyond the range of his arrow.

Sita—Separated from my lord, I feel now uneasy.⁴ (19)

Ravana—(To himself) (20) Now that Rama has been enticed away by illusion, I shall carry away from the hermitage the weeping Sita who is young and unprotected, like the oblation unaccompanied by the chanting of *Mantras*. (xv)

Sita—I shall go inside the hut. (Desires to go.)⁵

Ravana—(Taking his own form) Sita, stop, stop. (21)

Sita—(Terrified) Hem, who can this be now?

Ravana—What, dost thou not know?

Who has conquered in battle Indra and the rest of the Devas accompanied by the host of Dānavas, who has seen Śurpaṇaka disfigured and heard his brothers killed, who proudly has falsely tempted away the wicked Rama of immeasurable strength—such am I, Ravana, come, O broad-eyed maid, desirous of carrying you away. (xvi)

Sita—Hem, it's Ravana. (Moves off.)⁶

Ravana—Ha! Where dost thou go, having fallen within the range of Ravana's vision?

Sita—Help, my lord, help! Help, Lakṣmaṇa, help.

Ravana—Sita, listen to my feats of strength:—Śakra was broken, and Kubera roughly shaken; the Moon was dragged and crushed was Saturn. Fie, ho, upon the heavens where herd together the terrified Devas, Blessed, indeed, is the earth, where lives Sita. (xvii)

Sita—Help, my lord, help! Help, Lakṣmaṇa, help.

Ravana—Go thou for protection to Rama, or Lakṣmaṇa, or to Daśaratha

1 Read एषइदानीम् for अये अयम्.

2 Read अवेक्ष्य for अनवेक्ष्य.

3 Read after दृष्ट्वा this धनुरादायोपसर्पतिरायवः ।

4 Read संपद्यते for उत्पाद्यते ।

5 प्रस्थातुमीहते for गन्तुमीहते.

6 Read गन्तुमीहते for प्रतिष्ठते ।

who dwells in heaven. But does not the tiger kill the youngling of a deer in spite of its piteous and futile wailings? (xviii)

Sita—Help, my lord, help! Help me, Lakṣmaṇa, help me!

Ravana—Why bewailst thou thus, O broad-eyed damsel? Think of me as thou wouldst thy lord. Possessed as he is of mighty strength, he is incapable of fighting with me, though helped by the hosts of Devas. (xix)

Sita—(Angrily) Thou art cursed. (22)

Ravana—Ha, ha, ha! Ah, the power of chastity. I who have not been burned by the rays of the sun, when I speeded up, am now burnt by these few words of hers, 'Thou art cursed'. (xx)

Sita—Save me, save me, my lord.

Ravana—(Catching hold of Sita) Ho! Ho! List ye, list ye, sages all who dwell in Janasthana: Here goes Ravana, forcibly carrying away Sita. If Rama loves his princely honour, let him show his valour. (23). (xxi)*

Sita—Save me, save me, my lord.

Ravana—(Walking about and looking) Ha, here comes running quickly the fierce-beaked Jaṭāyu, shaking the forest trees with the gale set up by his wings. Ha! Stop now,

I shall send you to the abode of Yama, thy body weltering in the blood gushing out from thy wings clipped by the sword wielded by my arms. (xxii)

(Exeunt.)†

End of Act V.

Notes on Act V.

This Act describes the saddest part of the whole of the Ramayana, viz., the carrying away of Sita. The events leading to the catastrophe are well marshalled, and the development of the act is made to appear very natural, though of course one is bound to confess with a sense of regret that there is a marked fall at least in the last section of the Act. But it is very refreshing to be able to point out that the poet has shown great originality in having brought Rama and Ravana together. Ravana is here represented as a great and profound Vaidik who is made to indulge in talks of learning and wisdom. Further, the poet has shown a greater stroke of genius in assigning a nobler motive to Rama in running after the illusionary golden deer. It is not the idle husband trying to satiate the wanton curiosity of the naturally fickle-minded woman, but the dutiful and ideal son hunting down a rare animal, so that he may make his Śrādhā more and more welcome to his dead father. Thus the blind lover is made the ideal son. Here

* Omit what follows as far as अयेति ।

† Read 'सीतां गृह्णन्तौ निष्क्रान्तौ रावणः' instead of निष्क्रान्तौ ।

lies the importance of the scene from the point of view of characterization. But whether the change from the real into the ideal is good or bad will more or less depend upon the temperament of the critic. We shall here but point out that the change is quite in keeping with the character of the hero as our poet has delineated it.

From the opening words of Rama it is clear that this Act takes place not long after Bharata has been sent back to Ayodhya. Further, since Rama says that his father's anniversary falls on the next day, the incidents narrated here must be supposed to be taking place just a year after the royal exiles had left Ayodhya.

The Act opens with what ought to have been marked out as an interlude, which is very interesting as showing to us Sita steeped in her forest life. The princess of Mithila and queen of Ayodhya here plays the role of both the mistress and the maid. She sweeps the hermitage clean and tastefully decorates it with flowers, offers worship unto the gods and waters the plants and trees and creepers in her garden. The once imperial queen, now descended into such a simple forest life, appears a pious and devout Tāpasi, well becoming the anchorite Rama. The great queen coming upon the stage in her weird dress and doing her still more weird work cannot but produce a very great stage effect.

(1) Here must have been marked 'the Interlude'. It cannot be allowed to be continuous with the rest of the Act. As described later on, there is no one in the hermitage when Ravana carries Sita away and no further mention is made of Tāpasi. The two cannot together be. So it is better to assign the portion to what may be termed the interlude. The purpose of it is very clear; it is to show Sita in her new home and new round of duties.

(2) Note the tenour of his thoughts. He is sorry for the fair but practically widowed city of Ayodhya and for the noble Bharata whose request he could not grant. He is also sorry that the whole burden of the regal responsibility has fallen upon one alone, though they are four brothers and therefore could have divided it. These thoughts agitate him and he loses his natural calmness and so, to ease his troubled mind, he wishes to seek out his fair partner. Note it is worth while to point out that he is never sorry on his own account.

(3) Here is another piece of work the noble princess is accustomed to do. How exquisite the picture—as sublime the noble spirit as the lofty grandeur of the picturesque sylvan home. That she has become inured to it, has become one with it, is further emphasized by the words of Rama, who feels a pang at seeing the tenderly reared frail woman thus accustoming herself to hard work.

(4) In spite of his desire to have a few moments with her, he tenderly inquires if her work is done. Note the noble solicitude not to stand in the way of anybody. He is prepared to forego her company, if his presence would keep her away from her duties.

(5) Note the shrewdness of Sita. She finds at a glance that her lord is ill at ease, that he is troubled by some sad thoughts.

(6) That the poet has in view the portrayal of an ideal character for Rama is again emphasized here. Weighed down with sad thoughts, Rama comes to find

consolation in the company of his wife. Yet, instead of having a few moments of pleasant chat to forget his sorrows and to cheer her, he proceeds again to business. Here, then, the character is pictured with no scope for doubt—the character not of an average but an ideal prince.

These words show that the approaching anniversary of his father is the first of its kind. Had it been a subsequent one, such thoughts would have been out of place, since he could have performed it as before. Thus it supplies interesting materials for the time analysis of the play.

(7) Quick and ready comes Sita's answer, carrying a world of sense—thus asserting she is worthy of her position.

Note the expression अवस्थानुरूपम्—'as becomes one's position'. This should be taken both with Bharata and with Rama. Every man must perform his Śrādhā in a way worthy of his position. Such alone will please his manes.

(8) Note the very tender solicitude for his father's happiness. Rama desires that his father should have no occasion at all to remember that his son is in exile. For, that is sure to again steep him in misery. It is therefore to ensure his continued happiness that he wants to perform his father's anniversary on a grand scale and not to show his own greatness. Such exquisite love of and anxious solicitude for one's father is indeed very rare. Here, then, is the ideal son.

Three, then, are the causes of Rama's sorrow: the fate of Ayodhya, the heavy responsibility attaching to the disappointed Bharata, and how to ensure the happiness of his father—the last, of course, at present the most pressing.

This takes us to the end of the first stage in the development of the Act. The second begins with the entrance of Ravana.

(9) The opening words of Ravana set forth the reason why he is come to carry off Sita. He wants to avenge the murder of Khara and (later on in verse 16) the injury done to his sister: and he says he will do it, after having falsely enticed Rama away. This shows that the later appearance of the golden deer is no happy coincidence to help Ravana, as it apparently looks, but forms part of the nefarious plans prepared by him.

(10) Though there is no explicit mention of it, it suggests that Ravana must have come in some aerial contrivance. Otherwise this stage direction will be out of place, unless it is supposed that he is on the top of a hill which overlooks the blissful hermitage. Nor again is a hill mentioned here, but only a forest. Hence it is better to suppose that he came in his aerial car, as mentioned in the Ramayana.

(11) Here is a beautiful tribute to the innate greatness of Rama whose superior presence even the callous monster feels. The very courteous offer of a seat sounds to him a command.

(12) Immediate personal attention might lead to the betrayal of his disguise. So Ravana is in a fix; but he cleverly gets out of it by saying that a guest finds his welcome when he is received with kind words.

(13) Here Ravana proceeds, as a guest ought, to announce who and what he is. The list of the Śāstras he has studied shows that Ravana is a learned

man. It has, of course, to be remembered that this announcement cannot be taken as a mere imposition upon Rama, for he must be prepared to answer any subject on which discussion might follow. Hence it must have been made with the full preparedness to satisfy his enemy on any subject. This aspect should not be forgotten and this is quite in keeping with the Pauranic conception of Ravana as a learned scholar. The mention of the several authors here will be of further use to fix the date of our dramatist.*

(14) As is only too natural, Rama catches him upon the subject of Śrādhā-Kalpa, being what is nearest his heart at that time. As soon as Ravana hears the occasion for it and his doubt, he very dexterously manipulates the talk in such a way as to naturally lead to the final catastrophe. Note how quietly and unobtrusively he brings in the subject of the golden deer. For once, indeed, the great hero is really misled, with what result of course we all know.

(15) What a bold statement! It is quite like the unconquerable Kṣatriya hero and a great sage.

(16) Note how quickly he resolves upon his course of action. As soon as he hears of the existence of the golden deer, their importance in Śrādhā and their place of abode, he jumps up without even a moment's reflection and asks his wife to take leave of their abode, her birds, her beasts, her trees, and her creepers. What wonderful self-confidence and what solicitude for the future happiness of his dead father! Even Ravana is surprised and he is afraid that he might depart before his plans are ready. Hence he hastens to point out that those animals are not easily accessible for a human being. Then Rama asks him if they are on the Himalayas and when he is assured of that, he breaks out into a statement which takes even Ravana's breath away. The latter never counted upon so much self-consciousness of strength and so he naturally mistakes it for mere vanity.

At this critical moment, thanks to Ravana's good luck, the illusionary golden-striped deer comes like a flash of lightning within Rama's vision. This he attributes to the good luck of his blessed father, and being reminded that Lakṣmaṇa was absent from the hermitage, he himself sets out to welcome it, asking Sita to attend upon the mendicant.

Apparently the appearance of the deer seems to be a happy coincidence for Ravana, but as we have already pointed out, it is not so.

This takes us to the end of the second stage in the development of the Act. Now that Rama has been enticed away, Ravana is free to do as he pleases.

* In passing we may point out here that Bhāsa is not the author of this work, nor again of any of the works now assigned to him. So far as this work is concerned, it may be assigned to the last of the Perumals, Bhaskara Ravivarma, for he is traditionally said to have written *Vicchinmābhisekam* which I have now been able to identify with this drama. For the colophon in the manuscript of this drama available in the Government Manuscripts Library here calls the first act of this drama '*Vicchinmābhisekāṅgam*'. Further, there the drama is titled *not* *Pratima-nataka* but *Pratimābhisekam* and elsewhere it is titled *Padukābhisekam*. I shall not now pursue this interesting subject further, but leave it here, to take it up later on in further and fuller details. Here I shall only add that all the dramas now assigned to Bhāsa are found in the MS. referred to and their colophons here and there give very interesting points which will help substantially to solve the Bhāsa riddle set up by Mahamahāpādhyāya T. Ganapathy Sastri of Trivandrum.

(17) Here is a subject on which opinion might probably be different. Was Rama justified in leaving Sita with an unknown man, the more so because he knew from past experience that the place abounded in Rakṣasas who were up to all mischief? It may probably be argued that in so doing Rama was a bit careless, a carelessness that cost him his wife. It must, however, be remembered that Rama had no idea of going far away from the hermitage and secondly, he left Sita in the care not of somebody, but of an apparently honourable and learned mendicant, whose words only too well confirmed his assumed character. If fault there be, it is only that he was not over-calculating, but had he been so, he would have been untrue to himself. He is the ideal hero who is ever prepared to think that every one is as honourable as himself. Such a character cannot consistently harbour any suspicions against another. This incident, then, shows not that he was careless, but reveals one more aspect of his character.

(18) Note Ravana is not a mere brute. He can appreciate and honour valour and heroism. The eulogy he bestows upon Rama is that of a noble warrior.

(19) Sita feels a foretaste of the coming catastrophe, though so far there is nothing to rouse her suspicions. Ravana is yet the honoured guest and not her enemy. It is really coming events casting their shadows before.

(20) Now that the supreme moment is come, Ravana throws off his disguise, and hurries to execute his plan. Note the beautiful simile, the full force of which can be realized only when the place of *mantras* in a ritual is remembered. And it becomes the speaker, because he has often stolen away the oblations offered by sages.

(21) The change of tone and the throwing away of the disguise take Sita by surprise, and she succumbs to fear. In a spirit of pride and elation Ravana announces his merciless intention and duly tells her that she has no escape from him. She does not know what to do except to call upon her lord and Lakṣmaṇa to save her.

(22) Now alone is she roused from her terrified stupor, when Ravana tried to touch her honour, saying 'Think of me as thou wouldst thy lord.' This is too much to listen to, and she curses him. That it is not an empty thing is clear from the subsequent words of Ravana.

(23) Ravana finds that he can no longer safely delay executing his purpose. So he catches hold of her and loudly proclaims a challenge to Rama to retrieve his honour, if he loves his Kṣatriya blood.

In passing, we are constrained to point out that there is a perceptible fall towards the latter part of the Act. Though the situation affords full scope for the poet's flights of fancy, nothing of it is seen here.

In concluding, we have only to point out that the Act is bound to produce very great stage effect, for unlike the preceding Act, there is here action and movement, qualities which are generally said to be absent in Indian dramas. The sylvan beauties in which the scene is shrouded, the happy Sita engaged in her domestic duties, the care-worn and restless Rama, the coming of Ravana in the mendicant garb, the magical appearance of the golden deer, and the final pathetic incident, all these cannot but produce a very impressive effect.

GLIMPSES OF THE ANCIENT VARNA DHARMA.

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

AMONG the ancient law-givers of India, Manu stands pre-eminent. No Smṛiti of ours covers so extensive a ground as does Manu's. The moment you plunge into his Smṛiti, you find yourself in a profound atmosphere, which is peculiarly characteristic of Manu, and which is conspicuously absent in any other Smṛiti. Prescribing an excellent ideal for the life of man, Manu has the large-heartedness to recognize his weaknesses, and in the earlier stages permits by way of concessions, certain indulgences, under restrictions, with a view to gradually lift him up to the higher plane. He ordains, "let a Brahmana live, in normal times, by a profession where there is the least probability of injury to the living."¹ "To be a helpless slave of the desires is not commendable; but at the same time, there is no such thing as absolute freedom from desires" he grants.² In one place he goes so far as to admit that there is no sin in eating flesh, in drinking wine, and in indulging in fornication, inasmuch as these are but natural cravings of the living; but to desist from them is fruitful of the best.³ It will probably be surprising to learn that the considered opinion of Manu is that the Creator himself has ordained the mobile and immobile world to be food for the living. On this ground he justifies animal food for man.⁴ And yet in another place he pleads for giving up animal food, on the ground that flesh is improcurable without injuring the living; and to injure the living is to turn away from Heaven.⁵ Thus in the midst of apparent contradictions, Manu spins a golden thread for the guidance of man, which, if intelligently followed, takes him out of the labyrinth of life, with all its perplexities, and leads him on to the ideal. Unlike other law-givers who are uncompromising in their dictums, Manu graciously grants concessions, but takes care that they are to be thrown out the moment their values as such are in danger of being ignored. That is why in the midst of these concessions he never forgets to bring the ideal itself into the foreground.

Manu does not create law as such; nor do the other law-givers. Among the practices of their contemporary societies, they recognize some as lawful

¹ Manu, Chapter IV, 2.

² *Ibid.*, Chapter II, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, Chapter V, 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter V, 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter V, 48.

and condemn some others as sinful, while laying an unerring emphasis upon what they consider to be the ideal. There is a world of difference among them as to which of the practices are lawful and which sinful; but they are all agreed as to the ideal. Mere physical and material comfort has no fascination for many of them. They are all out to preserve the soul of man from being entangled in the maze of desires, and keep it spiritually pure. To this end many of them have to restrict the play of desires as a means to control the senses. With this preface let us have a peep into the ancient Varna-Dharma, as propounded by some twenty Smritis.

Four main Castes are recognized by all the law-givers. They are the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra. In normal times the castes have their respective occupations and social services, which do not collide with one another. In times of distress some latitude is shown to the twice-born castes in the matter of choice of a paying profession. Parasara, one of the conservative law-givers, gives under such circumstances an extreme latitude in the matter of preserving one's own body and soul even at the cost of one's *dharma*, and then advises a resuming of the *dharmaic* ways when the times turn normal once again.¹

The origin of the mixed castes is a chapter by itself. Manu gives us an elaborate classification of the children born of parents of the different castes, either in lawful wedlock or in illegal intercourse. The *anuloma* marriages alone among the intercaste ones are recognized in law, while the *prathiloma* marriages are condemned with one accord by every one of the law-givers. In one place Gautama says that the preservation of blood by keeping it from mixture is *dharma*.² And this mixture of blood was apprehended more in the fall of woman than in the fall of man. On this ground it is that Manu is inclined to excuse the vice of a maiden in yielding to the amorous approaches of a man of a higher caste, while he advises imprisonment within the four corners of the home, when she commits the same crime with a man of a lower caste. In the case of a man who tempts a woman of a higher caste nothing less than a capital punishment is prescribed for the crime, while a man carnally knowing a maiden of the same caste is to pay some compensation to her father if demanded.³ According to Manu the children of an *anuloma* union between a Brahmana and a Sudra can at length rise to the caste of their higher parent, if for seven generations the process of such *anuloma* union is repeated.⁴ Hence it is that some of the law-givers recognize *anuloma* marriages as legal,

¹ Parasara, Chapter VII, 41.

² Gautama, Chapter VIII.

³ Manu, Chapter VIII, 365-66.

⁴ Manu, Chapter X, 64.

with some restrictions as to the duties of such wives, in contradistinction to those of the wives of the same caste.

Marriage within the caste is the ideal.¹ For those that cannot control their amorous inclinations, wives from castes lower than their own are sometimes prescribed. Thus a Brahmana may indulge in four wives, a Kshatriya in three, a Vaisya in two, and a Sudra in one only. Almost all the law-givers accord implicit or explicit sanction, with or without restrictions, for *anuloma* marriages. Manu and Vyasa explicitly permit them.² Yajnavalkya and Sankha do not approve of a Sudra wife for the twice-born, and therefore, they restrict the numbers of their wives to three, two and one respectively.³ It is true that Manu also explicitly speaks against a Sudra wife for *dwijas*, especially for a Brahmana, and predicts that one who indulges in such a wife is doomed to fall. For him who kisses a Sudra woman's lips or who inhales her breath, and for him who is born in her womb there is no redemption.⁴ But then, in another place, while describing the social status of the children of *anuloma* marriages, he lays it down that the children of *dwijas* by their wives belonging to the castes next below theirs are almost equal in rank with their fathers, and are entitled to the rights of the twice-born as much as those born to the wives of their own castes.⁵ Therefore, his condemnation of a Sudra wife for a Vaisya, at any rate, loses much of its force. Yajnavalkya classifies the children of *anuloma* and *prathiloma* marriages as good and bad.⁶ Usanas opines that one who contracts an alliance of intercaste marriage becomes a great sinner.⁷ And yet, as we shall see, these law-givers find themselves constrained to give *anuloma* marriages a legal or a social recognition. They had probably to keep their personal opinions aside when confronted with the practices of their respective societies.

The wives of a *dwija* belonging to different castes are not given an equal status in life. They are lodged in separate houses, and their degrees of seniority vary with the castes. The privilege of attending on the husband is given only to the wife of the same caste.⁸ A disciple is required to treat the wife of his preceptor, belonging to the same caste as the preceptor, with the respect due to the preceptor himself; while his wives of other castes are to be accosted with respectful standing and prostration.⁹ In the absence of the

¹ Manu, Chapter III, 4 and Gautama, Chapter III.

² Manu, Chapter III, 12 & 13, and Vyasa, Chapter II, 11.

³ Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 56 & 57 and Sankha, Chapter IV, 7, 9.

⁴ Manu, Chapter III, 15, 17 & 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter X, 6 and *Ibid.*, sl.41.

⁶ Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 95.

⁷ Usanas, Chapter IX, 51.

⁸ Manu, Chapter IX, 85 & 86.

⁹ Manu, Chapter II, 210. Also Usanas, Chapter III, 27.

wife of a higher caste, Katyayana gives an additional status to the wives of the lower castes, except the Sudra, and thus gives them a share even in religious ceremonies. The sacrificial fire may be churned, he says, out of the *arani* wood by the eldest of the wives in the order of castes, and in her absence by any one of the rest.¹

This difference in rank among the wives of different castes is maintained even in the matter of Dayabhaga. The property of a Brahmana having four sons by the wives of the several castes is to be divided into ten shares of which four, three, two, and one shall go to the sons, in the order of the castes of their respective mothers.² It is worthy of note that Yajnavalkya too has allowed the same claim for the children by mothers of different castes, including a Sudra mother, even though he explicitly expresses himself against such an alliance for a *dwija*.³ Vasishta, who does not recognize a Sudra wife for a *dwija*, divides on the other hand the whole property into six shares of which three, two, and one go to the children by the respective caste mothers.⁴

Many of the law-givers affix their stamp of approval on *anuloma* marriages, by prescribing *asaucham* in birth or death (uncleanness), as between the wives and their husband, among themselves, and among their children. Usanas prescribes that, on the death of a Sudra *sapinda*, a Vaisya, a Kshatriya, and a Brahmana shall be unclean for six, three, and one day respectively; that on the demise of a Vaisya *sapinda*, a Sudra, a Kshatriya, and a Brahmana shall be unclean for fifteen, six and three days; that on the expiry of a Kshatriya *sapinda*, a Brahmana, a Vaisya, and a Sudra shall be unclean for six, twelve, and twelve days respectively; while on the death of a Brahmana *sapinda*, those of the remaining castes shall be unclean for a day.⁵ While mainly agreeing with Usanas, Sankha differs from him in declaring that on the death of a Brahmana *sapinda*, those of the other castes remain unclean for ten days.⁶ As between the wives and their husbands, a Brahmana remains unclean, according to Apastambha, for ten, six, three, or one day, in birth or death, among his wives;⁷ while Daksha differs from him in prescribing eight days for the Kshatriya wife.⁸ As between the wives themselves, uncleanness in birth or death is, in the opinion of Atri, equal to that of the husband; while that on the death of the husband is of the same duration as observable in their respective castes.⁹

1 Katyayana, Chapter VIII, 6 & 7.

2 Manu, Chapter IX, 153.

3 Yajna., Chapter II, 128.

4 Vasishta, Chapter XVII, 1.

5 Usanas, Chapter VI, 36—39.

6 Sankha, Chapter XV, 19.

7 Apastambha, Chapter IX, 12.

8 Daksha, Chapter VI, 17.

9 Atri, sl. 89.

Though Parasara does not explicitly commit himself in favour of inter-caste marriages, he gives us an insight, in another connection, into what he thinks of them. Enumerating cases of exceptions among Sudras, whose food can be partaken by *dwijas*, he gives the very classes mentioned by Manu,¹ but in a different order; he tries to interpret them as the offsprings of *dwijas* by *anuloma* marriages, and thus traces out in their veins the blood of a *dwija*, before he can reconcile himself to their food becoming acceptable to a Brahmana. Conservative that he is, he feels he cannot easily get over the difficulty. By making the food offered by the children born of *anuloma* alliances acceptable to the Brahmana, Parasara gives a social recognition for such alliances.²

Next, as regards the marriageable age of a girl. It is unquestionable that Manu recognizes post-puberty marriages. He does not limit the marriageable age, as do some of the later law-givers. In one case, he feels himself constrained to concede pre-puberty marriage as a virtue of necessity. "If a suitable bridegroom is procured in the caste, let the bride be given away, even though she does not come of age," says he.³ He would rather allow a girl to remain an old maid, than see her given away to an unworthy husband.⁴ Apastambha sees nothing sinful in a girl attaining puberty during her marriage ceremony. He simply advocates the resumption of the remaining portion of the religious functions after the expiry of the third night of her uncleanness.⁵ But Parasara is uncompromising. He curses that the parents of a girl who attains puberty before her marriage are doomed to rot in hell, and that a *dwija* who marries her loses his caste and forfeits his claim on conviviality among his castemen.⁶ Yama and Samvartha follow suit.⁷ Sankha prescribes that if such a girl dies, there is no expiation for the consequent uncleanness.⁸ Brihaspati is of opinion that the gift of gold, land, or a girl of eight years is productive of good for seven births.⁹ Vasishta too advocates pre-puberty marriage; but at the same time he gives the girl the liberty in the matter of choice of a husband in her own caste, if unfortunately she attains puberty before her marriage. She is enjoined to wait for three years after puberty and then make her choice.¹⁰ Even Yajnavalkya

1 Manu, Chapter IV, 253.

2 Parasara, Chapter IX, 20 to 23.

3 Manu, Chapter IX, 88.

4 *Ibid.*, sl. 89.

5 Apastambha, Chapter VII, 9 & 10.

6 Parasara, Chapter VII, 8 & 9.

7 Also Yama sl. 23 and 24; and Samvarta sl. 66 & 67.

8 Sankha, Chapter XV, 8.

9 Brihaspati, sl. 34.

10 Vasishta, Chapter XVII.

gives her some right of choice, when there are none to give her away.¹ Manu is undoubtedly the most sympathetic of the law-givers under such circumstances. He takes into consideration the right of the girl, and the guilt of her parents in having neglected their duty by the daughter. And yet the poor parents are not threatened with anything like a severe retribution. Some of their rights are even protected. "In making her own choice of a husband, after three years of her attaining puberty, a girl commits no sin at all. But let her give up every bit of jewellery given her by her parents or brothers: else she would be a thief;" he declares.² As for the man who weds her, he need not pay her father anything by way of *sulka*, since he has forfeited his right to it.³ Gautama too is generous enough, though he is inclined more towards pre-puberty marriage.⁴ He limits the time not to three years, but to three menstrual periods only.

Almost all the law-givers are against the remarriage of women. Parasara seems to make an exception under certain extraordinary circumstances.⁵ But taking the spirit of the whole of his Smṛiti into account, he does not seem to be in favour of his own exceptions. Vasiṣṭa permits it only in one case: when the husband dies after the formal religious consecration, her hymen remaining unruptured, a girl deserves to be married for a second time.⁶ Manu declares that a second husband is nowhere advocated for a woman: while for a man he does explicitly sanction, on religious grounds, a second wife on the demise of the first.⁷ The ban on the remarriage of a woman is so great that the son born in such an alliance is barred from all religious ceremonies: he cannot be invited to preside over a *Pitr-Sraddha*.⁸ Angirasa goes to the length of denouncing the gift of a girl to a second person, after having been promised to a first; she then becomes a remarried woman and the food offered by her is forbidden for the twice-born.⁹ Manu advises *Brahmacharyam* for a good woman on the death of her husband. He is certain she reaches Heaven, even though childless.¹⁰ Elsewhere the doors of Heaven are said to be closed against the childless. Parasara is equally emphatic on the advice.¹¹ But Usanas goes a step further and

1 Yajñavalkya, Chapter I, 64.

2 Manu, Chapter IX, 90, 92 and 91.

3 Manu, Chapter IX, 93.

4 Gautama, Chapter XVIII.

5 Parasara, Chapter IV, 26.

6 Vasiṣṭa, Chapter XVII.

7 Manu, Chapter V, 162 and *Ibid.*, 168.

8 Manu, Chapter III, 181.

9 Angirasa, sl. 66.

10 Manu, Chapter V, 160.

11 Parasara (almost the same sloka), Chapter IV, 27.

enjoins a special *Pinda* (ball of rice) as a mark of profound respect on the day of her annual *Sraddha*, in case the wife immolates herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.¹

In this connection it is worthy of note that fasts and penances are ordained for widows. No law-giver prescribes them for a woman with her husband living. On the other hand, she is prohibited from such observances. Atri and Vishnu are positive that if ever she indulges in any such fasts, she does not only help in cutting away the longevity of her husband, but also courts hell for herself.²

Apart from the question of remarriage, some of the law-givers advocate procreation of a son on the childless widow of an elder brother or of a *sapinda* relation with a view to maintain the line of posterity unbroken. Special care is taken to show that this is not to be confounded with a second marriage of the woman. Extraordinary precautions are prescribed for the man and the woman, so that the union does not turn out to be lustful. The union is effected under an appointment religiously sanctioned by the elders concerned. At times a childless husband sanctions such an appointment for the wife. The appointed individual must be a brother of the husband or one of his *sapindas*.³ Gautama, Yajñavalkya, and Vasiṣṭa uphold the practice. Vasiṣṭa limits the age of the woman to sixteen years, while others are silent on the point.⁴ Manu makes this procreation imperative in the case of one who takes away the wealth of a deceased and childless brother.⁵ In cases of dispute as to the ownership of the child so created, Manu's decision, as that of Parasara,⁶ is that he does belong to the husband of the woman; and that, in the property, he is entitled to an equal share with his uncles.⁷ But if both the husband and the procreator have no other issue, the procreated shall inherit their properties, and perform their *Sraddhas*.⁸ Usanas is also of the same opinion.⁹ Gautama limits such procreation to a brother of the husband; if from a different source, the child forfeits his right of inheritance.¹⁰ With all the solemnity of the function, Manu is not in entire agreement with the principle underlying this practice. He feels something repugnant in it and characterizes it as beastly. It was

1 Usanas, Chapter III, 116.

2 Vishnu, Chapter XXV, 16. Also Atri, sl. 136.

3 Manu, Chapter IX, 59 & 60.

4 Gautama, Chapter XVIII. Yajñavalkya, Chapter I, 68. Vasiṣṭa, Chapter XVII.

5 Manu, Chapter IX, 146.

6 Parasara, Chapter IV, 17.

7 Manu, Chapter IX, 120 & 145.

8 Yajñavalkya, Chapter II, 130.

9 Usanas, Chapter V, 91.

10 Gautama, Chapter XXIX.

introduced into the human society by the licentious King Vena. Only in cases when the betrothed husband of a girl dies before the actual marriage, she may, if willing, choose to marry his brother; otherwise, the practice is not commendable.¹ He is averse to give a social status to the sons born under such an appointment, with or without the husband of the woman living. *Sraddha* oblations offered to them are entirely robbed of their efficacy, here and hereafter.²

The one humane and wholesome principle that seems to guide the social, religious, and legal *dicta* of many a law-giver of the early ages is that the weaknesses of the gentler sex are not to be much advertised. Atri is explicit on the point.³ A woman does not become unclean by the touch of a paramour.⁴ A woman who strays, from sheer folly, away from her husband, deserves to be readmitted by him, if her hymen keeps unruptured.⁵ Yajnavalkya is even more generous. With or without her hymen unruptured, she is to be taken in by her husband if she comes back after staying away with a man of her own caste.⁶

It is this generous principle that is responsible for the classification of sons, legitimate as well as illegitimate, into twelve classes and for giving them some status in life, varying in degrees. In the absence of the higher ones, the next lower in rank is to perform the funerals of the parents.⁷

We have already seen how Parasara labours in accepting the established exceptions among Sudras in the matter of interdining between the three higher castes and the fourth. Among the twice-born themselves, there is not much of a restriction. A Brahmana shall take the food offered by the twice-born who are recognized in their social duties.⁸ Parasara permits it on all the occasions of *Sraddha* oblations.⁹ Atri, Apastambha, and Angirasa prescribe that the food offered by a Brahmana shall be always acceptable; that offered by a Kshatriya may be accepted on some definite periodical phases of the moon; that offered by a Vaisya may be accepted in times of distress or on occasions of sacrifice.¹⁰

As to the unacceptability of the Sudra food in general there is not much of a difference of opinion. Apastambha and Vasishta condemn it in so many

1 Manu, Chapter IX, 66, 69 & 97.

2 Manu, Chapter III, 175.

3 Atri, sl. 238.

4 *Ibid.*, sl. 189.

5 Manu, Chapter IX, 176.

6 Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 67.

7 Manu, Chapter IX, 159, 160 & 180.

8 Gautama, Chapter XVII.

9 Parasara, Chapter XI, 13.

10 Angirasa, sl. 55; also Apastambha, Chapter, VII, 12.

words.¹ Atri almost agrees with them.² Usanas and Gautama prohibit even water touched by a Sudra.³ Manu creates exceptions in the cases of one's own servants and dependents like the slave, the barber, the family friend, the cowherd, the cultivator of the land, and he who surrenders himself for protection. The food offered by any one of these Sudras may be accepted by a Brahmana.⁴ Yajnavalkya, Yama, Gautama, and Parasara approve of these exceptions.⁵

We need not say much of the animal food. Most of the law-givers from Manu downwards have not much to say against it. But as we have already seen, Manu himself advises non-indulgence on higher principles. If absolutely necessary, he permits it on religious occasions, like the *Sraddha* of *Pitrs* or *Devas*.⁶ Of the flesh of all the animals, that of the rhinoceros is highly spoken of as the most pleasing to *Pitrs* and *Devas*. While by the offerings of milk and *Payasam* they feel satisfied for one year, they are satiated for a full twelve years by the offerings of the flesh of the rhinoceros! ⁷ It is interesting to note that in one case Manu makes it imperative to accept flesh. The man who does not eat flesh when religiously enjoined becomes a beast for several lives.⁸ It is not meet for a Brahmana to refuse the offer of fish among other things.⁹

There is no such thing as pollution by sight (*Drishti-dosha*) among the four Varnas. Even in a *Sraddha* the food becomes polluted only by the smell of a hog, by the flutter of the wings of a fowl, by the sight of a dog, or by the touch of a low-caste man.¹⁰ Usanas limits only to the first three.¹¹ Gautama and Parasara extend the pollution, even on ordinary occasions, to the sight of a *Svapacha* (dog-eater) or a *Chandala*, the offspring of a Brahmana woman by a Sudra.¹² There is no other case of pollution by sight decreed by our law-givers.

But *sparsha-dosha* (pollution by touch) is of a wider range. There are several expiations prescribed for the various kinds of *sparsha-dosha*, which are extended even to the domain of animals. Atri gives us some exceptions to

1 Apastambha, Chapter VIII, 8. Vasishta, Chapter VI.

2 Atri, sl. 298.

3 Usanas, Chapter II, 13; Gautama, Chapter IX.

4 Manu, Chapter IV, 253.

5 As for Parasara, *vide*, Chapter IX, 20 to 23. Yama gives the same sloka as Parasara. Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 168; Gautama, Chapter XVII.

6 Manu, Chapter V, 41.

7 Manu, Chapter III, 271; also Usanas, Chapter III, 140.

8 Manu, Chapter V, 35.

9 Manu, Chapter IV, 250; Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 214.

10 Manu, Chapter III, 241.

11 Usanas, Chapter V, 32.

12 Gautama, Chapter XV, Parasara, Chapter VI, 64.

sparsha-dosha. On festive occasions, in marriages, sacrifices, and processions of Gods there is no such thing as touchability or untouchability.¹

Change of religion is a punishable crime in the eyes of Atri. A foreign religion shall be avoided like the wife of another, however attractive.² But so far as we are able to see, there is nowhere a mode of reclamation prescribed, even after an expiation ceremony, for any of the poor souls that may have gone astray. The law-givers had probably no such pressing cases inviting their attention.

Before we close we should like to touch upon one more point, not insignificant in itself. Parasara Samhita is known as *the Code for Kaliyuga*, even as that of Manu for Krita, of Gautama for Treta, of Sankha and Likhita for Dwapara.³ And yet in one important respect we deviate from the dictum of Parasara. According to him *sapinda* relationship stops with the fourth generation; and it breaks up with the fifth. Consequently, the period of pollution on account of birth or death is reduced after the fourth generation, and finally becomes three days in the case of the seventh. Men of the sixth and seventh generations may also be invited to preside on the occasions of *Pitr Sraddhas*.⁴ But in practice we extend *sapinda* relationship to the seventh generation! Among the law-givers Vasishtha alone carries *sapindya* to the seventh.⁵ Gautama is indecisive; according to him it may be taken to the fifth or even to the seventh.⁶ And yet any changes proposed in the existing social order are many a time opposed, tooth and nail, as being contrary to the dictates of Parasara! That the rules of conduct prescribed in the several Smritis are not intended to be eternal and that they are liable to change with the change of times is self-evident. The ideal remains true for all times. The point need not be laboured further.

If we are asked to give in a nut-shell the whole spirit of a life of *dharma* for all the Varnas, we cannot do better than quote the splendid couplet of Manu:—

दृष्टिपूर्तं न्यमत्पादं वस्त्रपूर्तं जलीषवेत् ।

सत्यपूर्तां वदेद्वाचं मनःपूर्तं समाचरेत् ॥ Chapter VI, 46.

Without injury even to the insects on land or in water, let one conduct oneself, with due regard to Truth and Conscience—is the essence of all the teachings on Dharma.

1 Atri, sl. 245.

2 Atri, sl. 17 & 18.

3 Parasara, Chapter I, 23.

4 Parasara, Chapter III, 9, 10 & 11.

5 Vasishtha, Chapter IV.

6 Gautama, Chapter XIV.

NOTES.

A South Indian Parallel to the Bengali Cumulative Folk-Tale.

ON reading the story given by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra in the July issue of the Q. J. M. S., I am reminded of a parallel folk-tale current in Tamil, in our parts of the country. Here is an abstract of it.

Under a big banian tree there lived, once upon a time, a Rat-King. He had a Queen. One day, while the queen was cooking the food of her lord, she tumbled into the oven and was burnt to ashes.

The Rat-King returned from his hunt, and was in eager expectation of a nice dish for the day. He called his queen; but there was no response. With a heavy heart he searched for her, and finally saw, to his utter sorrow, her ashes in the oven.

In great grief, he came to the foot of the tree, and sat dejected. Seeing the Rat-King unusually moody, the Tree asked him the reason therefor. The Rat-King would not give out easily why he was moody. But finally he said, "My queen was burnt to ashes, and I have no pleasure."

The Tree felt very sorry, and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that has been denied to you?" So saying, it shed all its leaves.

An Elephant who daily used to come to the tree for mouthfuls of fresh leaves saw it bare, and asked it why it had shed its leaves.

The Tree replied:—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt;

The Rat-King is moody; And I shed leaves."

The Elephant felt sorry for the death of the Queen of the Rat-King, and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying he broke one of his tusks.

The River, to which he used to go for a bath, asked him why he broke his tusk.

The Elephant said:—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt;

The Rat-King is moody;

The Tree shed its leaves;

And I broke my tusk."

The River felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, it dried up its water.

A Crane, that used to fish in the water of the river, asked it why it was dry.

The River said :—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt ;
The Rat-King is moody ;
The Tree shed its leaves ;
The Elephant broke his tusk ;
And I dried up my water."

The Crane felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, he made himself blind of an eye.

A Hunter that used to see the Crane every day, while out for a hunt, asked the Crane why he was blind of an eye.

The Crane said :—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt ;
The Rat-King is moody ;
The Tree shed its leaves ;
The Elephant broke his tusk ,
The River dried up its water ;
And I am blind of an eye."

The Hunter felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, he threw away his hunting-rod.

A Brahmin lady who used to give the hunter alms, when he went to her doors begging one night, asked him why he was without his hunting-rod.

The Hunter replied :—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt ;
The Rat-King is moody ;
The Tree shed its leaves ;
The Elephant broke his tusk ;
The River dried up its water ;
The Crane was blind of an eye ;
And I threw away my hunting-rod."

The Brahmin lady felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, she broke the cooking pot, on the street, with all its contents.

Here ends the story abruptly. And I have given it for what it is worth.

K. KRISHNAMACHARYA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Indian Academy of Arts.

Preliminary Notice.

[We have great pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to the following.--*Ed.*]

DURING several tours which I have made through most of the linguistic areas of India, I have come in contact with various well-marked movements in creative literature and the fine arts. These movements, separated both by distance and language, are working independently and in ignorance of one another; yet, while rightly developing along the lines of local tradition, they are obviously simultaneous diverse expressions of a cultural awakening which is not merely provincial but Indian; and as such, they will fail of their highest accomplishment if not brought into sympathetic relationship with one another.

To India as a national entity, at this moment when an attempt is being made to brand her with the stigma of racial inferiority, it is a matter of vital importance, that she should realize and assert the total strength and quality of her cultural life, and rise again to the level of the dignity and power that were hers for centuries as the centre of a cultural empire that extended from Asia Minor to Japan and from Central Asia to Java.

For some years, India has been moving in this direction, but circumstances now demand a quickening of the pace. The degeneration of taste which has come through the diversion of her educated classes towards foreign literature and art must come to an end. Her own vernacular writers and artists must be encouraged, and their works must be given an All-India public.

To this end, and after personal consultation with many creative artists and appreciators of literature and art, during a recent tour from Madras through Bengal, Behar, the United Provinces, the Panjab, Kashmir, Sindh, Gujarat and Bombay, it is proposed that there be founded, as soon as possible, an Indian Academy of Arts, consisting of (a) Constituent Academies in each linguistic area; or, where the linguistic area covers more than one traditional cultural area (as, for example, Hindi covers Sindh and Rajputana), an Academy for each cultural area; or, where a traditional cultural area, such as Kashmir or Behar, has more than one language, an Academy with a department for each language in the area; these Constituent Academies to be designated later as may be found most desirable; (b) of a Central Academy.

The work of the Constituent Academies will be to find out and bring together in mutual intercourse the writers, artists and art-craftsmen in the various areas; to promote local recitals of literature and music, and exhibitions of arts and art-crafts;

and to report to the Central Academy the best works produced in the area during a given period.

The work of the Central Academy will be to record the reports of the Constituent Academies; to make the best works of the period known throughout India by the translation of literature from language to language, and the reproduction of pictures and photographs of architecture, sculpture, carving and art-objects; and to publish a magazine in English as a means of disseminating a knowledge of the highest achievements of Indian culture throughout the world.

Details of the Constitution of the Academy are being worked out. Meanwhile, it is requested that you send me at the earliest possible moment the following information written (for uniformity in filing) on quarto paper, and giving the number of each item at the beginning of your reply.

1. Your name and full postal address, and special cultural activity or interest.
2. The name and address of any one likely to be interested to whom you have transmitted a copy of this circular.
3. The name and address of any one to whom you desire further copies to be sent.
4. The Samskrit designation which you consider most suitable for the Academy as a whole (The Indian Academy of Arts); and the designation which you think most suitable for the Constituent Academy in your area.
5. The language or languages of your area.
6. The title, name of author and publisher, and price of any history of literature in the language of your area, or any representative collections of prose or poetry. Give these in both the vernacular and English.
7. The same information as to similar books published in English.
8. The same information as to a recently published (a) book of poems, (b) drama, (c) novel, (d) short story, or (e) general prose work, from your area, which you consider worthy of being translated into the other Indian languages.
9. Particulars as to a recent work of art which you consider worthy of being reproduced or photographed.
10. The names and addresses of established and promising writers and artists in your area, with some particulars as to their life and works.

As soon as the above information is received and tabulated, definite steps will be taken to found the Academy and proceed with its much-needed work.

Your immediate and thorough attention is earnestly requested.

MADRAS, }
1st September 1923. }

JAMES H. COUSINS,
Brahmaidyashrama, Adyar.

A Correction.

To

THE EDITOR,

Journal of the Mythic Society,

Bangalore City.

DEAR SIR,

On pages 785-6 of the July issue of the Mythic Society's Journal (No. 4 of Vol. XIII) I am credited, in a review of the Census Report, with having written the Census Report for *three* decennial Censuses and therefore of having written the *Census Report of 1901*.

2. But if that Report is referred to, it will be found that it was written by Mr. T. Ananda Rao, B.A. I hope this will be corrected or pointed out in a future issue of the Journal.

3. Thus it will be found that I have written only the Reports for *two* Censuses and not for *three* Censuses.

Bangalore City, }
Dated 11th July 1923. }

Yours faithfully,
V. R. THYAGARAJA IYER.

REVIEWS.

The Virataparvan of the Mahabharata.

EDITED BY NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A., Poona.

THE high esteem in which the Mahābhārata is held in India is clearly indicated by the term 'the fifth Vēda' applied to the epic. It is an encyclopædia of religion, ethics, politics, history and several other branches of knowledge, and as such its careful study is a *sine qua non* for every student of Indian history.

Several editions of the Mahābhārata have been brought out, but they are defective in one way or another, as they are not based on a collection of a large number of manuscripts, both northern and southern, and do not bear evidence of the strict application of the accepted principles of textual criticism. We therefore welcome the present attempt on the part of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, to bring out a critical and illustrated edition of this important epic under the auspices of Srimant Balasaheb Pant, Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh.

It was towards the middle of the year 1918 that the project of a critical and illustrated edition of the Mahābhārata was first formed in Poona, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute took up the scheme for accomplishment. In 1919 the collation of the manuscripts was formally inaugurated at the hands of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and about eighty independent complete manuscripts were collated. About the middle of 1920 it was decided to publish a tentative edition of a portion of the work, and in obedience to the orthodox prejudice against beginning any work on the Mahābhārata with the Ādiparvan, the portion selected for the tentative edition was the Virāṭaparvan. The printing was commenced in May 1922 and completed in December of the same year.

The bulky volume of the Virāṭaparvan before us, consisting of nearly 1200 pages, bears unmistakable testimony to the care and industry of the editor. This tentative edition, based on a collation of sixteen independent manuscripts besides the three well-known editions of Calcutta, Bombay and Kumbhakonam, is issued with a view to invite helpful suggestions and criticisms which will be utilized in the preparation of the final edition of the Mahābhārata. It begins with an introduction of 52 pages giving details about the genesis of the present edition, the manuscripts, editions and other critical material used for it, the arrangement of matter and the principles on which the text is based. Then we have the text of the Virāṭaparvan with various readings, followed by critical and explanatory notes extending over 146 pages. Then follows an Appendix of 286 pages containing additional verses not included in the text. And lastly, we have three

supplements, the first giving the text of a section of the Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka which has some resemblance in text and subject-matter to the fourth chapter of the Virāṭaparvan, the second containing the readings found in the commentary, known as Vishamapadavivarāṇa, on the Virāṭaparvan, and the third giving the quotations from the Virāṭaparvan found in the Javanese version of the same made in A.D. 996. It will thus be seen that the editor has availed himself of every source of information for procuring a correct text and he may well be congratulated on the satisfactory manner in which he has performed the task entrusted to him.

The volume is illustrated by three fine pictures drawn by Srimant Balasaheb Pant, Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, to whose enlightened generosity the inception and continuance of this edition of the Mahābhārata are due. The method adopted by him for preparing the illustrations appears to be correct. He says that he will follow the text wherever possible for all details, the Sānchi and Bharhut sculptures for the mode of dress and ornaments, and the Ajanta paintings for the manner of colouring.

As desired by the editor, we shall now proceed to make some suggestions for the improvement of the final edition.

1. At the beginning of each *adhyaṃ* or chapter the subject-matter may be given in brief.

2. Each volume may have at the beginning its contents arranged according to the chapters and at the end an index of proper names.

3. More South Indian manuscripts and editions have to be consulted. Of the 16 manuscripts used for the present volume, only 4 are from South India. Surely there are more manuscripts available in the libraries at Mysore, Tanjore, etc. The Madras edition of the Mahābhārata in Telugu characters by Hayagriva Sastri, published more than fifty years ago, does not appear to have been consulted. There seems to be a sort of prejudice against southern manuscripts owing chiefly to the large quantity of interpolations in them. This is unreasonable, as in an undertaking of this kind light and guidance should be welcomed from every available quarter. The inflation of the southern recension is itself a problem that has to be faced and accounted for. It is rather curious that the southern recension, though full of interpolations, does not contain so many as 321 verses of the present text of the Virāṭaparvan. In this connection we may also invite the attention of the editor to a South Indian Publication, *Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata*, by V. Venkatachellam Iyer, about which the reviewer says*: "The book is one that will have to be seriously considered when the herculean task of constituting a critical text of the Mahābhārata is undertaken in earnest."

4. It is desirable to give the different readings also of the additional verses contained in the Appendix.

5. It is no doubt true that investigations with regard to the work on hand are apt to be more or less coloured by one's personal ideas, but a firm attempt

* J. R. A. S. for 1923, 427-8.

ought to be made to minimise the personal factor as far as possible. The editor says that he has not hesitated to emend conjecturally at places the text, even against the evidence of all the manuscripts. This is to be deprecated unless there are very strong grounds for such procedure. Again, seventeen verses found in all the manuscripts, both northern and southern, have been relegated to the Appendix, though they are required to make up the number given in the Parvasangraha chapter which, there is evidence to show, goes back to the fourth century A.D. The reasons given for the relegation are not convincing. It is stated that these verses were the product of the period intervening between the original Mahābhārata and the same when the Parvasangraha chapter was added to it. This is merely drawing upon the imagination. We want satisfactory proof for arriving at this conclusion.

We may add that *parva-sutam* (p. xxxi) probably refers to the total of the sub-divisions, also known as *parvas*, of the eighteen *parvas* of the epic.

R. N.

Mysore Archæological Series:

Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. II.

Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola. (Revised Edition)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR

R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

WE have received with pleasure the above publication relating to a place of great antiquity full of historical, religious and architectural importance. The Archæological wealth of Mysore originally brought to light by the efforts of Messrs. Fergusson, Workman, Rice and other pioneers, have recently been made known extensively to the continents of Europe and America, by the brilliant annual reports and monographs of Mr. Narasimhachar; and scholars should feel thankful to him for the additional light thrown on the dark periods of history such as that of the Gangas.

The first edition of the work was published by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1889. The present publication, we are glad to observe, contains 350 records not known before and an increase of printed inscriptions from 144 to 500, while the survey of the place is now almost complete. The present volume abounds in beautiful illustrations with 78 plates and with fac-similes of a number of inscriptions. The actual texts of the inscriptions in Roman characters (with translations) and in Kannada are preceded by an illuminating and instructive introduction. The records range in date from 600 A.D. and the oldest of the buildings may be put to about 800 A.D.

Sravaṇa Belgola or Belgola (white pond) of the Sravaṇa or Śramaṇa, a Jain ascetic, is situated 8 miles to the south of Chennarayapatna in Hassan District of

the Mysore State, and consists of two hills—Doddā-betta or Vindhyagiri and Chikka-betta or Chandragiri. It is on the former that the colossal statue of Gommateswara is situated and the latter is associated with the reminiscences of the earliest period known to Indian history, that of the Chandragupta Maurya. The inscriptions bring to prominence many of the knotty problems in Indian history such as the date of the original migration of the Jainas to the south, the rise and growth in power of the Gangas, the death of the last of the Rashtrakutas, the establishment and the expansion of the Hoysala kingdom, the supremacy of the Vijayanagar Empire and the reign of the Mysore Royal House. In recent times, the place attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington when he was at Seringapatam as Sir A. Wellesley.

Readers of the Mythic Society Journal may already be familiar with particulars about the Statue of Gommateswara, as the President of the Society has published an interesting monograph on the subject in Volume III, No. (1) of our Journal and as Mr. Narasimhachar himself read a paper on Sravana Belgola before our Society which was duly published in Volume XIII, No. (1) of the Journal and a close follower of the Mysore Archæological reports should also be acquainted with other incidents related herein. Though we are in general agreement with the conclusions of Mr. Narasimhachar on the later dynasties, we regret with him that he is not able to throw any additional light on the most important question connected with Maurya-Chandragupta. From the tenour of some of the inscriptions, from some of the literary evidences available from the Jaina works in Sanskrit and Kannada, and from the observations made by Mr. Thomas and other well-known scholars, Mr. Narasimhachar favours the Jaina tradition relating to Chandragupta and Śrutakevali Bhadrabahu and is disposed to consider the same as a working basis for future researches. There are some difficulties in our way of doing this. It means that we are to believe in a tradition that gains its first epigraphical support only about 600 A.D. which is long after the event. We are to depend again upon literary evidences which date only from 931 A.D. We are to presume from the indirect testimony of Megasthenes that Chandragupta submitted to the devotional teachings of Śramaṇas and we are again to assume that Chandragupta was a Jain, and that his successors including Aśoka were Jains on the mere allusion to Jains in the Sanskrit drama *Mudra-rakṣasa* and on the uncorroborated version that Aśoka introduced Jainism into Kashmir. Apart from other strong grounds against this theory, which Mr. Narasimhachar himself recognizes, the very absence of any kind of direct evidence during a century or two preceding and succeeding the Christian era which cannot be considered too dark to chronicle the migration of an important community and the sudden disappearance of a very powerful Emperor, and the significant omission of this incident in contemporary records are themselves sufficient to lessen the authority of the later Jain records; and though one may not agree with Dr. Fleet in his interpretation of inscriptions, yet, one may believe with him, in a general way, that the Jain tradition should rest on some more substantial foundation.

Many of the inscriptions throw a flood of light on Jaina religion and philosophy and reveal the social and religious state of the country at the time. The valuable foot-notes below the translations must enable a lay reader to understand the technical terms of the Jainas such as *Sallekhani*, *Syādvāda* or the Sapthabhangi doctrine, the *Sapta Maharddies*, the three *Sālyas*, etc., and give him a deep insight into their scripture. It is with pleasure that we note that the inscriptions do not bear the useful imprints of religious persecution, in spite of the fact that Jainism is considered heretic by all the Brahminical schools, and that it had to struggle with and submit to the scathing and at times unjustified criticisms of its rival creed. No better example of religious toleration can be given than the distribution of rice by the Jaina monastery to the solitary Hindu temple of the village dedicated to Kamma and the existence of a Vishnu and a Siva temple in Hale Belgola. The gigantic revival of Vaishnavism, under the foremost of its apostles Sri Ramanuja, penetrated into the heart of the State and threatened the very existence of Jainism and the wounds that might have been caused would have taken several centuries to heal in any other country. But, yet, in 1368 we find the earliest Vijayanagar record speaking of a reconciliation brought about by Bukkaraya I between Vaishnavas and Jainas. The advent of Ramanuja and the introduction of Vaishnavism in the State is not attended with vandalism of any kind and the only incident mentioned by Mr. Narasimhachar about the story that, after the conversion of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana to the Vaishnava faith, the Vaishnava apostle mutilated the statue of Gommateswara is not believable and bears no support. We do not want to make this review any more lengthy by a critical examination of all the details but wish once again to express our admiration for this publication and commend the same to scholars and laymen alike.

K. D.

The Cage of Gold.

BY SITA CHATTERJI.

Published by Messrs. R. Chatterji, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

THE volume before us is a rendering into English of the Bengali original by Mr. A. E. Brown, Principal, Wesleyan College, Bankura. The plot of the novel is very interesting and laid partly in Bihar and partly in Calcutta. The hero is Samarendra and the heroine is Urmila. Urmila is brought up from her childhood in wealth and pomp but caged as it were by Kshetranath in his mansion. Her only companions till she is free were books and she knew not the outside world. With the removal of Kshetranath from his earthly existence, Urmila from her forced seclusion is suddenly flung on Calcutta society. Circumstances bring her into contact with Samarendra, who curiously enough captivates her. But Kshetranath willed it otherwise. He left a large property to Urmila with a condition attached to it, *viz.*, that she should marry one of

the persons named by him. Once set free she rebels against the check placed on her freedom of action by her benefactor Kshetranath. A conflict ensues as to the line of action to be adopted by her. Choice lies between Samarendra, the idol of her heart, who wants her out of pure and simple affection and Lalit, Kshetranath's nominee, who seeks her hand out of selfish greed for the gold which the alliance with Urmila brings. The acceptance of the former means ruin to her and of the latter perpetual gloom over her life. As could be expected of a noble soul, she throws in her lot with Samarendra and prefers love in a cottage to the pomp and splendour which her marriage with Lalit held out, fully realizing that a marriage based on pecuniary considerations, could never ensure the lasting happiness of the couple.

The author incidentally also draws a vivid picture of life in a Bengali household.

T. S.

Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities.

BY PHANINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., *Visvabharati, Santiniketan.*

Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.

THIS is one of the latest additions to the T. P. H. "Asian Library" and is a welcome one. Mr. Bose has written briefly on the Universities and Teachers but what he has gleaned from the researches of the foreign writers on them is well worth publication, for it gives in one conspectus a view of the work done by old world Indian Teachers at the old world Universities of India. In the details given of Teachers and Universities, there is a monotonous repetition of words and phrases. We have no doubt these will be done away with in a future edition. We have noticed one or two printer's errors, which ought not to be in so good a book as this one is. We have no doubt these will be duly corrected in the next edition, which cannot be long delayed. The book opens up a line of enquiry for aspiring scholars which is full of promise. The four Universities mentioned—Vikramasila, Nalanda, Jagaddala, and Odantapuri—cannot have been the only ones of importance in the whole country. How many more were there and what was the nature of work done in them? Were they Buddhistic Universities of the monastic type as the four mentioned above? Were there Brahmanic Universities side by side with these? Were there any Universities of the type described in this book in Southern India proper—south of the River Krishna? The book incidentally brings out the long religious connection of this country with Tibet, whose Buddhist teachers were largely imported from these Universities. An excellent book to read and to keep.

C. H.

**Subscriptions received during the quarter ending
30th September 1923.**

Names.	Vol.	Amount.
Messrs.		RS. A. P.
B. Venkatramana Chetty	XIII	5 0 0
Sir P. Ramanathan, Colombo	..	3 4 0
Prof. P. Pissurlencar, Sanguelim	..	3 0 0
T. M. Sundaram Iyer, Tirupattur	..	3 8 0
Luzac & Co., London	..	3 0 0
Rajasabhabushana Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Bangalore	..	5 0 0
K. V. Ramaswami Iyengar, Bangalore	..	5 0 0
K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar, Bangalore	..	5 0 0
Dr. G. J. Ingram Cotton, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
W. H. Murphy, Bangalore	XII & XIII	5 0 0
Rao Saheb B. V. Venkatasami Naidu, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
Dr. E. S. Krishnaswami Iyer, Bangalore	..	5 0 0
Dr. B. G. S. Acharya, Allahabad	..	5 0 0
S. Srikantaiya, Bangalore	..	5 0 0
Rev. J. A. Vanes, Shimoga	..	3 0 0
Ahmad Sait, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
M. Sreenivasa Murthy, Bangalore	..	5 0 0
B. A. Saletore, Udipi	XIV	3 0 0
S. V. Venkatesvaran, Mysore	XIII & XIV	6 0 0
L. A. Cammiade, Madras	XI, XII, XIII & XIV	12 4 0
Sarat Chandra Mitra, Calcutta	XIV	3 0 0
Rev. F. Veyssere, K.G.F.	XIII & XIV	6 4 0
K. Sri Narasimhaiya, Mysore	..	6 4 0
N. Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
Principal, Ernakulam College	XIV	3 0 0
K. Krishna Iyengar, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
P. S. Janakirama Iyer, Salem	XIII & XIV	6 10 0
C. E. Rama Rao, Bangalore	..	10 0 0
Dr. M. Sreenivasa Rao, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
Cashier, Calcutta University, Calcutta	..	3 0 0
P. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Parvatipur	XIV	3 0 0
T. Madiah, Bangalore, part payment of	..	3 0 0
G. Sundara Rao, Bangalore	..	5 0 0

Names.	Vol.	Amount.
Messrs.		RS. A. P.
K. V. Appa Sarma, Anantapur	XIII & XIV	6 10 0
S. P. Y. Surendranath Voegeli Arya, Madras	..	6 10 0
H. Rekubchand Bapnah, K. G. F.	XIV	3 0 0
Head Clerk in charge of History Section, University of Allahabad	XI, XII, XIII & XIV	12 0 0
K. V. Anantaraman, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
T. S. Venkanniah, Bangalore	XII	5 0 0
S. Cudambi, Bangalore	XII & XIII	10 0 0
V. S. Arumugam Mudaliar, Bangalore, part payment of XII		1 0 0
K. Sampatgiri Rao, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
B. Venkatramanaiya, Kolar	XIII & XIV	6 10 0
Inspector-General of Education in Mysore for twelve copies of	XIII	60 0 0
C. B. Gopala Rao, Kolar	XIII & XIV	6 10 0
K. Krishnamacharya, Badavel	XIV	3 0 0

**Books presented during the quarter ending
30th September 1923.**

Registrar, Calcutta University—

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture by S. Krishnaswami
Iyengar.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. X.

Registrar, Madras University—

Calendar of the Madras University for 1923, Vol. II.

Director of Archæology, Mysore and the Editor, Daily Post—

Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola by R. Narasimhachar. (Two copies.)

Superintendent of the Archæological Department, Kashmir State—

Annual Report of the Department for 1920-21.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta—

Memoirs—Vol. VII—(5)—Vocabulary of peculiar vernacular Bengali words.

The K. R. Cama Institute, Bombay—

Kharshedji Rustomjee Cama—A Memoir by S. M. Edwards.

Presented by—

Khan Saheb Khaja Khan, Madras, (Author)—

“Studies in Tasawwuff.”

B. Ananda Rao, Esq, Sub-Registrar, Malavalli—

Indian Antiquary :—June 1872

November „

January 1873

March „

April „

August „

September „

October „

Vol. II Part XXV

August 1875

October 1876.

Rajakaryaprasakta Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao (Author)—

Sreeramakathāprasanga.

N. G. Venkatasubba Iyer, Esq., Teppakulam—

Adwaita Rasa Manjari.

Messrs. R. Chatterji, Calcutta—

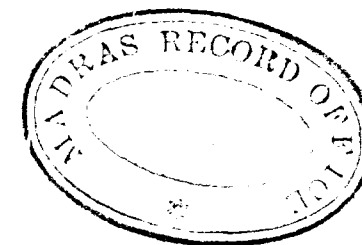
• “The Cage of Gold” by Sita Chatterji.

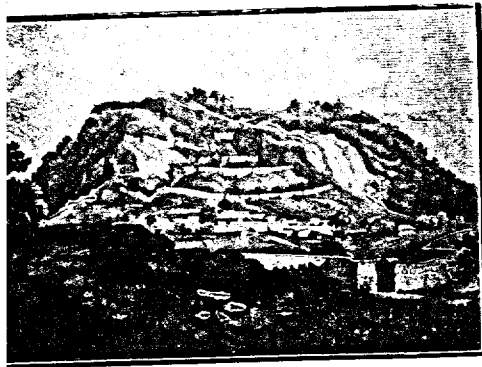
C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, Esq. (Author)—

Kongu Nadu during the times of Sundara Murtigal

Very Rev. Canon Edward Sell, M.A. (Author)—

“The Faith of Islam.”

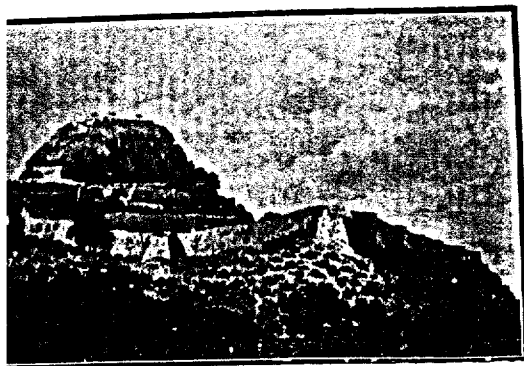




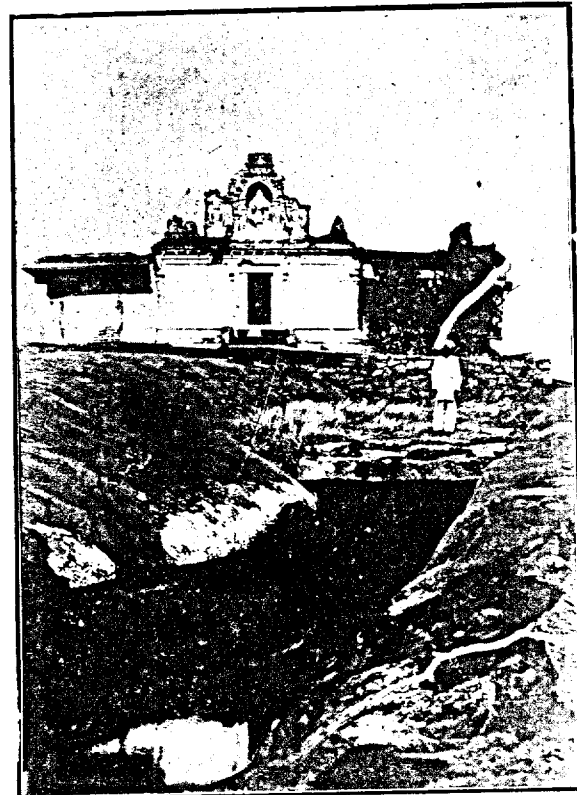
g and Pettah from S.-E., as drawn by Home in 1794.



og—The Southern Hill and Rampart seen from above.



ivurdroog from N.-E., as drawn by Home in 1794.



Hutridroog—The Temple and Reservoir near the Summit.



The magazine and ruins on crest of Huliurdroog.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. XIV]

JANUARY 1924

[No. 2

HUTRIDROOG AND HULIYURDROOG.

BY REV. F. GOODWILL.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

HUTRIDROOG.

A recent paper published in this Journal shed fresh light on the "Goudas," who for about two centuries ruled the neighbouring country from their central town of Magadi. Kempe Gouda I is said to have built the fort of Bangalore in 1537, and tradition assigns to him much enterprise and activity in his kingdom besides this. It credits him with the building of the walls of Huliurdroog, and there is good reason to believe that he is responsible for the first fortifying of Hutridroog also. A survey of the landscape to the west of Bangalore greatly helps the reconstruction of local history. From some high points of the neighbourhood one may look westward for thirty to forty miles over a country which gradually falls away in elevation, out of which the mass of Savandroog looms up distinctly in the morning light, and the lines of the hills which are our chief subject also stand out distinctively. A little kingdom which had Bangalore as a maiden fortress to the east, its home stronghold in Savandroog, an impregnable little fort to the west ten miles away, Huliurdroog, and the seven-lined castle of Hutridroog about as far away on the north, was secure from its enemies to a very considerable extent. Given the wild forest lands which etymology indirectly asserts in the one case,

and which history of but little more than a hundred years old affirms of the country about these strong points, and it will be clear that the little Magadi kingdom was not without hopes and means of defence of its interests and life.

Hutridroog lies almost due west of Bangalore about thirty miles away; its summit rises 3713 feet above mean sea level. It is a double hill, but the hill on the south is of very much lower elevation than the main hill on the north. Yet the southern hill has also been included in the scheme of defence, and indeed the gateways and bastions here are stronger and more impressive than those of the main hill. Between the hills lay the Pettah, once a considerable town, now inhabited only by a few families. Suggestions of its former extent and importance bestrew the fields right up to the rocky base of the main hill.

Historians have not been generous to this elaborately constructed old fort; almost all that is known of the details of its history comes from those who tell the story of its assault and capture by the British. James Bristow, who was a prisoner of war here in 1790 along with a few other Europeans, has also given us some vivid pictures of life in the fort at the end of that year. There is but one inscription known to the writer, which throws any light on the history of the droog, and it says that "in the year 1538 Chennama Nāyaka Aya had the Yelayur gate built with proper pillars, by the hand of Muta Nāyaka's disciple, Jangamaya." Probably the date is that of the designing and building of the fort upon the hill. An unfinished bastion near the top of the hill on the western side was probably in course of construction when the fort was in the hands of Tippu, some time toward the end of his reign.

In 1790, when the British were still far away from Mysore territory, there were here in garrison but sixty to seventy men. Its armament consisted of a few old "Malabar" guns in bad condition, together with two British nine-pounders that had come into Tippu's hands at some time or other. It is significant that the fort was important enough in Tippu's eyes to make it seem worth while to send captured guns to defend its walls. Bristow further tells us incidentally that pice were coined here in his day.

We may as well tell the story of Bristow's connection with Hutridroog forthwith. Toward the end of September, 1790, Tippu was evidently disturbed in his mind by the course of the war then proceeding with the British. Meadows and Floyd, in the great stretch of country around Coimbatore, Karūr, Satyamangalam, had met his forces frequently, and generally with success. The regiment of British cavalry under Floyd had introduced a new method of fighting, its fame and terror had flown far through the land. Tippu was not happy at the remembrance of the fact that there were still a few British

prisoners in his territory, men who had been kept back at the settlement of 1784. Living men might tell tales, would tell tales if their countrymen came near enough to hear them. So on September 22, 1790, a batch of twelve prisoners was made up and sent away from Seringapatam to Hutridroog. One was a Frenchman who had offended Tippu in some way while in his service, the rest were British. Of them James Bristow, who has written a most thrilling account of his privations and adventures, was one and he presently became leader of the little party in its attempt at escape. Their new gaoler's instructions were clear and stringent. They were to be guarded until further instructions, they were to be kept in fetters, and no provisions were to be given them. It seems that the last direction was intended to put a period to their existence, although they were not to be done directly to death.

Arrived at Hutridroog, they were hurried up the hill with a haste for which there seemed to be no need. Where they were confined is not now to be known. It was not quite at the summit, judging by the account of the eventual escape; but it was evidently well toward the top, and the escape was made on the side away from that on which they ascended. There were several Indian prisoners also confined here in other quarters, some of them men who had served in British armies, a subadhar and a jemadhar being among them. These men also were evidently making plans to escape, for Bristow tells how his party had once seen the Indians walking about with the irons released from their legs. But history is silent regarding their fate and their names.

The arrival of the English prisoners was not unmarked by the residents of the village at the foot of the hill, nor did their miserable state of starvation fail to awake the sympathy of the simple folk. For five weeks the people of the place maintained this little group of prisoners alive for charity and the love of God. And the guards themselves were not slow to follow the noble example set by the villagers. It is one of those acts of communal kindness that deserves to be recorded in imperishable stone, or better still to be kept fresh in mind by much grateful repetition. On their part, the prisoners did what lay in their power for their benefactors—one of them doctored the villagers. Men who were but barely maintained in life through a number of years must themselves have been often liable to sudden and violent illnesses; their reminiscences tell of frequent recourse to the "doctor's box" with its simple but drastic drugs. But other remedies also came to hand sometimes. One of the prisoners obtained a whole sheep as a present from a Palegar who was passing the fort on his way with reinforcements for Tippu by administering to him under the guise of medicine a dose of common country spirits "which put him in the finest humour in the world".

The Killedar of the fort, being of a practical turn of mind, decided that it would be a good stroke of business to have his rusty old guns furbished and otherwise repaired by some of the prisoners before they should depart thence. Bristow was the one chosen to survey the guns and report on their needs. For this purpose he had to be taken all over the fort, and while going to and fro he unobtrusively used his eyes to observe any possible line of escape from the works, if haply he and his band should be able to free themselves from their quarters. He reported that the north side seemed the most probable line; but it was extremely steep, and the descent, especially by night, would be perilous.

The prisoners managed to free their limbs of their irons by the use of a small knife which one of them had secreted, and which they had made saw-like by hacking its edge with a larger knife. But they were under the necessity of hiding their semi-freedom in the daytime from their gaolers by again drawing their fetters over their ankles, though an examination would at once have revealed their efforts. Twenty days were spent digging in secret at the mud walls of their prison with the larger knife of their possessions, and at times they were obliged to sing such scraps of songs as they still remembered, or make sounds of quarrelling, to drown the noise of the picking at the wall. Their plight was well-nigh desperate, and they took the resolution of desperate men to fight for life with such weapons as billets of wood, anything they could lay hands on, rather than be retaken for prison and death.

On a moonlight night in November they made their way out from their prison, favoured for a moment by a sudden shower of rain which sent their guards into closer shelter than usual about their guard fire. For their long and uncertain journey they had provided themselves with a small quantity of ragi cakes, which they had forced themselves to spare from their starvation diet. Bristow first of all made essay of the descent at the point which he had noted as the least precipitous. In the uncertain night light he had slightly moved away from the quarter he had decided to attempt, and it was only the help of a sapling growing on the rocky slope that stopped his dangerous slide to death. The point of descent cannot now be decided with any approach to certainty, but no one can look at the northern cliffs without marvelling that twelve men could pass down them by night and reach the bottom with but one broken arm and sundry bruises among them.

Arrived at the bottom of the steepest part of their climb, they proceeded to reconnoitre their course. Various guards and defences had still to be passed; they were challenged from time to time, but managed to avoid observation. Alas for them that somehow or other Bristow became separated from his companions; he himself thought they had deliberately forsaken him

because he was weak from fever, but that does not seem a fair conclusion. At any rate he was alone, and his share of the ragi cakes was lost to him. His story is too long to follow in detail. Enough to say that after six weeks of wandering in the hills and jungles to the north of Hutridroog, he managed at last to reach a British detachment at Harihār. He was hard put to it for food; once he went for five days without any sort of food; and he says that but for the practice the prisoners had had in past years in starving he could not have endured his privations. But time and again the women of the villages which he ventured rarely to approach, especially the old women, became his guardian angels, and charitably gave him out of their scanty little store of food. His only clothing was the blanket which he had taken with him from the droog; it was so tattered and his whole appearance so miserable that two "tygers" that met him put their tails between their legs and ran from him in terror. It is not uninteresting to learn that after he had made his way to his fellow-countrymen, full of desire to lead the "Grand Army" of Cornwallis into Mysore, he recovered the whole of his pay for the "nine years, nine months, and twenty-two days" of his captivity.

Fate was not propitious to the rest of the adventurous band. They were seen by a herd boy next day, and he at once set on the pursuit. Seven of them were retaken, three were not heard of again, only one of them managed, like Bristow, to effect his escape to friendly forces. Of those retaken six soon died of privation and ill-treatment; but one, Cadman, survived and was found by the part of Cornwallis' army that forced its way into the island of Seringapatam early in 1792, living in captivity in Ganyām, the residential part of the island outside the fort proper. There is good reason to believe that a larger proportion of this band won through to liberty than from any other body of the captives who were kept in Mysore territory after the Peace of Mangalore, March, 1784.

A little more than a year after the escape of the prisoners, the British armies were around Savandroog, and the assault took place on December 21, 1791, an assault so remarkably successful that the droog was gained without the loss of a single man. And this was widely known to be one of the strongest of the hill forts of the whole of Tipu's dominions. Two days thereafter Colonel Stuart directed his forces toward Hutridroog. As the Allied armies marched away from Seringapatam in the previous June, after the unsuccessful attempt upon it, Hutridroog had been summoned to surrender. The Killedar replied with considerable spirit: "Twenty years I have eaten Tipu's salt, and I will not surrender until you have captured Seringapatam." The event proved that he was unable to make the latter part of the sentence good. The officer commanding now sent a party forward with a flag of truce,

commissioned to offer liberal terms if the droog should be surrendered. The party was treacherously beckoned forward till it was within sixty yards of the walls, when it was fired on, but fortunately without effect.

It happened that Colonel Ross, later the engineer officer in command at Seringapatam, on whose report the inner rampart was thrown into the inner ditch by Colonel Wellesley, was with the advance party, so that he had a good opportunity of seeing the lie of the ground and the nature of the defences. The walls of the Pettah were quickly carried by escalade, whereupon the Killedar asked for a parley. But, as guns were observed being moved toward commanding points during the interval, the attack was ordered immediately. Some of the gates of the seven ramparts were forced by the pioneers, others were escalated. The advance was greatly facilitated by the then novel method of the artillery attack, the field guns being elevated and trained on the next objective as each gate and line of wall was carried by the advancing troops. There was a heavy fire from each rampart, but the confusion and astonishment at the speedy attack were so great that it was spent chiefly on the air. None of the attackers were killed, and very few were even wounded. The attack pushed through to the summit, and the Killedar was among those captured. He informed his captors that four hundred of his men had deserted the previous night. If this statement be accepted, and there is no reason to doubt it, it indicates that considerable preparations had been made for the defence by reinforcement of the garrison since the preceding year, and that the capture of Savandroog, believed impregnable, had had a remarkable effect on the imagination of the garrisons of other hill forts.

After its capture, the droog was made an advanced base for the operations of the army against Seringapatam the following year. Colonel Floyd arrived here with troops and further stores on January 21, 1792. There were then eight heavy guns in store, part of the preparations that were being made for the siege of the island fortress, which resulted in Tippu's discomfiture and the reduction of his territories by one-third, bringing them to the limits approximately of the Mysore State at the present time.

During the campaign of Lord Harris which ended with the death of Tippu in 1799, when Seringapatam was captured by assault, Hutridroog was far off the line of the march of the contending armies. It has stood in peace from the time of its capture in December 1791, and though its walls stand remarkably intact, they remain but as a monument of times and conditions of warfare that have passed away. The visitor to the summit of the droog walks warily lest he should surprise a sleeping panther, or tread upon a Russell's viper, both which are said to be numerous.

HULIYURDROOG.

Huliyürdroog by its curiously bare, conical form stands out conspicuous from the surrounding landscape. It is very small, and is only 3096 feet high, but its shape and precipitous nature, together with its fortifications, gave it the reputation of being impregnable. And modern observation would readily agree with the old-time estimate of its defensive capacities. It also is said to owe its first fame as a fort to the energies of Kempe Gouda, and this we have indicated as very probably a correct statement, though of inscriptional evidence there is none known to the writer. It was conquered by Dodda Dēvarāja of Mysore in the early eighteenth century at the time that he captured also Kunigal, some fourteen miles further north. No one who wanders over the old fort of Kunigal can fail to be impressed with its ancient strength and importance, though it is but a maidan fortress. It stands at one end of the bund of the great tank which gives life to a large area of land toward the west, and both by its situation and by its artificial defences must have been of considerable defensive strength.

The walls of Huliyürdroog enclosed a considerable space to the west and north of the conical hill, and thus provided a fort convenient for residence, with the mass of rock behind it as a last resort in case of extremities. The streets of the Pettah, which is still a flourishing little town, have been uncommonly well paved at some period remote from the present; though worn smooth by the feet of passing generations, the granite slabs are still fairly level and they give the town a look of unusual cleanness.

This Droog was also summoned to surrender by the army retreating from Seringapatam in June, 1791. The Killedar consented to give up his post on condition of the security of the persons and property of the defenders. He asked especially for protection against the Mahrattas, who had tardily joined the British armies, after causing by their inordinate delay the abandonment of the campaign against Seringapatam for that year. The British commander accepted the fort on the conditions named, and made careful provision for the safety of the garrison by sending them away toward Maddur, sixteen miles away to the south, under an English escort. When about half the distance toward Maddur had been accomplished, since no single Mahratta was visible in the landscape, the Killedar begged the officer commanding the escort to return to Huliyür, as he believed himself to be then perfectly safe. The officer yielded to his request, but by the time that sufficient distance had been passed so that the escort could give no assistance the Mahrattas swarmed down and thoroughly plundered the late garrison of their last garments.

The event may be considered a fair adjustment by fate of the penalty that the Killedar's conduct had merited by his treatment of prisoners who

had been entrusted to his care. The British army found many Indian prisoners immured within the fort, apparently individuals captured from the ranks of the British armies during the long fighting of the Second Mysore War, 1780-84. The Killedar seems to have had a genius for devising cunning tortures for the hapless prisoners entrusted to his care. Men were found whose legs had been ironed in such a way that they were kept at a permanent straddle, and after the removal of the irons were long unable to walk otherwise. Others had been manacled so that their arms or necks were permanently distorted. In view of all this, one has little regret for the distress that swept over the late garrison in the Mahratta attack, when they thought themselves already under the protection of the river and fort of Maddur.

Some thousands of cattle and a vast quantity of grain fell into the hands of the captors, provisions which would have made all the difference to the course of the campaign if they had been available to the British army a very few days before.

The Droog was then offered to the Mahrattas as an advanced post, in view of the probable campaign of another year, but it was refused. Thereon it was dismantled and abandoned by the Allies. After their retirement to Bangalore, the fort was again carefully repaired by Tippu, and manned in view of later renewal of the conflict.

After the capture of Hutridroog six months later, Huliūr was again approached. Doubtless the sound of the artillery attack on the greater Droog, some twelve miles away across the jungles to the north-east, was plainly audible here, and the news of its capture must have greatly disheartened these defenders. When the British reconnoitring party approached the walls on January 27, 1792, they were greeted with many shots. But under threat of an immediate attack—they knew how quickly the actual attack had followed the threat at Hutridroog—the garrison quickly handed in their surrender. As this post was ten miles or so nearer Seringapatam than the Droog previously captured, it was made another post for stores and for hospital purposes.

It was from the immediate neighbourhood of Huliūr that the Allied armies of the British, the Mahratta, and the Nizam's forces advanced on February 1, 1792, toward the siege of Seringapatam. As the Nizam's forces, under the young Nizam, had but lately joined the forces under Cornwallis, he was anxious both to impress and to gratify the young Prince by holding a review of all the troops in his honour. This was carried out on the plains adjoining the fort of Huliūr. But, whether to impress the Governor-General by his importance, or because the hour appointed was not

propitious, the young Nizam failed to arrive till three hours after the appointed time. Cornwallis is said to have been terribly angry when he witnessed the overzeal and confidence which resulted in the cavalry being badly cut up while reconnoitring Bangalore on March 6, 1791—the affair is said to have been visible from the encampment itself. We can well imagine a good commander's annoyance again on this day, when his troops were kept out under the growing heat of a February sun hours longer than necessary to serve the whim of an ally whose services were largely of but nominal value.

The walls that formerly surrounded the town of Huliūr have been largely removed, but the bulk of the fort stands intact. The top is exceedingly difficult of access now, as the steps which formerly gave a reasonably easy passage to the summit have been broken away by weather. The summit is of narrow limits, and the remains of buildings on its bare crown are but few. Some broken tanks, a tiny but well-constructed powder magazine, a larger and better-preserved granary, the lower portions of the walls of two or three houses—that is all that is left on the crest of the hill of a very bluff, bull-dog-like, little fort. Another relic of troubled, dangerous and unprogressive times, what a contrast it is in all that it represents to the changed conditions of modern life!

Manne Plates of the Rashtrakuta King Govinda III, A.D. 810.

FOURTH PLATE.

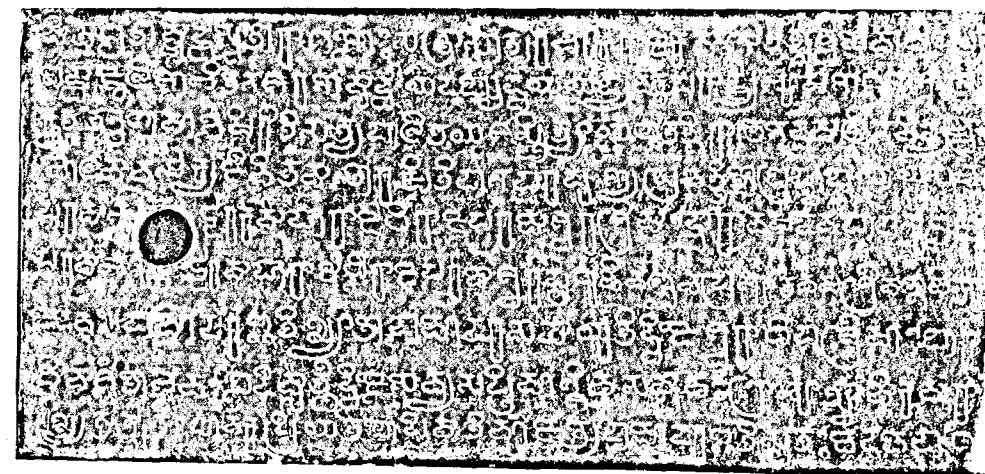
A NEW RASHTRAKUTA COPPER PLATE GRANT OF A.D. 810.

BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

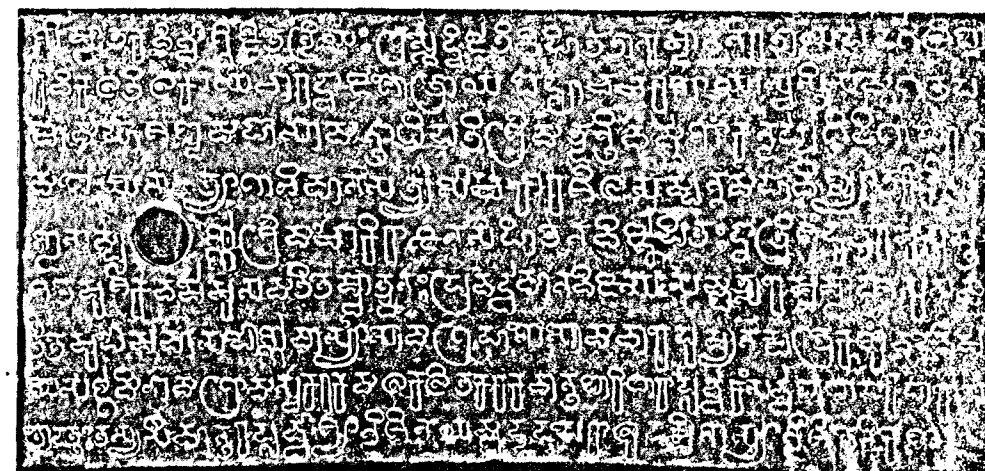
RECENTLY a set of copper plates was received for examination from Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, B.A., Deputy Commissioner, Bangalore. It appears that when he was on tour at Manne, a village in the Nelamangala Taluk of the Bangalore District, a resident of the village, named Pujarigaiya, showed the plates to him stating that they had been in the possession of his family for a long time and that they had never before been brought to the notice of the Archæological Department. Mr. Venkoba Rao naturally thought that the plates contained a new record, took them from the owner and sent them to me for decipherment.

The inscription is a new one, and I brought it to the notice of the Archæological Department. But as the Department can only publish it in its next Annual Report about a year hence, I think I might give a brief account of the record now for the information of scholars.

Manne, the village where the record was found, is the Mānyapura of old Sanskrit inscriptions. It was a city of considerable importance in the eighth and ninth centuries, having been the capital of the Gangas and the seat of the Rāshtrakūṭa Viceroys. Several ruined structures of architectural and artistic merit, such as the Kapilēśvara temple and the Sūleyara Dēvasthāna or Dancing Girls' temple, also attest to the importance of the place at one time. The first temple has in its *navaranga* or middle hall four good pillars and two fine pierced stone windows in the form of creepers with figures in every convolution. The other temple shows some peculiar features of architecture: the lintels of the Nandi hall in front have their ends shaped like capitals on the under surface and there being no separate capitals for them to rest on, it is not clear how the lintels on the four sides are supported unless we suppose that iron clamps are used inside. The ceilings of the middle and Nandi halls show a creeper device with a Nāga and a Nāgiṇi in the middle canopied by snake-hoods. Such ceilings are rarely met with in Mysore temples. The site of the old city, situated to the south-west of the village, is strewn over with old bricks and pieces of pottery. It is said that ash pits and foundations of brick structures have often been met with when ploughing the fields now covering the site. Some of the houses of the village are built of the old bricks which are neatly prepared in different sizes and shapes so as to suit the parts of the structures for which they were intended.



A—Nine lines.



B—Nine lines.



Four sets of copper plates belonging to the village have already been published, namely, (1) the Ganga plates of Mārasimha (Nelamangala 60), of 797; (2) the Rāshtrakūṭa plates of Gōvinda III (Nelamangala 61), of 802; (3) the Ganga plates of Rājamalla I, of 828¹; and the Ganga plates of Avinīta, of about the close of the sixth century.² The first two are respectively in the possession of Shanbog Narasappa and Rudraiya of the village and the other two, which I received for examination from Sir S. M. Fraser, K.C.S.I., a former Resident in Mysore, were also, I learn, in the possession of the same individuals.

I shall now proceed to consider the present grant. It originally consisted of five plates, though the first plate is now missing. Each plate measures 8" by 3½". The last plate is inscribed on the inner side only; so also must be the missing first plate. The plates are strung on a circular ring which is 3¾" in diameter and ¼" thick, and has its ends secured in the base of an oval seal measuring 1¾" by 1½". The seal bears in relief a two-armed seated figure, about one inch high, of what looks like a goddess adorned with a crown (see Plate). The plates are in a fair state of preservation, the writing being in old Kannaḍa characters. They record the grant of a village in 810 to a Brāhman named Dāmōdara by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III on the application of two of his officers named Dantivarma and Chākīrāja.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit except two lines, the last line of the fourth plate and the first line of the fifth, giving boundaries of the village granted, which are in Kannaḍa; and barring three prose passages occurring here and there, the whole is in verse. Portions of the record are rendered unintelligible by orthographical and grammatical errors and by omissions of letters. This defect is common to several of the published grants of Gōvinda III. Though the first plate is missing, its contents can be supplied from other published grants. Each side of the plates contains nine lines of matter except the fifth which has only eight lines. The missing plate must have also contained nine lines, so that the number of lines in the whole record is seventy-one.

The first part of the inscription giving an account of the kings of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty is identical wholly or in part with that of the Rādhanpur³, Maṇṇe⁴, Vaṇi⁵ and Nandi⁶ plates of Gōvinda III, which are dated respectively 807, 802, 807 and 806. But the formal part is of course different. I have therefore reproduced only the fourth plate which contains the formal part, facsimiles of the first part being available in connection with the Maṇṇe and Nandi plates.

¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1910, 24.

² *Ibid.*, for 1911, 36.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, 242.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, Nelamangala 61.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 157.

⁶ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1914, 40.

Before dealing with the formal part, it is desirable to give in brief the details about the kings mentioned in the first part, omitting mere laudations. After invocation of Vishṇu and Śiva, the record begins with the mention of Kṛishṇa-Rāja (I), who easily and swiftly drew to himself the goddess of sovereignty from the Chālukya family. His son Dhōra, also known as Nirupama and Kalivallabha, superseded his elder brother without incurring any blame; imprisoned the powerful Ganga, who had never been conquered by others; hemmed in the Pallava between his own force on the one side and the sea on the other, so that he had to surrender and deliver up his huge elephants; and drove Vatsarāja, who had seized the Gauḍa kingdom, into the impassable desert (Maru or Mārvār) and took away from him the pair of white state umbrellas which belonged to the Gauḍa. His son was Gōvinda-Rāja, on whose birth the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage became unsurpassable by others. When his father, in consideration of his handsome form and great ability, offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, he dutifully declined, saying "Father, let it be yours. I shall continue as heir-apparent." On his father's death, he, though unaided, successfully contended with twelve famous princes who jointly attempted to wrest the kingdom from him. He released the Ganga from the suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, but when he nevertheless continued in hostility, before the brow was wrinkled in a frown, he was again subdued and thrown into prison. Through fear of him the Gurjara disappeared somewhere; and the Mālava king, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands. The king Mārāśarma, when encamped on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain, hearing from the spies that he had moved towards his own country, hastened to appease him by casting himself at his feet and by the presentation of heir-looms never before obtained by others. Having passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana, Gōvinda went with his forces to the bank of the Tungabhadra, where he received in full the tribute from the Pallava. When his letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, the lord of Vengi instantly hastened to do him service and built an enclosure of great height for the race course of his horses. By him, perceiving that this life is unstable like wind and lightning, and void of substance, has been made this gift to a Brāhman, which is most meritorious, because it consists of a grant of land.

We now come to the formal part. The inscription then goes on to say that the parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara prthivivallabha Prabhūtavarsha śrīmad-Gōvinda-Rāja-Dēva, who meditated on the feet of the parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara śrīmad-Dhārāvarsha-Dēva, on Monday the full-moon day of the month Pausha of the Śaka year 732 which was the eighteenth increasing victorious year of his reign, on the occasion

of a lunar eclipse, under the asterism Pushya, made, at the request of the obtainer of the band of five great instruments, *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Dantivarma, also known as Kandarpagidiga, and the possessor of liberality, self-respect, truth, purity, good conduct and character, the renowned Chākirāja, a grant, with pouring of water, exempt from all imposts, of the village named Sangāmi, situated in the Kuṇuvalke district, to the subduer of passions, proficient in the Vēdas and Vēdāngas, strict performer of the duties laid down for Brāhmans, an ornament of the Paṇḍangili Bāravi family, a student of the Rīgvēda, poet and orator, Dāmōdara of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, son of Svāmikumāra and grandson of Dāmōdara. Then follow boundaries of the village granted. The witnesses to the grant were the subjects of the Ninety-Six Thousand country, *i.e.*, Gangavāḍi. He who confiscates this through greed, ignorance or carelessness, shall be guilty of the five great sins, and he who maintains it shall obtain merit. The record closes with four usual final verses.

A few concluding remarks will now be made on the contents of this inscription. With regard to the statement that Dhōra or Nirupama superseded his elder brother (Gōvinda II) without incurring any blame, we learn from the Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III* the reason for this supersession. It is there stated that sensual pleasures made Gōvinda II careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose. He does not, however, appear to have quietly submitted to the supersession, for we learn from the Paithan plates† that he called to his assistance the Ganga and other princes against his brother Dhruva. The Ganga mentioned here was Śivamāra II, son of Śrīpurusha. His imprisonment by Dhruva was apparently due to the latter's resentment against him for having gone to the assistance of Gōvinda II. Following his father's example, Gōvinda III, too, superseded his elder brother Kamba. But in this case the father himself appears to have selected him, having even offered to abdicate in his favour. It is just possible that in imprisoning Śivamāra II Dhruva may have also been actuated by a desire to compensate his elder son Kamba for his supersession by giving him the Ganga kingdom. However this may be, we find Kamba governing the Ganga territory under his father.‡ But on his father's death, Kamba fought, though unsuccessfully, to establish his claim to the throne. At the head of a confederacy of twelve kings, he raised up a rebellion against his enthroned younger brother, but this was suppressed and in the end he had to submit to his younger brother, and was entrusted

* *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 287.

† *Ibid.*, III, 107.

‡ *Epi. Car.*, IV, 11eggaḍadēvankōṭe 93.

with authority under him.¹ The latest available date for Kamba is 807 in which year we find him encamped at Talkād and making a grant to a Jina temple there at the request of his son Śankaragaṇṇa.² We may therefore conclude that he continued under his brother as viceroy of the Ganga kingdom to which he had been appointed by his father. But in 812 Chākirāja was the ruler of the entire Ganga territory, at whose request Gōvinda III made a grant to a Jina temple.³ So Chākirāja must have been appointed viceroy after Kamba's death. The year 812 is the latest date we have for the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation of the Ganga territory, though we do not know the exact period of its commencement.

All this time Śivamāra II must have been in prison. His imprisonment began during the reign of Dhruva. As 788 is the latest date we have for his father Śrīpurusha,⁴ Śivamāra II must have succeeded him after this year; and he must have been taken prisoner some time before 793, the last year of Dhruva's reign. His release and imprisonment for the second time by Gōvinda III must have taken place before 802, the date of Nelamangala 61, the earliest of Gōvinda III's records in which the fact is mentioned. Eventually, however, Gōvinda not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but also took part along with the Pallava king Nandivarma in his coronation, both binding the diadem on his brow with their own hands.⁵ Still Śivamāra does not appear to have regained his former status as an independent ruler seeing that the Kalbhāvi inscription⁶ mentions him as a feudatory of Gōvinda's son Amōghavarsha I who came to the throne in 815. He continued his struggle for independence and fell fighting with the Rāshtrakūṭas at Kāgimogeiyūr in the Tumkūr Taluk.⁷ This event probably took place in 816 as his successor Rājamalla I ascended the throne in 817.⁸ Rājamalla is said⁹ to have rescued from the Rāshtrakūṭas his country, which they had held too long, as Vishṇu in the form of a Boar rescued the Earth from the infernal regions. The Keregōḍi-Raṅgāpura plates¹⁰ also state that Rājamalla regained the Ganga kingdom which had been lost during his uncle Śivamāra's reign, but add that a bit of it was in the possession of Bankēśa. The latter statement is interesting as we learn from the Koṇṇūr inscription¹¹ that at the command of Amōghavarsha his general Bankēśa invaded Gangavāḍi, put to flight the ruler of Talkād and conquered his country. This invasion, however, does not appear to have had any permanent effect as Bankēśa was recalled

1 *Epi., Car.*, IX, Nelamangala 61.

2 *Mysore A.R.* for 1920, 31.

3 *Epi. Car.*, XII, Gubbi 61; *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 333.

4 *Mysore A.R.* for 1918, 42.

5 *Epi. Car.*, IV, Yeḍatore 60; IX, Nelamangala 60.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 309.

7 *Mysore A.R.* for 1910, 24.

8 *Mysore A.R.* for 1910, 25.

9 *Epi. Car.*, IV, Yeḍatore 60.

10 *Mysore A.R.* for 1919, 28.

11 *Epi. Ind.*, VI, 25.

by his master on account of some rebellion at home. So the Rāshtrakūṭa disturbance continued till the reign of Rājamalla I who may be supposed to have established his independence. Subsequently friendly relations appear to have prevailed between the two dynasties as evidenced by several matrimonial alliances: Būtuga I married Amōghavarsha's daughter Chandrobhalabbā, Būtuga II, Baddega's daughter Rēvakanimmaḍi, and Maruḷa, Kṛishṇa III's daughter Bijabbe.

Among the exploits of Gōvinda III, the present record states that he came to the south and encamped on the bank of the Tungabhadra, where he received tribute from the Pallava. This incident is also referred to in another copper plate grant* which says that Gōvinda Prabhūtavarsha encamped at the Rāmēśvara-tīrtha, where he had some sport with boars, and confirmed a grant originally made by Kīrtivarma. Rāmēśvara-tīrtha is an island in the Tungabhadra, a few miles north of the junction of the Tungā and the Bhadrā in the Shimoga District.

The inscription tells us that Śaka 732 (810) corresponded with the eighteenth year of Gōvinda's reign, and this fixes 793 as the year in which he began to rule. The grant was made on the application of two officers Dantivarma and Chākirāja of whom, judging from his titles, the former appears to have occupied a higher position than the latter. This Chākirāja was, as stated before,† the viceroy of the Ganga kingdom in 812, two years after the date of the present grant. He may have held that position in 810 also. This record thus testifies to the existence of an officer of Gōvinda named Chākirāja about whom it has been said:—"As for this prince, our knowledge is confined to what we learn of him from the present inscription (the Kaḍaba plates, Gubbi 61)."[‡] The donee Dāmōdara was a great scholar and an ornament of the Bāravi family. From the names Dāmōdara and Bāravi one is tempted to conclude that the donee was in all probability a descendant of the celebrated Sanskrit poet Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*, who, according to the recently discovered *Arantisundarikathā*, had another name Dāmōdaraṣ. But the fact that Bhāravi was of the Kauśika-gōtra and the donee of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra militates against this conclusion, unless we are prepared to hazard the conjecture that the donee may have been a descendant in the female line. The village granted was Sangāmi. I am told that there is a village of this name in the Tumkūr Taluk.

In conclusion I have to express my thanks to Mr. B. Venkoba Rao for having brought this early record to my notice.

* *Ind. Ant.*, XI, 126.

† Page 86.

‡ *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 338.

§ *Mysore A. R.* for 1921, 28.

Manne Plates of the Rashtrakuta King Govinda III. A.D. 810.

Fourth Plate.

(A)

1. m iva dhritām mūddhisva (rdhastha)-tārā-gaṇaiḥ santrāsāt para-chakra-rājakam agāt tat-pūrva-sēvā-vidhi-vyā-
2. baddhāñjali-sōbhitena śaraṇa(m) mūrdh(n)ā yad-aṅghri-dvayaṃ yad yā (yad) datta-parārdhya-bhūṣaṇa-gaṇai(r) nālam-
3. kṛita(m) tat tathā mā bhaishir iti satya-pālita-yaśas-sthityā yathā tat(d)- girā l tēnēdam alina(nila)-vidyuch-chā(a)-
4. ũchalam avalōkya jīvitam asāra(n) kshiti-dāna-param(a)-punyam(h) prava(r)ttitō Brahma-dāyō'yaṃ sa cha
5. paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dhārāvarshadēva-pādā-nudhyāta-
6. paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-prithu(i)-vīvalabha-Prabhūta-varsha-śrīmat(d)-Gōvinda-rā-
7. jadēvaḥ || Dāmōdara iti khyātō Dāmōdara-samayu(dyū)ti(h) dvijēśvarādhipa(h) śrīmān Bārā(a)-
8. vi-vamśatō'bhavat Bēdī(Vēda) mūrtthī(ttir) dvijai(h) sēvya(h) saptimān Śiva-samb(h)avaḥ abhūt Svāmikuma(ā)rā-
9. khyā(s) tat-sutaḥ pāvaka-priya(h) tathā(tō) pi matimā(n) janyē(jñē) Dāmōdara iti s(m)ṛitaḥ Vēda-Vēdānga-

(B)

1. nishṭā (nishṇā) ta (h) kavir vāggī (gmī) jitēndriyaḥ asmai dyijāti-vihi (ta)-tānusht(h)āna-niratāya Paṇḍangili-Bā-
2. ravi-kula-tilakāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bah(v)riṇcha-charaṇāya l svasti sama-(dhi) gata-pa-
3. ũchamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati-śrīmat(d)-Dantivarmanmaṇā Kandarppagiḍi-gāpara-nā-
4. madhēyēnā(a) tyāgābhīmāna-satya s (s) auchāk (ch) āra-śīla-sampanna-mahā-vikhyāta-kīrtti-ga-
5. n(d)a-sampūrṇa-śrīmat-Chākirājēna sahitēna vijñāpitaḥ dvātrimśad-uttarēshu sapta-
6. śatēshu Śaka-varshēshu samatītēsh- ātmanah pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samb-(v)atsarēshv ashtādaśasu sama-
7. tītēshu Paushamāsa-Paurṇamāsyāṃ Sōma-grahāṇē Sōmavārē Pushyanakshatrē Kuruvaḷke-visha-
8. yē Saṅgāmi-nāma-grāma(h) sva-kara-kamala-kalita-karaka-vānta-b(v)āridhārā-pūrvakam sarva-bādhā-parihārōpē-
9. tō dattaḥ tasya sīmāntaram pūrvvā(a) s(s)yān diśi Nayambaḷlada pērālu dakshinasyān diśi Tekkikere-e.

PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTIONS AS REPRESENTED IN THE BHAGAVADGITA.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

BY P. K. GODE, ESQ., M.A.

Part I.

I. INTRODUCTORY—

Prof. Ribot's masterly treatise on the Psychology of Emotions* based as it is mainly on experimental data laid at his disposal by generations of physiologists and psychologists, needs, in my opinion, to be supplemented by facts and observations strewn broad-cast in the field of Sanskrit literature in general and specially by the data to be found in some of the Sanskrit works on the science of dramaturgy (nāṭya-śāstra), rhetoric (alaṅkāra-śāstra), and philosophy (yoga-śāstra) etc. In some of these works we are likely to find a conscious analysis of feelings, while in others we may notice only passing and unconscious observations on the subject. Of course our data will be mainly of a speculative nature and will naturally have some historical interest, as it will embody the speculation of Aryans in India. Empirical psychology may to a certain extent profit by such speculative data, for, in the light of such mass of speculative matter, some of its conclusions may be strengthened, while others may be rendered doubtful or even vitiated. In either case, the inquiry is to my mind well worth trying since it will retain its historical interest, supposing that it produced no results contributing to the study of the emotions on scientific lines.

As a preliminary effort in this direction I have attempted an analysis of the B. G.† and have tried to determine the place assigned by it to the psychology of emotions, while making a detailed study of all observations of the B. G. regarding the subject of our inquiry.

II. A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE BHAGAVADGITA AND PLATO—

It will be apparent from the following essay that the B. G. lays hammering emphasis on the subordination of the emotional part of man to his rational part. We shall find as we proceed further in our study that even the feeling of raptured devotion to God (*bhakti*) is to a certain extent subordinated to the rational part (*buddhi*). Verse 10 of the tenth chapter of the B. G. tells us that it is '*buddhi*' that helps a devotee to realize God. This attitude of the B. G. finds its parallel in Plato ‡ who expressly subordinates

* "Psychology of Emotions" by Th. Ribot, 1911.

† B. G. is Bhagavadgita.

‡ Plato's Republic (Vol. I) IV, 441 E (Jowett's Edition).

the two principles, viz., the appetitive and impulsive principles to the rational principle.

III. SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION OF EMOTIONS USED IN THE PRESENT INQUIRY—

Instead of entering into the endless variety of the principles of classifying emotions, I have adopted the division of emotions into primary and secondary as given by Prof. Ribot,* which seems to be quite reasonable inasmuch as it involves the principle of the evolution of emotions, generally accepted by empirical psychologists.

IV. PRIMARY EMOTIONS—

The Primary Emotions as determined by physiologists and accepted by Ribot † are (1) FEAR; (2) ANGER; (3) AFFECTION; (4) EGOTISTIC EMOTION and (5) SEXUAL EMOTION. The grounds for adopting this division are mainly empirical and hence quite satisfactory.

V. THE CLASSIFICATION OF EMOTIONS ACCORDING TO THE BHAGAVAD-GITĀ—

Before illustrating each of the primary emotions from the B. G., it is necessary for us to know the principle of classification adopted by the B. G. with regard to emotions. This principle is nothing else than the 'Sāṅkhya' division of 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti', viz., 'sattva', 'rajas' and 'tamas'. As all students of the B. G. know, this three-fold classification has been employed by the B. G. not only with regard to the psychology of human beings but also with regard to their physiology, their ethics, philosophy and future life. These three 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' have also their parallel in the three principles of the soul given by Plato ‡ viz. (1) the appetitive; (2) the impulsive; and (3) the rational.

VI. We now proceed with each of the primary emotions.

(i) FEAR ('bhaya')—

This emotion has been very closely studied by Western psychologists in its physiological and psychological aspects (*vide* Ribot pp. 205-217).

There are a few observations in the B. G. which reveal to us the traditional notions about 'bhaya' or fear as also the attitude of the B. G. towards this emotion. In B. G. XVIII, 35, 'bhaya' is mentioned as a component of 'tāmasī dhṛti'. From the characteristics of the 'dhṛti' available in the B. G. 'dhṛti' appears to be a sort of mental energy which stabilizes any psychic state, intellectual or emotional. This seems to be the meaning of the B. G. in expatiating upon the three-fold 'dhṛti' in verses 33, 34 and 35 of Chapter

* Psy. of Emo., p. 13.

† Ribot, pp. 13-15.

‡ Republic, (Jowett's edn.) Vol. I (IV, 435-442).

XVIII. As 'bhaya' originates in the quality of 'tamas' it is not a desirable emotion. 'Bhaya' in the sense of 'cowardice' or lack of courage is condemned in II, 35, where Arjuna's woeful plight is pathetically described and he is exhorted to take heart. 'Bhaya' in the sense of 'reverential awe' is apparent from XI, 45, where Arjuna says that his heart is agitated or disturbed through 'bhaya' consequent on his seeing the mighty form of God in all its pleasant and fearful aspects. The 'bhaya' described in the above passage is unconscious and instinctive, which generally arises owing to ignorance. Knowledge, as Bain * rightly remarks, is the great remedy against fear. In XI, 49, Arjuna is asked to cast away the 'bhaya' produced by the mysterious forms of God. Even Gods in numbers invoke the supreme God with joined hands through 'bhaya' (XI, 21).

The physiological effects of 'bhaya' such as trembling, agitation, stammering, etc., are described in XI, 35 and 36, where the plight of Arjuna and 'Rākṣasas' on beholding the magnitude and unfamiliar character of God's forms are very vividly painted. The Yogi of the B. G. is repeatedly asked to get himself rid of 'bhaya' along with other emotions of a lower sort (II, 56; IV, 10; V, 28).

As a corollary to the doctrine of pantheism and transcendence preached in X, 42, it is but natural that God should regard Himself as the final cause of 'bhaya', 'abhaya' and other emotions and qualities mentioned in X, 4-5. Verses 3 to 6 of the same chapter tell us clearly that God is the source of all things, human and superhuman.

'Abhaya' or 'absence of fear', i.e., courage, is spoken of as a part of the aggregate of divine properties (daivī sampad) mentioned in XVI, 1.

The greatest fear according to the B. G. is that of being involved in the endless chain of births and the remedy against such 'bhaya' is the knowledge of Yoga preached in the B. G. (II, 40). It is clear from the last passage of the B. G. quoted above that Bain's remark about the importance of knowledge as an effectual means for removing fear comes out true also in the spiritual world. The B. G. explicitly lays down that spiritual knowledge as preached therein can remove the fear of births.

If a distinction is to be drawn between 'abhaya' and 'dhṛti' we can say that the former is of a negative character, while the latter is positive in character. 'Dhṛti' as described in verses 33, 34 and 35 of Chap. XVIII of the B. G. is in my opinion the *Volitional Energy*, which lies at the root of all our feelings and actions, moral or otherwise, pleasurable or painful.

'Kāśmalam' or depression of spirits is an immediate consequence of 'bhaya'. In B. G. II, 2, Arjuna is rebuked on account of his being

* Emotions and the Will, p. 168.

overwhelmed by this 'Kaśmalam' at the prospect of the dreadful consequences of the sin of fratricide. 'Kaśmalam' is a mark of Arjuna's pessimism and it is said to be 'un-Aryan' (anāryajuṣṭa) and 'heaven-closing'.

Another consequential and allied emotional state is that of 'Viṣāda'.* It is a spirit of despondency and helplessness and seems to be a further development of 'Kaśmalam'. Arjuna suffers from this 'viṣāda' and is hence a subject of ridicule (II, 10). In B. G. XVIII, 35, we learn that 'viṣāda' is one of the components of 'tāmasi dhṛti' and verse 28 of the same chapter 'viṣādi kartā' or 'despairing doer' is also said to be 'tāmasa'.

(ii) ANGER ('krodha')—

This emotion is the second in chronological order. Ribot treats it at length in his work.† His treatment is, however, predominantly physiological rather than psychological.

It ought to be pointed out at the beginning of our inquiry that the B. G. takes only a philosophic interest in the treatment of emotions and consequently its attitude is mainly intellectual and not psychological. It has in fact nothing to do with the expression of emotions which claims the attention of the writers on dramaturgy (nāṭya-śāstra). The B. G. analyses only the inner springs of our action, good or bad, from the spiritual and ethical point of view and suggests remedies for the proper regulation of our habits based on a thorough understanding of the inner emotional life of the individual and its pitfalls.

According to the above-mentioned ethical point of view every emotion is treated in the B. G. in so far as it is a help or hindrance to the Yogi in doing the prescribed actions.

In III, 37, the genesis of 'krodha' is given. It is said to be 'rajoṅa-samudbhava' i.e., having its origin in the quality of 'rajas'; while its immediate antecedent in the series of causes and effects as given in II, 62, 63, is 'kāma' or desire or appetite, its consequent being 'sammoha' i.e., mental flurry or confusion. It might now be questioned how 'krodha' arises from 'kāma' as the B. G. says. This can be explained psychologically. It is a matter of common experience that a desire ('kāma') when frustrated or thwarted gives rise to anger (krodha). Ribot ‡ remarks that the ancients defined anger as a short madness and what has the B. G. to say in this connection? 'Krodha', we are told, produces 'sammoha' i.e., a state of confounded

* Cf. (1) the definition of 'viṣāda' in Apte's Dict.

(2) also in Sāhityadarpaṇa, v. 197.

(3) vide Daśarūpa IV, (Hall's edition) 29.

† Psychology of the Emotions, Chapter III (Part II) pp. 218-229.

‡ Psychology of the Emotions, page 223.

mental faculties leading to an utter annihilation of the rational faculty (buddhi-nāśa) and what is 'buddhi-nāśa' but madness whether temporary or permanent according as 'krodha' is a passing affection or a morbid one? Physiological research as summed up by Ribot* tells us that anger produces very disastrous pathological results which ultimately may cause even the death of the organism. The psychological observation of the B. G. is not much less true. It says that 'sammoha' produces 'buddhi-nāśa' and the individual perishes (praṇāśyati).

The dynamic character of 'krodha' which breaks the barriers of the will at a stroke and makes the individual all its own is fitly described by the term 'vega' or intensity in V, 23, which says that the man who can bear this intensity or heat of 'krodha' (and also of 'kāma') is really a happy man and he alone is entitled to the title: 'yukta' i.e., harmonised. Such is the normal dominance of the body over the spirit.

Before proceeding further with our treatment of 'krodha' it will be worth our while to examine the two general classes of moral qualities termed respectively the 'daivī sampad' (XVI, 2) i.e., aggregate of divine qualities and the 'āsurī sampad' i.e., aggregate of demoniacal qualities (XVI, 4). We shall have to refer to this division very often during the course of this essay, as many of the emotions referred to in the B. G. are included in either of these two classes according as they are helpful to or destructive of spiritual life. According to the B. G. psychology and ethics, precept and practice are closely related. Hence it includes emotions and actions done under their influence into one class. We are here not concerned directly with the ethics of the B. G. but with its psychology of emotions in particular.

According to the division mentioned above 'krodha' is a component of "āsurī sampad" (XVI, 4). The Yogi of the B. G. must ever and anon try to keep this foe at bay as it is sure to cut at the root of all efforts at spiritual enlightenment (III, 37). It is a dangerous and degrading emotion as the worst elements of a man's nature are let loose under its potent influence and it is as the B. G. says a 'tamodvāra' i.e., a 'gate of hell' (XVI, 21).

'Akrodha' or absence of anger is a negative state like 'abhaya' and it forms part of the 'daivī sampad' (XVI, 2).

Ribot † gives three periods of the history of evolution of anger, viz., (1) the animal form; (2) the emotional form; and (3) the intellectualized form comprising hatred, envy, etc.

The term 'krodha' as used in the B. G. evidently stands for the first two of these forms. The last form has its representatives in 'dveṣa', 'abhyasūya', etc., of the B. G. of which we shall speak later on.

* Psychology of the Emotions, page 219, para 1.

† Psychology of the Emotions, pp. 220-222.

The B. G. has no good word to say on behalf of this emotion whether in its animal form or its most intellectualized form or even in the forms of 'righteous indignation', 'noble rage', which last is a powerful instrument in preserving the order of the world according to Bain.* The 'sthita-prajnya' of the B. G. closely resembles the Wise Man of the Stoics, who is purely an intellectual existence. For him 'krodha' is the greatest obstacle. He will be liberated if he frees himself from the shackles of 'krodha' (V, 28). A sage with stable mind is he, who is free from 'krodha' and allied emotions (II, 56). Men resorting to 'krodha' and other passions are God's enemies and God degrades these mortal wretches in the cycle of existence (XVI, 18). The fate of passionate men and their narrow ideas and ideals is described with stern emphasis in Chap. XVI of the B. G. Such men find pleasure in sensual enjoyments (XVI, 12) and since they are lacking in any philosophic vision worth the name their end is hell (XVI, 16).

Ribot observes in his work on Emotions † that anger is a mixed emotion and points out that it passes through two stages of which the first is entirely painful while the second contains a pleasurable element. The observation is psychologically true enough but to the metaphysical eye of the B. G. it seems absurd, because the conceptions of pleasure of the western psychologists and the B. G. entirely differ in essentials, as we shall see later on. There is no pleasure like the 'brahma-nirvāṇa' or the eternal peace and the Yogi of the B. G. can obtain it only by getting free from 'krodha' (V, 26). Absence of 'krodha' and allied emotions is capable of producing tranquility (śānti) which then leads to the identification of the Yogi with 'Brahman' (XVIII, 53).

The extremely intense form of 'krodha' which is accompanied by motor manifestations is termed 'āmarṣa' in the B. G. (XII, 15). The passage says that God loves such men only who are free from 'āmarṣa' and other emotions of a like nature. The term 'āmarṣa' means 'wrath' or the impetuous form of Anger and has its exact opposite in 'harṣa' or exultation. It is a matter of common experience how man is a pendulum between 'harṣa' and 'āmarṣa'.

It may be noted here that the 'āmarṣa' or 'amarṣa' of which we have spoken above seems to me distinct from that defined in some works on Rhetoric ‡ according to which it is included in the 33 minor feelings or

* Emotions and the Will, p. 190.

† Psychology of the Emotions, p. 220.

‡ S. D.—Paricceda III, v. 156—

निन्दाक्षेपापमानादेरमर्षोऽभिनिविष्टता ।

नेत्ररागशिरः कम्पभ्रमभ्रंशतर्जनादिकृत् ॥

R. G. (Kāvya-māla No. 12) p. 88—“परकृतावज्ञादिनापराधजन्यः मानवाक्पारुष्यादिकारणभूतः चित्तवृत्तिविशेषः (अमर्षः) i.e., brooding over censure, abuse, dishonour, etc., resulting in the reddening of the eyes, shaking of the head, knitting of the eyebrows, violent threatening, etc.”

'vyabhicāri-bhāvas'. The points of distinction are:—(1) the 'āmarṣa' of the B. G. stands more or less in contrast with its opposite 'harṣa' and hence seems to my mind more active in its manifestations than the 'āmarṣa' of the rhetoricians. (2) The 'āmarṣa' as defined by the Sāhityadarpaṇa and Rasagangādhara is said to be “a specific state of feeling which results from a variety of insults offered, such as disrespect and the like, and which manifests itself in taciturnity, harshness of speech, etc.” Now this description of 'āmarṣa' shows that it is passive in character and must be included in the third form of anger to which we have referred above, viz., the intellectualized form.

(iii) AFFECTION—

This emotion stands next in the order of evolution. Ribot remarks * that the word 'sympathy' used by some writers to denote this emotion is too vague. He has, however, retained this term throughout his treatment of this emotion.

According to Ribot, Bain † and other psychologists, 'seeking for contact' is the chief characteristic of this tender emotion. Bain observes: “Touch is both the alpha and omega of affection.” It is according to him the fundamental and generic sense and is a starting point for all associations. He is not prepared to believe in any occult magnetic influences as the fundamental causes in operation between two persons bearing affection towards each other.

Now let us examine the observations of the B. G. regarding this emotion. Speaking broadly, two forms of this emotion present themselves, which are:—(1) the gross form; and (2) the refined form. These are represented by the terms 'saṅga' and 'bhakthi' respectively. The transitional forms of this emotion denoted by terms 'praṇaya', 'abhisneha', etc., are not wanting.

Speaking first of 'saṅga' we have to remark that the root meaning of the word is attachment to material objects. The 'saṅga', therefore, exactly corresponds to the 'seeking for contact' which according to Bain and Ribot is the chief characteristic of affection. Other derivatives from the root 'sañj' are used in different contexts. In some places they denote attachment in general to objects, abstract or concrete. The genesis of 'saṅga' is given in II, 62, where we learn that constant musing on the objects of sense ‡ produces a 'saṅga' or attachment towards them, and 'saṅga' in its turn produces 'kāma' or desire. It is clear from this passage that the B. G. ascribes an intellectual origin to desire and hence seems to me to embrace the second thesis § mentioned by Ribot regarding its origin. This thesis regards desire

* Psychology of the Emotions, p. 14, Sec. 3.

† “Emotions and the Will,” p. 126-7, Sec. 4.

‡ See Analysis of Desire in Sully's “Outlines of Psychology”, p. 575, where he emphasizes the “representative element” in desire.

§ Psychology of Emotions, p. 442, line 9.

as a secondary phenomenon and asserts that knowledge of a thing always precedes a desire for that thing. We are not concerned here with any vindication of the thesis of the B. G. but have to emphasize the intellectual standpoint from which all emotions are viewed in the B. G. for establishing the supremacy of reason over emotion.

Ribot in summing up his remarks on the biological phase of sympathy observes that sympathy is originally a property of living matter and as such organic in character. The 'saṅga' of the B. G. appears to me identical with this form of sympathy. Verse 62 of Chap. II of the B. G. referred to above is most important for our present inquiry as it contains the view of the B. G. on the genesis of desire (kāma). 'Kāma' or desire in the widest sense of the term is the tap-root of all emotional life, not only according to the B. G. as we shall see later on in treating of 'kāma' itself but according to Ribot * who has summed up the views of western psychologists on this subject. The B. G. regards 'dhyāna' or contemplation of an object as the direct cause of 'saṅga', which gives rise to 'kāma' or desire for that object. 'Dhyāna' or contemplation is nothing but persistent cognition of an object, which the Gītā says is responsible for the awakening of a desire for it.

In the foregoing passage we have attempted to set forth the thesis of the B. G. regarding the origin of desire. As our treatment of the present subject is of a comparative and historical nature it would be out of our present scope to criticize it. We may, however, mention in passing the view of Prof. Green †, who gives us a very subtle analysis of the genesis of desire. He maintains that the result of any process of cognition is desired throughout it. "No man learns to know any thing without desiring to know it." "In all exercise of the understanding desire is at work."

There is one more passage in the B. G. which supplies us with the reasons as to the whole-sale condemnation of emotions so often pressed on our attention. It is verse 22 of Chap. XIII, which says that 'guṇa-saṅga' or attachment to the three qualities of 'prakṛti' is the cause of births of the 'puruṣa' in good and evil wombs. According to the tenets of the Sāṅkhya philosophy the 'puruṣa' is 'udāsīna' or indifferent but the three qualities or 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' bewitch the wary soul and a series of births, good or evil, is the consequence. Freedom from births is the ideal of happiness, the *sum-mum bonum* held forth by the B. G. for the Yogi and this is the reason why 'saṅga' and all its resulting emotions are undesirable psychological, and hence ethical, entities. This 'saṅga' is organic in so far as it proceeds from the individual soul and is material as its objects are the three 'guṇas' or qualities

* Psychology of the Emotions, p. 91—"the fundamental and irreducible fact at the root of all emotion: attraction or repulsion, desire or aversion, in short, motion or arrest of motion."

† Prolegomena to Ethics, Section 134, page 156.

of 'prakṛti' or primordial matter. We may, therefore, conclude that all emotional life being of a material origin cannot tend to any spiritual advancement as preached in the B. G.

The author of the B. G. is, however, not unmindful of the fact that 'life' to deserve that name must be identical with action (karma) i.e., movement whether advantageous or disadvantageous to the individual. Such action may be rational or otherwise; it is enough that it is action done according to one's lights. The Yogi of the B. G. is, therefore, strictly warned in III, 26 against disturbing the mental equilibrium of persons zealously performing action as prescribed by tradition. The doctrine of duty (karma) being one of the chief doctrines of the B. G., 'akarma' or 'do-nothingism' is condemned categorically by the B. G. (II, 47).

If our view that 'saṅga' is a gross form of affection be adopted, the question we have now to answer is: Is it psychologically possible to perform an action ('karma') without 'saṅga' or attachment? We have already pointed out that the psychological stages that precede the origin of 'kāma' are: (1) 'dhyāna' or representation of an object, real or imaginary, to the mind; and (2) the 'saṅga' or attachment towards that object which results from such representation. According to Sully,* every feeling whether in the actual or ideal form tends to excite desire, which he says is an active phenomenon. Dr. Bain† regards 'spontaneity' as one of the foundations of voluntary power which produces action. He further maintains that a movement might commence spontaneously but it is followed by a pleasurable consciousness, which is accompanied by heightened vitality, or a greater stimulation than mere spontaneity could give birth to. We might admit Dr. Bain's spontaneity with regard to the 'dhyāna' mentioned in B. G. II, 62. Further the 'saṅga' which is developed by 'dhyāna' corresponds to the "pleasurable consciousness" which accelerates action (karma).

We thus find that it is psychologically impossible to perform an action (karma) without saṅga. In common parlance we use such expressions as "labour of love", "work for work's sake", etc., which appears to me indicative of the fact that the element of 'saṅga' originated by feeling cannot be dissociated from 'karma' of any sort. There is, however, one way to get out of this psychological difficulty. What the B. G. asks us to renounce is not the 'saṅga' for the 'karma' itself but for the 'karma-phala' or the fruit of action (IV, 20). This being the main idea of the B. G. all such passages where saṅga-rahita 'karma' i.e., action devoid of attachment, is eulogized and enjoined for the Yogi of the B. G., must be understood to refer to 'saṅga' for

* Outlines of Psychology, pp. 578, 579.

† Emotions and the Will, p. 231, line 1.

'karma-phala' and not for 'karma' itself. In B. G. XVIII, 23, it is said that 'saṅga-rahita karma,' i.e., action devoid of attachment, is 'sāttvika karma' i.e., of the pure sort. In B.G. XVIII, 9, 'saṅga' for 'karma' and 'saṅga' for 'karma-phala' are apparently distinguished but it is clear from verse 11 that follows that the B. G. is aware of the psychological impossibility of performing 'karma' without 'saṅga' for it and hence it says:—"It is not possible for embodied beings to relinquish action completely; he, however, who relinquishes the fruit of action is said to be 'tyāgi' (relinquisher)". The doer of an action which is free from attachment is called 'sāttvika' (XVIII, 26).

The next question that confronts us is: How far is it psychologically possible to discard 'saṅga' for 'karma-phala'? Speaking psychologically every 'karma' or action is preceded by a motive or 'kāma' of some sort, and is followed by 'phala' i.e., end or result. Psychologists tell us that all voluntary action for which an individual is morally responsible involves "a germ of belief in the attainability of the object of desire or in the efficacy of action".* Thus we see that it is humanly impossible to perform an action without being conscious of the 'phala' or the end of such action. As we have remarked above, 'saṅga' is a sort of "pleasurable consciousness" which generally arises when we dwell over the 'phala' of an action and hence the psychological impossibility of abandoning 'karma-phala-saṅga'.

The only way, therefore, in which we can understand the 'karma-phala-tyāga' or the abandonment of the fruit of action is an ethical one. Psychologically all moral 'karma' is 'kāmya' i.e., born of desire, and has a 'phala' but as this 'phala' is a product of multifarious causes, many of which are beyond the control of the individual, we cannot guarantee that it will be necessarily good. It may be evil. This 'phala' when advantageous to the individual may produce pleasure and when otherwise may give rise to pain. The Yogi of the Gītā, who is to attain the ideal of quietism should not be disturbed by either pleasure or pain which take their origin from 'phala'. Hence the ethical necessity of 'karma-phala-tyāga'. It is not our business here to say how far the ideal is practicable. The B. G. tries to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of pleasure and pain by means of 'karma-phala-tyāga' and though the ideal is logically consistent its psychological efficacy is open to doubt and distrust for the intellectualist inasmuch as it is more a matter of individual belief than argumentation.

In order to understand the ethical standpoint of the B. G., we feel the necessity of examining the ideal of the Gītā. In this connection we must distinguish between "the moral good" and "the true good". Prof. Green defines "moral good" to be "that which satisfies the desire of a moral agent

* Outlines of Psychology, p. 588.

or that in which a moral agent can find satisfaction of himself which he necessarily seeks". He further defines "true good" to be an "end in which the effort of a moral agent can really find rest".* The B. G. seems to us to insist not so much on the "moral good" defined by Green as on the "true good". The "moral good" being the "realization of a moral capability", its nature is hard to be determined since the moral capabilities of individuals vary. We must, therefore, have some more stable criterion by which to judge "the good". We, therefore, venture to think that the definition of "the true good" given by Green is more applicable to the ideal of the good given in the B. G. The "true good" according to the B. G. is 'naiṣṭhikī śānti' or eternal peace and the means to attain the same is the abandonment of 'karma-phala' (V, 12). As hedonism is opposed to the "true good" it is condemned in XVI, 16, where it is said that persons who are after the gratification of their desires fall into foul hell. Pleasure-hunting unsettles the mind and is therefore an obstruction in the path of spiritual contemplation (II, 44). Men who have got better of the vice of attachment (saṅga-doṣa) reach the eternal abode which is above all pleasure, pain and desires (kāmaḥ) XV, 5. In XII, 18, among qualifications for being the best devotee of God absence of 'saṅga' for pleasure and pain is mentioned. The B. G. realizes full well the purificatory value of certain actions but in doing so strongly maintains that the man performing them should bear no attachment either to the actions themselves or their fruits (XVIII, 5, 6). 'Asaṅga' or absence of attachment is said to be a means of spiritual enlightenment and purification (V, 10, 11).

According to the B. G. real 'jñāna' consists of 'asaṅga' or 'āsakti' for one's wife, son and all material belongings (XIII, 10). It is, therefore, fitly called an unfailing weapon to cut off the strongly rooted tree of existence (XV, 3), for, it is only by this means of 'asaṅga' that the ideal of 'naiṣkarmya-siddhi' i.e., freedom from obligation can be attained (XVIII, 49). All action melts away in the case of one who is free from 'saṅga' (IV, 23).

To sum up our analysis of the observations of the B. G. regarding 'saṅga' from the view-point of psychology: We pointed out that 'saṅga' corresponds to the 'seeking for contact', a characteristic of the tender emotion of sympathy according to psychologists. It was further observed that according to the B. G. 'saṅga' is the origin of 'kāma' which is the tap-root of all emotional life. Incidentally we mentioned the different views regarding the origin of 'kāma' or desire and pointed out that the B.G. regards 'kāma' to have an intellectual origin inasmuch as it is produced from 'saṅga', which in its turn is the result of 'dhyāna' or musing over the objects of sense. We then tried to explain the possible reason why the emotions which result from 'kāma' are

* Prolegomena, p. 202.

condemned in the B. G. This reason was explained to be 'guṇa-saṅga' which being the basis of 'kāma' and its brood being entirely *material* in its nature, hence could not tend to any spiritual advancement. The 'guṇas' are the offshoots of 'prakṛti' and 'guṇa-saṅga' or contact with 'guṇas' is responsible for 'saṃsāra' *i.e.*, the cycle of existence while the B. G. wants the Yogi to be free from it. It was then discussed whether it is psychologically possible to abandon (1) 'karma' and (2) 'karma-phala-saṅga', the abandonment of both of which is enjoined in the B. G. We think it impossible to do so, however consistent this ideal of the B. G. may be from an ethical point of view and perhaps the value of such an ideal lies in its unattainableness by the common run of men, with whose minds psychology is mainly concerned,—abnormal psychology being a subject apart. The B. G. prescribes 'asaṅga' or absence of attachment as a means towards the 'naiṣṭhiki śānti' or 'naiṣkarmya-siddhi' which according to it is the "true good".

Before we proceed to the refined form of affection we have to consider the transitional forms, which shew a more evolved aspect of the emotion. One of such forms is 'praṇaya' referred to in B. G. XI, 41. This form differs from 'saṅga' in the fact that whereas the former (praṇaya) requires for its very existence a being other than the feeling individual, the latter (saṅga) may originate in an individual without any subjective response from outside the feeling soul. For instance a man may feel a sort of 'saṅga' for a woman or *vice versa* without any response from the other person concerned. 'Praṇaya', however, stands on an entirely different footing. It is more stable psychologically as it presumes for its very existence the response of the other party in the feeling. It is a state of psychological unison existing between two or more individuals, not necessarily of the same sex, in whom analogous emotional states have been created. No emotional sympathy can arise unless there is some analogy in temperament or nature. Psychologically 'praṇaya' is a great advance on 'saṅga' for the reason that while 'saṅga' is largely of the nature of organic sympathy, in 'praṇaya' the element of consciousness preponderates.

In the B. G. 'praṇaya' stands midway between 'saṅga' on the one hand and 'bhakti' of which we shall speak presently, on the other. In Chap. XI, verse 41, we find that Arjuna begs to be forgiven for all the liberties, which through 'praṇaya' he might have taken with God, not knowing his infinite and sublime character. Again in verse 44 which follows, he implores God to bear all faults of his as a friend does a friend's. In both these passages 'praṇaya' stands for love between friends irrespective of the sex. The third passage that refers to such friendship is XII, 13, where it is remarked that the ideal 'bhakta' or devotee must be 'maitraṇ' *i.e.*, friendly towards all beings.

We do not find any deeper analysis of this form than what has been noted above.

There is one more passage in the B. G. *i.e.*, II, 57, where the characteristics of the 'sthita-prajna' are given. He is said to be 'anabhisneha' *i.e.*, without attachment to anything. Here the word 'abhisneha' seems to be used for attachment or love towards things or individuals in general and hence seems to be akin to 'saṅga'.

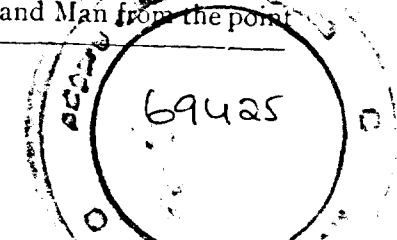
The next form of affection that we have to consider so far as it concerns the B. G. is parental affection. The ideas of the B. G. on this point are quite clear from the remarks made in the work with regard to the relation that ought to exist between Man and God. It will be of interest to learn what the Westerners have to say regarding this emotion. Bain and Spencer regard parental affection as an inheritance of social relation.* They regard this emotion as a great "socializer" and they think that were there no occasions for rivalry the social system under the influence of this emotion would be unmitigated communism. According to Martineau † parental affection is a primary spring of action, the conditions of its existence being the following:— (1) that the beings on whom it is directed be, independently of us, the *image of our essence* and (2) dependently upon us the *continuation of our existence*. He apparently criticizes the first view mentioned by us by saying "it is a perverse expenditure of ingenuity to explain its origin from factitious association in man". Ribot ‡ analyses this emotion into two separate forms: maternal love and paternal love. The former is included by him in the category of tender emotions but he maintains that it is not the source of social instinct because it implies neither solidarity nor reciprocity. As he believes that social life does not spring from domestic life he very much doubts the origin of the latter, *viz.*, paternal love which according to Bain (1) originates in the feeling of pride and ownership and according to Spencer (2) in the life in common of the father and mother which creates a current of affection in proportion to the services rendered.

To turn now to the B. G. In XI, 43, we are told that God is said to be the father of the living and the non-living creation. In IX, 17, He is said to be not only the father but also the mother, the supporter (dhātā), and grand-sire (pitā-mahaḥ) of the world. All beings, therefore, being His children, are treated by Him impartially (IX, 29). In XI, 44, Arjuna requests God to put up with all his shortcomings as a father does with his son's. These passages illustrate the relation that ought to exist between God and Man from the point

* Emotions and the Will, p. 64.

† Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, pp. 144-146.

‡ Psychology of Emotions, pp. 280, 281.



of view of the B. G. Perhaps the B. G. does not look askance at this relation as it is conducive to the fostering of 'bhakti' of which anon, and secondly it is the most disinterested form of affection and hence as Ribot says,¹ is the "genesis of altruism".

The most refined form of affection seems to be the 'bhakti' or single-minded devotion to God mentioned in the B. G. Ribot² includes this form under the category of religious sentiment which he says strikes its roots deeply into the individual only to rise beyond him. This love tends towards the dispossession of the individual. The religious sentiment, according to Ribot belongs to the class of "ego-altruistic" emotions, which mark the decay of the affective life of the individual.³ He further thinks that the element of fear which is present in veneration and respect is a depressive factor. It is absent from love which originates in tender emotion and is composed of pleasurable and expansive states: admiration, confidence, ecstasy, etc.⁴

Martineau⁵ regards the worshipper's love for the symbol of his faith not as a product of *psychological hedonism* but as "the natural crown of a course commencing in motive pleasure" and ending in "real disinterestedness". Further the inward deference of the individual to the higher claim may lift this love to the pedestal of duty and sink self-love into self-contempt.

If we compare the above mentioned views with the view of the B. G. regarding 'bhakti' we find that the 'bhakti' is the natural extension of the parental feeling which ought to exist between God and Man according to the B. G. It appears to us to be a complex psychological product as it combines parental affection with the moral sense of duty, tempered by religious stoicism which makes the 'bhakta' or devotee love his God unmindful of all reward. The image of God seems to be with the 'bhakta' his sole object of inspiration. Psychologically speaking it is a "fixed idea"⁶ which by its omnipotent influence produces in the 'bhakta' a sort of analgesia or the disappearance of sensibility to physical pain. It is hard to say whether the Yogic culture prescribed in the B. G. which may deaden physical sensibility to an appreciable extent is a sign of barbarism or civilization. In treating of physical pain Ribot remarks: "susceptibility to pain increases with civilization; what is called stoicism should often be called a feeble degree of sensibility."⁷

¹ Psychology of Emotions, p. 281.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁵ Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p. 324.

⁶ Emotions and the Will, p. 392, foot note. Dr. Bain thinks that "under a strong emotion of any kind the object of the feeling will become a fixed idea".

⁷ Psychology of Emotions, p. 36.

We have already remarked that in the B. G. the emotional part of man is subordinated to his rational part and as a natural corollary to this statement we have cited verse 10 of B. G., Chapter X, where 'buddhi-yoga' is said to be a means of reaching God. It will thus be seen that the 'bhakti' as enjoined in the B. G. is not mere blind adoration of God but is a rational one. Let us now see what the nature of this 'bhakti' is. It must be 'avyabhicāriṇī' i.e. unflinching (XIII, 11). Men resorting to 'bhakti-yoga' are fit for being identified with 'brahman' (XIV, 26). He, who knows God in his true character can alone love Him with his whole being (XV, 19). There are four classes of 'bhaktas' viz., (1) 'ārta' or the suffering; (2) 'jijnāsu' or the seeker for knowledge; (3) 'arthārthī' or the self-interested; and (4) the 'jñāni' or the wise (VII, 130). Of these four types of devotees (bhaktas), the 'jñāni' or the wise who is 'eka-bhakti' i.e., worshipper of one God is preferred (VII, 14). It is by 'bhakti' towards one God that man can perceive God, see Him in his essence and enter into Him (XI, 54). Further, the desired steadfastness of 'bhakti' can be attained by purity of deeds (VII, 28). Constancy in devotion and adoration is again prescribed in XII, 1 and IX, 14.

The supreme devotion (parā bhakti) is that of a person who is 'brahma-bhūta' (XVIII, 54). Just as knowledge strengthens 'bhakti' so 'bhakti' in its turn enables one to know God in his essence (XVIII, 55). In XVIII, 65, the devotee is asked completely to submerge his personality in that of God. He, who will put all the devotees in possession of the secret of 'bhakti-yoga' and will himself show the highest 'bhakti' towards God is sure to reach Him (XVIII, 68). Every one in this world gets mead for his devotion according to his light and so the devotees of God are united to Him (VII, 23). The humanization of God is apparent from IX, 26, where God says that he accepts everything offered to Him, if it is offered with devotion (IX, 26).

There is again to be seen reciprocity in love or devotion. Faithful devotees of God are loved by God with all heart (XII, 20). He who reveals the secret of 'bhakti-yoga' to God's devotees is most dear to Him (XVII, 69). The patronizing attitude of God towards His devotees is contained in His assurance that they will never perish (IX, 31).

An analysis of the above passages will give us the following characteristics of the 'bhakti' of the B. G. :—

- (1) It must be directed to one object;
- (2) It is a means of the identification of the individual with the 'brahman' or the Absolute.
- (3) The knowledge of the object of 'bhakti' is a factor which is essential for its deepening and perfection.

- (4) Complete or full knowledge of the object of 'bhakti' is not, however, possible without 'bhakti' itself.
- (5) The constancy or steadfastness of 'bhakti' is facilitated by purity of action.
- (6) The acme of 'bhakti' lies in the identification of the individual with the 'brahman'.
- (7) Reciprocity in 'bhakti' between the individual and the object of 'bhakti' is also necessary for the development of 'bhakti'.
- (8) Perfection in 'bhakti' leads to immortality.

It is clear from these characteristics that the 'bhakti' of the B. G. has no other motive than the union of the devotee with God. It is 'niṣkāma' or motive-less in the sense that it has no material motive to serve. Psychologically it has a motive, *viz.*, the union of the devotee with the object of his devotion and this motive disappears as soon as the self-surrender of the devotee and the consequent union with God is complete. Knowledge is a factor which contributes towards such union in an effective manner, though it cannot be regarded as a necessary antecedent. To begin with, the devotee and his God stand on extremely unequal planes. As the strength of devotion increases God comes down from His high pedestal and is thus humanized. At the same time the divine element in Man being at its height there is now complete communion between the two, on account of the reciprocity of feelings.

According to Spinoza * "Devotion is love towards him whom we admire or wonder at." He further explains that wonder arises out of novelty and if we often imagine that which we wonder at we shall cease to wonder and as a consequence devotion may easily degenerate into simple love. Apparently the 'bhakti' of the B. G. and the 'devotion' as defined by Spinoza are similar though not quite identical. Spinoza does not lay any emphasis on the element of 'reciprocity' as the B. G. does. The aim of the B. G. appears to be the mutual self-surrender of Man and God; while Spinoza may insist on the spiritual isolation of the object of devotion for maintaining the feeling of admiration which, he thinks, is essential for the very existence of devotion. The 'bhakti' of the B. G. seems to be meant for satisfying a spiritual need; it is in fact an ethical discipline at least to begin with, though the psychological element of 'pleasure or satisfaction' is not absent from it. This element arises as soon as the feeling of reciprocity springs up and the communion of Man with God is complete.

Mantegazza remarks in his work on "Physiognomy and Expression" that in devotion there is an instinctive tendency to lessen ourselves before a being, whom we feel, or whom we believe to be, greater or loftier than ourselves.†

* Ethics, (Boyle's Translation), p. 131.

† Physiognomy and Expression, 1904, p. 150.

He rightly remarks * that the basis of devotion and of veneration is always a feeling of affection. We are, therefore, not far from the truth if we include the 'bhakti' of the B. G. under the broader head of affection as we have done.

Darwin, who is the predecessor of Mantegazza in the field of expression of emotions, regards devotion as related to affection and remarks: "With some sects, both past and present, religion and love have been strangely combined." †

From the characteristics of 'bhakti' to be found in the B. G. and the comparison of the views of the psychologists pertaining to it, it will be seen that the B. G. does not look upon pleasure as a practical end for human conduct and consequently the 'bhakti' of the B. G. is more related to metaphysics than to ethics. It does begin in ethics and it is hard to dissociate the element of pleasure from it, but it ends in metaphysics when the 'bhakta' becomes identified with the 'brahman' and all his desires cease finally. We do not know if this psychic stage is to be regarded as indicating complete decay of effective life or complete control of the reason over the emotions.

(To be continued)

* Physiognomy and Expression, 1904, p. 152.

† Expression of Emotions, pp. 229, 230

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. III.—On Two Ætiological Myths about the Sky-Lark.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

SOME ætiological myths not only account for the origin of natural phenomena, beasts, birds, trees, plants and the like, *but are also didactic in character*. That is to say, they also inculcate moral lessons. They show how the sins of avarice, deceitfulness, want of filial piety and undutifulness are punished by the Divinity who watches over the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. These stories, therefore, indirectly teach the grand lesson that the aforementioned offences against morality should be strictly given a wide berth by men in the course of their earthly lives. This fact is evidenced by the two ætiological bird-myths about the evolution of the sky-lark, which we shall describe and discuss in this paper.

There are two species of sky-larks found in India, to which the Bengali and Hindi names *Bharata* and *Bharata Pakshi* are given. The first is the sky-lark of which the Zoological name is *Alanda arvensis* of Linnæus, and to which the Indian zoologist the late Râi Bâhâdur Râm Brâmha Sânyâl, C.M.Z.S., applied the aforesaid Bengali and Hindi names.* But the well-known ornithologist Mr. Eugene W. Oates does not mention the aforementioned vernacular synonyms as being applicable to this species.†

This species (*A. arvensis*) is found in India in the Himalayas where it breeds at elevations ranging from 8,000 to 10,000 feet. Its nests have also been met with in Kulu and Kashmir. It also inhabits Ceylon, North China, Siberia, Palestine, Egypt, Northern Africa, the British Islands and generally throughout Europe. Râi Bâhâdur R. B. Sânyâl says that the specimens of this species that were exhibited in his time in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, had all been obtained from the British Islands.

The second species is *Alanda gulgula*, Frankl. To this species, the Hindi name of *Bharata* has been given by Mr. Eugene W. Oates.‡ No specimens of this species have ever been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. It is for this reason that the Indian zoologist R. B. Sânyâl has

* *A Hand-Book of the Management of Animals in Captivity in Lower Bengal*. By Râm Brâmha Sânyâl, Calcutta : Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. 1892, Page 220.

† *The Fauna of British India. Birds*.—Vol. II. By Eugene W. Oates. 1890. Page 324-325.

Op. cit., (*Birds*.—Vol. II), page 326.

not noticed it in his *Hand-book of the Management of Animals in Captivity in Lower Bengal*. It is found in every part of the Indian Empire and Ceylon, except Tenasserim, south of Moulmein, and the middle ranges of the Himalayas where this lark is absent or comparatively rare. It has not been recorded either from the Andaman Islands or the Nicobar Islands.

This species, which is emphatically called the Indian sky-lark, breeds in all parts of India from April to June, and in Burma from December to April. It builds a nest which resembles that of *A. arvensis* and lays eggs which are closely similar to those of the latter, but are somewhat smaller in size. Its habits bear a striking similarity to those of its European congener (*A. arvensis*). It sings its song, which closely resembles that of the latter, in the same way while it wings its flight upwards.* During the cold weather, both the species *A. gulgula* and *A. arvensis* associate together in flocks.†

Curiously enough, both Râi Bâhâdur Râm Brâmha Sânyâl and Mr. Eugene W. Oates have not mentioned the Bengali synonym *Châtaka* of both the aforementioned species of sky-larks.

I shall now pass on to the narration and the discussion of the two ætiological myths about the origin of the sky-lark. The gentleman who has collected the first of these myths has not stated in which district of Bengal it is current. But the second one is current in a village named Brâhmaṇagāñ in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal.

The first myth runs as follows :—A milkman used to adulterate milk with water, and to sell the same to his customers at an exorbitant price. In this way, he amassed great wealth. When he died, his ghost appeared before Yama, the god of death, who accused him of having acquired wealth by dishonest means, and threatened him with condign punishment. The milkman protested his own innocence. But, for the purpose of giving the lie to his protestations of innocence, Yama confronted him with the ghosts of those among his customers to whom he had sold the adulterated milk. The disembodied spirits of all these customers testified against the dishonest milkman whose guilt was proved to the very hilt in this way.

Thereupon the god of death pronounced the following sentence against the sinful and guilty milkman :—

“O dishonest and sinful milkman! You have mixed much water with

* The British poet P. B. Shelley is, therefore, zoologically correct when, addressing the sky-lark, he says :

“Higher still and higher
From the earth thou springest
Like a cloud of fire,
The deep blue thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest.”

† *Op. cit.* (*Birds*.—Vol. II), Page 326.

milk, and cheated your customers by selling the said watery milk to them at an exorbitant price. As punishment for your dishonesty, you will get very little water to drink; and even that little you will not get at all times of the year. You will get only rain-water to drink during the rainy season. You will not be able to quench your thirst with the water of tanks or rivers; nor will you get any water at all to drink during any other season of the year. You will have to fly about in the sky, crying: 'O for a drop of pellucid rain-water; O for a drop of pellucid rain-water.'"

As soon as this sentence was pronounced, the ghost of the sinful milkman was metamorphosed into a sky-lark [(*Chātaka*) *Alanda arvensis* or *Alanda gulgula*] which flies about in the sky, crying: "*Faṭikjal! Faṭikjal!* (that is to say, O for a drop of pellucid water! O for a drop of pellucid water!)"*

The second ætiological myth is as follows:—

Once upon a time, an old woman and her only son lived together. She used to maintain herself and her son by carrying on some insignificant trade. In course of time, she fell seriously ill and rapidly grew worse. While on her death-bed, she called for a drink of water from her son. But the latter, being deeply engaged in playing at that time, did not attend to his dying mother's request for a drink of water. Thus suffering from the pangs of thirst, his mother died.

Subsequently, in course of time, the son also died. When his disembodied ghost was tried by Yama, the god of death, the latter found him guilty of gross negligence of filial duty in not having supplied his dying mother with water, in consequence of which negligence she died.

The god of death, therefore, passed the following sentence against him:—

"O undutiful son! you will be re-born as a bird; and you will not be able to quench your thirst with any other water except rain-drops."

In this way, the old woman's son was metamorphosed into a sky-lark [(*Chātaka*) *Alanda arvensis* or *Alanda gulgula*] which flies about in the sky crying: "*Faṭikjal! Faṭikjal!* (that is to say, "O for a drop of pellucid water! O for a drop of pellucid water!")".†

From a study of the preceding two myths, we come to know that they have a two-fold purpose, namely,—

(1) That, in the first myth, the avaricious and deceitful milkman, and, in the second story, the undutiful and negligent son, are respectively punished

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsi* (published from Calcutta) for Bhādra 1329 B. S. (August-September 1922 A.D.) PP. 707-708.

† *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsi* (published from Calcutta) for Āṣvina 1329 B. S. (September-October 1922 A.D.) PP. 870.

for their sins by being metamorphosed into a sky-lark thirsting for drops of rain-water.

Shakespeare has very truly said: "He ten times pines that pines beholding food."

Modifying this dictum a little, we might as well as say:

"He ten times pines that pines beholding water."

We can, therefore, very well realize the severity of the punishment meted out to the sinful milkman and the undutiful son, when we recall to our minds the fact that, though in their sky-lark-forms, they come across water all round them, they are forbidden to quench their thirst by drinking even a single drop of the same.

These two ætiological myths, therefore, have a didactic purpose, namely, that of inculcating the moral lessons that men should not be avaricious and deceitful and that men ought to be dutiful and attentive to their parents, and that, if they commit these sins, they will meet with the same condign punishment as that with which the sinful milkman and the undutiful son had been punished.

(2) That these two myths also explain the origin of the sky-lark's plaintive cries of "*Faṭikjal, Faṭikjal*" or "O for a drop of pellucid water! O for a drop of pellucid water!"

In connection with the point (2) *supra*, we may state here that primitive men have fabricated similar myths or stories with a view to account for the origin of the cries of other birds and beasts, as will appear from the examples given below.

The Khasis of the Khasia Hills in Assam narrate an ætiological myth to explain why the doves coo. They say that, in ancient times, the doves used to sing. But, once upon a time, it came to pass that a lovely young female dove, that could sing, fell deeply in love with a young male wild bird of the species called Jylleit who, instead of marrying her, ultimately deserted her. Having been deserted by her lover whom she loved not wisely but too well, she ceased to sing and began to coo, in order to give vent to her feelings of sorrow. From that time forth, the doves have cooed.*

Then again, the Sāntāls, an aboriginal Dravidian tribe living in the Sāntāl Parganās of Bihār, narrate an ætiological myth to explain why the jackals utter their weird cry of "*Huqqā, Huqqā*". This story runs to the effect that, once upon a time, the jackal, by his craftiness, saved a wood-cutter from being killed by a tiger; that in order to express his gratitude to his benefactor—the jackal, the wood-cutter promised to reward the latter with the

* *Folk-Tales of the Khasis*. By Mrs. Raly, London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1920. Pages 104-105.

present of a *huqqā* or hubble-bubble for smoking, but that he went away without giving it, and that thereupon the disappointed jackal began to cry out: "*Koi hukā, hukā, hukā*" or "Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble?" Since that time, the jackals have uttered their weird cries of "*Huqqā, Huqqā*".*

In the course of our survey of the folklore of other parts of India, we have come across a South Indian bird-myth which closely resembles the Bengali one accounting for the transformation into a sky-lark, of the undutiful son who neglected to supply his dying mother with a drink of water. In the South Indian ætiological myth, it was a cowherd who refused to supply the sacred cow with a drink of water when she was thirsty. For this inhuman act, the god Vishnu punished him for evermore by metamorphosing him into a hornbill and provided his bird-form with a huge bill which would enable it to quench its thirst only by turning its head upwards whenever it would rain.†

The same method of punishing a bird by condemning it to quench its thirst by drinking rain-water only, was also meted out to the wood-pecker in a bird-myth which is current in France. It is stated therein that, at the time of the creation of the world, the task of excavating the seas, lakes and rivers, was assigned to the birds. But the wood-pecker alone refused to join in this work. For its indolence and disobedience, it was condemned to dig for ever the wood of trees with its bill. A further punishment was also meted out to it by condemning it to the effect that it would be able to quench its thirst only by drinking of the water of heaven. It is moreover believed that, for this reason only, the wood-pecker's head is so frequently turned upwards.‡

* Vide the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsi* (published from Calcutta) for Jyāishtha 1329 B.S. (May-June 1922 A.D.). Page 273.

† Vide the article on Bird-Mythology in *The Calcutta Review* (No. CCXXV) for July 1901. pages 72-73.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

A GLARING PLAGIARISM IN KANNADA.

BY PANDIT K. VARADACHAR.

THE Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana, edited so far back as 1890 by Mr. B. L. Rice, late Director of Archæological Researches and Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, is a well known Sanskrit treatise on the grammar of the Kannada Language. It consists of 592 Sūtras or Aphorisms divided in four Pādas and treats of Sandhi, euphonic combinations of words, gender, words borrowed or derived from Sanskrit, declensions of nouns, formation of compounds, pronouns, conjugation of verbs and other grammatical matters. All this is done after the manner of Pāṇini's Sanskrit Grammar. A gloss called Bhāṣhā-Manjarī and a commentary named Manjarī-Makaranda are added to elucidate obscurities in the aphorisms. There is nothing in the Sūtras indicating the name of their author. But in the second introductory verse of the elaborate commentary, however, the commentator states "I proceed to comment upon the Sūtras and the Gloss" and he calls them "Svopajna," his own device.

In the prose commentary on the introductory verse of the gloss, the commentator mentions his name and says (using his name as the subject of the verb "Nibhadhnāti," composes, in the third person) that having composed the aphorisms, Bhaṭṭākālankadeva prays to Vardhamāna to enable him to tide over obstructions in his attempt to complete the gloss undertaken.

In the colophon of the work the commentator says that the commentary called Manjarī-Makaranda which he made on the Sūtras and the gloss of his own make came to completion on the morning of Thursday the fifth lunar day of the light half of Māgha of the year, Shobhakrit, in Saka 1526, the moon being in the Revati constellation on that day. While the use of the word Bhaṭṭākālankadeva as the subject of the verb "composes" in the third person in the commentary leads to the conclusion that the commentator on the Sūtras is quite different from Bhaṭṭākālankadeva, the author of the gloss and the commentary; the statement made in the second introductory verse of the commentary and in the colophon, leaves no doubt that Bhaṭṭākālankadeva himself is the author of the aphorisms, the gloss and the commentary. Accordingly setting aside the inference to be drawn from the use of the word Bhaṭṭākālankadeva, in the third person to the contrary, scholars took him to be the author of the whole work and allowed it to pass on in his name. But Pandit Kāṅkānahalli Varadāchār, teacher of Sanskrit and Kanarese in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, made extensive researches into the question

and published in 1922 a pamphlet in Kanarese showing how Bhaṭṭakalanka¹ deva was a plagiarist and how, misunderstanding a number of aphorisms, he misapplied them and authorized the use of a few forms not recognized and approved of by other grammarians. As his learned pamphlet is in Kanarese, it seems to have failed to attract the notice of scholars. At his request, a brief summary of the reasons and arguments he has marshalled to prove the glaring plagiarism is given here in order to give publicity to his views on the question.

Aphorism 226 lays down the rule that the possessive case ending in "a", changed into "na" or "da" according to gender, should be added to a word used as subject or object of an abstract verbal noun ending with a verbal affix signifying action (krit). Examples:—Devadattana ghatada mālke, Devadatta's manufacture of a pot; Devadattana iravu, Devadatta's being. Here "mālke" and "iravu" are abstract verbal nouns. Ghata is the object of manufacture and Devadatta is the subject of "being". Hence the words are used in the possessive case. But here the commentator questions why the qualifying epithet "Kriti", 'ending with a verbal affix' is used when the word 'bhāva', an abstract verbal noun, implies the same idea without that epithet. Discussing the question from various standpoints he replies that the epithet is after all useless.

If the commentator himself had been the author of the aphorism he would not have inserted the unnecessary epithet in the aphorism and even if he had inserted it first, he would have removed it later, while writing the commentary, avoiding thereby the trouble of voluntarily soiling the leg first and then of washing it.

Again Sūtra 461 lays down the rule that verbs ending in "Ay" may or may not have "Ay" changed into "O" when negation (Pratishedha) is implied. Example:—'Dehamanidanetu nichchaṭam nambidapay' or 'nambidapo': how dost thou believe this body to be permanent? Do not believe so, is what is meant. Commenting upon this aphorism, the commentator says as follows:—"Here some commentators take the word 'pratishedha' (negation) from the previous aphorism and explain it as it has been explained above. That the author of the gloss is of the same opinion is implied, inasmuch as he says that 'Pratishedha' is not taken along with the next Sūtra (i.e., 462). Still there are others who are against this view. Hence the optional change of 'Ay' into 'O' may be effected with or without the implication of negation."

If the commentator himself had been the author of the Sūtras, he would have clearly stated whether the word Pratishedha (negation) should be taken along with the sūtra or not. His reference to the view of other commentators on the Sūtra clearly implies that among other commentators he himself was

one and that like other commentators he was also in the dark as to what the author of the Sūtras really meant. He also refers to the author of the gloss (Vṛttikāra) as a person quite different from himself. The commentator says that the word 'pratishedha' may or may not be taken along with the Sūtra, thereby placing himself at the head of a third school of Kannaḍa Grammarians.

Again Sūtra 500 lays down the rule that the syllable "Gu" in Pōgu and Āgu should be dropped when an affix beginning with "d" or the affix "ittu" is added to the roots. Examples:—Pogu+dam=Podam; Pogu+ittu=Poyittu. Here the commentator first takes "dittau" as a compound word d+ittu ending in the locative singular. Then he says that the reading may be dittau when it can be split as di+ittau making thereby two words each ending in the locative singular.

When the commentator says that the reading of the aphorism may be dittau, it may be asked "whose reading is it, the author's reading, or the traditional reading handed down from teacher to teacher?" If it were his own reading why should he then take the trouble of explaining the Sūtra with a difficult reading? From this it will be clear that the commentator was doubtful about the original reading of the Sūtra and that there being nothing to fix the reading he was obliged to explain it with both the readings.

Again Sūtra 533 lays down the rule that from Sanskrit verbal nouns ending in the affix 'lyut' signifying the root-meaning, may be derived Kannaḍa verbs in the active voice by adding the affix isup (isu) and by dropping the final syllable of the nouns, with the exception of the nouns classed under Śayana and other similar words. Examples:—pachana = pachisu, rakshaṇa = rakshisu.

In the commentary on this Sūtra the commentator says in connection with some discussion, which is unnecessary to notice here, that the author of the Sūtras strictly followed the method of Pāṇini in framing the grammar: and raising the question "How is it ascertained that Pāṇini's method alone is followed here by the author of the Sūtras?" replies that it is ascertained by the use of the word 'lyut'—a verbal suffix which no other Sanskrit grammarian ever used in his system.

Here also it can be clearly seen that if the commentator had himself framed the Sūtras also, the above question would not have arisen up at all or he would have stated clearly that he had followed Pāṇini alone.

Again in giving the meaning of the last word "anu" of the closing of Sūtra 592 of Śabdānuśāsana the commentator says that the word "anu" is an indeclinable particle signifying prosperity and is used by the author of the Sūtras at the close for the success of his work. Accordingly there is a saying as follows:— "Words such as 'Om, atha, anu, alam, ut, su, upa, satu, pra

and other indeclinable particles signify not only gods, but also well-being, success and other auspicious things. Hence seeing the Śāstrakāra's prayer for success as indicated by his use of 'anu' at the end of the work, the author of the "Vritti" also following the author of the Sūtras shows in the same way his own prayer for success by using the word 'mechchidam', 'admired', at the close of the gloss."

Here the mention of the author of the gloss as a person different from the Sūtrakāra is too clear to doubt.

Apart from these direct implications of difference between the author of the Sūtras and that of the gloss on the one hand, and of the difference between the Sūtrakāra and the commentator on the other, there are also other points which go to show that the commentator was not only not the author of the Sūtras, the framing of which requires a thorough mastery of the Kannaḍa literature known at the time, but an ordinary student of Kanarese not thoroughly acquainted with the best and most famous literary works of his times. This is clear from the commentary which he makes on Sūtra 278 contradicting the statement made by him in his commentary on Sūtra 19. In the commentary on the latter Sūtra defining indeclinable words he classes 'andu' and 'indu' among them. But in his commentary on Sūtra 278, he follows the gloss and subjects the very words to declension.

That the commentator is not the author of the Sūtras is still more clearly proved by the commentator's misreading of Sūtra 187. The commentator reads it as "Uksāmānye" and comments upon it saying that the word 'maga' in common gender will have the affix 'u' and gives 'magu' as its example. Here he does not explain how the vowel 'a' after 'g' and before 'u' in Maga is eliminated. There is no rule under which to eliminate it. If 'magu' is to be formed, 'u' should be taken as an 'adesa', i.e., a substitute replacing the final vowel in 'maga'. Hence he should have read the Sūtra as 'Utsamānye' when 't' denotes not merely a short vowel, but also a substitute replacing a final vowel, in 'maga'. The presence of 'k' in Uk is indicative of an affix, but not a substitute.

That the commentator did not grasp the intention of the author of the Sūtras is corroborated by the misinterpretation which he makes of the next Sūtra 188. In the Sūtra it is laid down that the last syllable of the word 'maga' in common gender, plural, should be replaced by the substitute 'Kkal'. Thus $ma+ga=ma+kka$ (plural= $makka$). But the commentator takes 'kkal' as an affix and says that it is added to the final syllable of 'maga'. According to this interpretation the form would be $ma-ga-kkal$ which is wrong.

That the commentator did not understand the application of the Sūtras is also clearly shown by the explanation of the examples given under Sūtra 84

In this Sūtra it is laid down that the roots ending in ru and du have their final syllables ru and du replaced by r and l when they are followed by an affix beginning with a consonant. The examples given are Torke, Torkum, Mālke and Mālkum. In explaining the formation of the examples, the commentator says that Toru and māḍu are the roots and that when the affix 'ge' in desiderative sense or the affix 'gum' in present, past or future indicative is added, 'g' is replaced by 'k' according to Sūtra 472 and in accordance with this Sūtra ru and du are replaced by r and l .

Now the question is whether ru and du are changed into r and l before or after 'g' is changed into 'k'.

Sūtra 472 lays down that 'g' is changed into 'k' only when the roots end in 'r' and 'l' implying thereby that ru and du must be changed into 'r' and 'l' before 'g' is changed into 'k', here.

Now in these examples ru and du can be changed into 'r' and 'l' in accordance with the special Sūtra 85 which lays down that the above change is effected before an affix beginning with 'g'. It follows therefore that the commentator is quite wrong in giving these examples under the Sūtra 84, since the formation of these examples can as well be explained by the next Sūtra 85.

The author of the gloss (vritti) who is perhaps the same as the commentator seems to think that in these examples ru and du are changed into 'r' and 'l' after 'g' is changed into 'k'. Accordingly questioning why in the Sūtra 85 the affixes are restricted only to those which begin with 'g' the commentator says that if the restriction were removed the optional change of ru and du into 'r' and 'l' before an affix beginning with any consonant would also happen in Mālkum and Torke, where the author assumed the affixes to begin with 'k'. But this is quite wrong, for there is no possibility of affixes 'kum' and 'ke' being preceded by ru and du , since by rule 472 'g' is changed into 'k' only after ru and du are changed into 'r' and 'l'. It follows therefore that the commentator has not clearly understood the application of this and the next Sūtra.

The correct examples of this rule (84) are however those which are formed with affixes beginning with 'k' and other consonants, but not with 'g'. For example, Nadu+kal etc., (233) malpudarke etc., (266) and torke etc., (abstract noun 559).

With regard to the last example it should be noted that it is formed from Toru by adding 'ke' and changing 'ru' into 'r' in accordance with the Sūtra (84). Not understanding this, Bhattākaṇkadeva has gone so far as to take it as a verb with a desiderative affix 'ge'. The impossibility of changing 'g' into 'k' without first changing 'ru' into 'r' in this case, has already been pointed

out above. Also it should be noted that the form of the example given below Sūtra 84 is toru+ke, but not toru+ge. It is likely that toru+ke was given as the example of the Sūtra either by the author of the Sūtras or by some one else. Surely Bhaṭṭakalāṅkadeva could not rightly explain it.

Again in Sūtra 233 it is laid down that to 'Nāḍu' and other classified words is added the affix 'kal' in the plural. Here in the example Nāḍu+kal, the commentator says that according to rule 82 'ḍu' is changed into 'l' forming 'nalkal'. But this is wrong. For the change made by rule 82 is optional in the opinion of the commentator himself and therefore 'nāḍukal' would also be another form, which is ungrammatical. To avoid this the commentator should have applied Sūtra 84 which is not at all optional. It follows therefore, that the commentator has not at all understood the real application of the Sūtras and is thereby led to commit blunders which would not occur if the Sūtras were correctly understood and rightly applied. Hence it may be concluded that he is not the author of the Sūtras. It may be presumed for reasons cited above that having chanced to come across a Kannaḍa grammar in the form of Sūtras with a brief gloss on the same with no mention of the name of the author or authors, Bhaṭṭakalāṅkadeva has passed the work in his own name with a commentary of his own. In commenting upon the Sūtras he seems to have enlarged also the gloss, misinterpreting the original examples and adding wrong forms to those given in the original brief gloss.

DICE-PLAY ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE WHITE HALF OF THE MONTH, KARTIKA.

By DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

THE religious observances to be performed on this day are thus enumerated in the Dharmabdhisara:—

- (1) Worship of Bali, a legendary Asura, emperor of India.
- (2) Illumination.
- (3) Sports of bulls and cows (go-kridana).
- (4) The worship of the mountain, Govardhana.
- (5) Construction of ornamental arches on roads (Margapali-bandhana).
- (6) Drawing up of poles (Yashtikakarshana).
- (7) Wearing new garments.
- (8) Dice-play.
- (9) Perambulation of light by women.
- (10) Putting on flower garlands and the like.

On the morning of this day all should play at dice and whoever wins the stakes will be successful throughout the year.

The special feature of this day consists in dining in company with the best Brahmans.

The Nirṇayasindhu says:—

In the morning of this day all should play at dice and whoever wins the stakes will gain throughout the year and whoever fails will lose throughout the year. All should delightfully spend the night with their wives.

In the eighty-eighth chapter of the Kasikhaṇḍa Agastya says:—

"Tell me, O god of six faces, what Narada did after arriving at the abode of Siva; the story is delightful."

Then Skanda said:—

"Listen, O pot-born: I tell you of what Narada did after going to Kailasa. Having reached the abode of Siva through his aerial flight, Narada saluted Siva and his consort, and after being greeted by them, he sat on a seat shown by Siva. Becoming very eager to explain the nature of the dice-play, at which the divine couple were engaged with no tiresome feeling, Narada said:—

"O God of gods, the whole Universe is the field of thy play. What the

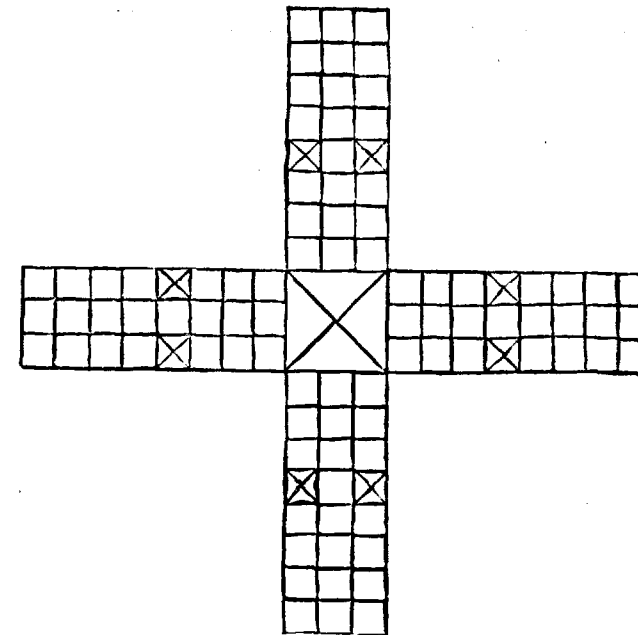
twelve months are in the year the twelve dice-men are on the board. The black and white lunar days numbering twice fifteen in a month are the divisions marked on the board; the two dice are the two solstices (Ayana) of the year; the two stakes, success and failure, are creation and destruction: The success of the goddess is creation, and that of Siva is absence of creation. The time of your play is what is called progressive stage (stṛiti). Thus the whole world is a play, pure and simple, of the divine couple, neither does the goddess conquer her husband, nor the husband his consort. Understand, O Mother, what I am going to submit to thee—Though he is an omniscient lord, God Siva can understand nothing, inasmuch as he is placed beyond respect and disrespect; his very nature is play and is devoid of all qualities, if considered well. Though he is always active, he is not tainted with what he does. Though he is the centre of all, he is the support of all.”

In the eighty-fifth chapter of the Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata Sakuni says addressing Duryodhana:—

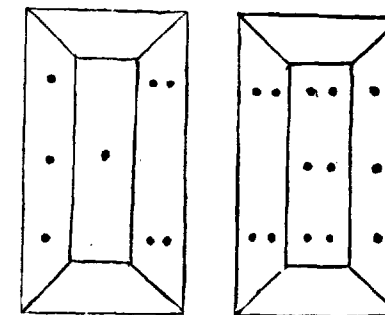
“You have just seen the best woman as beautiful as the goddess of wealth. Listen to what I say about the means of securing her. I am an expert in dice-play. I know its secrets and the way of winning the stakes. Kunti’s son does not know it, though he is fond of the play. If he is invited for the play, he will never hesitate to come.” This is what is told in the Maharajavijaya:—

What is required for the dice-play is:— (1) the dice, (2) a board or a piece of cloth with places marked for dice-men, and (3) dice-men. The two dice that are to be rolled on the ground are in reality to be marked with sixteen (dots) on four sides of each. These colour marks are those of the so-called elements, except the sky. Their colours are:—the sky is white, the atmosphere is black; the fire is red; water is white, and the earth is yellow. Here the wind and the fire are friendly; and the earth and water are also friendly. The dice-board or piece of cloth (vadhra) is like a lotus flower of four petals and contains four petals, each petal being divided into three strips containing eight square divisions, and is to be considered as nature (Prakṛiti). The latter (the petal) is also divided into eight parts, as the earth, water, fire, wind, sky, mind, intelligence, and the ego. All these eight parts are of three different forms owing to the three qualities, Satva, Rajas and Tamas. Thus each petal contains twenty-four divisions. The two dice are each marked on each of their four sides with six, three, one (like-half moon), and four resembling the elements.

The sky is represented by a circle; the atmosphere by six dots; a triangle with a Svastika inside represents the fire; a lotus with a figure like the half moon indicates water; and a square with the symbol of Vajra, a weapon, symbolises the earth,



DICE-BOARD.



DICE, two, only one with its obverse and reverse is shown here.

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

BY K. G. ŚANKARA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

I.—The Name Venad.

MR. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar tries (*J.R.A.S.* 1922, p. 165) to derive Vēṇāḍ from Vēṇ.

His reasons are:—(1) The Vēḷs ruled in other places, besides South Travancore; (2) the Tamizh grammars call the land Vēṇ.

But the name Vēṇāḍ came into use only after the Sangham age, when their rule had ceased outside Travancore, and the Tamizh grammars give in mistaken *sandhi* வேண்புழி, which should be split up into only வேள் + புழி, as வேண் has no meaning.

Thus Vēṇāḍ derives its name from the Āy-vēḷ of the Vēḷvikūḍi plates (*Mythic Journal*, xiii: 455-6).

II.—The Date of Maṇḍalapuruṣa.

Mr. M. Rāghava Ayyangār tries (*M. J.*, xiii: 487-93) to disprove the accepted date—c. 900 A.C.—of the *Chūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu*.

The accepted date is based on the author's own statement that he was a pupil of Guṇabhadra of the *Mahāpurāṇa*, and a protégé of Kṛṣṇarāya, who is identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, another pupil of Guṇabhadra.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār says that திருப்புகழ் புராணஞ் செய்தோன் should be applied, not to Guṇabhadra, but to the author himself, as, otherwise, no epithet would be left for him. But we do not know of any other work of Maṇḍala, and it seems that is why he takes such pains to make out his guru's greatness, that thereby some of his guru's fame might be reflected on himself.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār also argues that the author's guru was versed only in Tamizh, and so could not be the Guṇabhadra of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. But there is no evidence for such an assertion.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār then argues that the author omits to mention the Chāḷukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas, and so could not have lived in the 9th century A.C. But he omits the Vijayanagar kings also, to whose period Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār assigns him. The omission may be due to the facts that they were not then rulers of Tamizh lands, and that the Chāḷukyas had then lost power. Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār suggests that Maṇḍala's line கேழல் வேழம் பதாக்கயம் புலவருக்கே might have been due to a misreading of கேழல் வேள் புலவரசர் கொடியே in *Divākaram* as கேழல் வேழம் புலவர் கொடியே. This is ingenious, but how did he get வேழம் for வேள், and why did he omit சர் in வேள் புலவரசர்?

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār sees a reference to the யாப்பருங் கலக்காரிசை in the author's mention of காரிசை as a work. This may be admitted, though that was not the only Tamizh or Samskrt work in that kind of composition. But its date is uncertain.

Another argument is that the work mentions Bhāskara's astronomy of 1150 A.C. But there was an earlier astronomer Bhāskara of c. 900 A.C., whom Alberūni mentions (*Weber: History of Indian Literature*, pp. 261-2), and the system mentioned might have been his.

It is also argued that the patron Sōma, mentioned in the work, should be the one who lived in the 12th century A.C. But the name is so common, that no safe inference can be drawn therefrom.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār also relies upon the use of modern words, and unchanged Samskrt words. But these can give no definite date.

Lastly, Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār tries to prove the existence of a Guṇabhadra in the 16th century A.C. But his only authority is an admittedly modern work, which, besides, places Guṇabhadra in the reign of a Viṣṇu-dēvarāya, not Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, and not later than the 14th century A.C., instead of in the 16th century A.C. Thus the accepted date need not be given up.

III.—The Use of Solar Signs in India.

It has been argued (*M. J.*, xiii: 511-6) that the solar signs in India are not of Greek origin, but were either borrowed from the Chaldæans, or invented in India. The arguments deserve consideration.

The first argument is that Ptolemy assigns a Chaldæan origin to the Balance. But the Chaldæans, though they might have invented it, did not use it before the first century B.C., and the argument only proves that the Hindus might have borrowed the solar signs direct from the Chaldæans, not that they in fact did so. Besides, the proof of commercial intercourse between Chaldæa and India in ancient times, is no proof of a Chaldæan origin of the Indian signs, as exchange of scientific knowledge need not go with an exchange of commodities, and as the Chaldæans themselves used the Balance, if at all, only much later in the first century B.C.

The next argument is that Sunday was the first day of the Jewish week from the time of their exodus. But the Jewish week-days had no planetary names. It is significant that the Chaldæans also did not use them. Thus a Greek origin is inevitable, as independent origins are impossible for such a conventional scheme. It is suggested that the Hindus might have chosen Sunday as the first day of the week, because of the sun's prominence among the planets. But our earliest extant authorities Ārya-bhaṭa (499 A.C. कालक्रियापाद 15-16) and Varāhamihira (505 A.C. ब्रह्मसिद्धान्तिका

xiii: 39 and 42), in their rule for determining the order of planetary week-day names, arrange the planets in the descending order of their distances from the sun, and not of their prominence, and they make no exception even in favour of the sun. So the Hindus must have adopted Sunday as the first day, only because it was so among the Greeks, from whom they borrowed their planetary astronomy. Constantine might have only given his support to the existing Christian usage, but this has no bearing on the question as to when the Hindus borrowed their planetary astronomy, and from whom. We are then referred to the use of the planetary names of the week-days in the *Hitopadēśa*, *Vaikhānasa Sūtra*, *Bōdhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* and the *Matsya Purāṇa*. But the former is a very late work, and the dates of the others are still undetermined. There is, besides, the question of interpolation, which is referred to light-heartedly, as if it were a strange or unknown phenomenon in Indian literature. I have discussed these data in a paper criticising the *Date of Śilappadhikāram* in this Journal.

The paper frequently cites the bare opinions of other scholars in support of its views. But mere opinions, though certainly they deserve consideration, can never be a substitute for reasoning, and, if historical problems were allowed, like questions of law, to be decided by merely balancing the conflicting views of judges, it will forfeit all claim to be regarded as a branch of scientific study. It is also added that 'patriotic' need not mean 'unscientific'. True, but it is no essential part of patriotism to make unreal or even extravagant claims for one's own nation. We must pursue truth alone, wherever it should lead us.

An Indian origin is suggested for the planetary names of week-days, by substituting the 60 ghaṭikas division of a day for the 24 hours division as the basis of the scheme. But Āryabhata and Varāhamihira distinctly mention the 24 hours division as the true basis. Kālidāsa is cited as proof of the early use of the 24 hours division in India, but he lived only in c. 500 A.C., after the planetary astronomy had been borrowed.

We are finally referred to a common feature peculiar to the Chaldean and the Indian day, the reckoning from sunrise to sunrise. But Āryabhata, who, in one place, reckons thus, in another reckons from midnight to midnight and there was a third school in India, who reckoned from sunset to sunset (पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका xv: 20).

I may now state briefly the facts which establish the Greek origin of the Hindu planetary astronomy beyond all reasonable doubt. The Hindu signs always included the Balance as a distinct sign, and this was first known to Geminus and Varro in c. 100 B.C. (पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका vii: 4). They were always Aśvinyādi and so could not date before c. 400 A.C. A pre-Aśvinyādi ecliptic

in India is impossible, as the Hindus knew the phenomenon of precession only from the time of Manjala (662 A.C.). The Hindu planetary astronomy and horary astrology follow the system of Paulus Alexandrinus (380 A.C.). The Hindu week begins with Sunday, like the Christian week. In the pre-Greek days, the Hindus used weeks of only 5 or 6 days. Varāha not only mentions many astronomical terms by their Greek names, but says that the system of Puliśa, who lived not very long before Varāha's time (नारदचिरपञ्च. i: 10) was one of the earliest systems of planetary astronomy known in India. The Pauliśa system was expounded by Puliśa to Garga (*ibid.*, ix: 6-19). Yavanapura, the meridian of the Pauliśa system, must, from its longitude, be Alexandria of the Greeks (*ibid.*, iii: 13). The names Puliśa and Yavanapura, and the meridian Alexandria confirm the view that the Hindus borrowed their planetary astronomy and horary astrology from Paulus Alexandrinus. His date 380 A.C. is नारदचिर from Varāha's time. The *Mahābhārata* (Gadā P., Sarasvatī Upākhyāna) says that Vrddha Garga was the first in India to determine the planetary motions and anomalies, and thereby enlarge the scope of Hindu astronomy. Perhaps he himself confesses his indebtedness to the Greeks in astronomy (*Brhat Samhitā* ii: 15). All these confirm the inference that planetary astronomy was introduced in India by Puliśa through Garga. The evidence is thus conclusive that Garga was the first to introduce planetary astronomy in India, that the system thus introduced was that of Paulus, an Alexandrian Greek, and that any Indian work, indicating the use of planetary astronomy, cannot date before 400 A.C. Incidentally, the date of Garga has also been fixed as c. 400 A.C. The Yavanāchārya also, who is frequently mentioned in Hindu astronomical works, must be Paulus Alexandrinus.*

IV.—The Date of the Paripadal.

The *Paripadal* is admittedly a sangham work. The fixing of its date, therefore, involves the fixing of the Sangham age, which has been variously dated between the 2nd and 8th centuries A.C. Mr. L. D. Svāmikanṇu Pillai has now succeeded in doing so. The eleventh *Paripadal* gives a planetary conjunction at the beginning of a certain rainy season. On a day of lunar eclipse at dawn, Mars was in Mēsha, Venus in Rshabha, Mercury in Mithuna, Jupiter in Mina, and Saturn near வில்லில் கடைமகரம். Krittikā was also high up. Till now, வில்லில் கடைமகரமேஷ has been taken to indicate Makara, and அங்குலையர் நிற்ப to mean that Krittikā was in the zenith. It was inferred also that the sun must have been in Simha. A critic pointed out that, in that case, Venus and Mercury would be in the fourth and third houses from the sun,

* Note:—I have since found reasons to change the date to c. 170 A.C., as will be shown in my paper on *The Gupta Era*.

which is impossible, as their maximum distances from the sun are 48° and 26° . Thus interpreted, the combination, as Dr. Jacobi kindly informed me, and as I myself have verified, becomes impossible. Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Pillai has solved the difficulty by suggesting that உயர் need not mean the zenith, but only high up, and that இறையமன் வில்லிர் கடைமகரமேவ may mean that Saturn was actually in Dhanus and only nearing Makara. If this is accepted, the sun need not be in Simha, and the positions of Venus and Mercury become possible. We need not also charge the author with ignorance of astronomy, or inventing an impossible combination. We have only to give up Parimēlazhahar's commentary, but that his astronomy is not infallible is clear, as he places Śravishthā in Makara, instead of Kumbha; though he too evidently accepts the Mēshadi ecliptic. There is only one date between 1 and 650 A.C. that satisfies all the data given, and it is the 17th June 634 A.C. On that day of lunar eclipse, Āshāḍha śukla 15, the moon was, at dawn in 266° , Mars in 17° , Venus in 42° , Mercury in 70° , Sun in 86° , Saturn in 257° , and Jupiter in 341° . Thus the *Paripādul* was composed in c. 634 A.C., and the Sangham age must date 500 to 650 A.C. All other conflicting data must be either given up, or suitably interpreted, as only astronomy can give definite dates. I have already proved that any Indian work using planetary astronomy must date after c. 400 A.C., and this date is quite consistent with that result. I may also note that it proves that, in the 7th century A.C., the Tamizh people calculated the planetary motions, either by direct observation, or by the actual, and not mean, motions of the planets.*

* We may, indeed infer that the poet wrote from actual observation, as he mentions the position of Agastya, and this fact precludes the possibility of his having followed authorities, older than Varāha, who mention such impossible combinations, as the one made out by the commentator

THE KOTRANKUDI PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II.

BY T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, ESQ.

KOTRANKUDI is a small village, some five miles from Tirutthirai-pūṇḍi Junction in Tanjore District. Some thirty-five years ago, a farmer while digging his field happened to unearth this set of copper plates. It is said that his master procured it and after passing through many hands it came to the house of Mr. T. V. Sadāśiva Paṇḍārathār, Tamil Paṇḍit, Bānādurai High School, Kumbakōṇam. The existence of these plates was brought to my notice early in 1919 and they reached my hands actually in 1920. Till then they were quite unknown to the historical world. When they reached me the ring was uncut, which I cut afterwards with the permission of the Paṇḍārathār, and the depressions of the letters were full of compressed sand and mud. At first I was unable to make out anything as I was then only studying paleography and as the plates were not cleaned properly for reading. Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry was kind enough to get ink-impressions of them and Mr. K. G. Śaṅkara Ayyar Avl., B.A., B.L., corroborated my reading with the plates. To these two gentlemen I owe my sincere thanks.

The set consists of five plates with eight pages of written matter, the outer faces of the first and last being completely blank. The first and last plates are a little larger than the rest and this gives to the set the appearance of a book. The plates measure about $9\frac{1}{4}$ to $9\frac{9}{10}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing which is in very good preservation. The ring which holds them together is oval-shaped. Its ends are soldered into the mouths of fabulous animals, *makharas*, whose heads emerge from a circular seal which has no bas-relief or inscription on it.

These plates have 60 lines, lines 1-22 being in Samskrita verses, and lines 22-60 in Tamil prose, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters as in the Taṇḍanthōṭṭam plates.

They begin with an invocation to Viṣṇu (ll. 1-5) and then give the usual genealogy from Brahmā, the descendant of Viṣṇu to Pallava as follows :- Brahmā, Aṅgīras, Bṛihaspathi, Śaṁyu, Baradvājā, Drōṇa (the champion of archery), Drouṇi (Aśvathāma the Vīra), and Pallava who is the dynasty founder (ll. 5-8). "After Vīra-kūrcha and others passed away enjoying the Kingdom, came King Hiranyavarman." This shows that Vīrakūrcha is an important king of the Pallava dynasty which is corroborated by the Vēlūrpālayam plates that he is the founder of the Pallava Empire at Kāñchi.

We are to infer that Hiranyavarman was a king of the Pallava empire

for some time. But we do not know, as far as the published records are concerned, of such a personage. Is it possible as the Departmental people think to identify this Hiraṇyavarman with Danti or is he the father of Nandi II, spoken of in the inscription of Vaikunṭhaperumāl Kōil of Kāñchī (G.O. No. 492, 2nd July 1906, Page 61), as the late Mr. T. A. Gōpinātha Rao and Prof. Dubreuil think?

Hiraṇyavarman was succeeded by his son, the emperor Nandivarman. He became king while yet young, defeating all foes. It is noteworthy that the present plates contain, as the other plates of his reign, no account of the political aspect of his reign. The Udayēndram grant only mentions the military exploits of a king named Nandi who certainly preceded Danti. He is wrongly identified with Nandi II who followed immediately after Paramēśvara of the Simhavishṇu dynasty. But all materials are against this identification.

The grant was made at the request of the chieftain of Maṅgala-Nāḍu. Its capital is probably the same Maṅgala-purā in which Mahāratha was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Śadaiyan (The Vēlvikuḍi plates II. 62-70). Mr. K. G. Śaṅkara Ayyar thinks it to be Mangalore on the west coast, as the term *Mānagar* (the great city) is applied to it. Mahāratha has been identified with the Chalukyan and we do not know that an invasion over South India has taken place along the West coast. On the other hand, we have all the other places in which battles have taken place between the Chalukyas and the Southern Chiefs, in the Chōḷa country. Is this the same city in which the Vaishṇavite Saint, Tirumaṅgai Āḷvar, lived a few years later?

The Tamil portion is dated in the 61st year of Kōvijaya-Nandi-vikramavarman. It is a grant for 16 velies of land, 12 already granted in the 59th year, and the remaining 4 velies at the time of the grant, in the Kotraṅkuḍi village of Ārvalakūṟam in Sōḷanāṭṭu-thenkarai. We know that Sōḷanāḍu was then divided into two 'Thenkarai' and 'Vaḍakarai' by the river Kāvēri. Dr. S. Krishṇaswāmy Ayyangar argues that the term Kāvēri in those days denotes the present Coleroon (Early History of Vaishṇavism in South India, page 83), while some others say it does not. This is a point which requires some consideration.

The engraver was the son of Viḍēlviḍugu Pallava-perunthachan. The name was evidently adopted after the reigning king. Till now it was believed that only the son of Danti and the Victor of Tellāru used the title, and to suit this the history of Mutharaiyars was twisted by the late Mr. T.A. Gōpinātha Rao (The Journal of the South Indian Association, Vol. II, pages 1-30). But now we know that this title was borne even by Hiraṇya's son and this may to some extent modify their history.

TEXT.

I Plate, Page 2.

- (1) स्वस्ति श्रीः ॥—श्रीयो भर्तुर्मूर्तिमरकतसमौ नभुजशतैश्शयानस्यांभाधवुरसि [विल]
- (2) सत्तैस्तुहचिः पयः पातुसिन्धोज्ज्वलधरघटवाप्सुपतिता तदित्युक्ता
- (3) भान्तोदिशतुभवतां मंगलमसौ ॥— यन्मुक्तेः पदमुत्तमं यदचलं यद्यापि यद्यो
- (4) गिनान्ययन्धारिधयास्तुवन्ति यदलं यव्यासकृद्भूसुराः आश्रित्यत्रिगुणान्विधास्थि
- (5) तिलयात्पत्तिविधातुं गतंभेदं यत्स्वभिन्नमप्यवतु वस्तदस्तु विश्वम्मुखं ॥— न
- (6) द्वाभूतकारि नाभिकमलात्तस्माद्भूदगिरास्तस्माद्देवगुरुस्ततो मुनिवरश्शयु
- (7) [भ]रद्वाजतः द्रोणस्तत्तनयादजायतधनुः प्रख्यातवीर्योऽरणे तस्माद्रौणीर
- (8) वार्यावैर्यमहिमा तस्माद्भूपलवः ॥— लक्ष्मी भुवौयत्कुलसंभवानां राज्ञांसमामा

II Plate, Page 1.

- (1) (य) [कल] वभावं संप्रत्यसाधारणतां परेषा मासेदतुः पार्थिवमण्डलानां ॥— य
- (2) दूर्जजाना भवनीपतीनामात्माकृतंविश्वरिपून्विजित्य वस्तुप्रदायात्थिजनायभूयः कु
- (3) लवतं कीर्तिसमाज्जनंहि ॥— तद्वैद्यपुन्रपुसिन्धुरशनां संभुज्य धार्वाक्षिरं भां
- (4) क्तमस्वर्गं मुपत्यितेषु कृतिषु श्रीवीरकूर्चादिषु आसीत्तत्रहिरण्यवर्मं नृपतिर्भू
- (5) पालभर्ताततस्सर्व्वक्षत्रकिरीटधृष्ट चरणश्रीनन्दिवर्मा भवत् ॥— आदत्तप्रथित
- (6) बलौयुवैवराज्यं प्रोत्थवातस्फुरित कृपाणपाणिरेकः योहत्वासकलरिपून्वि
- (7) जित्य भूयस्सन्नप्रक्षितिपति मौलि प्रादपोठः ॥— धवळितककुभायदी कौर्या भुवनम
- (8) भूयस्कलं हतान्धकारं रवितुहिनकरौतु सार्थकौस्तः कुमुदसरोरुह दीग्विका[म]

II Plate, Page 2.

- (1) प्रबोध्य ॥— यस्यवल्लभकञ्जकेरळा पाण्डुचोऽनुकु गौगणादयः द्वारिवे
- (2) शसमयाभि काङ्क्षिणास्सेवितुन्निरवकाशामासने ॥— अत्यस्तस्यवरन्तपो गुण
- (3) निधिर्व्वीरोवरिष्ठ स्मताम्मान्योमानधनस्वकीर्त्ति विसरत्याप्ताखिलाशान्त(म्) विप्राणाम
- (4) ददादुपाय नितरां विज्ञाप्यसस्वामिने यस्मिन्मंगलराष्ट्र भर्तृभिहितः रव्यानाजग
- (5) त्वान्धवे ॥— मंगलजनपद भन्तुद्वयपलवन्तभ्रत्यस्य आधरणराजल
- (6) धेराचन्द्रदिवाकरं स्थेयात् ॥ कोलौचय चन्दिर्विक्किरमपनुमन्तु यान्छे अणुपत्
- (7) தென்றாவது மங்கலநாட்டான் வான் விண்ணப்பத்தால் ஆலப்பாக்க வினைய
நல்லுழாநூ
- (8) ணத்தியாத [சோழநாட்டுத்] தென்கரை ஆர்வலக்கூற்றத்து நாட்டார் காண்க
தங்கனாட்டு

III Plate, Page 1.

1. த்தணிக்கொற்றங்குடி வரையிற் சுற்று நாற்பதிறு வேலியள்ளும் பழம்பரமதேய
மிருபத்துநால்

2. வேலியும் நீக்கி நின்ற பதினறு வேலியுள்ளும் பாண்டி அயம்பத்தொன்றாவது மங்கல
3. நாடாள்வான் விண்ணப்பத்தார் உலப்பாக்க விசைய நல்லுமாணனத்தியாக பெருமா
4. னடிகளும் பிரமதேவமாக அருளிச்செய்த பரீருவேலியும் யாண்டு அறுபத்தொ
5. ன்றாவது மங்கல நாடாள்வான் விண்ணப்பத்தாலாவதாக விசைய நல்லுமா
6. னுணத்தியாக அருளிச்செய்த எல்லைவியும் உள்ளிட்டி பதினறுவேலியும் ஊர்க்கு
7. றுபுள்ளிவழியாற் மனைபும் மனைப்படப்பும் ஒழிவின்றிப் பிரமதேவமாகப்பணி

III Plate, Page 2.

1. த்தெமென்று நாட்டார்க்க விட்டதிருமுகத் நாட்டார் தொழுது தலைக்குளவத் தெல்ல
2. போய்க்கல்லுங் கண்ணிப் நாட்டிப்படாமை வலஞ்செய்து நாட்டார்விடுத்தஅறை
3. போலப்பட ஊர்க்குறு பள்ளிவழியாற் பதினறுவேலிக்கும் நின்றமனையும் மனைப்
4. படப்பும் குளமுக் கொட்டகாரமும் உவரியும் ஊர்பாழும் காடும் ஒடையும் நீர்ப்புகி
5. நெடும்பாம்பெரித்ததும் உடும்போடியாமை தவழ்தெவெல்லாம் கோவம் பொழிட
6. த்திரந்து குடிசீக்கி சாமாய் இரண்டு பட்டிப்படியாற் சவரிறார் பெற்ற ஊரே
7. ய ந்மாயிற்று இவ்வூர்பெற்றபரி கார் வட்டிநாழியும் புதாநாழியும் மன்றபாகம் ஊராட்சி

IV Plate, Page 1.

1. பும்தரகுங் கூலியும் சூழம் பூட்சியுமிடைம் பூட்சியும் நாடிகாவலும் ஊர்ப்பொக்கும்
2. உப்புக்கோச் செய்கையும் நல்லாவும் நல்லெருதுந் தெர்வாயமும் இவையுள்ளிட்ட
3. கோத்தொட்டிண்ணப்பால் வெல்லாம் எவ்வகைப்பட்டவும் உண்ணப்பெறுதா ராக(வு)ம்
4. பட்டத்தான் மங்கல மென்னும் பேராற் ஊரேய் மாகபெற்ற நல்கீர்கல்
5. ப்பார்ப்பார் மீ தமகோத்திரத்து இரைய கேசிகுத்திரத்து நெற்குன்றத்து நூ
6. மலித்த நாகுள மீது னும் ||— சரவ கரண்ணகோத்திரத்து ஹிரய கேசி குத்திரத்து மயிலா
7. ப்பிற் நத்தி எம்மீது னும் ||— கா தமகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்து சும்மங்க
8. வெண்ணயச்சடங்கவியும் ||— இ ராயிற் கோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்ப குத்திரத்து

IV Plate, Page 2.

1. அரீன எம்ம் த்திருவேதியும் ||— வாதூல மீது த்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்துதிருவேதி
2. [ரை] பொத்த எம்ம் னும் ||— மடலகோத்திரத்து ஹிரய கேசிகுத்திரத்து ஹூர் அச்சவி
3. ண்ணச்சடங்கவியும் ||— ஆத்திரைய கோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்து கொம்பறுத்
4. து குமார எம்ம் ச்சடங்கவியும் ||— இக்கோத்திரத்து இச்சுத்திரத்து உறுப்புட் டீர்காளி
5. மண்டைச்சடங்கவியும் ||— கப்பகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்து சிறுபுலு
6. கில்செந்த எம்ம் ச்சடங்கவியும் ||— கோதமகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்துவா

7. கிப்பறுத்து சடங்கவியாய எம்ம் மனும் ||— இக்கோத்திரத்து இச்சுத்திரத்து இவ் வூர்குமா
8. ர எம்ம் த்திருவேதியும் ||— கெளண்டின கோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்துவச்சிப்

V Plate, Page 1.

1. பறுத்து தேவடிக்கிரமவித்தனும் ||— கோதமகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திரத்துவ
2. ந்திப்பறுத்து பப்ப எம்ம் ச்சடங்கவியும் ||— வாதூலகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பகுத்திர
3. த்து காரம்பிச்செட்டு செந்த எம்ம் ன்பங்கரையம் ||— ஆத்திரைய கோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்
4. பகுத்திரத்து கொம்பறுத்து செந்த எம்ம் ன்பங்கரையம் ||— ஓவர்கிதன் அல் னாற்று
5. வனும் ||— இவ்வெழுத்து வெட்டிணன் கச்சிப்பேட்டைம் பனைச்சேரி விடேன் விடுகு
6. பல்லவப் பெருந்தச்சன் மகன் சா உ ரித யென் ||—.

[Note.—It is a known fact that in those times there was no distinction between long and short எ and ஒ.]

THE JESUIT INFLUENCE IN THE COURT OF VIJAYANAGAR.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., A.M.,

Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Introduction.

THE Rev. Arthur R. Slater, in a paper read before the Mythic Society of Bangalore and published in the *Journal* in July 1918, said : "In the time of Vijayanagar kingdom, a considerable number of Jesuit Fathers resided in the city, and appear to have obtained great privileges from the ruling kings. How far they influenced State matters we have little data to bring forward, but on the great House of Victory, a cross has been super-imposed on the Hindu carving on the walls. It has been suggested that this is an evidence of their influence in the kingdom." (1) I shall publish in this paper some unknown extracts of Jesuit letters which will confirm the above quoted statement, and will bring out some facts not yet recorded. I have found them in three of the volumes yearly edited either in Portugal or in Spain containing letters and narratives from the Eastern Missions of the Society of Jesus. The copy of these rare volumes I have worked through belongs to the *Goethals Indian Library*, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. (2)

From the dates of these letters, all written after 1600, anybody may see at once that they do not deal with the flourishing times of Vijayanagar kingdom, that ended with the battle of Talikota, in 1565; but with the third dynasty, whose capital was either Pēnukōṇḍa or Chandragiri. As a matter of fact the modern historians of South India lacking in resources and materials for the history of this third dynasty, lessen its importance, so much so that even Sewell after having related the consequences of the battle of Talikota, and the murder of Sadasiva, the last Raja of the second dynasty, adds : "And thus began the third dynasty, if dynasty it can be appropriately called." (3) The known grants of several of the monarchs of this dynasty suggest something more than a nominal dignity, and the contemporary European missionaries—who are better eye-witnesses than the travellers, because of their permanent stay in the country—do otherwise describe the kingdom of Vijayanagar after the Talikota disaster. An anonymous Jesuit who wrote in Goa a life of St. Francis Xavier, in 1583—then, the one contemporary of that famous sainted missionary—describes the state of the kingdom, which he had travelled through, as follows :

(1) *The Q. J. of the Myt. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 307-308.

(2) This library, one of the best on Indian subjects, was started by the late Archbishop of Calcutta, Mgr. P. Goethals, S.J.

(3) Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (Vijayanagar), Ch. XV, p. 213 (London, 1900). The italics are mine.

"This town (San Thomé or Mylapore) is in the kingdom of Bisnaga, called otherwise Narsinga (4), which some years back was one of the largest, most powerful and richest kingdoms of the whole East; because its Sovereign ruled over numberless people and could raise an army either of one million or one million and a half soldiers, so much so that all the kings and princes who were his neighbours were also subjected to him; he enjoyed a very large revenue and there was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry since he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they come from both Arabia and Persia. But eighteen years ago his power was decaying on account of different circumstances; because kingly offspring being wanted, a succession war burst out and many principal chiefs arose in arms against that who ruled at this time and, in the course of the war, plundered and destroyed the city of Bisnaga, which was the royal city, and capital of the whole of the kingdom, so populous, rich and well-fitted that there were within its enclosure about a thousand temples, they say. The ruins that remain still show evidently that it was one of the wonders of the East. But in spite of that the Sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army." (5)

I.—The Jesuits at Chandragiri.

Chandragiri, in the North Arcot district, Madras Presidency, had become the capital of the Vijayanagar empire in 1592. The letter an extract from which I publish here, was written six or seven years later, since all the letters edited in its volume were dated either in 1600 or in 1601. (6) It runs as follows :

"On the Mission in the Kingdom of Bisnaga and the Residence of Chandegiri. (7)

"In this kingdom and residence there are two Fathers and a Lay Brother (8) : they have a house and a church in the very royal city of Chandegri wherein the court

(4) It is very well known that Bisnaga was the Portuguese name for Vijayanagar. For 'Narsinga', Cf. n. 40.

(5) *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*. Monumenta Xaveriana ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta, Tomus I, pp. 61-62 (Matriti. 1899-1900).

(6) *Relacion Anual De Las Cosas Que Han Aecho Los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus en la India Oriental y Japon en los años de 600. y 601. y del progreso de la conversion y Christianidad de aquellas partes. Sacada de las Cartas Generales que han venido de aila, por el padre Fernan Guerrero de la Compañia de JESUS, natural de Almodouar de Portugal. Traduzida de Portugues en Castellano por el Padre Antonio Colaco, Procurador general de la Prouincia de Portugal, India, Japon, Brasil, de la misma Compañia. Año 1604. Con Privilegio. En Valladolid, Por Luys Sanchez.* The translated extracts may be found in the pp. 131-138.

(7) This is the heading of the chapter which contains the following letter. Chandegri, of course, is a corruption of Chandragiri.

(8) Those two Fathers and this Lay Brother were not scattered in different places, but the three were in the residence at the capital. Their names are not given but I suspect that one of them was Fr. Melchior Coutinho, whom we will find six years later in the court of the same king, of whom he was an intimate friend.

resides; the king treats them benevolently and bestows favours upon them and does it more and more every day.(9) He had given them for their maintenance

(9) The king the letter speaks of is the same mentioned in the third letter I shall extract in this paper, viz., *Vencatapati*, whose full honorific name is given in the inscriptions of his time as follows: Virapratapa Vira-Veṅkaṭa-Patirayaḍēva-Mahārāja. Cfr. V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1918), Vol. II, p. 973, ins. 585; p. 988, ins. 327. Barradas calls him Vencattapati Rayalu; cfr. Sewell, o.c. ch. XVII, p. 222. But he is more commonly known by his shortened name Veṅkaṭa I. He was the third king of the third dynasty, his father Tirumala being the first and his eldest brother Ranga II the second; Tirumala had been one of the most prominent officers of the last puppet king of the second dynasty, but his descendants boasted a divine pedigree which begins with the Moon, as it can be seen in the copper plates of Kūniyūr published by H. Krishna Sastri in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 236-258, or in the Koṇḍyāta grant of Veṅkaṭa II revised by E. Hultzsch in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 125-132. During the reign of his brother Ranga II, Veṅkaṭa was residing in Chandragiri, as his Viceroy, the relations between both brothers being excellent; a damaged inscription of Ranga II on a slab near the Perumālkoṭṭil tank in the Chingleput District records a gift of land at Kuṇṭattūr to a temple for the merit of the king's brother Veṅkaṭapatidēva-Mahārāja, i.e., Veṅkaṭa I. Cfr. V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 408, ins. 767. After the demise of Ranga (1585-86) Veṅkaṭa became the only ruler of Vijayanagar, his capital being Pēnukoṇḍa; an inscription on a slab of the Narsimhaswami temple, in Kurnool District, mentions Veṅkaṭa I as ruling in Pēnukoṇḍa; and two other inscriptions of an ancient temple at Triplicane, Madras District, refer to the king as seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Peruṅkoṇḍa. Cfr. Rangacharya, o.c., Vol. II, p. 973, ins. 585; p. 988, ins. 327 and 328. When was the capital transferred to Chandragiri? Mr. R. F. Chisholm in a note to his paper on 'The Old Palace of Chandragiri,' published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 295, says that Veṅkaṭa retired to Chandragiri in 1592, and I wonder whether the occasion of this change of capital was due to the approaching army of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, because Ferishta records that "on his approach, Venkatadry, committing the place to the care of one of his nobles, retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chundurgeery." Ferishta, Briggs, Vol. III, p. 141. We know several grants and inscriptions of Veṅkaṭa I, the former being recorded in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 269-278; *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 371, and Rangacharya, o.c., Vol. I, p. 112, ins. 663-A; and the latter ones in Rangacharya, o.c., Vol. I, p. 85, ins. 409; p. 117, ins. 693; p. 145, ins. 138, 139 and 141; p. 401, ins. 710; p. 410, ins. 785; p. 429, ins. 937; and Vol. II, p. 218, ins. 104; p. 973, ins. 585; p. 980, ins. 327 and 328, p. 1135, ins. 625, etc. The Viṣṇupāka grant of this Monarch issued in 1601 (when the letter in question was written) gives him the titles of 'lord of the Āravāṭi' and 'lord of the town of Kalyāṇa'; Cfr. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, p. 126. And in the Villappākkam copper plates, published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 371, by Mr. A. C. Burnell, he claims to rule the whole of India from the Himalayas to Setu; this is nothing but an empty boast, as well as when he declares in these same plates that he was 'praised by the kings of the Kāmbhojas, Bhōjas, Kāṭiṅgas, Karahātas, etc., who were his doorkeepers' and that he was 'honoured by the Āraṭṭas and the Magadhas'. In the same grant it is said that he defeated the Yavanas, viz., the Mahomedans, fact recorded also by Ferishta in the above mentioned passage; but according to him this defeat was due not to the strength of Veṅkaṭa's army, but to the bribery of this king: 'The king (of Bijapur) surrounded the city (of Pēnukoṇḍa), blocking it up closely for three months; at the end of which time the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provisions, when Venkatadry bribed Hundiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies, with twenty-four lakhs of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King and harass his camp: which he did so effectually, that Ali Adil Shah was compelled to raise the siege". L. c. Really the reign of Veṅkaṭa I was not unsuccessful; one of his successors, Veṅkaṭa II, summarizes its history in the Kūniyūr plates, with the following words: 'After, the wise glorious Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāja ruled

an income upon some villages and lands; but it was never settled, because of the chief Governor (10) and some grandees of that court who claimed that the revenue of the villages belonged to them. Hence the king as a sign of his love for the Fathers gave them yearly a thousand pagodes (11) out from the tribute paid by one of the Nāiks who are his subjects (12), until some lands were free, from which the maintenance of the Fathers will unobjectionably be taken. He issued the necessary orders to collect this rent, and one of Ours (13) went to Congeuarā (14) to talk and show these decrees to the *Pole* (15), through whom such a rent had to be received. He was entertained and honoured by this *Pole*, who gave him great signs of his love, as any of those great friends of the Society would have done in Europe. When he was aware of the coming of the Father, he used to send him every day a messenger with congratulatory letters, that were, he said, like daily salves for cheering and regaling him. He promised to pay diligently the first part of the rent on the following January, and as a matter of fact he gave us already five hundred *ducados* . . . (16)

"And it was a striking case that it happened to the chief Governor of the Kingdom who so earnestly opposed the alms ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church; because he being accused before the king of having robbed the royal rents and treasure, was ashamedly deprived of his function and dignity. And having been requested by the King for one of his rings that had cost fifty thousand pagodes, he denied and swore on his parents he had never taken it; but he was declared guilty of theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand pagodes by many witnesses; so he is now imprisoned. The new Governor, his successor, is a very good friend to the Fathers. The Crown Prince very much urges the building of a church for the

the earth, illuminating the ten regions with fame." *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 252. He was not a young man at the time when this letter was written; he having died in 1616 at the age of 67, according to Barradas, was then 52 years old.

(10) The Spanish original calls this officer *Regidor mayor*, at this point, but soon afterwards calls his successor *Governador*.

(11) Gold currency of the South, which was used in Madras up till the middle of the 19th century.

(12) Such were for instance the Nāik of Madura and the Nāik of Tanjore. For the relations between Veṅkaṭa and the Nāiks of Madura, who were then the two brothers Visvanātha II and Kumāra Krishṇappa II, cfr. V. Rangachari, *The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV, pp. 92 and 100-103.

(13) Viz., one of the three Jesuits who were in Chandragiri, probably one of the Fathers.

(14) Conjeveram of Kanchi-varam, the old capital of the Chola rulers in the 7th century of the present Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency.

(15) This name must be a corrupted form of the Tamil word *ṭṭaṭṭen*, 'pillai' or 'pillei', which is sometimes pronounced by uneducated people 'pulle'. It means an honourable man. I am indebted of these notes to Fr. J. F. Cajus, S.J., who knows the languages of the South very well.

(16) Instead of *Pagodes*. *Ducados* is a golden Spanish currency.

Christians on his estate (17), and as soon as there will be Fathers his desire will be satisfied." (18)

II.—The Jesuits in the Fort of Vellore.

The letter I am going to extract in this chapter was written six years after, in 1606 or 1607, (19) probably by Fr. Melchior Coutinho, since the man who wrote it appears to be an eye-witness of the events narrated. It deals with the Fathers living in the fort of Vellore in North Arcot. Here it is:

"The Residences of Chandegri and Velure are depending on this College (20); Chandegri is a Royal City, head of this great Empire of Bisnaga (as we have said other times), although the king is not residing there at present, but in a fortress called Velur, as we will see further on (21): there are two Fathers and two Lay-Brothers in these two residences (22). The fruit of conversion is still very short, but there is a great hope that we shall attain it with patience. The principal impediment is the superstition of these Gentiles who think that becoming

(17) The name always given to the Crown Prince in the Vijayanagar kingdom was 'Chica Raya', which means in Kanarese 'little' or 'young' Raya. The boy who was honoured with this name at the time when this letter was written was perhaps the young man "commonly held to be his son, but who in reality was not so"; because, according to Barradas, as soon as he was born Veñkata gave him the title of Chica Raya. But he being kept always shut up in the palace of Chandragiri, as the same Barradas says, how could he ask for a Church for the Christians of his estate? From the letter I shall extract in the following chapter, we know that this so-called son of Veñkata was confined at Chandragiri when his father was residing at Vellore, and if he resided over there until his death, the unfortunate boy remained in his confinement at Chandragiri until the time of Barradas. But I suspect that he was not in Chandragiri when the king was living here, because the constant policy of his putative father, as it can be seen in Barradas, was to keep him separated from his royal person, as if he mistrusted the spurious origin of the boy. This explains why the boy wanted some Jesuits near him. That the Crown Prince the letter speaks of was this putative son of Veñkata is proved because no successor was ever appointed until the hour of his death, as Barradas narrates. Moreover the second extract will show, that this very putative son of Veñkata wanted to have some Fathers in his confinement six years later: no doubt can exist on the identification of these two persons.

(18) The rest of the Chapter XVII, which contains this account, will only be of interest for the history of the Catholic Missions in India.

(19) *Relacam Annal Das Corsas Que Fezeram Os Padres Da Companhia De JESUS Nas Partes Da India Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606 & 607. & do processo de conversao, & Christandade daquellas partes. Tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que da la vierao: Pelo padre Fernao Guerreiro da Companhia de JESU, natural de Almodouar de Portugal... Em Lisboa. Impresso co licenca: Por Pedro Crasbeeck Anno M. DCIX.* The extract whose translation I publish is found in the pp. 105-107.

(20) *Vis.*, the College of San Thomé.

(21) From the above said words, it seems, we know that Veñkata was permanently living in the fort of Vellore, at this time, and perhaps he lived over there until his death; nevertheless the capital of the Empire was Chandragiri. This stay of Veñkata I at Vellore has never been recorded in any author.

(22) *Vis.*, a Father and a Lay Brother in each of these two residences: the former were Fr. Melchior Coutinho in Vellore, and Fr. Anthony Dubino in Chandragiri. The Brothers' names are not given.

Christians they make themselves of low caste of the French and Portuguese, because as far as the law is concerned, they confess that it is true and holy and that every thing which they are told by their learned people (23) and by the Brahmins is lies and nonsense. Fr. Melchior Coutinho resides always in the fortress of Velur, in the court with the King, who enjoys his friendship very much, and the king honours him a great deal and particularly it was a sign of his great love for him to give him lodging in the first enclosure of the fortress, wherein nobody is allowed to live but either his relatives and counsellors or the chief Brahmins: many people asked the King for this place, but he refused all and gave it to the Fathers, in spite of the Brahmins who were contradicting a good deal: the Father built his house and church here, crowning it over its gate with a very beautiful cross, that is threatening all this heathenism: the very few Christians converted and some few who go from San Thome for business sake are carefully cultivated. The Father often spoke with the King on the things of his salvation and principally he took opportunity from several paintings he went to show him and specially one of St. George Martyr, on horseback, spearing a dragon, with a heading in tongue badaga in the very painting, that related a summary of his history and mentioned how the king and the whole of his household became converted (24). The King was very satisfied and spoke on the painting a great deal and knows by heart the whole of the Christian doctrine, but he is not yet worthy of receiving from God such a good as it is to be fully lighted with the splendour of faith.

"An Italian Lay-Brother who was a fine painter was sent to this residence and the King appreciated his coming very much, since he knew he had been sent by Rev. Fr. General from such a long distance only to give pleasure to him; and since he is so fond of paintings, he received this Brother with great benevolence and asked him at once whether he had then a good one to show him. The Brother had no other else but the portraits of our Rev. Fr. Ignatius and of Rev. Fr. Francis Xavier: he showed them to him and the King was astonished and could not persuade himself that the Brother had painted

(23) We know several of the wise men who flourished during Veñkata's reign: such were for instance, Chidambaram Gurunamasivāyamūrti, author of the *Arunagi riandādi*, and his disciple Ananda Namaśivāya Paṇḍāram, author of the *Paramarahasiāmālai*, *Chidambara Veṇba*, *Annāmālai Veṇba* and some other works (Cfr. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 105, ins. 614 and p. 140, ins. 141); Appaiya Dikshita, author of more than 100 works: in the colophon of one of them, the *Kuvalayānanda*, he mentions Veñkata I by whom he was patronized; his works deal specially with grammar and philosophy (Cfr. o.c., p. 47, ns. 151); Bhaṭṭakāṇka who wrote the grammatical work *Śabdānuśāsana* (Cfr. *The Q. J. of the M. S.*, Vol. X, p. 256); and the poets Tenāli Rāmakrishṇakavi, the most famous, Chinna Rāṇapakavi, Tarigoppula-Mallana and Maṭṭa Ananta. "The literary activity which was displayed during the reign of Veñkata was an extraordinary one", says Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty; its Viceroys and Ministers*, in *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 183.

(24) As is very well known, *Badagas*, or *Badugas*, as it was originally, means 'northerners' or men who come from the north; such were the Kanarese people who invaded the south; hence *Badaga* language sounds like Kanarese language.

them; hence he asked him to paint the full body in a big panel: the Brother did it and he painted a portrait of the rest of the Rev. Fr. Ignatius in an hour and a half, and the King became surprised on seeing it, and going towards his lodging sent him according to his custom a *pachavelham*, which is a golden cloth costing twenty *cruzados* (25); afterwards he painted the portraits in the King's presence, little by little, where the Father took the opportunity to tell him the wonders and heroic deeds of these holy men. He painted also a panel of the Bl. Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus and with the child the Baptist to satisfy the desire of the same King. The panel was very well made and the King ordered it to be hung in a prominent place in the room of his assemblies, opposite his royal throne, although several Brahmins disliked it very much and procured as much as they could that the King might order to take it away. The Brother showed him some books of pictures specially those of Father Nadal, which he looked at, one after the other, asking their subject, and being very much pleased with the answer and with the mysteries of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ which were declared to him on this occasion (26). It is very edifying for him that the Brother does not receive the money he offers, and he causes the door of the palace to be opened at once to the Brother at any time he comes to talk with him. He has a great opinion of the Fathers and often praises them publicly before his courtiers, and particularly he did it once before their high priest at whose feet the same King prostrates himself and whose revenue yearly surpasses two hundred thousand *cruzados* (27); and because the King praised the Fathers as religious and chaste people, the priest answered: 'If this is true, how do they eat meat?' And the King answered: 'Although they eat meat, nevertheless they have no wives', and he emphasized it to him on account of the bad reputation he has among the people, professing himself chaste.

(25) Instead of *ducados* or *pagodes*: common Spanish currency.

(26) I have already related the history of these pictures of Fr. Jerome Nadal S.J., in my Spanish work *La Dinastía Manchú en China. Historia de la Última Dinastía Imperial y en particular de sus relaciones con el Cristianismo y la Civilización Europea*, Vol. I, c. XX, pp. 412-414. The aforesaid Fr. Nadal, a Spaniard, one of the pioneer Fathers of the Society of Jesus, ordered a set of pictures representing scenes of the life of our Lord from several Flemish painters, in 1567, at the request of Saint Francis Borgia, third General of the Society, to illustrate the latter's book of meditations on the doctrine and deeds of Jesus Christ. These pictures have been reproduced many times and in different countries: Fr. Julio Aleni, S.J. published them in Peking in 1635, with a Chinese text of the life of Christ. This work has been edited nine times: I have seen a copy of the last edition (Tu-se-we, 1887) in the Archbishop's Library, Wodehouse Road, Fort, Bombay.

(27) I suppose that this high priest, 'summo sacerdote', was Kēṭikanyādānam Tātā chārya, a learned Brahmin of Eṭṭūr who had been preceptor of the King and crowned him. He is mentioned in two Tamil inscriptions of the Chingleput District; cfr. Rangacharya, o.c., Vol. I, p. 429, ins. 937 and 938; and in the Dalavāi agrakāram plates of Veṅkaṭa I; o.c., Vol. II, p. 1000, ins. 80. The latter inscription shows that he was supervising several Vaishnava temples, and some other inscriptions of Cangiveram record that he was in charge of the temples there. He was the head of Tātāchārya family and became the supreme doctor of the Vaishnavism in the South.

"Father Anthony Dubino, who resides at Chandegri, going to the fortress of Velur to pay a visit (to the King) brought him as a present a nice map with Badaga inscriptions and at its bottom there was a description of the principal kingdoms and of the four elements and eleven skies, and the King very much enjoyed seeing and reading all these things. (28)

"According to the esteem of the King for the Fathers they are also esteemed by the chief officers of his court, who go sometimes to our house and church, principally on feast days when they put in it some framework ornamentation.

"The Fathers have intercourse by letters and gifts with the Prince who supplicated incessantly that a Father might be sent to his own court, but since the King does not like it, it seems, the fulfilment of his desire is postponed, and they keep him in expectation with kind words and hopes." (29)

III.—The Jesuits mentioned in an International Document.

This is certainly the most interesting piece of news I have come across in this old volume, concerning the Jesuits in the court of Vijayanagar. The following account was written either in 1607 or 1608, one or two years after the preceding letter. (30) It starts this way:

"There are eight (Jesuits) in the College of San Thome, and two or three reside in the court of the King of Bisnaga, who treats them until now as benevolently and frankly as ever, favouring them as much as a Christian King can do. It may be partly deduced from a letter he wrote to His Majesty (31) this year; it runs as follows:

'In the year Iauaxara, in the March Moon.'

(28) The nationality of Fr. Dubino, whose name sounds like an Italian one, gives reason to wonder whether this missionary had been a pupil of the famous mathematician and astronomer Fr. Christoforo Clavio, S.J., who had taught these sciences many years in Rome. Some years before another of his pupils, Fr. Matteo Ricci, S.J., had astonished the mandarins of Peking with some maps drawn by himself according to the rules of his master. Cfr. Heras, *La Dinastía Manchú en China*, Vol. I, c. XXII, p. 436.

(29) Cfr. n. (17). This news agrees perfectly with the account of Barradas, who after having related the doubtful origin of the putative son of Veṅkaṭa, says: "He (the King) never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the palace at Chandegri, nor ever allowed him to go out of it, without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company of the Queen." Sewell, o.c. p. 223. Nevertheless, at this time he was not confined in Chandragiri palace, since there were two Jesuits in the town.

(30) *Historia y Anal. Relacion De las cosas que hizieron los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, por las partes de Oriente y otras, en la propagacion del Santo Evangelio, Los años passados de 607. y 608. Sacada, limada, y compuesta de Portugues en Castellano por el Doctor Christoval Svarco De Figueroa.... En Madrid, MDCXIII. En la Imprenta Real.* The account translated into English is found in the pages 113-115.

(31) This King was Philip III of Spain, whose Father, Philip II, as well known, since 1580, on the occasion of the death of the old King Cardinal Dom Henrique, became also King of Portugal under the name of Philip I. The above published letter was addressed to him as King of Portugal.

'Letter of the King of the Kings (32), Great Lord, Great Knight, King Vencatapati, very great King, to the most powerful Lord of the sea and of the land, Don Felipe, King of Portugal, etc.

'I received Your Majesty's letter and I enjoyed its reading very much. Your Majesty spoke of two things in it: the first was on the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are living in my Court, and how glad Your Majesty was on hearing how I was myself honouring and entertaining them. The second was on Your Majesty's Viceroy at Goa, viz. that Your Majesty had already written to him, ordering him to help me when the good of my kingdom should require it (33), I became very glad on knowing both things, because as far as the Fathers are concerned, they, in these eleven years they have spent in my court (34), have always been good, religious, very chaste, prudent learned people and preachers of their own law: and I shall treat them in the same way as Your Majesty desires and they are worthy of. As regards the Viceroy, I am always ready to help him with the whole of my army and power, when necessary, against our old common enemies the Moors (35).

'I learned how the Dutch, rebel subjects of Your Majesty (36) came to Girola (37) to talk with the Nayque (38), and they requested from him the harbour of Tauana Patan (39) in which they were already building a fortress. I sent at once a messenger of mine with some letters for the Nayque: and afterwards Fr. Nicolas

(32) The Spanish original says: 'Carta del Rey de los Rayos', Verbatim, 'Letter of the King of the thunderbolts'. I suppose *Rayos* is a printing lapsus, instead of *Reyes*. In this supposition I have translated 'Letter of the King of the Kings'.

(33) From 1605 to 1607 the Viceroy of Goa was Martim Afonso de Castro, who was succeeded as Governor by the Archbishop of Goa, Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes.

(34) We can deduce from this that the Jesuits were established in the Court of Chandragiri since 1595. Were they residing in the old town of Vijayanagar before the battle of Talikota? I cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question; I only say that it seems probable and the Rev. Slater in the above quoted words supposes it, while speaking of the cross in the great House of Victory.

(35) Viz. The Mahomedans, who were always called Moors by Spaniards and Portuguese, since the Mahomedans who invaded Spain were really Moors.

(36) The United Netherlands had already declared their independence from Spain in 1579, but it was not recognized until 1609. By the peace of Westfalia, in 1648, the independence of the seven United Provinces was formally conceded.

(37) Girola does not sound like an Indian name of the South: it must be corrupted passing throughout the original Portuguese and the Spanish translation. I suspect it must be Jengi in the South Arcot District, Madras Presidency, whose famous rock-fortress is still showing its old grandeur. The Governor of this fortress was at this time Varadappa Nâik (1580-1620), whose suspicious policy of obedience and expediency fully agrees with the above-mentioned events. Cfr. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV, p. 92.

(38) The Governor or Viceroy of the Emperor of Vijayanagar. Cfr. nr. (12) and (13).

(39) I could not identify this Patan with any port in the surroundings of Mylapore, wherein it must be, it seems, as we conclude not only from the fact that the Rector of the College of San Thome was sent there, but also from the following description of the neighbourhood given in the same letter further on: "the port is very convenient, the town large and the population very numerous scattered in the other ports and villages of that bay, for instance Paliacate, Arimagan, Seven Pagodes which are quite important ports", p. 115.

Levanto, Rector of the College at San Thome of the Society of Jesus, to my request went over there taking other letters of mine on the same subject. And I caused that the Nayque might forbid a fortress to be built by them, and might send them back out of his possessions, because since they are rebels against Your Majesty, they are also so to my person.

"The old friendship which existed between the Kings my antecessors and the Kings of Portugal, from the time of Narsinga (40), must continue at present between Your Majesty and myself, and I beg Your Majesty to write me at once whenever necessary.

'From my Kingdom

'Ventacaja, King.'

"What the King points out about the Dutch fortress he caused to be overcome is more carefully recorded in another letter of the same Fathers, viz. that Fr. Rector, empowered with the King's dispatches containing what is above said by the same king, went to the Nayque, a subject of his, although a little reluctant; and since the Nayque was retarding and dissimulating, the King suspected the cause of that delay and wrote again by his own hand to him, ordering him to do at once what was commanded in his first letter, expelling from that place those enemies of the Portuguese, the latter being very much better friends than the new guests. The Nayque did so, and sent at once some messages to the Bishop, to the Captain and to the town of San Thome, through his ambassadors for starting pourparlers on the surrender and frequentation of the port. Everything was rightly done, and a Captain with some soldiers was sent at once to guard the fortress. A Jesuit went with them, and another was sent there afterwards. . . (41).

(40) Narsinga was the first king of the second Dynasty of Vijayanagar, (1490-1509) 'Thenceforward', says Nuniz in his chronicle, 'this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsymga.' Cfr. Sewell, o.c., p. 307; and n. (4).

(41) I suppose that this conduct of the Jesuits does not give foundation for the following crude recriminations we read in *The History of the Nâik Kingdom of Madura*, by V. Rangachari, M.A., L.T., Madras, published in *The Indian Antiquary*: "More than these, the Jesuits and priests, whom they encouraged at their own expense, became enemies more deadly (to the Portuguese) than the Dutch themselves. They assume a tone of arrogance in their conduct and made bold to defy the Viceroy himself. They retained bands of men at their own expense in total disobedience to the Government. They interfered in politics and in trade, and made themselves absolute masters of the pearl fisheries of Travancore and the Indian coast. They actually waged war against His Majesty's captains on the seas. They obtained, by underhand means, a general charge over the several fortresses of the north and refused to render any account of the expenditure. They purchased lands and received legacies without permission. Above all they held secret communications with the Dutch and even with the Muhammadans. Deriving every support from the Government, they thus proved ungrateful intriguers against its authority. The Government did indeed prohibit them in 1635 from purchasing land and receiving legacies without sanction, and from interference with pearl fisheries, on pain of the loss of the care of the Christians. But the large allowances they had been drawing and the large private property they had accumulated, made them indifferent to these threats. Financially the dependents of the State, they were actually richer than the State, which, on account of its poverty, could not even pay the soldiers and therefore drove them to be monks. The life of the monk in fact became the coveted life of the day. Hundreds of people who came every year from Portugal

"The Father who was in the Residence of Bisnaga baptized an old noble man on the day of the Assumption of our Lady; he was one of the servants of the King, eighty years old, and had not worshipped any idol for the last forty years but only the one true God whom he did not know, but the Father taught him, as St. Paul did with the Athenians, how to know Him; and the happy old man was very glad and his conduct in the new faith was so edifying, that, although he came at the eleventh hour, he made up for the time lost by merit and received the last denarius." (42)

I hope that these will not be the last materials found out among the writings of the old Jesuits to complete the history of the great Empire of Vijayanagar, so fortunately begun by Mr. Robert Sewell. I am very much pleased in having contributed to it with the publication of these three extracts. The last one particularly is of an exceptional importance, since it shows the international intercourse between Venkaja I, Philip III and the Dutch.

in the King's service, gave up their original object and embraced the easy and alluring occupation of monk. It is no wonder that the ecclesiastical men in Goa were far out of proportion to official laymen, that they outnumbered the soldiers and civilians put together. An Empire assailed by such gross evils could not but undergo irrevocable dismemberment and decadence, and within the next 20 years it was destined to collapse."—*The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV, p. 181. It is very striking to come across now-a-days—because the above quoted paragraph was published in 1916—such terrible accusations without the mention of any source or historic document to prove these statements. I regret very much to say that this is not the way to write history in modern times, although it was so in other uncritical ages. But we read a little further on: "They (the Portuguese) entered into a quarrel with Tirumal Nâik, at Tuticorin. The cause of the quarrel was Jesuit perfidy. More worldly than the most worldly laymen, these Jesuits had made themselves the practical lords of Tuticorin and its trade, and with the support of an army formed by themselves, they defied their Portuguese benefactors, intrigued with Tirumal Nâik and instigated him to seize a Portuguese agent who had been sent to purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants." Fortunately in this point Mr. Rangachari adds this footnote: "Danvers, II, 250", which was a revelation to me; really in the Vol. II of *The Portuguese in India*, by Frederick Charles Danvers, we find the news of the seizing of that Portuguese agent by the Nâik of Madura, at the instance of the latter; but what is Danvers' authority in this matter, he himself not giving any source of information? The authority of a protestant who either fairly or unfairly takes any occasion to insult the Catholic Religion and her priests and religious orders. This was allowed to the protestant authors of the last century, but the protestant true historians of now-a-days refuse to inlay their works with such fables and legends. And I wonder whether Mr. Rangachari picked up the other unnoted accusations from some other sectarian author, perhaps even from the very introduction of the work of Danvers, p. XXXVII. I do not proclaim *a priori* that the Jesuits are faultless, being themselves men as the rest of mankind, but to accuse anybody without proofs is not a fair way of writing history.

(42) The writer alludes to two passages of the Holy Bible; cfr. Act XVII, 23 and Math. XX, 1-16.

NOTES.

How the Fly Got its Name.

THE following nursery droll is well-known in the Southern Tamil districts; and, perhaps, it will interest lovers of folk-lore among the readers of the Journal in other places.

In the days when the world was young, the fly, desiring to know its name, went to a calf, and asked:

"O sleek and tender Calf!

What is my name?"

The calf replied: "I do not know: ask the cow, my mother." The fly then went to the cow, and asked:

"O Cow!

Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,

What is my name?"

The cow answered: "I do not know: ask the cowherd who tends me." The fly thereupon went to the cowherd, and said:

"O Cowherd!

Who tends the Cow,

Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,

What is my name?"

He replied: "I do not know: ask the stick in my hand." The fly then asked the stick:

"O Stick!

That is in the hand of the Cowherd,

Who tends the Cow,

Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,

What is my name?"

The stick replied: "I do not know: ask the flagstaff which is bigger than I." The fly then flew to the flagstaff and asked:

"O Flagstaff!

Which is bigger than the Stick,

That is in the hand of the Cowherd,

Who tends the Cow,

Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,

What is my name?"

The flagstaff said: "I do not know: ask the crane that perches on me." The fly went to the crane, and inquired:

"O Crane!

That perches on the Flagstaff,

Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf
What is my name?"

The crane answered: "I do not know; ask the pond where I swim." The fly flew to the pond, and asked:

"O Pond!

Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The pond said: "I do not know; ask the fish that live in my bed." The fly then asked the fish:

"O Fish!

That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The fish replied: "We do not know; ask the fisherman who sets nets for us." The fly at once went to the fisherman, and asked:

"O Fisherman!

Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The fisherman answered: "I do not know; ask the pot in my hand." The fly questioned the pot:

"O Pot!

That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,

That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The pot replied: "I do not know; ask the Earth of which I am made." The fly then asked the Earth:

"O Earth!

Of which is made the Pot,
That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The Earth said: "I do not know; ask the grass that grows on my surface." The fly then asked the grass:

"O Grass!

That grows on the surface of the Earth,
Of which is made the Pot,
That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The grass answered: "I do not know; ask the horse that feeds on me." The fly then flew to the horse, and inquired:

"O Horse!

That feeds on the Grass,
That grows on the surface of the Earth,
Of which is made the Pot,

That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
 Who sets nets for the Fish,
 That live in the bed of the Pond,
 Where swims the Crane,
 That perches on the Flagstaff,
 Which is bigger than the Stick,
 That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
 Who tends the Cow,
 Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
 What is my name?"

The horse replied: *Hi-i-i-i-i*; hearing which the fly exclaimed in joy: "So, that is my name!" Since then the fly has borne the name of *i* in the Tamil land.

K. G. SESA AIYAR.

Indian Characters in English Fiction.

THE interest of this subject is to be attributed to the growth of the British empire in India. More than the political events, the features of the social contact between Indians and Europeans are of human interest to us. The only references to India by English writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries are to her wealth, splendour and gorgeousness. The trial of Warren Hastings at the end of the eighteenth century served no doubt to rivet English attention on Indian affairs a great deal.

It is worth noting here that the English novel as a form of literature assumed a distinct form only in the eighteenth century and it reached its fully evolved stage of perfection only towards the end of that century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. With this growing perfection of the English novel synchronises the growing interest evinced by English writers for India. It is almost an extraordinarily fortunate circumstance that Sir Walter Scott, who is regarded as the father of the nineteenth century novel, had numerous ties of kinship with India. His marriage with Miss Carpentier was decided almost on the assurance that the lady's brother, who was Collector of Salem would render financial assistance to him in any emergency. Scott's collaborator in the 'Minstrelsy of the Scotch Border,' John Leyden, sailed to Madras at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was to die in the East Indies later. Bishop Heber whom Scott saw at Oxford in 1803, sitting over his Newdigate Prize poem 'Palestine' sailed for India in 1823, never to return. Scott's eldest son, an officer in the Hussars was for some time stationed at Bangalore before he left for home on account of ill-health and died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1838. But a relation of Scott's through his grandmother, who suggested a distinct story for a novel was Haliburton, Persian translator, and member of the Board of Revenue at Madras

Haliburton came into conflict with the Brahmin dubash of the Governor of Madras, Avadhanam Paupiah who took revenge on Haliburton by getting him transferred to the feverish frontier of Chandragiri. Paupiah enjoyed the full confidence of the Madras Governor Holland and exercised an undue influence over him. When however Holland ceased to be Governor, Haliburton brought Paupiah to trial at the Sessions for conspiracy and had him convicted. It was in 1825 that Haliburton published an account of that trial to warn British officers in India against wily dubashes. Sir Walter Scott introduced Paupiah directly into his "Surgeon's Daughter" published in 1827 and referred to his practice of transferring inconvenient officials at Madras to moffussil stations. 'Paupiah' is a type of Indian character which was found to make a striking impression on British officials in India. The other day, the story was published that Governor Collet who was in Madras more than 200 years ago, was so attached to his dubash that he built him a temple in Madras, in which he might worship God without being obliged to go to Conjeevaram constantly as he used to. Though we are excluding here a consideration of the numerous works of "Anglo-Indian Fiction", reference may be made here to 'Brijmohun Bonnerjee' in the "Baboo" a novel attributed to Prinsep. Bonnerjee served to bring about the financial ruin of a British officer, tried to kidnap the Mussalman wife of a British officer and ruined their married life and also attempted to cheat a noble Mussalman gentleman of his paternal estate. The next great British novelist after Scott who introduced an Indian character into his writings was Thackeray. The present writer has shown elsewhere that 'Rummun Loll' in the 'Newcomes' is the result of impressions created in England by Raja Rammohun's visit there. Thackeray has compounded in 'Rummun Loll' the figure of an Indian who was lionised in British society with the traditional idea of the time regarding a native of India. A distinct change in the attitude of British novelists in modern times is to be read in the character of Mir Jalaluddin introduced in "Joan and Peter" by H. G. Wells. Jalaluddin is a polished under-graduate of Cambridge University who is denied a commission by the conservative British authorities but gets one in the French aerial corps. In modern times British novelists do not have to look to accounts of British officers in India for knowledge of Indian character but meet in England itself with numerous specimens of Indians. A still further advance is to be read in some novels of recent publication which reflect elaborately the political stir in India with Gandhi as the central figure.

P. R. KRISHNASWAMY.

The Death of the Rat's Mate.

I have read the interesting cumulative folk-tale of "Old Dame Lousy" which Mr. S. C. Mitra has contributed to the July issue of the Mythic Society's Journal. The following nursery tale, which I have often heard old grand-mothers tell their little grand-children in Tamil homes in this part of the country, bears a remarkable analogy to the Bengali story, and may, perhaps, interest the readers of the Journal.

Once upon a time, a rat which had married a mosquito, lived close by the seven oceans. The mosquito died, and in the intensity of uncontrollable grief, the rat attempted to drown itself in the sea. The sea asked what the matter was; and when the disconsolate rat apprised it of the domestic tragedy, the sea was so much upset that its waters began to churn. Just then an elephant came there, and asked the sea why it was so agitated; and on hearing of the bereavement the rat had sustained, the elephant rushed against a banian and broke its tusk. The tree in its turn asked the elephant what had upset it, and when the beast narrated the calamitous event, the banian suddenly shed all its leaves. A sparrow which had built its nest on the tree, and which had gone to gather food, returned soon afterwards; and finding the tree leafless, it asked in concern what the sad plight was due to. The tree told the bird the mournful story of the death of the rat's wife, and the subsequent catena of events; whereupon, the bird poked one of its eyes with a sharp twig, and flew away to an old wall. The wall, observing that the bird had lost one of its eyes, desired to know what the matter was; and on hearing the tale, it fell down with a heavy thud. A ploughman who was on his way to the field, seeing the wall down, approached it, and when the wall told him all that had occurred, he broke his plough. The village school-master, who just came up, inquired of the ploughman why he had destroyed the plough. The latter narrated the doleful story, and thereupon, the schoolmaster destroyed his books and went back home. The school-master's wife was surprised to see her husband return so soon, and she asked him the reason. She was told the melancholy story, which made her feel so heavy at heart, that she broke the cooking pot to pieces.

K. G. SESHIA IVER.

REVIEWS.

"Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture."*

BY RAO SAHEB DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D.

UNDER the above title, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar summarizes in the space of some 400 pages, the results of his familiar researches in South Indian history, and indicates what, in his opinion, are some of the main contributions of South India to Indian culture. The volume bears ample evidence of the wide scholarship and research which we have come to associate with Dr. Aiyangar's works and presents Dr. Aiyangar's results clearly and cogently.

In the author's own words "South Indian history and culture has a character of its own notwithstanding the fact that the interaction of cultural forces between the north and the south is very much more full and frequent than has hitherto been recognized."

Dr. Aiyangar summarizes these contributions as follows:—"In South India, Hinduism has had a history of peaceful development culminating in the efforts of Vijayanagar to give it the final form in which it has come down to us to modern times." "The Brahman has, thanks to the communities amidst which he cast his own lot, been able to carry his Brahmanical life unimpaired and even encouraged by the communities on whom he exercised his influence in the direction of elevating them to a higher plane of life." "In the sphere of conservation of learning through ages, when the material agencies for its preservation were so ill-developed and so easily capable of destruction, the success he achieved is nothing short of marvellous." "The transformation of the ritualistic Brahmanism into the much more widely acceptable Hinduism of modern times is due to the increasing infusion of the theistic element into the religious systems of the day. In this new development South India played an important part. It gave a specific realistic development to 'the doctrine of *bhakti*' by infusing into it features characteristic perhaps of the Tamil land and its literary development, making thereby religious experience fall in line with life itself." "Even in the transformation of Hīnayānist Buddhism into the Mahāyāna, India south of the Vindhyas bore an important part." "Another important contribution consists in the spread of Indian culture and the expansion of Indian commerce. South India is primarily responsible for the spread of Hindu culture to the islands of the East and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, reaching even as far east as China." "In commercial enterprise articles of trade from South India were carried in great quantity to the West. The import of the commodities of the Eastern Archipelago into India

* Published by the University of Calcutta—Calcutta University Readership Lectures.

seems to have been managed as a thoroughly Indian business." "The expansion towards the East seems to have been in full and self-contained colonies of Hindus including Brahmans." "In administration, particularly in local administration, which is a characteristic feature of Indian administration generally, South India has its own characteristics which appear to have developed early and been carried out to the fullest fruition under the great Cholas. A.D. 850-1350."

This is in the main, Dr. Aiyangar's theme, and he develops it in the course of nineteen chapters. A prominent defect in treatment would appear to be the disquisition into unsettled questions of chronology, etc., which Dr. Aiyangar leads us into frequently and which are not quite germane to the title of the work. Such for example are the chapters VII, VIII, IX and X relating to the Pallavas which contain a good deal of valuable matter useful to the student of Indian history,—matter, however, which he would expect to find in a work on the chronology and genealogy of the Pallavas rather than in a survey of South India's contribution to Indian culture.

Dr. Aiyangar's Chapter III on "Connection with Ceylon" also does not work itself into the texture of the theme, and could have been omitted without affecting the value of this book. The point is that Dr. Aiyangar has not attempted strictly to define the geographical connotation of South India, nor restrict himself to the scope of the subject as given in the title page, but attempts rather a general survey of the results of researches in South Indian history. With this key we may now briefly survey the rest of the work. After indicating the light thrown by Sanskrit and Tamil literatures and by epigraphical and other contemporary records on early South Indian history, he leads us to a contemplation of the introduction of Brahmanism into South India from the North, and to the characteristics of such Brahmanism. In this connection we are told "that the Brahmanism that prevailed in the Tamil country was in character pre-Buddhistic and had for one of its specific objects an exhibition of the heretical character of the sister religions, Buddhism and Jainism." We next see that the Tamils offered an opposition to Buddhism on behalf of Brahmanism—a state of things "that gives character to South Indian history. Brahmanism having found a welcome home in this region when Buddhism was in the ascendancy in North India pursued its path unmolested." After a brief interlude about Ceylon, the theme is again caught and we catch a glimpse of the social organization of the early centuries in Tamil land and of the Brahman who impressed himself upon the whole society by austere simplicity and loyal discharge of duty, by performance of sacrifice and getting others to perform such, by learning holy and mundane things and by his faculty of teaching the other classes, and above all, by a discharge of the far more serious duty of 'perfecting the people' (*Janapakvatā*) as the authority for consultation and guidance in matters relating to conduct in society. On this society developed gradually but with certainty the doctrine of Bhakti (piety, faith, devotion, love) to a personal God traceable alike in the primeval Sanskrit and Tamil literature. Kural, the famous Tamil didactic work is next examined and Dr. Aiyangar shows

how to any dispassionate reader, the similarity of idea between it and Kautilya's Arthashastra is quite clear, detail for detail, so as to leave no reasonable doubt left that the author of the Kural had full knowledge of the Arthashastra and adopted several of its conclusions.

We next pass over the Pallava chapters to a consideration of the cultural development during their regime. They were great patrons of Sanskrit literature, art and religion, and in their period also (200 to 900 A.D.), Brahmanism became moulded by the growing influence of *Bhakti* and the great schools of Saivite and Vaishnava worship arose, with the galaxy of Saivite Saints and Vaishnavite Alvars. Dr. Aiyangar's treatment of this section is full and detailed but he does not set out in relief the concepts which South India at this period contributed to Indian belief and culture. The God *Subrahmanya* for example would appear to be a distinctly South Indian contribution to the Hindu Pantheon. The development and dogmatic formulation of the Advaita, Visishtādvaita and Dvaita systems of philosophy by Sankara, Ramanujacharya and Madhva is certainly not a negligible contribution to Indian culture, but Dr. Aiyangar does not set it out. He ignores the development of Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam literature. He omits also any description of the contributions in the fields of art and architecture represented by the Hoysala and Chola schools. South Indian music, the magic of Malabar, the peculiar customs of Malabar and the light they throw on the influence they have exerted are also not mentioned.

Dr. Aiyangar next takes us over, to us, an uneventful chapter of Muhammadan invasions to the formation of the Vijayanagar Empire, which consolidated Hindu society and gave to Hinduism the impress and form which it retains to this day. "Outside the sphere of *Āryāvarta* as it is, South India could claim to be the land where *Vedic* Brahmanism could be found to-day in the form which is the product of actual evolution from the Brahmanism of the *Vedic* age."

We do not propose to follow the author through his description of South India's efforts at colonization and commerce. They deserve a full study at first hand by every Indian. They focus all available information and place South Indian effort in true and clear perspective. His description of the administrative machinery is also well worth study at first hand and a study of the pages relating to village institutions cannot but leave behind a regret that in the nineteenth century they were wiped out in the attempt for efficiency and centralized power. But we are not without hope that constructive statesmanship will, ere long, revivify the ancient roots of village autonomy in all its many-sided ramifications and devolve on the village community the administration and ordering of its own daily life and concerns, as of old, the Central Government concentrating merely on matters of national concern.

We cannot conclude this review without a word of acknowledgment to the Calcutta University which has brought out this useful contribution to Indian historical literature, and to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar for his interesting and learned work.

A. V. R.

Studies in Tasawwuff.

BY KHAN SAHEB KHAJA KHAN.

IN this book, the author has dealt with the esoteric side of Islam.

In reference to the teachings of Aristotle and other ancient philosophers, the term 'esoteric' refers to the doctrines which they expounded to select disciples in contradistinction to those which they published to all the world. In Islam, this distinction does not imply that the esoteric doctrines are kept secret as a mystery, but only that they are of a higher and more difficult order, requiring more preparation and preliminary study for their reception. The author also, has stated in the book that for acquaintance with esotericism, a sort of 'leavening' in one's temperament is necessary and that great teachers have hit upon ceremonials as the basis of this training.

In chapters I and IX these ceremonials are described and a detailed account of their esoteric side or the inner meaning, which is more important, is also given. The ceremonials mentioned are five in number, *viz.*, (1) *Belief* in the formula that none is worthy of worship but God and that all prophets are His messengers. (2) *Prayers*, the obvious object of which is to make oneself disposed towards goodness, for good works make sins disappear. The esoteric object of prayers is the progress of man in his spiritual journey. (3) *Fasting*, where man shows the qualities of angels and attains the attribute of God, who neither eats nor drinks. (4) *Charity*: God created the universe and distributed His treasure; so man is enjoined to distribute a moiety of his earning thus attaining an essential attribute of God. (5) *Pilgrimage* to Mecca, which consists, besides other ceremonies, of seven circumambulations around a black stone which apparently amounts to idolatry. The author has justified the ceremony as it is said to be in memory of the worship of prophet Abraham and reminds man of his true origin and thus gives him a spiritual start.

The stages which one has to pass through before he is rewarded with the excellence of proximity to God are also described in the book. The first stage consists of the acquirement of knowledge, for, knowledge frees man from sinful influences. In the second stage, man should ponder over the actions of God, of which he is a manifestation. Then he should dive into His attributes and lastly he must reform and enlighten the world.

Tasawwuff is defined as guarding oneself against seeing 'other than God'. It is said to be based upon *actions*, *i.e.*, conforming to the ceremonials above stated and *thinking and feeling*, *i.e.*, getting above earthly things and also on the following qualities of the heart:—*viz.*, Submission, Liberality, Patience, Silence, Separation from World, Travelling and Poverty—as illustrated in the lives of all prophets (Peace be on all of them). Jalaluddin Rumi also has said: 'Close your lips, your eyes and your ears, laugh at me if you do not find the truth.'

In chapter V, the author has described the connection between God and man.

This is also the theme of the theory of Emanation, which prevails generally in the philosophies and religions of the East. Man is said to have come out of the knowledge of God and returns to his own reality after death.

The idea of the Co-existence of God and Matter has been debated by Aristotle also, who held that both are co-existent, only that God is unchangeable, whereas matter changes. Plato believed that there is one World-Soul of which the souls of men are transient parts. According to him the Universal existed before the individual.

The theory of Emanation, though perfectly consistent and reasonable in itself, is silent about individual immortality. But in the book under review, we have an assurance of the individual immortality of the soul and its responsible relation to God.

Soul has been defined as an essence that knows itself and its Creator and enquires into causes and effects. It is free from all qualities of space. It is connected with body but possesses the attributes of God. In virtue of its connection with the body, the soul is said to acquire ignorance, purity, impurity, good morals and the reverse, etc. Appendix II contains an account of 'Ghazzali' a soul which the author has done well to include in the book. It may be commended to the attention of every thoughtful reader interested in questions like the nature of the soul, immortality and the soul's relation to God, etc.

As regards the future state of man, the author says that this earth is only a dream and quotes the saying of the holy prophet Muhammad (Peace be on Him) that 'People are asleep, when they die they awake'. Thoughts undoubtedly lead to the formation of character, for is not one's character the crystallization of his own thoughts? The thoughts and actions of men in this world are said to take their shape in the next world and await him there.

As to what the next world is, it is stated by the author that some believe in an veridical existence of a supersensuous world, others in its falsidical existence, yet others who believe that at death, soul does not entirely leave matter but sticks to body, and dissolves in it, corresponding, perhaps, to the ectoplasm of Sir Oliver Lodge.

Speaking of predestination, the author remarks that all religions which admit the existence of God, believe that God has will and He directs the world as He wills. But all religious books contain this dualism that man is a *free agent* and that he acts as his destiny has *pre-ordained* for him.

Chapter II is devoted to a discussion of the three different philosophic schools of Islamic thought. The belief of the ordinary people consists in a God separate from His creation. The Quran supports the doctrine that man comes out of the knowledge of God, gains the experience of the world and returns to his own reality. This doctrine corresponds to the view that there is one essence and many manifestations. Several verses of the Quran may be quoted in support of this view. There is a third school which believes that the essence alone is in evidence, every other thing being only the manifestation of the attributes of that essence.

This view conflicts with what Ghazzali—the most renowned Muslim philosopher—thought. He held that attributes alone could be in evidence, the essence being an unknown and unknowable quantity.

Appendix I is about the Sufi orders in the Deccan and in Appendix III some of the important technical terms in Tasawwuf are explained which helps towards a thorough study of the book.

On the whole the book is a collection of metaphysical essays. It demands a severe strain, but the reader feels amply rewarded, when he has carefully gone through the book and he cannot but feel grateful to the learned author for the manner in which he has dealt with the intricate problems treated in the book.

A. H. S.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1920-21.

WE have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1920-21. Though late in publication, it contains much interesting matter and records much useful work done. What strikes us most is the narrative fashion in which the Report is written in which all hard technical superfluities have been avoided and essential facts presented in a concise and yet comprehensive manner. One can read through the Report in an hour or two at a stretch and not miss anything worth knowing about. It is as useful to the technical man as it is interesting to the lay reader. We wish all our technical reports were drawn up in this manner—brief and to the point and yet complete and replete with all essential facts.

The Report is divided into three main divisions, *viz.*, (1) Conservation, (2) Exploration and (3) Epigraphy. Under the first head, an account is given of the repairs effected during the year to the tombs of the Mughal Emperors, to temples, bridges, monuments, etc., in various parts of India so as to preserve them from utter ruin. The photographic plates printed at the end of the Report show the ruins as they were and as they appear upon restoration and repair: so that a good idea may be formed as to the value and importance of the work done.

In the course of the repairs undertaken, a few interesting and hitherto unknown facts came to light which may be briefly stated here. A false doorway was found in one of the pre-Muhammadan monuments at Dera Ismail Khan where each panel is ornamented with a single full-blown lotus flower and the doorway itself stands on a radiating arch whose voussoirs are set in good white lime mortar. These features are said to be of extraordinary rarity in these monuments. At the Palpara temple in Bengal, "the door frame is elaborately designed and exquisitely ornamented in moulded and sculptured brick, the refinement of the decoration and its restriction to the entrance imparting something of the peculiar charm of certain

Spanish monuments and all the more deserving of appreciation in the East where restriction in the application of ornament is not a common feature." Near Jaipur, in the Cuttack District of Orissa, there is an old bridge of eleven arches called the Tentulimal bridge erected by the early sovereigns of Orissa belonging to an age ignorant of the use of the arch. At Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency a novel piece of conservation was that carried out to the magnificent old Baobab tree which was one of the execution trees formerly used by the Adilshahi Sultans for the hanging of prisoners. At the Gupta temple at Bhumara in Central India some exceptionally beautiful sculptures were discovered. The image of Ganesha in the temple "has the big ears natural to an elephant instead of the usual short ones." The services of two Italian experts were secured to re-affix the paintings of the Ajanta frescoes to the rocks from which they were peeling off. The experiment is stated to have proved a complete success in spite of considerable difficulties in the way.

Under Explorations, the site of Harappa on the old bed of the Ravi, south-west of Lahore, was explored and the ruins examined. Remarkable seals were found bearing legends totally unlike any other form of script known in India which suggest that "at this site lie buried the remains of a city of very great antiquity and of seemingly quite peculiar culture." Further explorations carried on at Taxila disclosed a new strata of buildings so that it now transpires that there were four strata of buildings instead of three as originally supposed. These buildings are stated to belong to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries B.C. Many interesting relics have also been found and described. Two sculptures of historical value were discovered at Muttra and at Gopalpur near Muttra. The statue at the former place is now worshipped as Gokarnesvara Mahadeva but judging by its dress it appears to be the statue of a Kushan King seated in Indian fashion on a Simhasana. This statue is supposed to give "useful information as to the general style and character of the missing heads of the Kanishka, Wima and Chastana statues, and for this, as well as for other reasons, is of special interest." The other statue is that of Manasa Devi which has an epigraph yet to be deciphered. At Nalanda "the most interesting find of the year was a long and important record inscribed on both sides of a large copperplate, surmounted by a seal soldered to its top, which bears an emblem the dharmachakra flanked by two gazelles, which is the insignia of Nalanda." The copperplate records the grant of villages for the upkeep of the monastery at Nalanda but also contains references to the kings of Sumatra and Java. Interesting political questions of the ninth century are thus involved which will be elucidated in due course. "In the southern circle, Mr. Longhurst had the good fortune to discover an important and hitherto unrecorded group of rock-cut temples at a place called Bhairavakonda, 28 miles north-west of Udayagiri, in the Nellore District. There are eight temples in all excavated on a rocky hillside forming the western face of a picturesque ravine." Mr. Longhurst considers them all to have been erected by the Pallavas and to range in date from the seventh to the end of the eighth century. "This fortunate discovery has added an important group to the list of really early Hindu monuments in the Southern Presidency." In the Gwalior

State, the capital of a Garuda pillar was found which appears to belong to the period of 150 B.C.

Under Epigraphy, many manuscripts, coins, copperplates and records were secured. Of these, the inscription of Yuddhamalla discovered by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu is of great interest. It is a metrical record of about the middle of the tenth century A.D., and as such is much older than the oldest Telugu poetical work hitherto known, *viz.*, the Telugu Mahabharata of Nannaya Bhatta dating from the eleventh century A.D. The discovery of this inscription leads one to infer that "there must have been, as in Kanarese, a Jain period of Telugu literature prior to the eleventh century A.D., whose productions are now lost to the country for reasons yet to be discovered." An inscription discovered at the Elgandal Fort, Karimnagar District, has brought to light the fact that the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, had a Hindu writer by name Rae Bindraban serving under him and that at the time when the inscription was engraved he seems to have held the post of Governor at the Elgandal Fort. "The selection of a Hindu Governor for the frontier fort of the Qutb-Shahi Kingdom indicates the characteristic shrewdness and sagacity of Aurangzeb."

The Report before us is altogether an interesting and informing record of much useful work done.

B. P.

"Karnataka Sabdanusasanam."

(Revised Edition.)

KARṆĀṬAKA-ŚABDĀNUŚĀSANAM of Bhaṭṭakāṇkadēva, is a classical grammar of the Kannada language, with which no devoted student of that language and literature can be expected to be unacquainted. Yet, it is not improbable that this scientific treatise has been insufficiently studied or used, if not altogether neglected or overlooked, by some earnest students: not because of their ignorance of its importance, but because the only available edition of the work by B. L. Rice, Esq., C.I.E., M.R.A.S., late Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, was not within easy reach of all on account of its prohibitive cost. It was a bulky volume owing to the inclusion of the transliterated text in Roman characters, perhaps for the convenience of the foreign student, but of no use to the Kannada reading public. And it had been long out of print.

In these circumstances, the revised edition, recently published by Praktana-Vimarsa-Viçhakshana, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., retired Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, is most welcome to the expectant public of the Kannada Nadu. The book is more handy, some unessential matter, such as the English transliterated text and the somewhat antiquated essay on Kannada Literature, being omitted, the size being reduced from quarto to octavo. This reduction has made practicable the reduction of the price to the modest sum of Rs. 5.

Besides, other highly desirable improvements have been introduced, as referred to by the distinguished editor in his preface:—"The paragraphs have been

broken up into convenient lengths according to their subject matter, and words in combination separated where necessary. The aid of punctuation marks has been largely availed of to make the meaning of the passages as clear as possible. The sutras of the present work quoted in the commentary, as well as the words taken up for explanation in it, are printed in big type. The sources of other sutras occurring in the commentary are indicated in brackets by their side." The appendices which have involved much patient and erudite labour in their preparation and the index of technical terms are very useful adjuncts. They afford facilities for ready reference to the student of a critical study of the subject. The English translation of the sutras and additional notes may be found useful to the readers more conversant with English.

The learned introduction is another interesting and valuable feature of the work. It affords a brief survey of the grammatical literature of Sanskrit showing to what extent it has influenced the scientific development of the Kannada grammar. The form of the sutras, the Vritti (gloss) of the Vyakhya (commentary), and the very name and arrangement of the work are all suggested by Sanskrit grammar. It embodies the discussion which leads to the appreciation of the culture and recognized position of the learned author, and his high patriotic aim "to bring to the notice of the learned the claims of the Kannada Language and to promote its cultivation along with precision and elegance in the use of it: in short to revive the glories of the brilliant age of Kannada Literature which had been associated with the Jaina supremacy under the Ganga and Hoysala Dynasties of Mysore."

The learned and well-known editor of this second edition has brought to bear on this important work all his learning and patient research and experience to remove the several defects of the first edition and to introduce many improvements, as testified to by that true lover of Kannada language and literature, Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., but for whose devoted efforts to bring out the first edition under almost insurmountable difficulties, this monumental work could not have seen the light of day and paved the way for the present edition, as also by other competent observers such as Rao Bahadur Mangesha Rao, B.A., of Madras. Mr. R. Narasimhachar has placed the Kannadigas under a deep debt of gratitude by presenting to them this second edition of Karṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsanam in this new and charming form. But a desire still lingers that a still cheaper edition may be made available so as to be within easy reach of all students of Kannada.

H. N. V.

History of Indian Logic.

BY SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSHANA.

THE greatness of a nation is proved by its intellectual activity and spiritual life. How Hindus have been able to keep up an uninterrupted tradition in both these respects, in the midst of social and political vicissitudes of far-reaching influence, is the marvel of history. In logic, grammar, rhetoric, rituals and Vedanta,

the stream of thought rising in the dim and distant Vedic period, has continued to flow with undiminished volume, through early, mediæval, down to modern times, and every department of thought enriched by new material has been developed to a degree almost incredible. There is endless work in research therefore still left to be shouldered by noble-minded and patriotic scholars who aim at disclosing to the world the great thought-wealth bequeathed to the moderns by the selfless souls of Ancient India.

We have recently received a copy of "A History of Indian Logic (Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Schools)" in English, written by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Satishchandra Vidyabhushana, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.A.S.B., and subsequently brought up-to-date by I. J. S. Taraporewala, with a Foreword from the Hon'ble Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukherji. We need not say that it is one of the greatest works in modern times, and of the highest literary value.

The author has brought his keen insight, profound learning, and critical acumen to bear upon a subject which ordinarily is reckoned too dry to appeal to common minds, but which clothed in the tiger's skin of latter-day jargon, is positively dreadful. Even those who are honestly curious to know what Sanskrit logic intends to convey by the flood of sounds, altogether unintelligible even to one who has mastered the other literary branches of Sanskrit, are reduced to despair when they find they have to make their way slowly and patiently across pitfalls that beset the path at every step and through a wilderness of names and definitions which for a long time appear to be arbitrary and unmeaning. A scientific history of Hindu thought has long been a desideratum.

We, therefore, heartily welcome this work, calculated to help every earnest student to have a clear idea of the progress of Indian logic from the earliest times. Every part of the work displays scientific method, and perspicuity of style; and abounds in those biblical virtues that characterize modern publications of the highest quality. We hope to be able to review it in detail, in a later issue.

K. A. K.

The Lhota Nagas.

BY J. P. MILLS, I.C.S.

*With an Introduction and Supplementary Notes by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E.,
Hon. Director of Ethnography, Assam.*

Published by the direction of the Government of Assam,
by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London and Bombay.
Price 25s. net.

STUDENTS of ethnography in India will welcome this valuable addition to their libraries. Mr. Mills writes as a keen observer and not as a theorist, which makes his book doubly welcome. His book, like Mr. Hutton's on the *Angami Nagas* (Macmillan, 1921) is typical of the method that should be followed in writing

monographs of this kind. The book is divided into seven parts, devoted to the following topics:—General, Domestic Life, Laws and Customs, Religion, Folk-Tales and Songs, Language, and Appendices (relating to Lhota Calendar, Human Sacrifice, etc.). Mr. Hutton's introduction is both interesting and suggestive. For the main part, it invites attention to the significance of many points in Mr. Mills' account of this interesting tribe. In doing this it gives us a good glimpse of the composition of the Naga tribes, which enables us better to understand Mr. Mills' description. Mr. Hutton's general summing up as to the affinities of the Nagas will be read with interest by anthropologists everywhere, as he is the first writer to put forth a comprehensive view, based on fairly reliable data, of the whole tribe. The book as a whole is excellent both from the anthropologist's and from the general reader's point of view. It ought to give an impetus to the study of tribes and castes in India, for it is written in an attractive and striking style. Mr. Mills must have cultivated much intellectual sympathy with the men of the tribe he writes of—and his preface shows that he counts "friends" among them—for without the closest intimacy of relationship with them, the information he gives could not have been forthcoming. We commend the book to all interested in Indian ethnography.

C. H. R.

Vaishnava Lyrics.

Mr. J. A. Chapman who has done into English verse these lyrics with the help of two other Bengali gentlemen with a view to awaken the minds of non-Bengali readers who have till now found in them nothing soul-stirring or spiritual. Mr. Chapman says that the lyrics are utterly charming. We would say they are not only charming but, what is more, they are full of spiritual inspiration. In understanding the deeper spiritual note underlying the passionate note of love sounded in these lyrics and seeing in Radha the perfect devotion of a soul immersed in divine love, the foreigner could indeed be said to have understood the heart of India which is religion itself. It is a pity that the *Vaishnava Lyrics* should be confined to sentiments of Bengal. Such lyrics are to be found in plenty in the poetry of Maharashtra and, more than anywhere else, in the divine songs of the Tamil Vaishnava saints. The highest form of sensuous love is not inconsistent with the perfect devotion of man to God. Rightly understood and rightly interpreted these soul-stirring songs carry with them a moral exhilaration that can be found nowhere but in India. It is to be regretted that the two Hindu authors who have helped Mr. Chapman to publish this book did not induce him to write upon this phase of the question, if they at all intended that their book should be a moral eye-opener to others. We are extremely thankful to the authorities of the Oxford University Press for having published these priceless lyrics.

K. D.

The Vedanta, its Ethical Aspect.

BY M.R.Ry. K. SUNDARARAMA IYER, AVL., M.A.

THE book deals with a subject from which modern India is drifting. It is a collection of writings by a well-known name in Southern India. It consists of eleven chapters, ten of which are reprints from old issues of "Vedanta Kesari", the organ of the Ramakrishna Mission at Madras. The more important of them deal with Vedanta as the source of spiritual truth, and as universal religion, on the practical aspect of the Vedanta, on Vairagya and Progress, on the nature, causation, and the motive of Karma, and on Karma as related to Service.

The subject is treated in a way that should afford a clear grasp of it to the average, educated reader. The author is by no means technical, nor is he by any means a self-centred sanskritist; but a well and widely-read discourser on the Vedanta, who has rendered his subject interesting as well as illuminating. Owing to the brevity of this note, we have to abstain from any critical or appreciative references to individual contents in the book; but we can recommend the book to the class of people, who, on reaching middle-age and a secure income, feel an awakening desire to know the nature of the phenomena of life and death. In going to this writer, they may be sure that they are not going to a bigot or a doctrinaire, but to a cultured writer, who deals openly with a subject of paramount human interest.

So much for the matter of the book. As to the get-up, it is the product of the Vanivilas Press of Srirangam, whose enterprise in the publishing line needs no fresh comment. The price is three rupees.

G. R. J.

The Faith of Islam (Fourth Edition).

BY THE REV. CANON SELL, D.D.

Diocesan Press, Madras.

THE *Faith of Islam* has now reached its fourth edition and still stands unrivalled as an exposition of the basis and tenets of this great religion. It is not a personal history of its founder, nor of its political adventures; it is a history of the development of its doctrines and so fills up a gap in the literature of the subject. After a chapter on the foundations of Islam, the basis on which it rests, we have an account of the Quran and the Traditions, which latter form its second basis. The question of inspiration is lucidly dealt with. Then comes a chapter on the various sects of Islam, brought up-to-date by the inclusion in it of the latest sect, the Ahmadiyah one. The chapters on the creed of Islam, its practical duties and its feasts and fasts conclude a wide range of subjects. The value of this book lies in the fact that it is based on original Arabic and Persian sources and may, therefore, be

accepted as an authoritative exposition. To all students of comparative religion this work is invaluable, as they will find here a clear and concise statement of points little known and on which information is not easily procured. A copy will be found in the Society's library. It can also be obtained from the Diocesan Press, Vepery, Madras.

F. R. S.

A Short History of Sanskrit Literature.

BY M. CHAKRAVARTHI, M.A.,

Samkhyatirtha, Professor of Sanskrit, Vidyasagar College.

Published by K. K. Bhattacharya, 4, Gopal Bose Lane, Calcutta.

Price RS. 1—8—0.

THIS is an excellently written, but poorly printed, handbook of Sanskrit literature. It is based on standard authorities on the subject and in places it draws on original sources. Mr. Chakravarthi deserves to be congratulated on producing a handy and accurate history of Sanskrit literature, which is well within the means of every one. When a next edition is called for, we have no doubt he will have realized the importance of producing a work of this kind on good and durable paper.

C. H. R.

Introduction to the Bhagavad-Gita.

BY V. K. RAMANUJACHARYA, B.A.,

Ex-Member, Madras Legislative Council, Madras.

Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.

MR. Ramanujacharya's introduction to the *Gita* is suggestive to a degree. In his preface he avows his indebtedness to theosophical teaching for a proper understanding of this renowned work. Mr. Ramanujacharya's study ought to prove helpful to many a student of the *Gita*, who like the author has found himself confronted with difficulties in understanding it.

C. H. R.

NOTICE.

The Indian Antiquary.

Society of Antiquaries of India.

THE last forty years have witnessed a great advance in antiquarian research in India, and Indians themselves are exhibiting increasing interest in all that appertains to the past history of their country. Where formerly the study of India's important archæological, epigraphical and numismatic relics was confined to a handful of Englishmen and one or two Indian scholars, there are now many Indians, including the trained officers of the Indian Archæological Survey, who, devoting expert attention to original documents and lithic and other records, are able to supplement and occasionally correct the conclusions arrived at by acknowledged European authorities. The time, indeed, appears to be ripe for the creation of a Society of Antiquaries of India, formed on the lines of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which would include among its members, not only those Indians and Europeans, who have established their position in the field of historical and archæological research, but also the Ruling Princes and Indian gentlemen, like the late Sir R. Tata, who are ready to encourage and support the labours of the trained antiquary.

In the event of such a Society being constituted on lines approved by those interested, and its importance and prestige being further secured by the grant of a Royal Charter, it is proposed to transfer to it, as the organ of its activities, the well-known Journal, *The Indian Antiquary*, founded fifty-two years ago by the late Dr. Burgess, which deals with the history, archæology, epigraphy, folklore, etc., of the whole of India and Burma.

"The Indian Antiquary."

It is recognized that the foundation of the proposed Society of Antiquaries of India must involve much preliminary discussion, and that considerable delay in launching the Society on a working basis is unavoidable. It has therefore been arranged for the time being to direct efforts to securing the continued existence of *The Indian Antiquary*, which is at present the sole property of Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., by transferring the possession and management of the Journal to a small private company, *The Indian Antiquary, Ltd.*, which, in the event of Sir R. C. Temple hereafter desiring to relinquish active management of the Journal, would carry on the work which he has undertaken alone for so many years.

Since its foundation by Dr. Burgess in 1872, *The Indian Antiquary* has deserved well of India. He edited it till 1885, when it was taken over by Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir R. C. Temple till 1892, by which time it had become the chief exponent of oriental research in private hands and the chief medium for the publication of Indian epigraphical studies. For several years it trained and maintained

a private staff for discovering, collecting and reproducing in facsimile all kinds of Indian epigraphic records; and its volumes, which have now reached No. LII, enshrine the whole history of epigraphical research as a systematic study. Moreover, it has performed pioneer work in teaching a new generation of Indian scholars the method of securing accurate knowledge of the annals of ancient and mediæval India. Well-known Indian scholars to-day, as well as European authorities, are among its most valued contributors. For several years Professor D. R. Bhandarkar was associated with Sir Richard C. Temple in the editing of the Journal. Since his resignation, the appointment of an Indian joint-editor has been filled by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Mr. S. M. Edwardes has also taken a part in the joint-editorship.

An Appeal to Students of Indian Antiquities.

In the light of the above record and with a view to providing the proposed Society of Antiquaries, when hereafter founded, with a journal of established reputation, the Directors of the private company, formed to take over *The Indian Antiquary* from the sole proprietorship of Sir R. C. Temple, now appeal to all Indians and Englishmen interested in India's history to assist their object, either by becoming annual subscribers to the Journal, or by sending donations to be utilized in consolidating its future position and enlarging its scope. The annual subscription to the Journal is Rs. 20, and may be paid to The Superintendent, *Indian Antiquary*, British India Press, Mazagon, Bombay, or to Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. Donations may be sent to Lt.-Col. Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., [c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd. (Messrs. Henry S. King & Co.), 9, Pall Mall, London], who as chief editor and director will have the controlling voice in the management of the *Indian Antiquary Ltd.*

(Signed) R. C. TEMPLE,

(„) R. E. ENTHOVEN,

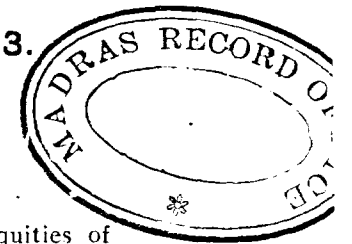
(„) S. M. EDWARDES,

Directors, Indian Antiquary Ltd.

**Subscriptions received during the quarter ending
31st December 1923.**

Messrs.	Names.	Vol.	Amount. RS. A. P.
	M. Mahadevan, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
	F. R. Sell, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Rev. Father Aucouturier, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Government Epigraphist, Fernhill	XIV	3 0 0
	Rev. F. Goodwill, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	N. Kamaksharow Naidu, Bangalore	XIV	3 0 0
	Dr. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore	XIV	3 0 0
	Rev. J. B. Buttrick, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	P. K. Gode, Poona	XIV	3 0 0
	Sir William Beardsell, Madras	XIV	3 0 0
	D. Venkataramiah, Bangalore	XII	5 0 0
	P. Sampat Iyengar, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	G. H. Krumbiegel, Bangalore	XIII & XIV	10 0 0
	M. N. Kuka, Bombay	XIV	3 0 0
	Thomas Leishman, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Cowan Holburn, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Dr. A. P. Fernandez, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram	XIV	3 0 0
	K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	J. R. Isaac, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Rev. P. Picot, Coromandel	XIV	3 0 0
	M. R. Munisiddappa, Mysore	XIV	3 0 0
	S. A. Venkateswara Iyer, Battagundu	XIV	3 0 0
	J. B. Cook, Ashambo	XIV	3 0 0
	K. S. Krishnamurthy Iyer, Madras	XIV	3 5 0
	K. A. Neelakanta Sastry, Chidambaram	XIV	3 5 0
	H. S. Narayana Rao, Shimoga	XIII & XIV	6 5 0
	V. N. Ghokale, Chikodi	XIV	3 5 0
	Honorary Secretary, Cosmopolitan Club, Madras	XIV	3 5 0
	Rev. A. R. Fuller, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	G. Paramasivayya, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	B. Balaji Rao, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Rev. Father A. Lobo, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	C. H. Doveton, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	V. Aiyasami Iyer, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	R. Narasimhacharya, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
	Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot	XIV	3 5 0

**List of books presented or purchased, etc.,
during the quarter ending 31st December 1923.**



Director-General of Archæology, Simla—

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1920-21.
Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 14. Antiquities of
Bhimbar and Rajauri by Ramachandra Kak.

Superintendent of Archæology, Burma—

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st
March 1923.

Registrar, Calcutta University—

"History of Indian Logic" By Satishchandra Vidyabhushana.

Registrar, Mysore University—

Mysore University Calendar for 1923-24.
Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's Address at the Convocation of the Mysore
University—24th October 1923.
Report of the Mysore University for 1922-23.

Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore—

The Mysore State Administration Report for 1922-23.
The Dewan's Address at the Mysore Representative Assembly—October 1923.
The Guide Book of Mysore.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Designs on Prehistoric Pottery from the Mimbres Valley, New Mexico, by
Walter Fewkes.
The Science of Man—Its needs and its prospects by Karl Pearson.
The Indian in Literature by Herman F. C. Ten Kate.
A New Era in Palestine Exploration by Elihu Grant.
Leopard Men in the Naga Hills by J. H. Hutton.
Ancestor Worship of the Hopi Indians by J. Walter Fewkes.
Pigmentation in the old Americans with Notes on graying and loss of hair by
Ales Hodlicka.

Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore—

"Karnataka Sabdanusasana"—Revised Edition.

Oxford University Press (Publishers)—

"Vaishnava Lyrics."

Presented by—

Col. Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh of Bajang, Nepal—

Yeginibhairah Bijaya, about 195 years old.

Old Newari Navaratri Pooja Bidhi.

Yāgnavalkya Mithakshara, written on leaves about 700 years ago.

Tatwa Kaumudi Dasa Mahabidya.

Sapta Sati Chandi, about 900 years old.

Ramayana, about 300 years old.

(All these manuscripts are in Niwari characters.)

Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore—

Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference (28th Jan. to 1st Feb. 1922).

Rajasabhabhushana Rey. Father A. M. Tabard (Translator)—

Essay on Gunadhya and the Brhatkatha.

Mr. T. K. Balasubramanyam, Srirangam—

The Vedanta—its ethical aspect by Professor K. Sundararama Iyer.

Mr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry, Mysore—

Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4; Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 3; Vol. VII, No. 2; Vol. VIII, No. 2.

By purchase—

Siva Tattwa Ratnakara—Part I. Published by Messrs. B. M. Nath & Co.

Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast against the armies of the Dutch, French, and Hyderali Khan by Munro Innes.

“Sabdakalpadhruma” by Raja Sir Radha Kanta.

Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 (two copies), 2 and 4 and Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2.

In exchange for back numbers of the Journal—

Mrichchakatika or Toy Cart edited by N. B. Godbole.

Sri Bhashya of Ramanuja edited by Vasudeva Sastry Abhyankar, Parts I & II.

“Vikramōrvasiyam” edited by Shankar Panduranga Pandit.

Subhāshitāvali of Vallabhadeva edited by P. Peterson.

Mālati Madhava of Bhavabhuti edited by R. G. Bhandarkar.

Yogasutras of Patanjali edited by Rajaram Sastri Bodas.

Vyakarana Mahabhashya of Patanjali edited by Kielhorn (Vols. II & III).

Hymns from the Rigveda by P. Peterson.

Panchatantra Part I edited by Kielhorn.

do Parts II & III edited by Dr. G. Bühler.

do Parts IV & V edited by Do.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. XIV]

APRIL 1924

[No. 3

INDIAN MUSIC.

BY D. B. RAMACHANDRA MUDALIAR, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

MUSIC is believed to be of divine origin, and it is said that Brahma obtained music from Samaveda. “It is the language of the soul,” says Deussen, the great thinker, who recognizes in it the summit of all art. According to Hindu tradition, before the world was created, an all-pervading and a most melodious sound issued from Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara, who were themselves the first musicians. The fact that music has intimate relation with astronomy, astrology, medicine, painting, has been demonstrated by ancient Indians, who held that music deals with ever so many things, continually helping to maintain universal harmony. In support of these statements, there is a number of very interesting legends.

Among the celestials there is a class, known as Gandharvas, meaning angels. They are twenty-seven in number, like the Nakshatras, meaning stars. Of the latter, Hasta is considered to be both a nakshatra and a Gandharva. The Sun and the Moon are also Gandharvas. The wives of Gandharvas are called Apsarases. All these are famous for their most enchanting music, dancing and acting. They devoted themselves so exclusively to the cultivation of this art that music is known as Gandharva-vidya. The musicians of Indra's court are selected from this class.

In Yajurveda, speech is personified as woman, and it is said that if she is allowed to approach the Gandharvas, she may not return, being likely to be captivated by their songs of syren sweetness. We are told also that the Gandharvas are excellent archers, and that once upon a time, when Gayatri flew in the sky as a bird to reach the Moon, she was struck by an arrow shot by a Gandharva in order to prevent her from carrying off the Moon who was a brother Gandharva. The Gandharvas gave rise to a form of marriage, called "Gandharva Vivaha", based on free love, which is acknowledged as one of the forms of marriage allowed by both divine and human laws. The Apsara women were being deputed by Indra to tempt the sages at their penance, and to turn them back from their aspiration to divine powers. Sakuntala, the world-famous heroine, is the daughter of an Apsarasi, Menaka and of Rishi Viswamitra.

Kinnaras and Kimpurushas are other varieties of Gandharvas with animal faces and human bodies, who are also associated with music. The Gandharvas were singers, Apsarases were dancers, and Kinnaras were performers on musical instruments. With these are ranked Angirasas also. Narada and Tumbura are the reputed leaders of the heavenly choir, and are to this day invoked as the deities presiding over music. When Shiva performs the mystic dance, Nandi accompanies him with his voice and Vishnu beats tune. Such beliefs serve to show that music has, in all ages and climes, exercised a most peculiar fascination over human beings, nay, over all living things. Indian kings and chiefs have invariably patronized every branch of music and if it had not been for the munificent rewards at the hands of the Maharajas, Indian music would not have been the flourishing art that it is to-day. The spirit of such encouragement still survives.

Whether as a science or as an art, this most important and intricate subject has more or less engaged the attention of all civilized and uncivilized people, and has often stirred them to a living interest. In India especially has it flourished from primeval times. From the most remote ages, music has been regarded as one of the necessities of life and not as a luxury that could be dispensed with. Not a single event of importance, in public or private life, is solemnised without the sweet discourse of music.

Music is distinguished from all other human arts and sciences in that it is the one thing that will relieve the afflicted and the oppressed heart, that it will bring rest and refreshment to the wearied brain and tired limb, and that it will appeal to all human beings of whatever grade of society or civilization. There is a most sensitive chord in human body which is set vibrating by the appeal of music, and even the most hardened heart cannot fail to be touched by it and to be momentarily changed for the better. This

appreciation of music is not confined to human beings alone, but is shared by all animate nature. The most familiar instance is that of a cowherd, who making music on his rough pipe prepared from the ordinary reed gathers together all the straying cattle and brings them home safely. The Lord Sri Krishna, as Venugopal, the cowherd and the lute, is the Indian idealization of this fact. The dreaded serpent is charmed by the strains of music and its gambols, before the snake-charmer's pipe, are evidences of the divine power of music to subdue the most savage fury in nature. Witness also the child, with its undeveloped instincts, soothed and hushed to quiet and sleep, by the sweet melody of the lullaby, in the loving tone of its mother, although the child scarcely comprehends what is being sung.

Though not bearing on the subject, it may casually be mentioned that in all sciences and arts, the knowledge of ancient Indians was so advanced that a tailor was able to make a man's coat, when the measurement of his neck alone was given, a sculptor was able to cut out the figure of a man from granite, with only the dimensions of his little finger as a clue, and an artist would paint the figure of a woman by an idea of the length and the thickness alone of the hair of her head being given; and as to their upright-ness a promissory note consisting of a couple of lines written on a palmyra leaf, perhaps not even four inches long, bound them more surely than any registered document of the present day, for a period of seven succeeding generations, in one case, and perpetually in the case of the other. They made large transactions with no more living witness than fire. Documents for gifts and sales were made only with the sprinkling of a handful of water.

Indian music which is presided over by Saraswati, the goddess of learning, is instinct with religious fervour, as is evidenced by the fact that in India all religious ceremonies, devotional prayers, and social performances, are invariably accompanied with the chanting of musical verses. The Hindus gave the art of music a religious character. They had their own vocal and instrumental music and characteristic and favourite dances, and one of the chief deities, who is very fond of dancing, named Nataraja meaning king of dancing, is enshrined at Chidambaram. This is the God that gave salvation to his devotee Nanda, though he was a Panchama, notwithstanding that he had been kept out of the temple by the priests. The curriculum of their studies in music would do credit to any of the most accomplished musical institutions of the present day. Music was thought to be a necessary part not only of the secular enjoyments and religious devotion, but of warfare and funeral ceremonies as well. Songs were sung by numbers of devotees, both by day and night.

Almost all the kings of ancient India were patrons and themselves

connoisseurs of music, and royal ladies strove hard to acquire mastery in singing. In the palaces of kings, there were chambers known as "Sangitha-sala" meaning the music saloon, in which dancing and singing were practised and demonstrated. The princes of ancient India not only received instructions in music, but also composed musical poems in three principal branches, viz., lyric, epic and dramatic. Great composers received munificent rewards in the shape of grant of five hundred villages, the revenue of all southern districts for forty years, and forty lakhs of gold coins of the value of two and a half rupees each. A certain poetess received from a Pandya King, the reward of an elephant, a chariot and a garland of golden flowers for her poetry. This indicates what love they had for music in those days and also what attention they paid to women's education.

Mr. Bain has remarked that no people, excepting the Indians, have ever presented a variety of musical composition with alliteration; "What are the various metres of Greece and Rome which have filled Europe with astonishment, when compared with the extensive range of Indian poetical writings?" While speaking of rhythm and metre impressing upon the ear, he says, "they are helpful to memory." Mr. H. T. Buckle says that there are more numerous and more complicated metres in Indian music, than are to be found in any of the forms of European music. Sage Valmiki set the Ramayana to music and his pupils, Lava and Kusa, sang the whole poem so exquisitely as to attract the notice of Sri Rama, the hero of the epic.

Indian music was in a thriving state even three thousand years ago. The works of Bharata who flourished in the fifth century in the south, those of Sarangadeva of the thirteenth century, also of the south, and of Ahobala of the seventeenth century, of the north, are all held in very high esteem at the present day as the standard works on Indian music, in which the pitch of the notes has been well fixed so as to give a correct idea of notes, and thereby to determine them. Nammalwar, a most pious Dravidian saint, was also considered a great authority in music.

During the reign of Pandya kings, in Kumari, the capital of South Madura, there was a musical *sangham* (institution). Most of the works written by them happened to be washed away by flood. A few that remained were destroyed by the Buddhists and the Jains owing to religious animosity. Some that still remained became extinct, as no one could make a practical use of them on account of the difficulty in correctly interpreting the technical portions.

Also, during the reign of Nilandarathervil Pandya, in South Madura, there was a similar *sangham*, in which one of the scholars by name Athamkotasam, a disciple of Agastya, read and recited with musical grace the most

renowned Tholkappiam, Thol means old, Kapyam is a corruption of Kavyam, means literature, meaning old composition. The Tamilians of old used twenty-two srutis in reciting even their religious hymns, known as Tirugnanam, Thevaram and Thiruvagasam.

The ancient inhabitants of South Madura were using twelve thousand ragas with twenty-two swaras, instead of twelve swaras of the present day, and were using Veena which was known then by the name of Yal, with seventeen, twenty-seven, one hundred and even more strings. A reference to the real grace and embellishment in music can be found in the lines of Sillippadikaram. Sillappu is a corruption of Silambu means an anklet, and Adhikaram means a chapter, meaning a chapter on anklet, a Tamil drama, written by Ilankovadigal, i.e., younger prince, whose brother Sengattuvan ruled over the Tamil Chera country about eighteen hundred years ago. The commentary on this work by Adyakumular contains reference to the grace and exquisite skill displayed in the art of singing and dancing, by Madhavi, a most enchanting actress, to please her lover Kovilan. The first *sangham* of South Madura conducted the music classes for over two thousand five hundred years, but after its extinction it is impossible to ascertain the minute details of music prevalent then, though Ilankovadigal, who flourished in the first century, has given some particulars.

Subsequently, Bharata and Sarangadeva of the South also gave similar details. Divakaram, meaning metrical foot, an important Tamil lexicon, gives a lot of information and minute details concerning the early Dravidian music. Bharata has composed "Natya Sutra" meaning a treatise on dancing, but this has not survived, and only one chapter of the whole book, the twenty-fifth chapter, alone exists, which contains mostly the fundamental principles of the art. It is but the rudiments of this that are yet in vogue in India, and even in this, some of the minor details described are not easily intelligible, hence they are not in practice, nor has any improvement upon them been found feasible.

Voltaire says, that before Herodotus, the Greeks wrote all history in verse, which custom they borrowed from the Egyptians, who in their turn had it from the Hindus, since all the sacred and classical writings of the Hindus are in verse. It may also be noted that the whole of the Tamil literature, viz., theology, in which the Tamilians excelled all other notions of antiquity, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and in fact every work of theirs, such as even grammar and dictionary, were also in verse.

Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher, visited India two thousand five hundred years ago for the purpose of obtaining information, and determining the notes of an octave. Sir W. Jones and Colonel Todd say that amongst the

system of the Hindus of early ages, music appears to have attained a theoretical precision.

The twelve notes including the minute quarter tones of the Indian music were carried from India to Japan, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, China, Malaya, Siam and Annam.

Sir W. W. Hunter says that the Indian art of music was destined to exercise a very wide influence. The art passed on through the Persians to Arabia. King Shankol of Hind, at the invitation of the Emperor Behram of Persia, sent ten thousand musicians to Persia. From thence, it was introduced into Europe by Guido Arezzo, in the beginning of the eleventh century. The Greeks like the Egyptians, had but six notes, and the Italians added the seventh. To Judio Arentine, a monk of the thirteenth century, belongs the credit. The Indians had, however, a number of them then, and later Jayadeva in the North composed in Sanskrit a series of the most delicious strains, in varied airs, which are the delight of the Hindus to the present day.

Nearchos, who accompanied Alexander the Great in 325 B.C., says that in India the writing was done on well-beaten and smooth cloth. It is well-known that the art of writing, though known to Indians for centuries, was hardly resorted to by them as a means of perpetuating the music of their sacred Vedas. Their mode of transmitting knowledge of music was by means of learning the songs, by the ear. The faculty of memory, intensively cultivated, and brevity of expression, were the principal means of preserving knowledge. This is also the case with musical literature. Much of this knowledge has been handed down, from generation to generation, by traditional and oral transmission.

From the eighteenth century onwards, there have been a number of poets in India most religiously disposed. I refer here to only one of them, most popularly known in South India, whose works are even to-day treated as classic in music. Thyagarajaiya, a great saint who flourished a hundred and sixty years ago at Tiruvadi, a place of well-known religious importance in the Tanjore District, had, on Ekadasi days on which he fasted completely, composed in all ten thousand song poems in praise of God, but with the exception of a comparatively small number, all of them were destroyed by fire. Subsequent to his death, his contemporaries who survived him, and who belonged to a different school of philosophy, smitten with jealous causedy by the excellence of the poems, destroyed a large number. About five hundred of them, however, have escaped the fate of the rest, but not even half of these are in general use now, as no musician can succeed in rendering them faithfully. These inspired verses of the great saint, apart from their religious fervour, philosophic depth, and musical merit, are also high class literary compositions

in Telugu. He has frequently expressed the view that music is the best medium for attaining salvation.

In order to prevent further deterioration of these valuable song poems, Mr. K. V. Sreenivasa Iyengar, a brother of one of the greatest living musicians of Southern India, well known as Mr. Tiger Varadachar, has made a very praiseworthy endeavour to publish them in popular notation, with commentaries, in a number of volumes known as "Thyagaraja Hridayam," of which the first volume has already been issued.

At the All-India Music Conference held at Baroda on the 22nd March 1916, under the gracious patronage of His Highness the Gaikwar, a meed of praise was given to the ancient Dravidian proficient in music. It is also established from the very commencement that the Dravidians had more minute notes and sub-notes in their scales than are to be found in modern days.

Besides this, the theory was that the keynote of each science had to be religiously reserved for the purpose of teaching it only to those best fitted to receive it. And it was for this reason that the fundamentals of any science were nowhere openly explained. The presumption was that the science which was not learnt directly from a teacher could not be acquired by mere individual effort. The mystery of each science was generally taught by the Gurus, in their last moments, to a deserving disciple whom they considered to be a worthy recipient.

In the Sri Chakram, a mystic geometrical figure with forty-eight triangles, which has been set up generally in all temples by Sri Shankaracharya the Jagad Guru, all is plain and easily understood with the exception of one little secret, which forms the key of the whole Chakram and which is not easily perceived by the uninitiated. Without knowing the secret key the Chakram is unintelligible. In the same manner there are hidden mysteries in other sciences, such as cannot be understood, unless taught by the Guru, but the secret is revealed from time to time only to a select few, who are tried through a long course of pupilage. They had likewise a key for even the most difficult calculations in music which however has most unfortunately been lost.

It is observed that music stimulates the nerves, regulates the circulation of blood, improves the concentration of mind and lessens bodily pains and mental worries. Dr. Knox says that music refines the soul, infuses better ideas and thoughts, and animates action. The great poet Milton required constantly the Lydian airs to brace him up against eating cares. On one occasion Mr. Lloyd George expressed that he would rather be a musician than the Prime Minister of England. Martinus Capilla tells us that fevers could

be cured by songs. Dr. Cox relates a case of insanity in a soldier having been most miraculously cured by music. Mr. Burton says that Farinelli cured King Philip of Spain of his melancholia in the eighteenth century. Dr. Rush, an eminent physician, observes that the Germans are seldom affected with consumption, because of the strength which their lungs acquire by exercising them in vocal music, as it constitutes an essential branch of their education. A most renowned music master of an important academy asserts that he had known several persons who were consumptive having been restored to health by the exercise of their lungs in song. Sir William Jones has remarked that music has the power of digestion and absorption. With this view in ancient days Indian princes were in the habit of hearing music after food.

Pet animals such as cats and dogs have also attraction for music. Even mice are drawn out of their holes and spiders from their webs by the effects of music, and they run away when it is discontinued. Sir John Hawkins says that when a house was infested with snakes, musicians were called for who by their music charmed them away. An American scientist says that if a milkmaid sang while milking, the cow would yield a fourth quantity of milk more than usual. Minstrel Saga said, while sailing, music on board the ship attracted fishes which jumped into the boat. Bul-buls and nightingales keep fluttering about when they hear music. Wild elephants and antelopes tempted by sweet strains approached the garden at which Sirajuddaulah was entertained at a picnic.

It is not always easy to express in writing any idea springing up in the human brain, in a manner sufficiently clear to all, nor can any written book reproduce the innumerable variations met with in the articulation of sound. Much less is it possible to convey the peculiar impressions produced by gestures and other graces used by a public speaker. More elusive still are the delicate shades of blending in the musical notes of an Indian melody. No notation therefore, however complete, can accurately describe the magnificent outcome of the highest inspiration. Although the Indians were known as the best mathematicians who dealt with integers up to thirty-two places and decimals to many places, yet they deliberately omitted to record any measurement for determining the notes of music, as it is not possible accurately to decipher the minutest details by committing them to writing. You have all noticed that when a stone is thrown into water, waves are formed round the central point, which gradually increases in diameter and decreases in intensity at a regular uniform interval and this is just the case with the sound of music. It can only be caught by the ear, as the variations outstrip our power to represent them. The ancient Indians were therefore very conservative, and for real and accurate knowledge of music, they had greater

faith in oral instruction and personal guidance than in written books. Hence their apparent indifference to musical notation, for when once a piece was reduced to writing, it ceased to live and became mechanical.

It is very difficult to indicate exactly in writing the manner and expression of emotional ideas in singing, as emotion is as much a part of us as understanding. Emotion obeys fixed laws, and follows an orderly and uniform course and runs in sequence. It has its logic and method of inference and therefore it is a part of the mind. Dr. Seaman most thoughtfully suggests that we can concentrate greater intensity of feeling in a single musical note than in pages of writing. Presumably it was on such considerations that the Indians decided that they should not attempt a notation for Indian music. In spite of this, however, a system of notation had been worked out to serve a popular purpose.

It is interesting to quote Sarangadeva's doctrine of the origin of human sound. He says "The idea in the mind generates Agni, meaning animal heat, which in its turn generates Vayu, meaning sound. This Vayu proceeds upwards from the Mooladharam, meaning the centre of the trunk, through the stomach, the heart, the head, and finally emerges, through the mouth, in the shape of Nadam, meaning voice. In these five places, Nadam obtains five corresponding names, of Atishookshma meaning very minute, Sookshma meaning minute, Pushta meaning developed, Apushta meaning undeveloped, and Krithrima meaning artificial sound. The very minute sound is audible only to Yogis contemplating salvation. The next to it, viz., minute sound also is not audible to every one, but it may sometimes be heard by closing ears. The Nadam increases in intensity, in the ratio of 1, 2 and 4, being Mandram meaning low in the heart, Madhyamam meaning middle in the trunk, and Taram meaning high in the head. The sound which is thus produced has twenty-two varieties. The sound which could be distinctly heard is called sruti, meaning note. There are twenty-two nadis meaning arterial passages across. When the air passes through them, these passages dilate, and the sound comes out fully concentrated. In the same manner, there are twenty-two sthanas in the trunk and the head. The outcome of these twenty-two notes are the twenty-two srutis which were once prevalent in India, though in modern practice, we recognize only twelve srutis. The ancient Tamilians had designated the saptaswaras by Tamil names. They were known as Kural, Kaikkilai, Ulai, Ili, Vilari and Taram. Each of them denotes a varying passion, e.g., Kural means natural tone, Tuttam means sound produced by the help of the tongue, Kaikkilai means unreciprocated passion, Ulai means disappointed howl, Ili means contempt, Vilari means compassion, and Taram means high. Subsequently, but even before the age of Panini, 250 B.C., these

seven notes were known by the present Sanskrit names, viz., Shadja, Rishabha, Gandhara, Madhyama, Panchama, Dhaiwata and Nishada and were designated by their initial letters usually adopted for the seven notes used as symbols, for facility of singing, viz., Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni. But the notation was not further developed and deciphered, because the minute classification of sound effects was found to be incomplete and inaccurate in writing.

The human intellect is so constituted that by hearing often a particular tune you can fix it in the mind, but cannot so accurately commit it to writing, as these gross symbols can never indicate the subtler variations of the living voice. This phenomenon is found in a smaller degree even among animals. You will surely feel amused when I say that even the domestic dogs have learnt to bark in various tones, indicative of their desire as distinct from the bark of a wild dog. A domesticated dog has a bark of eagerness as in the chase, that of anger as when growling, the howl of despair as when shut up, the bark of joy as when starting on a walk with his master, the bark of demand of wishing for a door to be opened, and the baying at night as an alarm. All these, doubtless, indicate various emotions and desires, and this is the result of the dog having lived in close association with human beings, who are the highest manipulators of voice, and of its having heard their various articulations of joy and sorrow.

It is generally believed by the Hindus that the surest way to secure the blessings of a deity is to utter its praise in music, and our Bhajana organizations, which in these days find curious imitation among foreigners too are based on this principle. Sri Chaitanya, among the latter-day saints of India, is said to have danced and sung till he fell into a fit of ecstasy. The fact is remarkable that, even in the most advanced nations in the world, praise and prayer are generally accompanied by music. In the Chinese annals, a curious belief is recorded that music has the power of making even the heavens descend upon the earth. It is religiously ordained that Samaveda should be recited with musical grace.

Charles Darwin says, "It appears probable that the progenitors of the human race, whether males or females, before acquiring the power of expressing their mutual love in articulate language, endeavoured to charm each other with musical notes and rhymes." Women generally possess sweeter voice than men as their throat does not undergo any change of form by age. And if this serves as any guide at all, we may infer that they first acquired musical power in order to attract the other sex. But if this be so, this must have been the case long long ago, before our ancestors had become sufficiently human to justly appreciate women for their intrinsic worth.

Naturalists are much divided in their views as to the object served by the

singing of birds. The males of song birds do not in general search for the females, but on the contrary, their business in spring is to perch in some conspicuous spot, breathing out their full and amorous notes, which by instinct the female knows and repairs to the spot to choose her mate. It is affirmed that this is certainly the case with the nightingale. Mr. Beepsteen, who kept a number of birds during his life-time, asserts that the female canary always chooses out of a hundred competitors the one whose notes please her most. Mr. Yarrel says that during the season of songs the first rate bird sometimes sings till he drops down dead by rupturing a blood vessel.

Having given a very brief account of the origin and history of Indian music and other susceptibilities in connection therewith, I shall now proceed to give you the rudiments of the musical notes of the Indian octave, comparing them with the English.

In determining the number of notes, the ancient Indians seem to have been influenced by their partiality for the mystic figure seven. For the musical notes are seven, known as Saptaswaras, the oceans of the world are seven, known as Saptasamudras, the worlds are seven, known as Saptalokas, the planets are seven, known as Saptagrahas, the saints who formed the religious ancestors are seven, known as Saptarishis, the days of the week are seven, known as Saptawaras, the arteries for feeling the pulse of human beings are seven, known as Saptanadis, the principal colours are seven, and the constituents of the human body are also seven.

It would interest you to know how the pitch of these seven notes was originally fixed by the saints who lived in forests, by careful observation of the sounds uttered during the respective seasons by the various birds and animals by which they were surrounded.

The late Mr. Chinnaamy Mudaliar, M.A., who had made music his life study and who spent the whole of his hard earned fortune on it, describes the various notes, with reference to the emotions that give rise to them. He says, Sa is the sound of joy and happiness, produced by the peacock, at moments of rapture, which generally happens when the clouds gather in the sky, indicating the commencement of the rainy season. Ri is the troubled low of the cow in calling to her calf dragged away from her. Ga is the puzzled bleat of the goat, in the midst of its flock, calling for the aid of its fellows. Ma is the unhappy cry of the heron on the bank of a pool, uttered on seeing the gathering of the clouds, and anticipating a flood, which would force her to flee elsewhere for safety. Pa is the note of joy sounded by the nightingale at spring tide, the brightest period of the year. Dha is the neigh of readiness of the horse, at the moment when the rider approaches it. Ni is the sorrowful yell of the elephant when the mahout strikes the back of its

head with an iron rod. Stringed instruments were invented to imitate the humming of bees, and drums to reproduce the sound of thunder.

These saptaswaras have both literal and figurative meanings. Shadja means originator of the six notes, Rishabha is so called because the Rig-veda was chanted to its key, Gandhara is so called because it is associated with the Gandharvas, Madhyama means the middle of the seven notes. Panchama means the fifth note. Dhaiwata means the unaffected note, which is not moved from its own position in relation to other notes, and Nishada means the note with which the scale terminates. Of the lower animals, the cock alone is said to be able to reproduce the whole gamut of the musical scale.

The lowest of these seven notes is called Shadja, as it forms the foundation of the other six. Shadja is derived from Sanskrit, shad means six, and ja to be born, meaning the fundamental note which determines the other six. This note repeated at the end makes up a complete octave of eight notes. The scale thus formed is divided into two halves, each being composed of four notes, the first and the last of which remain immutable, while the two intermediate notes alone are liable to variation. These seven principal notes are also based on phonological principles, being related to the seven principal vowel sounds, viz., अ has bearing to Sa, आ to Ri, इ to Ga, उ to Ma, ए to Pa, ओ to Dha and ॐ to Ni. They are also divided into four main castes according to merits, viz., Brahmans being Sa, Ma, and Pa, as each of which contain four srutis, Kshatriyas being Ri and Dha with three srutis, Vysyas being Ga and Ni with two srutis and Sudras being sharps and flats, as unstables, being affected by the relative value of the various notes.

Every note is composed of three tones, viz., first, third and fifth, i.e., Sa, Ga and Pa of the Indian tones, of C, E, and G, of the English tones, in the same way as the sun's ray is composed of three primary prismatic colours, viz., yellow, red and blue. Musical harmony is attained only if the pitch of the sound is uniform. These seven sounds which succeed each other proceed from the grave to the acute. The grave and acute sounds are the two extreme ends of the scale. The highest sound of the octave is produced by double the number of vibrations of the lowest, and the most acute note is the eighth of the series. The two extreme notes are the octaves of each other, one being the lower and the other higher. A melody thus formed of a succession of notes taken from the first series preserves the same character if it is sung in the same order, higher or lower. A musical scale so formed of consecutive sounds has no other limit than those of our power of perceiving sounds. The sounds having been thus fixed, they

are further operated with reference to Ragas and Talas. Raga indicates the type of melody, and is the general name given to a large variety of songs coming under the type, and Tala indicates rhythmical beat, which determines time and fixes the relative duration of musical sounds with reference to a fixed unit. All ragas however may be divided into four classes, those consisting of five notes, those of six, those of seven, and the mixed ones consisting of irregular notes. The arrangement of ascent and descent in the last class is not the same as in the case of the first three classes. This class may therefore be called compound Ragas. There are seventy-two ragas, each involving seven notes, classified into twelve distinct groups and thirty-five talas commonly recognized. The main ragas have been sub-divided into innumerable ragas of derivative scale, and these are called their wives and sons known as Raginis and Putras; of which about one thousand ragas are said to have been generally known, but about two hundred alone are in general use now. It should be observed here, that few voices can touch in artistic singing all the notes of the three octaves. According to the Indian tone of music the compass of the human voice, generally of a matured adult, is three scales, one below the register and the other above it.

Every raga in the Indian music is associated with some divinity or other, for example, Shankarabharana means ornament of Siva. Some names have also reference to particular sound, for example Garudadhvani means note of an eagle. These names are partly of a connotative nature, while the rest are mostly arbitrary. Music was so much spread and developed in ancient days, that different melodies were generally fixed for different seasons and for different periods of the day and night, and the rule is observed even to this day.

The raga which is sung in winter which introduces five other seasons in succession begins with Sri, as Hindus begin everything with Sri, which means Lakshmi signifying prosperity. So, the raga also begins with Sri, and therefore in winter, which is the commencement of the seasons, Sriraga is sung. Next is the spring, which means Vasantha and therefore Vasantha-raga, as its name indicates, is sung in spring. In summer, songs are sung in Panchama tone as it is the substitute for Dipika, which means a burning lamp and is associated with heat, which would produce flames. Megha means cloud, and so the Megha Mallar raga is sung in the rainy season to produce rain. Bhairava raga is sung in autumn, as Bhairava is another name for Siva, who, together with his consort, Parvati, is particularly worshipped in autumn, and Narayana raga is sung in winter, as it is associated with heroism, the winter being considered the most convenient season to engage

in war. Similarly, Hanumatodi is intended for the morning, Kharaharapriya for the noon, Subhapantuvarali for the evening, and Natabhairavi for the night, and so on. There are also notes expressing reverence, request, pleasure, sorrow, etc. Mayamawagowla denotes reverence, whereas Hari-kambodi is intended for imploring. For expressing sorrow and pleasure respectively, Pun-nagavarali and Bilahari are largely used. For royal courts Arabhi, and for love Mohana, are used. The Hindu musicians take great care not to confound the notes intended to express these varying passions of the human soul. It is said that by way of test, the Emperor Akbar commanded Naik Gopal to sing Dipika raga; in obedience to which the Naik went to the Jumna river, plunged in up to his neck and sung the characteristic notes. As he went on flames burst out and he was consumed to ashes in spite of his being in water. Then the experiment of Natabhairavi raga was entrusted to Thansain, with the result that though sung at midday its notes induced darkness and encircled the royal abode, as far as the songster's voice could be heard.

In the English music, the seven sounds are called Do, Re, Me, Fa, Sol, La and Si, which are derived from the first syllable of each line of a Latin hymn written by Paulus Diaconus who flourished in Italy in the eighth century and the letters of the alphabet usually adopted to indicate the seven notes are C, D, E, F, G, A and B. These letters are repeated for each octave, with the terms sharp and flat, equivalent to Thivra and Comala in the Indian music for the intermediate notes. When the compass of these notes, English and Indian, are compared, the difference can be mathematically expressed, with 282 points for the English notes against 268 points for the Indian notes.

<i>English</i>	Do	Re	Me	Fa	Sol	La	Si	Do
	24	27	30	32	36	40	45	2
								48
<i>Indian</i>	Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni	Sa
	22	26	29	31	35	39	42	2
								44

The Hindu music attained perfection at the very commencement and it continues to remain perfect. For, it may be assumed that the calculations used by the Hindus at present are as they existed from the earliest times. The very fact that the octaves as they proceed have the vibrations of their notes in geometrical progression, shows that the musical ear was most delicately trained.

Mr. Vossius maintains that Egyptians who borrowed their music from India, had also a musical scale similar to that of the English, many centuries before Guy of Arezzo published his own. There was however a good deal of controversy

as to the twelve notes, till Heyden in 1732, Mazart in 1756 and Beethoven in 1798, fixed and divided in equal temperament the various tones and semi-tones.

Physiologically speaking, the ordinary human ear is capable of appreciating tones having 33 to 4,000 vibrations per second, *i.e.*, from the lowest basis C.33 vibrations to the highest treble, C.54223 vibrations of the piano taking Sa as the basis with 2160 vibrations. Tones above and below this, even when audible, can hardly be distinguished from one another. The lowest limit has been fixed at 16 vibrations and the highest at 38,000 vibrations a second, by employing very small tuning forks. A sound corresponding to 38,000 vibrations a second is also audible. But the modern scientists in America who have been making very minute researches have not been able to fix the velocity of the vibrations that ought to be audible to the human ear.

In the animate beings the vocal chord is essential for producing sound. The vocal organs of both human beings and animals present a general resemblance. Some of the animals have large sacks attached to the vocal chords which increase the resonance of the voice, for example, the noisy braying of the ass is due to this. On the other hand the giraffe, porcupine and a few other animals, have no vocal chord and hence they are mute. According to Professor Max-Muller, the average length of the vocal chord in man is $18\frac{1}{2}$ millimeters when relaxed and $23\frac{1}{2}$ millimeters when stretched, whereas in women $12\frac{3}{4}$ millimeters when relaxed and $15\frac{3}{4}$ millimeters when stretched, thus giving a difference of about $\frac{1}{2}$ between the two sexes, which accounts for the different pitch of the male and female voices. One millimeter is equal to $\frac{1}{25}$ th of an inch roughly, and therefore the vocal chord of a human being is about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. The man's vocal chord is about $\frac{1}{3}$ longer than that of a woman or a boy, but the timbre and the form of the larynx differ in various races of mankind and with the Tartars and Chinese the voice of the male does not differ so much as in most other races.

Turning to the subject of musical instruments, I may mention that in ancient days the Indians had brought even instrumental music to a high state of development. They had stringed and wired instruments very peculiar and adapted to their mode of singing. These instruments had generally seven to twenty-one strings denoting the seven main notes. Veena was known then by the name of Yal with a hundred and even more strings and it is said that an instrument used by the great sage Agastya had a thousand strings. A great variety of wind and other instruments were also in use.

The Indian musical instruments may be classed under three main heads in each of which there are methods calculated to produce musical sounds. Firstly by pulling metal, wire, or catgut-strings stretched to tension and

producing sounds from them by strokes, either by plucking, or by striking, or by friction by horse hair. Secondly, by percussion and compressing air and letting it out, through hole or holes in various proportions. And thirdly, by blowing air through hole or holes with varying speed and by subjecting it by some device, metal, wood, or horn or other substance to measured strokes. The Veena is alluded to in the Vedas themselves while the flute is the favourite of Lord Sri Krishna. Although wind instruments are more largely in use, yet they have been of secondary importance for the reason of their use by the mouth which is generally considered as unclean by the Hindus.

The innumerable musical instruments of Indians, most of which are very ancient, are indicative of the ingenious variety of India's music. There are over fifty kinds of stringed or wired instruments, eighty kinds of wind instruments and a hundred and twenty kinds of other miscellaneous instruments. Among drums alone there are over a hundred kinds. Of the latter, three kinds were most remarkable. They were the battle drum, the judgment drum and the sacrificial drum. The battle drum was regarded as an equivalent to the present-day regimental flag and the capture of the battle drum meant the defeat of the army. Even a list of the various instruments will surely be a very lengthy one, nor do I attempt to explain them, as it is not possible to describe all of them at one stretch. I would however mention one of each kind, taking first a stringed or wired instrument.

Of all the musical instruments, the stringed or wired instruments of India are the most melodious, full of grace and embellishment and capable of great range. Among wired instruments the Veena is one of a very high order, and it occupies the first place. According to Hindu mythology, it is one of the emblems of Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning. Its stem two to three feet long, forming the frame, is generally made of jack-wood, to one end of which is attached a hollow wooden resonance box of the shape of a hemisphere, and to the other end just below, but half a foot away from the butt-end, is also attached a gourd to balance the instrument on the ground. There are a number of sound holes, on the plain upper surface of the resonance box, on which a bridge is placed. On this frame, the wires are fitted and spread over twenty-four rigid frets made of brass or silver and are fixed and screwed at the two ends of the frame. It has four main wires and three sub-wires all screwed tight on the scaled stem, and each of them has a range of two octaves up to the last fret. These four wires are usually tuned to the key note. They are played by the right hand finger nails specially allowed to grow or by a plectrum worn on the finger's tip. The three side wires are struck not only as a kind of drone to the music but also to mark time and contribute harmony. The main wires are operated by the

left hand fingers. The various notes are produced on the frets in contact with which the wires are worked and vibrated.

The next in order are the instruments worked by compression of wind. Those worked by various other methods are considered to be next to them in excellence. I therefore take a wind instrument, Nagaswara the pipe. It is in common use throughout India. No ceremony is complete without it. It is made generally of black wood but the modern tendency has been to have it overlaid with silver or gold plates in token of the proficiency of the performer. It consists of a tube two to two and a quarter feet long conical in shape enlarging downwards with finger holes bored horizontally and with cad-jon leaves fixed to the muzzle as a mouth-piece. The piper blows through the tube, simultaneously working with the finger on the side holes also, with variations of sounds of acute and grave scaled down to key note. There are in all twelve holes, seven of which are generally used by the fingers, and the remaining five are left alone to regulate the pitch. These holes are fully or partially covered according to the delicacy of the note to be produced. While blowing through the muzzle, the horizontal key note holes are worked with eight fingers of both the hands. Great skill is required to bring out on this all the notes of the gamut. It is always accompanied by one or two drones, which indicate the fundamental note and the fifth note, viz., Sa and Pa of the Indian tones or C and E of the English tones. On the Nagaswara the performer can produce all the graces of music. The music is very pleasing but it is not intended to be heard at close quarters.

I next take an instrument known as Jalatarang falling under the category of the third class. In this there is an arrangement to produce musical sound, by striking with two thin sticks held in both hands fourteen China cups of varying sizes placed in a semicircular form and filled with water in different proportions so as to produce the different tones and semi-tones. These cups are placed within the radius of the performer's reach who sits in the centre. It requires a drone to maintain harmony. But this latter day invention makes no provision for the subtle effects of blended notes.

Having given only one instrument of each of the three important kinds, I wish however to make at least a mere reference to a few other ancient instruments of noteworthy features. In Ceylon there is an instrument which has only two strings, one of flax and the other of horse hair and has tiny bells attached to it. The hollow part of this instrument is half a coconut shell covered with the dried skin of a lizard and perforated below. With a little variation there is a similar one in Assam. Another of the kind is in the Punjab but this is provided with forty-five strings, seven for each swara. In Deccan there is a similar instrument made of clay and a long drum made of deer skin.

Another in Burma is shaped like a boat and is provided with forty-two bamboo sticks of various lengths. These are beaten with a wooden hammer to produce the required notes. Another instrument in the North has a bowl made of ostrich egg and there are a number of other instruments of extraordinary kind even the exact shape of which is unknown. Each variety can produce some peculiar grace or graces of music.

You are probably aware of a recent invention by one Mr. P. Subba Rao, B.A., who is a native of the Northern Circars. The invention is a happy combination of the two instruments, *viz.*, the jalatarang and the harmonium. The inventor calls it Jalactronium. Its arrangement roughly is that a current of electricity passes through a wire which when electrified produces a magnetic field, and as the wire is wound round a piece of iron the magnetic effect is increased. This magnetised iron attracts another piece of iron to which hammers are attached to strike the various cups. The hammers are made of special material and produce no harsh or metallic sound. The magnetic arrangement by which the cups are struck is called a "relay". The range compasses from two to four octaves. Magnetic relays that strike the cups are actuated by keys on a switch board. By pressing the necessary key of the switch board the hammers strike the corresponding cups producing various musical sounds. The key switch board may be imagined to be of the kind of a typewriting machine. The harmonium is kept in unison with the jalatarang which actuates it. The notes on the harmonium correspond to those in the cups in the same or higher or lower octave as may be fixed. The short and sharp sounds of the jalatarang, combined with those of the harmonium, produce a pleasing effect. The keys of the harmonium are utilized as the keys of the switch board, to faithfully reproduce the notes both in quality and in quantity. A standard set of cups are kept ready for comparison and other cups are standardised by filling them with the requisite measure of water. Two or more corresponding notes of different octaves can be produced at the same time by playing with both hands. A harmonist who sings with this arrangement requires no other accompaniment. This invention is really novel.

There is yet another invention known as Subra-Veena by one Mr. P. S. Subramanyam. The invention may be said to be the combination of harmonium and veena. The main object of the invention is to supplant harmonium, a latter day's invention, with veena, a classical and national instrument. In this a key board has been provided and a note is produced by pressing a particular key which at the same time works on the striking lever and in turn it operates on the various strings of the veena. More minute strains are similarly worked while the various strings are under vibration. Subtle effects of blended notes are produced by pulling the lever to which a

tape is attached. This invention is intended solely to facilitate the learning of veena-playing which is very difficult, and also to produce richer and more concentrated notes, the veena is in unison with the harmonium. This invention is also novel.

Let me remark in passing that of all English musical instruments the violin is the only one capable of reproducing every variety of intonation and grace and calculated to unfold the infinite potentialities of Indian music.

I hope this brief account, which I have been able to place before you, will convince you that Indian music has a history of its own. Need I say that Indian music commands the admiration of every scholar, who has made a searching study of its origin and history, and who wishes to know what lights up every face in an Indian home?

TWO TAMIL DANCES.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, ESQ., B.A.

Nāṭya-śāstra, or the art of acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bharata-śāstra* of about the fourth century A.D.; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier *Nāṭyasūtras*¹ of Śilālin and Kṛiṣāśva who have been referred to by, and must therefore have lived before, the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the dancing art of Aryan India as a science goes back to very high antiquity. The Tamilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally hoary and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilization, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgēṟṟukāḍai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*, the third and sixth chapters of *Pugār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*, some references are made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārk-kunallār (c. 1200 A.D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some Tamil works, such as *Agattiyam*, *Śeyṟṟiyam*, *Jayantam*, *Guṇanūl*, *Nāṭaka-tamiḷ-nūl* of Mativāṇa, etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility, etc., of the various kinds of dances, either purely pantomimic or accompanied by music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāl* and the *kuḷal*.

Kūttus or dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntik-kūttu*² and the *Vinōḍakkūttu*.³ The former was the collective name of four⁴ kinds of dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of æsthetic recreation; while the *Vinōḍakkūttu* which had to appeal to the masses was more of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was sub-divided into six varieties, viz.,⁵ *Kuravai*, *Kalinaṇam*, *Kuḍakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōṟpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidūḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veriyāṟṟu* as the seventh.

1. Q. J. M. S., Vol. XII, page 157. Some place Bharata before Christ.

2-3. Mah. Swaminatha Ayyar's edition of *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

4. namely, *Śokkam*, *Meykkūttu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakam*.

5. 'எழுவகைக் கூத்து மிழிகுலத் தோரை யாட வகுத்தன் எனத்தியன்றனே'—Page 81.

Of these, *Kuḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the Dēvas in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras* and enumerated in the following stanza:—

‘கடையமயி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
குடைதுடிமா லல்லியமல் கும்பஞ்—சுடர்விழியாற்
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப் பாவையரன் பாண்டரங்கங்
கொட்டியிவை காண்பதினோர் கூத்து.’

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:

‘அல்லியங் கொட்டி குடைகுடம் பாண்டரங்க
மல்லுட னின்றாட லாறு’

and ‘துடிக்கடை யம்பேடு மரக்காலே பாவை
வடிவுடன் வீழ்த்தாட லைத்து.’⁶

Of these we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

‘படைவீழ்த் தவுணர் பையு ளெய்தக்
குடைவீழ்த் தவர்மு னுடிய குடையும்
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடந்து
நீணில மளந்தோ னுடிய குடமும்’

(lines 52—55).

In his commentary on these lines, Aḍiyārk-kunallār says that god Subrahmanya after having slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tuḍi*),⁷ and that later on, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair and fled from the field before the war-god's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmanya screened his face with a parasol and played in derision the *Kuḍaikkūttu* or the Umbrella-Dance. These are the two⁸ varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamilian origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Murugaṇ (the Tamil synonym of

6. Mah. Swaminatha Ayyar's edition, page 89.

7. மாக்கட னவே

ணீர்த்திரை யரங்கத்து நிகர்த்து முன்னின்ற

குர்த்திறங் சுடர்தொ னுடிய தடியும்—ll. 49—51 of *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*.

Compare also சேடனுக்கசன் டாளரக்கர்துல

மாளலிட்டுகுண் டேழலக்கடல்கள்

சேரவற்றனின் றுடிவிற்கரம்—ரறுதோண்மேல்—*Tiruppugal*.

8. குடையொடுதடியிரண்டும் குமரனதாலாமே—*Chūḍamaṇi*.

அறுமுகத்தோடால் குடை and தடியாடல் வேன்முருகுடால்—*Śilap.*, page 89.

Kumāra) is more popular in Tamilian South India than in the Aryan North where his worship is not so much favoured⁹; and we find him given an equal status with Vishṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary deity of the *Kuṛiñjinila-mākkal*¹⁰ or hill-men, in whose routine of worship *tuḍi*¹¹ (drum) was the chief musical accompaniment and *veriyāḷḷu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugār-ruḇṇṇai*, the first poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, is in praise of this god Murugaṇ and is considered so sacred as to be utilized by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyaṇam*); while as many as eight pieces in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvāl (Subrahmaṇya). These *Kuḍaikkūttus* are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol in front of the deity; but the *Kāvaḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṇ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍakkūttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, but again we do not find its counterpart in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Vishṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd.¹² In the Śaṅgam works¹³ but more frequently in the impassioned utterances¹⁴ of the Vaishṇava-āḷvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Kṛishṇa to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse of Periyāḷvār's *Tirumoli*¹⁵, where its learned

9. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415.

10. சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்—*Tolkāppiyam*, Aha : S. 5.

11. தொண்டகமுருகியம் போர்த்துடி குறிஞ்சிப்பறைபேர்—*Chūḍāmaṇi*.

12. மாயோன் மேய காடுறையுலகமும்—*Tolkāppiyam*.

‘குன்றெடுத்து ஆகிரைகாத்தபிரான், கோவலனாய்க்குழலுத்தியுதி, கன்றுகள் மேய் துத்த தன்தோழதரோடு கலந்துடன் வருவான்’—*Periyāḷvār-Tirumoli*.

13. இடவல குடவல கோவல காவல—*Paripāḍal*, 3ம் பத்து, l. 83;

குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோனாடல்—*Silap.*, page 89.

14. குடங்கலந்தாடிக் குரவைமுன் கோத்த கூத்த—படுதிருமொ, தம்பத்து, எம்திருமொழி. —*Silap.*, page 89.

குடமாகுத்தன் கோலிந்தன் —காச்சி, ய-ம் திருமொழி.,

குடமாடிக் கோவலனாய்மேலி என்னெஞ்சம்

இடமாகக் கொண்ட இறை—இயற்பா, உ-ம்திருவ, பா 98.

குடமாடி இம்மண்ணும் லின்னணும் குலுங்க உலகனந்து

நடமாடிய பெருமாள்—இயற்பா, திருவி., பா 38.

குடமாடல் வாய்ந்த பரததுவத்தான்—திருவேங்கடமாலா, 48.

15. குடங்கனெடுத்தேறலிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல எம்கோவே—2-ம் பத்து, எம்திருமொழி.

commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

“As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance”—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. “The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders, and throwing up some in the air catches them as they fall in succession (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammānai* is being played by little girls). The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*).” Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōṇ*), was therefore the deity-elect of these arcadian performances, more particularly of the *Kuravaikkūttu* (Skt. *Rāsakṛīḍa*),¹⁶ the idyllic dance played on the moonlit lawns of Brindāvana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nilam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even to-day in the form of *Karakamāḍḍam* connected with the worship of Kālī, in the *Uriyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Kṛishṇa, and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of *Silappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played by Kṛishṇa; viz., that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Sōṇitapura (Sōnagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā, the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmaṇya, Ganēśa and all the goblin hordes entered the city,¹⁷ defeated Bāṇa and would have killed him outright but for the timely pleading of Śiva and Bāṇa's agreement publicly to celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signalled his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu*,¹⁸ which he indulged in on the occasions respectively

16. தொடுத்தகைகோத்தாடற் பேர் சொல்லிய குரவையென்ப—*Chūḍāmaṇi*.

This dance has been described in *Aychchiar-Kuravai* in *Silappadigāram*.

17. Compare the following description in *Tiruvarambakkalambagam*, verse 39 :

மோடியோட வங்கிவெப்பு மங்கியோடவைங்கரன்

முடுகியோட முருகேட முக்கனீசன் மக்கவளத்

தேடியோட வாணனாயிரம் புயங்கள் குருதிநீர்

சிந்தியோட நேமிதொட்ட திருவரங்கராசரே.

18. குடமல் லோடல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணன் தன் கூத்து—*Chūḍāmaṇi*.

of killing the elephant-emissary of Kamsa and Kamsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the *Āyarchchēri* several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter¹⁹ and curds were denied or given him, and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kālīya²⁰ who was polluting the Yamunā's waters. It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabharatam*, a work on the dancing art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara (1758-98), Mahārāja of Travancore, mentions Shaṇmukha (Subrahmaṇya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-purushas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the dance.

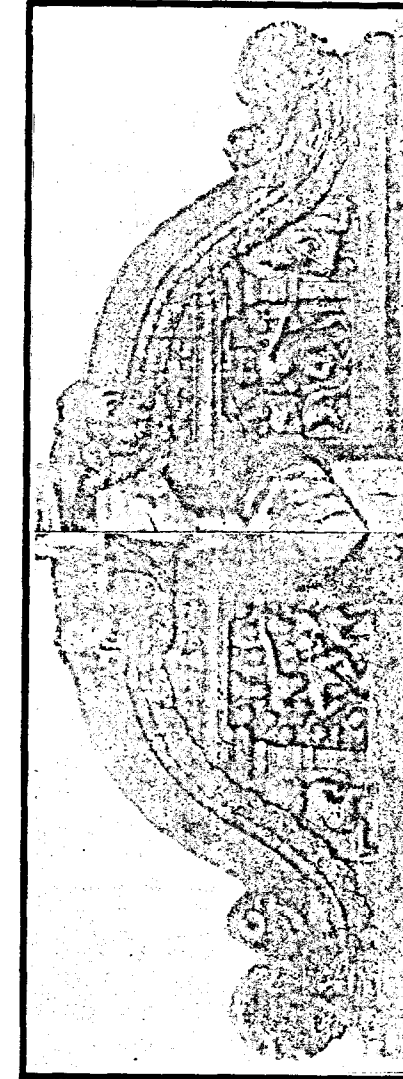
The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūttu* and the *Kuḍakkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptures found on the two *yāli*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittānam²¹ (Chenganacheri taluk of the Travancore State), one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* (holy places sacred to Viṣṇu) of Malai-nāḍu commemorated in the hymns of Nammālvār, may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the end of the tenth century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (A.D. 980-1037) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *garbhagriha* of this temple. These sculptures need not necessarily illustrate the dances of Subrahmaṇya and Kṛishṇa as such, but may even be representations of their exposition by mortal dancers. The *Kuḍaikkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa* (the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?) while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite so clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛdaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *hamsas* looking more like ducklings than royal swans is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the whole composition. The other panel of *Kuḍakkūttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence

19. Compare his title of வெண்ணெய்க்குத்தன்.

20. பையரலின் குட்டிற் சிரமபத நாட்டி னான் சேர்வு—*Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai*, verse 1.
கானகமாமலேற் காளியனுச்சியிலே தாயநடம்பயிலும் சுந்தர—

21. It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkūttu* while Nammālvār has also described the god of this place as :

‘வைகுந்தம், கோயில்கொண்ட குடக்கூத்த அம்மானே.’ verse 5.



VARIETIES OF ANCIENT TAMIL DANCES

of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *karandamakuṣa* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Kṛishṇa and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying a doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances illustrated in the accompanying photographs, and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in altered forms, in Kēraḷa, the yet unrifled 'Old Curiosity Shop' of several early customs and institutions.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SIVA-WORSHIP WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIRASAIVISM.

BY R. RAMA RAO, ESQ., B.A.

THE Virāśaivas so called on account of their staunch devotion to the god Śiva form an important and influential community in the Kannaḍa-speaking tracts of the Dekkan including parts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies as well as the State of Mysore. They are also known as Lingāyats because they worship the *linga* or the stone emblem of the god Śiva and wear it always either enclosed in a small box and suspended by a string or tied in a scarf on their persons. Their religion is of considerable importance to the students of South Indian history and languages not only because its sudden ascendancy paved the way for the downfall of the Kālachūrya dynasty of kings, and because several powerful chiefs like the rulers of Ikkēri and Māgadi who grew in importance with the downfall of Vijayanagar were its adherents but because its growth gave a powerful stimulus to the development of a popular literature in the Kannaḍa language. The chief article in the creed of the Virāśaivas is the exclusive worship of the god Śiva whom they believe to be the Supreme Being, the Origin of the Universe, Lord over all beings and the deliverer of his devotees from their bondage of births and deaths. It is therefore necessary while dealing with the origin of Virāśaivism to trace the beginnings and development of the worship of the god Śiva.

Let us first turn to the most ancient scriptures of the Hindu Aryans, *viz.*, the Vedas. The name Śiva is seldom met with in the Vedic hymns but the other names used for this god such as Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Triyambaka, occur in several passages in the Vedas. In some hymns Rudra is represented as "discharging brilliant shafts which run about the heaven and earth (Rig Veda, vii, 46, 3) and as possessing weapons which slay cows and men (*ibid.*, i, 114, 10). This would lead us to infer that he was identified with the destructive power of lightning. He is often spoken of as fire and identified with the fire-god Agni. "The fire is Rudra; he is born when he is completely piled up." (Yajur Veda, v, 4, 2.) But we must not from these jump to the conclusion that Rudra was a terrible deity identical with the destructive agency of lightning or fire. For there are several other passages where he is spoken of as beneficent to men and beasts. The complex nature of the god is clearly brought out in the following hymn of the Rig Veda: "Offer these praises to the divine Rudra, armed with the strong bow and fast-flying arrows,

the bestower of food, the invincible, the conqueror, the creator, the wielder of sharp weapons; may he hear our praises. He is known by his rule over those of terrestrial birth, by his sovereignty over those of celestial origin: protecting our progeny, Rudra, propitiating thee, come to our dwellings and be to them a guardian against disease. May thy blazing weapon which discharged from heaven traverses the earth, avoid us: thine, appeaser of the wind, are a thousand medicaments; inflict not evil upon our sons and grandsons. Harm us not, Rudra; abandon us not; let us not fall under the bondage of thee when displeased; make us partakers of the life-promoting sacrifice and do you (gods) ever cherish us with blessings" (vii, 46, 1-4). He is here the Supreme Creator and Ruler of the Universe punishing with his terrific arrows wicked men (the cow-killers and man-slayers: Yajurveda: Śatarudriya, chapter 19, 7) but benignant to his worshippers, protecting them against disease and increasing their food, cattle and progeny (*Cf.* also R. V., vi, 49, 10; i, 43, 1-4).

The passages quoted above are mostly taken from the Rig Veda but hymns of similar import are to be found in the other Vedas also as evidenced by the following extracts: "The Rudra in the fire, in the waters, in the plants, the Rudra that hath entered all beings, to that Rudra be homage" (Yajur Veda, v, 5, 10). "Rudra has broken your necks, ye Piśāchas; may he also break your ribs, ye spooks. The plant whose power is everywhere has united you with Yama (death)" (Atharva Veda, vi, 32, 2). "O King Bhava, be gracious to the sacrificer, for thou hast become lord of cattle; whoever has faith saying 'the gods are' be thou gracious to his bipeds and quadrupeds" (*ibid.*, xi, 2, 28). "Let Bhava and Śarva hurl at the evil-doers, the witchcraft-maker, the ill-doer, the missile of the gods, the lightning (*ibid.*, x, 1, 23). With mind, with libations, with flame (haras?), with ghee, unto the archer Śarva and unto king Bhava—to them who are deserving of homage, I pay homage; let them conduct those of evil poison away from us" (*Ibid.*, vi, 93, 2). "Do ye (Sōma and Rudra) release us from difficulty, from reproach, enjoy ye the offering, put in us immortality" (*ibid.*, v, 6, 8).

Let us now turn to a book in the Yajur Veda, known as Śatarudriya which is devoted exclusively to the god Rudra and which is held in high esteem and used in daily worship by pious devotees of Śiva all over India. Here the nature of the god appears in a much more developed form. He is the deity benignant to his worshippers irrespective of their walks of life but wrathful to evil-doers and is the lord of all the beings on earth. "O Girīśa, we pray to you by good (Śivēna vachasā) words. Make this our world free from *Yakshma* (disease) and happy. May the divine physician destroy all the serpents and demons (Yātudhānyah)" (1-5-6). Several names are given here for Rudra. He is called *Nilagrīva* blue-necked, *Mṛṇāla* happiness-giver,

Kapardin wearer of matted hair, *Bhava* ever persistent, *Śankara* beneficent, *Śiva* good, *Bhagava* the rich, *Iśāna* lordly, *Śarva* arrow-wielder, *Ugra* terrible, *Bhīma* fierce, *Pinākin* the bearer of *Pināka* (a bow), *Paśupati* lord of cattle. He is the thousand-eyed, lord of the worlds, of cattle, of road-trackers, of food, of fields, of forests, of trees, of herbs, of warriors, of thieves and robbers, of *punjishyas* (killers of birds) and *nishādas* (hunters), of swordsmen, of *vrātas* (assemblies) and *vrātapatis* (leaders of assembly), of heroes and horsemen, etc. He is prayed for to keep the children and cattle happy and not to hurt them with his arrows (10, 3, 5 & 6) but be terrible towards cow-killers and man-slayers (10, 7). Prayers are also addressed to Rudras found in the ocean and sky, who are blue-necked, dwellers in trees, protectors and also injurers of men in food and drink, shooters of arrows and they are prayed to keep the devotee happy and to inflict harm on his enemies (11th anuvāka). They are elsewhere found associated with the Vasus and Ādityas and sometimes with Maruts who are called sons of Rudra (A. V., v, 24, 12; viii, 8, 12; xix, 11, 4; R. V., x, 92, 5; x, 128; i, 45, etc.).

There is a chapter in the Atharva Veda (chapter xv) which is believed by some scholars to throw a flood of light on the origin and nature of this deity. This chapter resembles to some extent the celebrated Purusha Sūkta of the Rig Veda. Just as in the latter hymn we find a mysterious account given of the origin and greatness of the Purusha, the significance of which cannot be clearly followed we find in this chapter of the Atharva Veda the nature and deeds of the Vrātya described in terms which equally mystify and puzzle us. It begins by saying "A Vrātya there was, just going about ; he stirred up Prajāpati. He, Prajāpati, saw in himself gold (suvarṇa); he generated that; That became one; that became star-marked? (lalāma); that became great; that became chief; that became *brahman*; that became tapas; that became truth; therewith he had progeny (tēna prājāyata.) He increased; he became great; he became Mahādēva; he attained the lordship of the gods; he became the Lord (Iśāna). He became the great (or sole) Vrātya (Ēkavrātya)." We next hear of the Vrātya taking a bow (Indra's bow) and wearing a turban (the day) and moving in various directions followed by the Ādityas, Viśvādēvas and other gods as well as by Vedic hymns. He is next stated to have stood erect for a year at the end of which he sat on an *āsandī* brought by the gods for him. Its feet are said to have been the seasons, its cushion the Veda, its pillow the Brahman. We next hear of the months being made his guardians and heaven and Āditya his attendants. The archers Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Māhādēva and Iśāna were given as his attendants from various quarters. He moved and was followed by earth, fire, herbs, Diti and Aditi, Idā and

Indrāṇi and by all the gods, the *sabhā*, *samiti*, army, and *surā* (liquor). We have next some injunctions that all classes of people to whose house a learned (vidvān) Vrātya might go should show him due respect and should, in case fire-oblations are about to be offered at the time of his visit, take permission from him before making the oblation. We next hear again of Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Yama, Agni, Iśāna and Prajāpati moving out after the Vrātya when he set out towards various quarters and that the sun and moon were his right and left eyes. Finally, the chapter concludes with the statement that with the day is the Vrātya westward, with the night eastward; homage to the Vrātya."

Professor Hara Prasada Sastry has, in his Presidential Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1921, tried to prove the identity of the great Vrātya referred to in the above passage with the God Rudra-Śiva. He says that the Vrātyas were a nomadic people without any permanent settlement and fighting the Vedic Aryans and that Śiva who is represented in Hindu tradition as a homeless vagabond living on cremation and burial grounds represents their spirit and is their god. The stringless bow, the *āsandī* (or charpois), the turban, the whip, etc., which are associated with the great Vrātya in the above passage are also found to have been in vogue among the Vrātyas as stated in Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda and the Lāṭyāyana Sūtras. The sacrificer has to take, according to the chapter of A. V. quoted above, the permission of the Vrātya who might be present at his house at the time of the sacrificial offering, otherwise the sacrifice would be fruitless. The Vrātya himself was above sacrifice. This is exemplified in the story of Dakṣha refusing to honour Śiva at his sacrifice and the harm that befell him consequently. Lastly the great Vrātya is said to have been served by Bhava, Śarva, etc., given by different quarters. These represent seven out of eight murtis (aspects) of Śiva, the Antardēśa, the four cardinal points, the Zenith and the Dhruva.

Let us now briefly examine the above grounds for identifying the great Vrātya with Śiva. In the first place there is no authority in the Vedas for interpreting the word Vrātya as a member of a wandering tribe inimical to Aryans. This word does not occur elsewhere in the Vedas. The word *vrāta* which is closely associated with it simply means a collection or a tribe and is used in a good sense (see R. V., iii, 26, 6; v, 53, 11; vi, 7, 5, 9; x, 34, 8, 12; A. V. ii, 9, 2).

The Vedic hymns describe the Asuras, Dasyus and Yātudhānas as enemies of the Aryans but nowhere is the Vrātya described as fighting with the Aryans. Even if we accept the Vrātyas to be a nomadic tribe outside the pale of the Aryan civilization we do not see any reason for identifying Śiva

with their spirit. The Vedas do not depict Rudra-Śiva as a homeless vagabond. There are several passages in the Samhita and Brāhmaṇa where the northern quarter is assigned to him, and oblations are directed to be offered to him. In fact, he is often spoken of as Agni or fire (see A. V., vi, 93, 2; ix, 8, 18; Y. V., v, 4, 2, 10; v, 6, 10; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 2, 3, 29; 2, 6, 2, 3-6; 5, 4, 2, 10). He is described as a promoter of sacrifices and the protector of sacrificers. Nor do we find either in the Vedic or Post-Vedic literature the stringless bow, or the turban, or the āsandi or the whip as associated with him. His bow is represented to have had a string (jyā) in the Vedas, *pramuncha dhanvanas tvamubhayor artriya jyām* (Śatarudriya 1, 10). With regard to the statement found at the commencement of chapter XV of the Atharva Veda that the Vrātya became Mahādēva and Īśāna it is evident that the names Mahādēva and Īśāna here merely indicate that he attained the lordship of the gods and not that he was to be identified with a particular god. For in the same place we find him identified with Brahman, Tapas, Truth, etc. Further we find that all the gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Īśāna, Agni and Prajāpati are described as moving after him or being his followers. Not merely Bhava, Śarva, etc., who are the different forms of Rudra-Śiva but all the seasons, heaven and Ādityas are said to have been his attendants. He is said to have been the origin of the *rājanya* (kshatriyas), *viś* (merchants), etc. In fact, he does not partake of the nature of Rudra-Śiva or any other god but is an incomprehensible almighty and infinite being like the Puruṣa in the Puruṣa Sūkta.

We shall now trace the history of Śiva-worship in the Brāhmaṇas and Gṛihya Sūtras. We find here elaborate rules laid down for offering oblations to Rudra (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, chapter V). He is often identified with Agni. "Now when it is first kindled and there is as yet nothing but smoke, then indeed that fire is Rudra" (*Ibid.*, II, 3, 2, 9, also I, 7, 3, 8; V, 2, 4, 13; IX, i, 1, 1). The origin of Rudra is explained in a peculiar way. "When Prajāpati became disjoined, the deities departed from him. Only one god did not leave him, to wit Manyu. Extended he remained within. He cried and the tears of him that fell down settled on Manyu. He became the hundred-headed, thousand-eyed, hundred-quivered Rudra" (*Ibid.*, IX, 11, 7). Elsewhere in the same Brāhmaṇa we find Rudra is stated to be Agni; Śarva the waters; Paśūpati the plants; Ugra the wind; Aśani the lightning; Bhava the rain-cloud; Mahādēva the moon; Īśāna the sun (*Ibid.*, VI, 1, 3). With slight modifications the above eight forms of Rudra correspond to the *aṣṭamūrtis* (eight forms) of Śiva as popularly known:—the Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ether, the Sun, the Moon and the Sacrificer. We also have references to Rudras who are said to be eleven in number. We meet here for the

first time with Ambikā, the wife of Rudra, but curiously she is spoken of as his sister, "Let the maidens then also walk round, thinking 'May we enjoy prosperity!' That sister of Rudra named Ambikā, indeed is the dispenser of happiness" (*Ibid.*, II, 6, 2, 14). Here also are to be found the myths connected with Rudra which were developed later into elaborate legends in the Purāṇas. Thus we have in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I, 7, 4: "Prajāpati conceived a passion for his own daughter (either the sky or dawn). 'May I pair with her' thus (thinking) he united with her. This assuredly was a sin in the eyes of the gods. The gods then said to this god who rules over the beasts (Rudra): 'This one, surely, commits a sin who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister. Pierce him!' Rudra taking aim pierced him When the anger of the Gods subsided, they cured Prajāpati and cut out that dart of this (Rudra); for Prajāpati doubtless is this sacrifice. They said (to one another), 'Think of some means by which that (part of the sacrifice torn out with the dart) may not be lost and how it may be but a small portion of the offering itself.' They said 'Take it round to Bhaga (Savitṛi), who sits on the south side (of the sacrificial ground): Bhaga will eat it' They accordingly took it round to Bhaga Bhaga looked at it! It burnt out his eyes They said: 'It has not yet become appeased here, take it round to Pūshan. They accordingly took it round to Pūshan. Pūshan tasted it: it knocked out his teeth'" The former part of this myth was later developed into the legend of Śiva cutting off the fifth head of Brahma for his illicit love towards Sarasvatī, his own daughter. The latter part became the story of the god Śiva or Virabhadra smashing the teeth of Pūshan and burning the eyes of Bhaga for taking part in Dakṣa's sacrifice.

Among the Gṛihya sūtras, the Āśvalāyana lays down that on the full moon day of the Āśvayuja the Āśvayuji ceremony is to be performed during which after having bathed one should offer a mess of cooked food for Paśūpati with the formula: "To Paśūpati, to Śiva svāhā" (II, 2, 2). Another curious sacrifice called the Śūlagava or the spit-ox sacrifice is ordained to be performed in autumn or spring during which a black bull or bull with black spots is to be sacrificed to Rudra at a place which cannot be seen from the village after night according to some or after sunrise according to others. Nothing belonging to this sacrifice should be taken back into the village for this god would do harm to those who might do so *. This spit-ox sacrifice procures wealth, lands, purity, sons, cattle, long life, splendour (IV, 8). The

* A festival called Māhēśvarana-jātre is celebrated by Lingāyats in honour of Śiva in the Kārnāṭaka. During this festival large numbers gather at a place away from the village and are fed on boiled rice, plantains and sugar and ghee. No one is permitted to take back to his house anything that remains of the food after eating.

Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra further lays down that after the bull is sacrificed and offerings made to Agni, Rudra, Śarva.....and Iśāna, should follow the sprinkling round to the different quarters of the horizon and after that should be sacrificed the offerings to Indrāṇi (wife of Indra), Rudrāṇi (wife of Rudra), Śarvāṇi (wife of Śarva), etc. (III, 8). We also find in the same Sūtras directions to do obeisance to Rudra in times of danger or difficulty. A path he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells on the paths. Make me arrive safely'... ..When he intends to swim across a river he addresses it: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells in the waters. Make me arrive safely' Similar prayers are to be offered while traversing a forest, mountain, burial-ground and cow-stable. "And wheresoever let it be let him always say 'Adoration to Rudra'." For the Śruti says, 'Rudra is this universe'..... The thunder he addresses: 'May the rains be friendly to us; may (Indra's) darts be friendly to us—may they be friendly to us which thou throwest, O killer of Vṛitra' (III, 15, 18). The Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛihyasūtra mentions Viṣṇu and Virūpākṣa (Śiva) among the gods who are to be prayed to during Brahmajñā (IV, 9, 3.)

Of the Upanishads there are two which specially treat of the nature and significance of the god Śiva. The Śvētāśvatarōpanishad contains sublime ideas about the nature of God and his relations to man and the world and speaks of Śiva as the Supreme Being. According to this there are two entities in the universe, the Lord (Iśa) who is strong, supports all this together and the other (Jīva or soul) bound because he has to enjoy (the fruits of works); but who when he has known the god is freed from all fetters (I, 8, 9). This god is named Hara (I, 10). "He, the Creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the Lord of all, he who formerly gave birth to Hiraṇyagarbha, may he endow us with good thoughts." "That Bhagavat exists in the faces, the heads, the necks of all, he dwells in the cave (of the heart) of all beings, he is all-pervading, therefore he is the Omnipresent Śiva" (III, 11). "He who knows Śiva hidden in all beings like the subtle film that rises from out the clarified butter, alone enveloping everything.....he who knows the god is freed from all fetters" (IV, 16). We shall see later that the philosophy of the Vīraśaivas is mostly based upon this Upanishad.

Atharvaśiras is another Upanishad appertaining to Śiva. The gods, it is said, went to Rudra and asked him who he was. He replied "I am one who have been existing from the beginning and will continue to remain for ever. There is nothing different from me".....The gods then with up-stretched arms prayed to him: "Salutation to Rudra who is the earth: salutation to Rudra who is death: salutation to Rudra who is ambrosia....." The derivation of the name Rudra is thus given in the Upanishad: *atha*

kasmād uchyate Rudrah yasmād ṛishibhir nānyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate tasmād uchyate Rudrah: "He is called Rudra because none except sages who are his devotees can see his form early." We next hear of Pāśupatavrata or the vow of devoting oneself to Paśupati or Śiva. Such a devotee should destroy greed and anger, concentrate his mind on Rudra, be moderate in food and besmear his body with ashes by repeating the words "The ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ash." This is the Pāśupata-vrata enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the *Paśu* or the individual soul is tied. This Pāśupatavrata together with the besmearing of ashes and the idea of the *Paśu* or soul being released from the trammels of life is of supreme importance to all the Śiva sects including the Vīraśaiva.

Among the two great epics the Rāmāyaṇa is essentially a Vaiṣṇava work. Viṣṇu and Śiva once fought with each other and Śiva was defeated. The disciple of Śiva, the great archer Paraśurāma, was defeated by Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu and Rāma also broke into two the great bow of Śiva at the court of Janaka.

The Mahābhārata abounds in allusions to the greatness of Śiva. It is he who appeared before the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna in the garb of a hunter and pleased with his prowess bestowed upon him the divine weapon Pāśupata (see Vanaparvan). The story of Śiva destroying the Tripuras or three cities of the demons, which is faintly indicated in the Yajur Veda (VI, 2, 3) is given at length in the Karnaparvan of this work. In the Ānusaśanaparvan, Kṛiṣṇa is said to have prayed to Śiva in order that he might get sons by his wife Jāmbavati. He repaired to the Himālayas to the hermitage of the sage Upamanyu who recounted the glories of Śiva to him and gave him *diksha* or initiation in Śiva worship. In the course of his narrative Upamanyu stated that Mahādēva was the only god whose linga was worshipped. He and Umā were the real creators of all living beings as these bear the marks of the two, the *linga* and the *yoni* and not the discus nor the conch-shell nor marks of any other god (*na padmāṅkā na chakrāṅkā na vajrāṅkā yataḥ prajāḥ lingāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmān Māhēśvari prajā* (Mahābhārata: South India Edition: Ānusaśanaparvan XIII. 217). In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan we find the Pāśupata mentioned along with the Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Pāñcharātra and Vedas as the different systems of religion and that Śrīkaṇṭha or Lord of Umā was the propounder of the Pāśupata system (359-64, 67).

Phallic Worship.

The allusion in Mahābhārata to the worship of linga leads us to the question whether Rudra-Śiva was worshipped in that form by the Vedic

Aryans. It is well-known that phallic worship of some sort or other was in vogue among the ancient Phoenicians, Egyptians, Phrygians and among the ancient Greeks. In the Atharva Veda phallic worship seems to be indicated in connection with Kāma, the god of Love who is invoked under a number of synonymous words Prajāpati, Skambha, Vaitasa, the last of which has been undoubtedly used in the sense of *virile membrum* (Ind. Ant., Vol. 35, p. 265). In the Rig Veda we find two places where such a worship is alluded to. In the first Indra is prayed not to allow those whose God is Śiśna (*śiśnadēva*) to disturb the rites of the singers (R.V., VII, 21, 5); in the other he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna (R.V., X, 99, 3). The term *śiśnadēva* evidently refers to the worshippers of the god of love or unchaste people, according to Sāyaṇa. It certainly cannot refer to worshippers of Rudra, for in no passage of the Vedas or Upanishads or Gṛihyasūtras referring to him can we trace any element of phallic nature nor is he represented in the Vedic hymns as an enemy of Indra. It is a thorny question to settle whether idols were in existence in India in the Vedic period. According to Dr. Bollensohn, a painted image of Rudra is described in the hymn *sthirebhir angaih pururūpa ugrah babhuḥ śukrebhih pīpīṣē hiranyaih* 'With strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours' (Ind. Ant., Vol. 35, p. 257). But this meaning seems to be far-fetched. There is no clear allusion to idol-worship anywhere in the Vedas. But it seems probable that hieroglyphics of some sort or other were objects of worship in Vedic period including the phallic representations (*Ibid.*).

Later, however, when image-worship became popular, images of Śiva also came into use. Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya gives the instance (under Pāṇini Sūtra V, 3, 99) of an image of Śiva as an object of worship. On the reverse of the coins of the king Wema Kadphises (2nd century A.D.) we find the human figure of Śiva with a trident in the hand; and there is also an emblem; but it is Nandin or bull, and not a linga or phallus. At the same time the old system of using a phallic emblem for the god of love seems to have been transferred to the worship of Rudra probably to symbolise the creation of the universe by him. Similarly symbols for *yōni* consisting of chakras or triangles began to be used to represent the wife of Śiva, Pārvati, through whom the universe was believed to be created. But the images of Śiva and Pārvati were not entirely replaced by these symbols and both were current, though in later days the phallic emblem of Śiva alone was used in the garbha-griha or the holy of holies in temples while sculptured figures of the god were found in other parts of the temple. In his book on iconography Mr. Gopinatha Rao gives two instances of early

lingas, one from Bhiṭār and the other from Guḍimalla in both of which the human figure of Śiva is also found in conjunction with the phallic emblem. Both these lingas belong to the early centuries of the Christian era (Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 64-65). There are also two examples in the Mysore State of the ancient lingas of Śiva. The first is the Maṭṭapatti god now represented by Kallēśvara for whose enjoyment a village was granted by Haritiputa Śātakarṇi, king of Banavasi, as stated in a Prākṛit inscription on a pillar opposite the Kallēśvara temple at Maḷavalli (Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, Shikarpur Taluk, No. 263), and the second is the huge linga in the Praṇavēśvara temple at Tālgunda which is said to have been worshipped by Śātakarṇi and others (*ibid.*, Shikarpur Taluk, No. 176). In both cases, however, it is difficult to say what was the exact nature of the god worshipped at the time of the inscriptions.

The worship of Rudra in the form of linga is analogous to that of Viṣṇu in the form of *sāligṛāma* stone, and of Surya as a disc drawn on certain kinds of stone. "Because it is established to be phallic in its nature, some may be inclined to consider Linga worship obscene and immoral. There is nothing in it to be ashamed of; the two great generative principles of the Universe, Śiva and Śakti, or Puruṣa and Prakṛiti, the father and mother of all creations, the energy and matter of the physical scientist, is symbolised briefly in the form of the linga and the yoni. For the past two thousand years at least, the Hindus, males and females, have been offering worship to this symbol of the Great Architect of the Universe, without in the least adverting to or feeling conscious of the so-called obscenity of this pure symbol of the fatherhood and motherhood of the supreme deity; to them it is a symbol and nothing more; there is nothing obscene in connection with its worship; the simplest and the purest materials, such as water from a well reserved for ceremonial purposes, flowers, incense and freshly cooked rice and cakes, are used in the worship of the Linga. If there be any the slightest lack of cleanliness and purity on the part of the officiating priest, it would be passed over unnoticed in a Viṣṇu temple; but never in a Śiva temple where absolute purity and cleanliness are rigorously demanded from the *pūjāri*. Thus, whatever might have been the original setting and the import of the symbolism, at the present time they are forgotten and lost; and the worship of the Linga and the Yōni is absolutely and thoroughly free from even the remotest associations of any kind of immorality or indecency." (Gopinatha Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 69-71.)

In this connection we have to discuss another important question connected with the origin and nature of Rudra-Śiva. Certain scholars are of opinion that the worship of the god was borrowed from the aborigines and

that he is an evil deity whose source of worship is fear and whose wrath is appeased by prayers. Thus Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says in his work *Vaishnavism, Śaivism and Minor Systems*: "The followers of handicraft and also the forest tribe of Nishādas are brought into close connection with Rudra; probably they are his worshippers or their own peculiar gods were identified with the Aryan Rudra. This last supposition appears very probable, since the groups of beings whose Pati or Lord he is represented to have been dwelt in or frequented upon fields, forests and waste lands, remote from the habitation of civilized men" (p. 104). In another place, in the same work, he says: "We have had occasion in a previous section to remark that Rudra-Śiva had a close connection with stragglers in the forest, with Vrātyas or those who were not included in the Aryan community, and with the wild tribe of the Nishādas, and also observed that the gods of these last were amalgamated with Rudra. Rudra's partiality for serpents and his being the lord of spirits or Bhūtas, were probably due to the influence of the serpent worship and the devilry of the savage tribes. There are places in the Rig Veda in one of which Indra is prayed to not to allow those whose god is Śiśna to disturb the rites of the singers (VII. 21, 5); and in another he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna. Here evidently those whose god was Śiśna or phallus are meant as the enemies of the Vedic Aryans who disturbed their holy rites. Notwithstanding all that is said about the matter my own belief is that the persons here referred to were really some tribes of the aborigines of the country, who worshipped the phallus. Just then as the Rudra-Śiva cult borrowed several elements from the dwellers in forests or stragglers in places out of the way, so it may have borrowed this element of phallic worship from the barbarian tribes with whom the Aryans came in contact" (page 115).

Further, we find in the same work: "It will thus be seen that, in the time of Gṛīhyasūtras, Rudra was still a terrible god, who had to be appeased. He was the god that held sway over regions away from home over fields, wildernesses, cemeteries, mountains, old trees and rivers. Whenever a man came to anything which inspired awe and terror, Rudra was the god thought of and prayed to protect. Herein lies the reason which rendered him in later times the omnipresent supreme lord of the universe to the exclusion of all other Vedic gods except Viṣṇu. Many are the occasions in the life of man which excite fear; there are epidemics and other diseases, poisons, serpents, storms, thunderbolts and wild and awful scenes, and consequently the god who brings on these occasions and protects when appeased will be thought of oftener than other gods. What contributed to the formation of

Vaishnavism were the appearances and occurrences which excited love, admiration, and a spirit of worship while in Rudra-Śaivism the sentiment of fear is at the bottom, however concealed it may have become in certain developments of it, and this sentiment it is that has worked itself out in the formation of various Rudra-Śaiva systems of later times. In the monotheistic religions of other countries the same god is feared and loved; in India the god that is loved is Viṣṇu, while the god that is feared is Rudra-Śiva" (page 106).

Sir G. A. Grierson writes in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV: "The word Śiva is already in the Vedas used as an epithet of the god Rudra, and it is well-known that Śiva has become one of the principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. It has been asserted that this use of the word Śiva must be explained from the influence of a Dravidian *Śiva* red. Now the word *Rudra* in the Rig Veda often seems to mean 'red' and it seems probable that the conception of the god Rudra-Śiva has a tinge of Dravidian ideas" (page 279.) (See also the Article on Dravidians in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.)

But in spite of the opinions quoted above, it is difficult to conceive that the Aryans could have borrowed the worship of Rudra-Śiva from the aborigines at such an early period as the time when the Rig Veda was composed. The greater part of the Rig Veda is believed to have been composed by the Aryans when they were in the Punjab and engaged in fighting with the natives of the land. It is therefore not probable that they could have taken over the worship of a deity from their enemies. The early Aryans could not have addressed the god of their enemies as the supreme creator and ruler of the universe and helping them in their sacrifice nor would they have invoked his aid for success in battle against their enemies. Moreover the worship of Rudra seems to have been consistently performed by the Aryans from the earliest down to modern times. He is often invoked in the Vedas in company with Viṣṇu (R. V., IV, 3, 7; VI, 40, 5; X, 66, 3-4; A. V., VIII, 5, 10); and is identified with Agni, the god of fire in several passages. The Rudras, his sons as they are called, representing his energy and nature in miniature form are prayed to in every sacrifice and ancestral rite and are associated with Maruts, Vasus, and Ādityas. Hence Rudra-Śiva must be treated as an Aryan god. As regards his connection with *nishādas* and the followers of handicraft I have already shown while dealing with Satarudrīya that he is addressed as the lord of all the universe including fields, forests, trees, herbs, etc., and of all classes of human beings including warriors, horsemen, hunters, swordsmen, of cattle and horses and all kinds of objects. There is absolutely no reason to infer from this that he was identified with *nishādas*.

With regard to the followers of handicraft referred to there is no reason to identify them with the aborigines as the Vedic Aryans themselves were skilled in several arts. His connection with the Vrātyas has been already disproved. His partiality for *bhūtas* and serpents is a later conception and as pointed out in this article he is spoken of as an enemy of both in the Vedic hymns. That the phallic element in the worship of Rudra-Śiva is also of later origin has already been proved. The philological argument about the derivation of the word Śiva seems to be too weak to prove anything. The name Śiva has throughout Sanskrit literature including the Vedas the meaning "auspicious" or beneficent. The *Śiva tanuh*, the auspicious form of Rudra is contrasted with his terrible form in the Śatarudrīya hymn. Śiva is never used in the sense of red in Sanskrit nor has the Tamil word Siva ever been used as an equivalent of beneficent or auspicious.

As regards the nature of the god Rudra-Śiva we must remember the general nature of the Vedic gods like Indra or Agni who are all described as shining beings endowed with the power to strike enemies and help the adorers. Rudra is no exception to this. He kills the enemies of the Aryans and wicked men with his terrible arrows, disease or poison but to his worshippers and the virtuous he is ever beneficent protecting them against disease, conferring on them long life, wisdom and bliss. The Vedic gods all represent certain natural phenomena deified into gods. Agni represents fire, Yama death, Varuṇa water, etc. But what does Rudra represent? He represents rain-cloud, which with its lightning can burn forests and living beings but which with its rain promotes vegetable and animal life and brings food to cattle and men. His epithets *Girīśa*, the lord of mountain, *Nīlagrīva*, blue-necked, etc., can all be satisfactorily explained in this way. Speaking more philosophically Rudra represents in the Vedas the kinetic energy of the universe. He is spoken of as the father of the world (R. V., VI, 49, 10), and as ruling over all divine and human beings (R. V., VII, 46, 1), the augments of progeny (R. V., VII, 59, 12), lord of all living beings and herbs, conferrer of immortality and wisdom and promoter of oblations to gods (R. V., IV, 37), and at the same time the tormentor of the *Yātudhānas*, *Piśāchas* and others by lightning, disease, poison and death. In fact, he is the one god of the Vedic hymns who comes nearest to our conception of the Supreme Being. No other deity is spoken of in the Vedas as the Supreme creator and protector of the universe or the all-knowing, bestower of immortality. It is true that the number of hymns addressed to him is not quite so large but this is due to the fact that most Vedic songs are connected directly with sacrifices and do not concern themselves with the nature of the Supreme Being. But when we go to the Upanishads we find sublime ideas

about the nature of soul and god, and the Śvetaśvatarōpanishad is an instance to show the supreme nature of Rudra-Śiva. No other deity except perhaps Viṣṇu ever commanded such importance as Śiva in the Upanishads or in later Hindu sacred literature. In most of these respects the conception of Rudra is analogous to that of Jupiter, Jehovah and other supreme gods of ancient nations.

Turning now to later Sanskrit Literature we find that several Purāṇas, Āgamas and Tantra works deal fully with the nature and attributes of the god Śiva. In these we learn that Śiva is the supreme cause of the universe. With the help of Prakṛiti he generated the Trimūrtis, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra, the creator, the preserver and the destroyer of the universe, all of whom are said to derive their power from him and depend upon him for their support. But very little difference is often made between Rudra the destroyer and Śiva the supreme cause. In fact the two are generally identified. The greatness of Rudra and his superiority to Brahma and Viṣṇu are extolled. He is described as having five faces, Vāmadeva, Tatpurusha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, and Īśāna. The Īśāna aspect of Śiva is represented by the face on the top of the *linga*; the Tatpurusha by that facing the east, the Aghōra by that facing the south; the Sadyōjāta by that facing the west and the Vāmadēva by that facing the north. Another characteristic feature of later Śiva worship is the large number of *līlāmūrtis* or different forms assumed by Śiva, described in the Purāṇas. Among these may be mentioned *Lingodbhavamūrti*. Brahma and Viṣṇu once quarrelled about the sovereignty of the universe and suddenly there appeared before them a *linga* resembling a pillar of fire. Instead of quarrelling with each other Brahma and Viṣṇu set about to find out the top and bottom respectively of this *linga*. Brahma assumed the form of a swan and flew ever so high but could never see the top of the *linga*. At this juncture Brahma came across a petal of the *Kētaki* flower and asked it wherefrom it was descending; to this the petal answered that it was falling from the head of Mahēśvara, for what length of time it could not remember. Taking hold of the petal, Brahma descended and lied to Viṣṇu that he had discovered the head of Mahēśvara and from it had brought this petal of the *Kētaki* flower. Viṣṇu, however, readily confessed his inability to discover the feet of Śiva and detecting the falsehood uttered by Brahma cursed him not to receive any worship from men on earth. The *Kētaki* flower was also cursed so that it could not be used in worshipping Śiva except on Śivarātri day. Some *Līlāmūrtis* of Śiva show him in the attitude of slaying demons like Jalandhara and Andhaka; some depict him as destroying disease (*apa-smāra*) and death (Yama). Others show him as benignant to his supplicants. Some however depict him as killing Viṣṇu in his forms of Fish, Man-lion,

as Viṣṇu is said to have grown insolent and become a source of danger to the world. One represents Śiva as being half male and half female symbolising the union of Puruṣa and Prakṛiti. The most picturesque of all these forms is perhaps the Natarāja, the favourite deity of Chidambaram in which the god is represented as dancing. These Purāṇas and the Āgamas and Tantras treat in detail of the worship of Linga, the use of sacred ashes, exclusive devotion to be shown to the worshippers of Śiva, the nature of Pāśu and Pāśa, etc., most of which have been already alluded to in the Upanishads.

Saiva Sects.

No sects, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, are mentioned in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas or Gṛihyaśūtras. Each god, Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, or Rudra has his share of praise and fire oblations. But when we come to the Upanishads we find a few like the Śvētaśvatara and Atharvaśiras extolling Rudra as the Supreme Being while Viṣṇu and others are relegated to an inferior position but in others like Nārāyaṇōpanishad we find Viṣṇu treated of as the Highest Being. Still no sharp division exists between the worshippers of the gods. But when we come to the Mahābhārata we meet the Pāncharātra or Viṣṇu Bhāgavata school of the Viṣṇuites said to be founded by Nārāyaṇa himself and the Pāśupata school of Śaivites declared to be founded by Śrīkaṇṭha (Rudra). As time went on these schools developed and to some extent the Purāṇas were coloured by the ideas of these schools. Each school has its *āgamas*, the Śaiva *āgamas* being supposed to be derived from Śiva himself and declared by him to his consort Pārvatī. Among them Suprabhēdāgama, which deals mostly with the ritual to be observed in Śiva temples, is the most important. But it must not be supposed that all the people were sharply divided into these schools. The poets Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bāṇa, Śrīharsha and several others praise Śiva in their works. But they were not bigoted followers of Śiva and have praised Viṣṇu also as the Supreme Being in some places though some of them seem to have been more partial to Śiva. The great Advaitic reformer Śaṅkarāchārya (of the eighth century) and his numerous adherents though mostly bearing the outward marks of the Śaivas worship Viṣṇu also along with Śiva as the manifestations of the Supreme Being.

As time went on several sects or sub-sects arose in each school. As early as the time of Patanjali we hear of a Śaiva sect known as Śivabhāgavatas who carried in their hand an iron lance as an emblem of the deity they worshipped (see his comment on P. V. 276 in his Mahābhāṣya). They are probably the same as the Pāśupatas mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, and referred to in the Linga Purāṇa and other Purāṇas. In fact Pāśupata seems to have been a general term for all the devotees of

Lakulisa Pasupata or Kalamukha Sect.

As we have seen before the name Pāśupata is used in the Purāṇas as well as in the writings of foreign travellers as a general name for the followers of Śiva. Mādhavāchārya, in his celebrated work *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, mentions the Nakulīśa Pāśupata as one of the important religious systems. Who is this Nakulīśa? The Lingapurāṇa represents Mahēśvara to have told Brahma that in the 28th cycle of yugas when Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Vāsudēva were born from the *Amṣa* of Viṣṇu he would enter the body of an orphan *brahmachāri* left in the burning-ground. He would be called Lakulin and the place where he was incarnated would be known as Kāyāvatāra. Four sons would be born to him named Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. These would be great Brahman ascetics well versed in the Vedas and be Pāśupatas with their bodies covered with ashes and by the constant worship of linga, and by devotion to Śiva and by Māhēśvara-yōga would reach Rudralōka free from births. (Lingapurāṇa: chapter 59, verses 125-134; also chapter 7, verses 34-35.) References are also found to Nakulīśvara as an incarnation of Śiva and a yōgāchārya in Śivapurāṇa (Solapur Edition, Part 2: chapter X, 5) and also in Vāyupurāṇa and Kūrmapurāṇa. Evidently the Nakulīśa of Sarvadarśanasangraha is the same as Lakulīśa or Nakulīśvara of the Purāṇas. That this Lakulīśa was a historical personage is borne out by several inscriptions. An inscription dated Vikrama 1028 or 971 A.D. found in the temple of Nātha near that of Ēkalingji, near Udaipur, refers to Śiva being incarnated as a man with a club (*lakula*) in his hand in the country of Bhṛigukachchha and to sages Kuśika and others following Pāśupata-yōga. Another inscription usually called Chintra Praśasti composed between A.D. 1274 and 1296 states that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Lakulīśa and dwelt at Kārōhaṇa in the Lāṭa country (Gujarat) and that his disciples Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruśa and Maitrēya became the originators of the four branches (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XXII, pp. 151-153). Images of Lakulīśvara are found in Rajaputana, at Māndhātā, a sacred place on the Narmada, the Kailāsa temple at Ellora and Deḷgāmi in Shikārpur taluk (*Ibid.*). Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar places the rise of the Pāśupata school at about the second century B.C., a century after that of the Pāncharātra system as Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata school, is spoken of as contemporaneous with Vāsudēva Kṛishṇa of the Pāncharātra. But we cannot entirely depend on the synchronistic evidence of the Puranic tradition for fixing the chronology of Lakulīśa.

The followers of Lakulīśa are also known as the Kālāmukhas, an important Śaiva sect. We have several inscriptions in the Mysore State relating to

this sect. The earliest is the Nandi Plates of Rāshtrakūṭa King Govinda III dated 807 A.D. recording a grant to Īśvaradāsa, head of the maṭha in the temple at Nandi. This donee is styled a Kālāmukha and a disciple of Kālāśakti in Chikballapur plates of A.D. 810 (Mysore Archaeological Report 1914, page 36). An inscription of A.D. 943 found at Hēmāvatī, Sira Taluk, states that Lakuliśa was born again as Muninātha Chilluka and that he killed sin with the sword Sivāgama (Ep. Carna., XII, Sira 28). An inscription at Halkur of Śaka 1100 records a grant to Dēvendrasakti, Rāmasakti, etc., upholders of the Lākulāgama-samaya, and followers of Kālāmukha (ಲಾಕುಲಾಗಮ ಸಮಯಸಮುದ್ಧರಣರುಂ ಕಾಳಾಮುಖ ಶ್ರತಿಬದ್ಧರುಂ:—Ep. Carna., V, Arsikere 62). Another at Kaṇikatte of Śaka 1075 records a grant for conducting the daily worship to the god Anilēśvara, to Komārasingapaṇḍita, upholder of Lākulāgama¹ (ಅನಿಲೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಅಂಗಭೋಗ ರಂಗಭೋಗ ನಿವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೆ ಗವಾಗಿ ಲಾಕುಲಾಗಮಸಮಯ ಸಮುದ್ಧರಣರಪ್ಪ ಕೊಮಾರಸಿಂಗ ಪಂಡಿತರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂಮಾಡಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟದತ್ತಿ:—*ibid.*, Arsikere 46). Another at Gotnakere in Tiptur Taluk records a grant for the daily worship of the god Mañchēśvara to Lalāladēva, etc., upholders of Lākula system.² (ಅಮಂಚೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ನಿತ್ಯಪೂಜಸಂಚಸರ್ವ.....ಮಠಸತಿ ತಪೋಧನರಾಹಾರಕ್ಕಂವಾಗಿ ಲಕುಲದ (ಹೊ) ಸಮಯಸಮುದ್ಧರಣರಪ್ಪ ಮಂಚವೈಯಪುತ್ರರು ಲಲಾಲದೇವ.....Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Tiptur 12). The inscriptions of Kālāmukhas are met with even as late as the period of Vijayanagar kings. Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti, whose disciple was the celebrated Mādhavamantrin,³ is spoken of as the *rājaguru* of Harihara II. During all this period from the 9th to 14th century the Kālāmukha priests were in charge of most of the Śiva temples throughout the Kārṇāṭaka. They were also heads of *mathas* or monasteries to which hundreds of students flocked to learn Grammar, Logic, Vēdānta, Siddhanta, Agama, etc. The Kālāmukha priests are generally described as being possessed of the 8 attributes of Yoga, Yama, Niyama, etc., and learned in the Rīg, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharva Vedas with Angas as well as in

1. By a mistake in dividing the words this has been translated as referring to Vāgi-Lākulāgama.

2. In the translation of this inscription, Lalāladēva is spoken of as the supporter of the new samaya of Lakula. This is due to a wrong reading of the phrase *Lakulada hosamayasadddharanarappa*. Here the letter *ho* has evidently crept in owing to some error. In the transliteration of the inscription, we find *Lakuladasamaya-samuddharanarappa* and the letter *ho* is omitted. Moreover the phrase *hosa samayasamuddharana* is against Kannaḍa grammar and never met with in inscriptions and in literature. Hence the new samaya of Lakula of the translation ought to be corrected into the samaya of Lakula.

3. Mādhavamantrin is the author of *Tātparya-dīpikā*, a commentary on Sūtasamhitā. He calls himself at the end of the work as *upanishanmūrga-pravartaka* (follower of the path of Upanishads). This work clearly shows that the Kālāmukhas followed the old Vedic rites and the caste system and paid respect both to Vedas and Śiva Āgamas and could not have been guilty of the revolting practices wrongly attributed to them by Rāmānuja. The Banavasi Inscription clearly proves that Mādhavamantrin was a Kālāmukha. (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV.)

Śiva, who extolled the god as the Almighty and wore the marks of sacred ashes on their persons and worshipped the image or phallic emblem of the deity. (See Linga-Purāṇa, chapter 59; Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, chapter 27, etc.) Another term used as an equivalent of Pāśupata was Māhēśvara. The Śaka satrap Rudradaman and some of the Āndhrabhṛitya kings probably belonged to this sect. Wema Kadphises, a powerful prince of the Kushan race who ruled over a large part of Northern and North-western India about the second century A.D., styles himself as a devotee of Mahēśvara. So also we hear of the Parivrajaka Mahārāja Hastin (A.D. 508) as meditator on the feet of Mahādēva (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 111); Drōṇasimha and Guhasēna, kings of Valabhi, are described as *Parama-māheśvaras* (staunch adherents of Mahēśvara) (*ibid.*, page 165); the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna is spoken of as *atyantasvāmi-Mahābhairava-bhakta* (great devotee of the god Bhairava, a form of Śiva) (*ibid.*, p. 248). A grant to the Kapālēśvara temple and to the Brāhmaṇas who study the Atharva Veda at the agrahāra of Nirmaṇḍa is mentioned in the Nimand copper-plate inscription of Samudrasēna of Circa 612-613 A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 290). Nāgavardhana, nephew of the Chālukya king Pulkēśin II, is said to have granted a village for the worship of the god Kapālēśvara and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple.

If however we turn to Hiuen-Tsiang's travels in India we find distinct reference to the various sects worshipping Śiva. "There were 3 Deva temples at Jalandhar with more than 500 professed non-Buddhists of the Pāśupata sect." (Walters' Yuan Chawang, Vol. I, p. 296; see also p. 331.) "Of Deva temples there were above 100 and there were more than 10,000 professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Śiva; some of these cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot; some went about naked and some smeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence. Within the capital were 20 Deva temples" (*ibid.*, Vol. II; p. 47). "The Bhūtas cover themselves with cinders and think this to be meritorious. Their skin is of a livid white colour looking like a cat in the chimney-corner.....The sect of the Kāpālikas with their chaplets of bones round their heads and necks inhabiting holes and crevices of the rocks, like Yakshas who haunt the place of tombs" (Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by Beal, p. 162). Similarly Bāṇa's Harshacharitra of the same period contains references to temples of Śiva, Kālī and Chāmūṇḍī (consorts of Śiva) and also to the Pāśupatas. A Bhairavāchārya is mentioned as the ascetic who required king Harsha's services to guard him against goblins while engaged in worship at midnight on the day previous to New Moon day in the burning ground.

Kapalika Sect.

Let us now study the two sects Kāpālika and Pāśupata in greater detail. The Kāpālikas worshipped Bhairava, a form assumed by Śiva when he cut off the fifth head of Brahma. We find images of Bhairava enshrined in temples at some distance from inhabited villages all over India. Even to-day his image is worshipped at Kāśi and it is believed that no one should approach Viśvēśvara or bathe in the Ganges without first paying homage to him. He is generally depicted as a nude figure and carrying in his left hand a human skull from which blood is trickling down and is being licked by dogs. The Kāpālikas also wore a necklace of skulls, offered sacrifices of animals and even human beings to the goddess Kālī, feasted on flesh and wine, and worshipped women. The modern Śākta movement in Bengal is closely associated with this sect and the sect had once several followers especially among the non-Aryan people. We have already seen reference to this sect in Hiuen-Tsiang's Travels and Harsha-charitra. References to human sacrifices are found in Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-mādhava where the heroine is carried away by Kapālakundala, a female follower of occult teachings connected with the worship of Bhairava and Durgā and who wanted to offer her as a human sacrifice to the goddess. In Bhāgavatapurāṇa (v. 9) we hear of Jaḍabharata being carried away to a temple of Kālī to be sacrificed but the goddess who knew his deep devotion to God is said to have saved him and killed his would-be slayers. Śankara, the famous reformer, is said to have come across some members of this sect who tried to persuade him to drink wine in a skull, and wear a necklace of skulls or cowries but he refused to listen to them and the attempts made to persecute him by magic recoiled on the heads of the members of this sect. Rāmānuja in his commentary on Vēdānta Sūtras speaks of them as versed in six mudras and as meditating on one's own soul as seated on a female organ. He also condemns them for stating that a non-Brahman becomes a Brahman by mere *dikshā* (initiation) and becomes a yati by merely following the Kapāla-vrata (Ramanuja's Sri Bhāshya, II, 2, 35). The sacred books of the Kāpālikas were the Tantras, which though following the philosophy of the Upanishads and Yōgaśāstra differ from them in laying stress on the worship of women, flesh and wine and the equality of all classes of people including the pariahs in the act of divine worship. Perhaps the true significance of several of the religious rites of this sect has not been clearly understood and several degrading or revolting practices arose therefrom and the Southern schools of Śaivism therefore condemn it as *vāmāchāra* or left-hand practice. Some of its features however seem to have been existing already in the Atharva Vēda. (For a more favourable view of the Tantras and their significance readers are referred to Sir John Woodroffe's Śhakti and Śhakta).

ON A SANTALI ÆTIOLOGICAL FOLKTALE OF THE "MANN UND FUCHS" TYPE.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.,

Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

IN the Panjāb, there is current a folk-tale entitled:—"The Tiger, the Brāhmaṇ, and the Jackal", of which the main incidents may be summarized as follows:—

- (1) A tiger is let out of a cage by a Brāhmaṇ.
- (2) Thereafter the tiger proceeds to eat the Brāhmaṇ.
- (3) Being disgusted with the tiger's ingratitude, the Brāhmaṇ enquires of (a) a *piṭal*-tree, (b) a she-buffalo, and (c) a road, if the tiger's conduct is not ungrateful and base.
- (4) The tree, the buffalo, and the road opine that men, and not the beasts, are ungrateful and base.
- (5) Thereafter the Brāhmaṇ appeals to a jackal who, by his cunning, makes the tiger re-enter the cage, and dexterously shuts it up as soon as the latter goes inside it again. Whereupon matters stand precisely as they did before.

In a note on this folk-tale, the well-known English folklorist Mr. Joseph Jacobs says:—"No less than 94 parallels are given by Prof. K. Krohn in his elaborate discussion of this fable in his dissertation, "*Mann Und Fuchs*", (Helsingfors, 1891), pp. 38—60; to which may be added three Indian variants, omitted by him, but mentioned by Captain R. C. Temple, in his notes to F. A. Steel's *Tales of Panjab*, p. 307, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Gul-i-Bakāwati*, and the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 177; and a couple more in my *Æsop*, p. 253; add Smeaton, *Karens*, p. 126." *

To the aforementioned 100 variants of this popular Indian folk-tale, I added one more version thereof which I had collected from the district of Sāran in North Bihār and which I published for the first time. †

At the same time, I pointed out a Sāntālī variant of this story which had not been mentioned either by Mr. Joseph Jacobs or by Captain R. C.

* *Indian Fairy Tales*.—Selected and edited by Joseph Jacobs, Editor of "Folk-lore". London: David Nutt. 1892. pp. 242-243.

† *Vide* my article on *Bihari Folk-tale of the "Mann und Fuchs" Type*, in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VI, pp. 132-141.

Temple. The leading incidents of this Sântali version may be briefly stated as follows:—

- (1) A tiger gets stuck fast in a quagmire from which he is extricated by a crowd of on-lookers.
- (2) Thereafter the tiger threatens to eat up his deliverers.
- (3) Thereupon his deliverers enquire from (a) a *mahuwa*-tree (*Bassia latifolia*) and (b) a cow whether the tiger will be justified in eating them up.
- (4) The tree and the cow decide that the tiger's threatened action will be just.
- (5) Thereupon the tiger's deliverers appeal to a jackal who, by his cunning, induces the tiger to jump into the quagmire again, which having been done, the latter gets stuck fast in it again.
- (6) Thereafter the tiger is pelted to death by his former deliverers. *

The total number of the variants of this popular and wide-spread folk-tale, therefore, amounts to 102.

To these 102 variants again, I shall add one more version, namely, a Sântali ætiological folk-tale of the "*Mann und Fuchs*" type which I have recently come across and of which the English translation does not appear to have been published as yet. I am, therefore, publishing below, for the first time, the English translation of this new variant which runs as follows:—

"Why the Jackals cry '*Hukā, Hukā*'? On the Tilasaṅkrānti Day, the Sântals partake of good food and, banding themselves together, go to the jungle to hunt. This is a festive occasion with them.

Once upon a time, on the occasion of the Tilasaṅkrānti Festival, a band of Sântals went to a large forest for the purpose of hunting therein.

Now, there lived in that forest a big tiger. Seeing that it was very dangerous for him to stay in that forest any longer, lest the Sântals should kill him with their bows and arrows, he began to think about the means of flying away from that forest.

Now, a road meandered through that forest. After cutting fuel from that jungle, a wood-cutter used to load his bullock-cart with the cut wood and to drive it, every day, by that road on his way homewards.

On that Tilasaṅkrānti Day, the wood-cutter was also driving his laden bullock-cart along that road on his way homewards. While he was driving along, the tiger came running fast and breathless and, addressing him, said:—

"O brother wood-cutter! Save my life to-day. If the Sântals catch a glimpse of me, they will soon make mincemeat of me. If, by any means, you can save my life to-day, I shall not only refrain from doing you any harm, but shall also be your bond-slave for the rest of my life."

* *Santal Folk-tales*. By A. Campbell. Pokhuria: Santal Mission Press. Pages 40-41.

Siddhānta, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Bharata (dancing) and other sciences. There were both married men and Brahmachārins among them and the latter were held in higher esteem than the former. Their names usually end in—*rāṣi*,—*śakti*,—*śiva*,—*jiya*,—*ābharaṇa*, etc. Their influence was so great that some of them are spoken of as *rājagurus* (royal preceptors) to the late Hoysala and early Vijayanagar kings. (For a more detailed account of the Kālāmukhas see Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. VII, No. 3.)

The commentators of Śaṅkara state that there were four Śaiva schools bearing the names of Śaiva, Pāṣupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika. Rāmānuja and Keśava Kaśmīrin mention the same four schools but call Kārukasiddhāntin by the name of Kālāmukha. Rāmānuja states, in his Śrībhāṣya (II, 2.) that the Kālāmukhas hold that dining in a skull, besmearing the whole body with ashes, eating the ashes, holding a club, placing a vessel full of liquor and worshipping the god as seated therein, etc., are conducive to one's welfare both in this world and hereafter. Apparently he seems to have mixed here the practices of the Kālāmukhas with those of the Kāpālikas as the references to the Kālāmukha priests met with in the inscriptions show them to be of a very high character and free from the revolting rites or customs associated with the Kāpālika sect.

According to *Sarvadarśanasangraha* of Mādhavāchārya, the chief tenets of the Nakulīśa Pāṣupata system are:— By the word *Paśū* we are to understand the effect (or created world), the word designating that which is dependent on something ulterior. By the word *Pati* we are to understand the cause, the word designating the Lord, who is the cause of the universe, the Pati (or ruler). The sentient *śarīra* to which transmigratory conditions pertain is also of two kinds, the appetant and non-appetant. The appetant is the spirit associated with an organism and organs; the non-appetant is the spirit apart from organism and organs. The Lord or Pati is the possessor of infinite, visual and active power. Union is a conjunction of the soul with God through the intellect and is of two degrees, that characterized by action, and that characterized by cessation of action. Of these union characterized by action consists of pious muttering, meditation, and so forth; union characterized by cessation of action is called consciousness, etc. Religious exercise is of two kinds, acts of piety and postures The acts of piety are bathing with sand, lying upon sand, oblations, mutterings, and devotional perambulation He should worship with the six kinds of oblations, viz., laughter (a loud laughter *Āhā, Āha*), song, dance (with outward indications of internal sentiment), muttering *hum* (like the bellowing of a bull, an imitation of the sound *hadung*); adoration and pious ejaculation. The postures are snoring, trembling, limping, wooing, acting

absurdly, and talking nonsensically. (Cowell and Gough's Translation of the Sarvadarśanasangraha, pp. 105—107.)

From the above it will be evident that this system is a kind of qualified monism in which certain religious exercises are enjoined upon man in order that he might purify himself and perceive (intellectually or emotionally) his oneness with the Lord, the Creator of the universe. A great deal of importance is attached in this system to Yōga or Karma accompanied with proper knowledge. In most of the inscriptions in which Kālamukha priests are mentioned, we find them invariably described as ascetics possessed of the eight-fold attributes of Yōga (Yama, niyama, etc.). As for some of the religious exercises which appear absurd to us we must remember that they are different forms of religious ecstasy and to some extent the author of the Sarvadarśanasangraha has caricatured them. Similar exercises where singing and dancing form an integral part are found associated with the worship of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā among Chaitanya's followers, or of Bhavāni in the Mahratta country.

(To be Continued.)

• Though the wood-cutter was a poor man, he was magnanimous in his heart of hearts, and was moved by the tiger's touching words. Taking pity on him, he then and there concealed the tiger in a bag which he had in his cart, and said: "O brother tiger! don't be afraid of losing your life."

When, after hunting was over, the Sāntāls went off to their respective villages by that road, they had not the faintest idea that a tiger lay concealed in the wood-cutter's bag.

After the Sāntāls had gone away, the wood-cutter opened the bag and let out the tiger who, with blood-shot eyes, asked the farmer: "Which of you shall I eat first, whether you or the two bullocks?"

Trembling with fear, the wood-cutter replied: "All this is very strange. Is this the return for the good that I have done to you?"

Gnashing his teeth, the tiger rejoined: "Certainly, it is. Ask the banyan-tree if it is not so."

Close by, there grew a large banyan-tree which was watching the scene that was being enacted by the wood-cutter and the tiger. Addressing them both, the tree said:—

"Nobody returns good for good. Just see how people, who sit in my shade, break off my branches and take the same away."

The tiger replied: "O wood-cutter! have you heard the banyan-tree's remarks? Shall I now make a meal of you?"

Hearing these words, the wood-cutter was dumbfounded with fear and, trembling in every limb of his, could not say anything.

Just at that time, a jackal was passing by that way. Seeing him, the tiger further said: "Let us refer the matter to my maternal uncle—the jackal: and we must act up to what he will say."

The jackal then came there and heard all that had happened, and, shaking his head said: "I shan't be able to say anything, one way or the other, unless and until I see everything with my own eyes."

The tiger had, therefore, to enter the bag again. When the foolish tiger had re-entered the bag, the jackal quickly tied up its mouth very tightly and told the wood-cutter: "If you want a just decision from me, bring a large club."

Thereupon the wood-cutter mustered up courage again and, fetching a stout club, struck the tiger within the bag so many heavy blows with it, that the ferocious monster's body was reduced to a veritable pulp.

Thereafter, addressing the jackal, the wood-cutter said: "O brother jackal! I shall remember the benefit you have done to me, all my life. You are my great friend from to-day, and, as a token of our friendship, I shall present you with a *huqqā* or hubble-bubble to smoke with." Saying this, he went away.

From that day forth, the jackal has sat in that forest, waiting for the present of the *huqqā* from the wood-cutter. But up to the present day, he has not seen the latter again. It is for this reason that, whenever the jackal remembers the promised present, he cries out: "*Koi hukā, hukā, hukā,*" or "Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble?"*

On comparing Dr. Campbell's Sāntālī version with the new variant of which the English translation is published above, we find that both of them are didactic in character; that is to say, both of them point the moral that treachery and ingratitude are best outwitted by craftiness and cunning. But, over and above the foregoing characteristic, we also come across a novel feature in the new variant, namely, that of its being ætiological in character. That is to say, the new variant accounts for the origin of the jackal's weird and peculiar cry.

This peculiar cry of the jackal has attracted the attention even of peoples possessing a moderate amount of culture, as for instance, of the peoples of Northern India, Persia and Turkish Arabia, and has led them to fabricate fantastic myths accounting for its origin.

Take, for example, the people of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in Northern India. They narrate the following curious myth which explains how the jackal's weird and peculiar cry has originated. It is believed by them that each pack of jackals is led by a chief or leader and that their peculiar cry is nothing more or less than the words of the following conversation which takes place between the chief and his followers:—

The chief cries out: "*Suṇnā meṇ rājā huā*" or "I am the king in the night (*lit.*, in the sleep-time)."

The other jackals, then, reply:—"*Huā, huā, huā*" or "You are, you are, you are."

The European gentleman, who has collected this myth, says: "With a little imagining, the cry, if not heard too near, does really appear to fit the words."†

The people of Persia also recite the undermentioned ætiological myth to account for the origin of the jackal's cry:—

Once upon a time, the jackals used to live in the towns; while the dogs used to dwell in the desert where they were exposed to the inclemency of the weather and always suffered from shortage of food. The latter, therefore, thought that it would be very well for them if they could anyhow live in the

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prahāṣī* (published from Calcutta) for Jyāishṭha 1329 B.S. (May-June 1922 A.D.), page 273.

† *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*, by Mark Thornhill. London: John Murray, 1899. Page 127.

town for, at least, three days, during which period they not only would have plenty of food to eat but would also get much-needed shelter from the stress of the weather. So these dogs sent some of their fellow-brethren to the jackals with the following message:—

"O brother jackals! Some members of our community are ill and have been advised by our doctors to live in the town for three days for a change of air. As it is impossible for us dogs and you jackals to live together in the same place at one and the same time, please exchange your place with us for, at least, three days, so that we may live in the town for that length of time, while you retire for the same period into the desert, the air of which will doubtless prove beneficial to your health."

To this proposal, the jackals agreed; and so the exchange of places was effected, the dogs going to live in the town, and the jackals in the desert.

After the third night, however, the jackals got tired of their desert-life and going to the gates of the city, waited for the dogs' evacuating it. But the dogs, being very comfortable in it, were in no hurry to quit the city.

After waiting for some time, the jackals cried out to the dogs:—"*Nā khush-i-shumā khūb shudē-ē-ē-ē?*" or "Are your sick ones well yet?" ending up with a whine rising and falling into cadence.

But the dogs, who are believed to be Turks and to speak Turkish, only answered:—"Yokh! yokh!" or "No, no."

Thus the jackals were obliged to return to the desert. Ever since that time, they come back every night and hail the dogs with the same question, while the dogs in their turn, give the same reply, for they are not, in the least, desirous of going back to the desert.

It is for this reason that the jackals come and howl round the towns after nightfall, and that the dogs always answer them.*

Nearly the same version of the preceding ætiological folktale of "The Dispute between the Jackals and the Dogs" has been collected in Persia and related by Miss Ella C. Sykes, † and has been met with in Turkish Arabia by Mrs. M. E. Hume-Griffith and recorded by her in her fascinating book of travels entitled: "*Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia.*" ‡

The jackal's weird and peculiar cry has also attracted the attention and roused the imagination of Europeans in India who have fabricated various versions of the same. Bishop Heber, in the underquoted lines of his poem

* *A Year amongst the Persians*. By E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893. Pp. 183-184.

† *Through Persia or a Side-Saddle*. By Miss Ella C. Sykes. London: John Macqueen, 1901. Pp. 105-106.

‡ *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia*. By Mrs. M. E. Hume-Griffith. London: George Bell and Sons, 1909. Pp. 37-39.

"An Evening Walk in Bengal", has likened the jackal's cry to the sounds of village-revelry:—

"—The jackal's cry
Resounds like sylvan revelry."

Another Anglo-Indian version of this beast's cry is: "Dead Hindu, where, where, where?" With regard to this, Dr. W. T. Blanford says:—

"The cry of the jackal is familiar to all who have ever resided in the countries inhabited by the animal, and consists of two parts—a long wailing howl three or four times repeated, each repetition in a note a little higher than the preceding, and then a succession of usually three quick yelps, also repeated two or three times. The common Anglo-Indian version of "Dead Hindoo; where, where, where," gives some idea of the call. In one African jackal, *c. variegatus* of Abyssinia, the second portion of the cry is entirely wailing." *

Another author says:—"Some of our ideas of the fox as type of cunning seem to be derived through ancient folklore, from the shy and sly jackal, here looked on as hardly worth hunting; but it may often be seen slinking off into cover, and still more often is heard at night raising that dismal howl interpreted *I-smell-a-dead-Hindoo!* to which the rest of the pack give back in sleep-banishing chorus, *Where-where-where?*"†

PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTIONS AS REPRESENTED IN THE BHAGAVADGITA.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

By P. K. GODE, ESQ., M.A.

(Continued from last issue.)

(iv) EGOTISTIC EMOTIONS—

We now come to emotions which are more or less connected with the Ego. As the consciousness of the Ego comes late in the growth of the child this class claims our attention after fear, anger and affection.

Ribot observes * that these emotions are exclusively human, while fear, anger and affection and sexual emotion, of which we shall speak forthwith, are as much animal as human. If we adopt for the sake of convenience Prof. Ribot's division of egotistic emotions into (1) positive and (2) negative we shall have to group the forms of these emotions to be found in the B. G. in the following manner:—

I. Positive.

- (a) Ahaṅkāra
- (b) Jijīviṣā, tṛṣṇā
- (c) Bala
- (d) Darpa, māna, abhimāna, mada, kīrti
- (e) Dambha
- (f) Lōbha

II. Negative.

- (a) Kārpaṇya, klaibya, hṛdaya-dourbalya, etc.

We shall now examine these forms severally.

I. (a) *Ahaṅkāra*.—The term 'ahaṅkāra' has been sometimes rendered by the English words 'egoism', 'egotism', etc., but these words do not correctly convey the sense of the Sanskrit term. Perhaps it will be more near the truth to render it as 'self-feeling', an expression used by Sully† whose analysis of this feeling has many points in common with the characteristics of the 'ahaṅkāra' given in the B. G.

* Psychology of Emotions, p. 240.

† Human Mind, Vol. II, p. 99—According to Sully the development of the feeling of self proceeds with the growth of self-consciousness. The self-feeling which is in the beginning confined to the bodily self enlarges under the influence of experience and association. The area of our belongings now incorporates our surroundings including our home and other property and our friends and relatives. The growth of the higher and more representative self-consciousness extends the self-complacency to even the intellectual or moral worth of the individual and the feeling is further refined by the discrimination of a higher and a lower self. Lastly, experience and social discipline tone down the feeling.

* *The Fauna of British India. Mammalia*, By W. T. Blanford, F.R.S. London : 1838. P. 141.

† *The World of To-day*. By A. R. Hope Moncrieff, Vol. I, London : The Gresham Publishing Company. 1912. Page 215.

The B. G. asks us to submerge our personality into that of God and in strict consonance with this oft-repeated doctrinal advice this feeling of 'ahaṅkāra', this consciousness of the Ego is to be discarded, as is clear from the following passages:—

'Ahaṅkāra' is one of the constituents of the eightfold 'prakṛti' or primordial matter (VII, 4). The principle of 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' holds good in classifying the emotions according to the B. G. Accordingly we are told in XVIII, 26 that the person who is 'anahamvādi', i.e., free from self-feeling, is the 'sāttvika kartā' or the righteous doer of an action. One who is free from the notion of the Ego though he slays people, he slays not, nor is bound (XVIII, 17). The Self deluded by 'ahaṅkāra' thinks 'I am the doer', while in fact all actions are wrought by the 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' (III, 27). The doer of an action, who does an action through 'ahaṅkāra' is said to be 'rājasa' or passionate (XVIII, 24). In III, 30, Arjuna is asked to surrender all his actions to God and fight without any self-feeling. Among qualifications necessary for being an ideal 'bhakta', freedom from 'ahaṅkāra' is mentioned (XII, 13). 'Ahaṅkāra' is also one of the constituents of the 'kṣetra' mentioned in XII, 6. Absence of 'ahaṅkāra' is one of the essentials of 'jñāna' described in detail in XIII, 8-12. In XVI, 19, it is said that God hates men who resort to 'ahaṅkāra' and throws them into the worst forms of existence as they are the vilest among men. Persons, who perform through 'ahaṅkāra' severe austerities are styled as 'āśura-niscayān', i.e., of demoniacal bent of mind in XVII, 5. In XVIII, 58, Arjuna is threatened with destruction if he followed the dictates of 'ahaṅkāra' and further in verse 58 we learn that it is of no use for Arjuna to give up his duty of fighting under the influence of 'ahaṅkāra' for 'prakṛti' will constrain him to do so. Finally the Yogi of the B. G. who is free from 'ahaṅkāra' is said to be fit for being identified with the 'brahman'.

The foregoing passages give us a clear notion of the 'ahaṅkāra' of the B. G. and we can now sum up the characteristics as follows:—

- (1) The 'ahaṅkāra' of the B. G. originates from 'prakṛti' and is one of the 'vikāras' of 'kṣetra'.
- (2) It originates in the quality of 'rajas', one of the three 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti'.
- (3) It does not facilitate spiritual enlightenment but on the contrary is a veritable obstacle in the way, and degrades persons in the cycle of existence.
- (4) Its absence is necessary for the fostering of the 'bhakti' towards God.
- (5) As all actions are wrought by the 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' it cannot be regarded as a spring of action proper.

- (6) Fitness for being identified with the 'brahman' depends on the complete disappearance of 'ahaṅkāra'.
- (7) It is a cause of the moral responsibility of the individual if free play is allowed to it; if, however, the action is done independently of the influence of self-feeling, the agent of the action is not responsible for the consequences, good or evil.

It has been remarked by Spinoza¹ that human lack of power in moderating and checking the emotions is servitude. To some extent this view of Spinoza is similar to that of the B. G. but whereas Spinoza would see some goodness in these emotions according as they serve a human end, the B. G. would insist upon a complete cessation of them. Spinoza regards the terms good and bad as relative, for they are, according to him, nothing else than modes of thought. From the metaphysical standpoint of the B. G., all emotions are equally good or bad. From the worldly point of view, the B. G. has divided the emotions into two classes, viz., (1) the 'āsurī sampad' and (2) the 'daivī sampad', and this division corresponds to that of Spinoza. The 'ahaṅkāra' or self-feeling belongs to the latter class and is condemned by the B. G.

Sully² remarks that the love of self or the disposition to value self and its concerns is instinctive and is connected with the impulse of self-conservation. Psychologically this observation is true enough but the aim of the B. G. being 'self-surrender' it attaches no value to 'self-feeling'.

Self-feeling may be necessary for self-conservation but to identify self-conservation with pleasure is "surely an inversion of the order of nature".³ In a developed form of self-feeling such as self-complacency there seems to be a mixture of instinct and reflection. There is also present an element of pleasure but pleasure may not be invariably associated with the operation of instinct. Now so far as the B. G. is concerned, it is obvious that the Yogi of the B. G. is to care more for the 'ātyantika sukha' or the infinite bliss than for mortal pleasures. Marshall's conclusion in this connection is worth noting. He remarks⁴: "All things considered, the notion must be abandoned that pleasure-getting in any sense can be made serviceable as an ethical end."

We cannot dilate more on this form of egotistic emotion as our study is un-ethical.

(b) *Jijiviṣā, Tṛṣṇā*.—Closely connected with the Ego we find what the B. G. calls 'jijiviṣā' or desire for life. 'Tṛṣṇā' is akin to it with difference in degree and it means 'love or thirst for life'. It originates in the quality of

¹ Ethics, Boyle's Translation, p. 141.

² Outlines of Psychology, p. 502.

³ Martineau: Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, pp. 377-378.

⁴ Pleasure, Pain and Aesthetics, p. 354.

'rajas' (XIV, 7). There is only a passing reference to this desire in II. 6, where Arjuna says that he has no desire to live, after having slain his relatives.

Marshall* quotes Bouillier's view that 'love of life' and the 'fear of death' are the greatest of pleasures and pains respectively and also refutes this view by remarking that this view is open to question. According to the B. G. perhaps the 'love of life' is the greatest of fears as it involves men in the cycle of 'samsāra' while 'fear of death' does not exist as the removal of the physical body may facilitate the identification of the 'bhakta' with the 'brahman'. Biologists tell us that the instinct for self-preservation in the organism is necessary for the preservation of the race. From this point of view 'jijivishā' becomes a matter of course and may be extended to all living beings. What we have to emphasize is the fact that 'jijivishā' is instinctive and exists not because it is pleasant but in the course of nature. 'Trṣṇā' of the B. G. seems to us to be a further developed form of 'jijivishā' and the element of pleasure seems to be present in it. We can call it an 'appetite' with Aristotle who defines 'appetite' as 'a desire for what is pleasant'.† As the element of 'saṅga' creeps in, the B. G. trying to lift up the Yogi above pleasure and pain looks down upon this 'trṣṇā' or the passion for life which plunges men into the misery of finite existence. If we accept Ribot's theory‡ that tendency is antecedent to pleasure and pain we may regard 'jijivishā' as an unconscious impulse or an innate tendency without antecedent experience of the pleasant or unpleasant consequences while 'trṣṇā' presupposes an antecedent experience of the element of pleasure.

(c) *Bala*.—As 'bala' is classed with other feelings such as 'ahaṅkāra' 'darpa', etc., we must take it to mean 'consciousness of power or strength'. Ribot § remarks that the different varieties of 'self-feeling' are reducible to one primary fact, viz., the feeling of personal strength or weakness, with a tendency to action or arrest of action. He further remarks in this connection that the feeling of superiority consequent on the feeling of strength soon leads to contempt, insolence, brutality and the exercise of strength under its aggressive form. This is true enough and it is perhaps on account of this likelihood of mischief which disturbs the mental equilibrium of the Yogi that the B. G. condemns it categorically. We do not know whether the complete absence of 'bala' would help or hinder the efficiency of 'karma' prescribed in the B. G. Perhaps the B. G. refers to superfluous strength, which, if allowed to accumulate, may be directed in mischievous channels. The B. G. seems to lay stress on the physical aspect of power.

* Pleasure, Pain and Aesthetics, p. 34.

† Rhetoric (Buckley's Trans.), p. 73.

‡ Psychology of Emotions, p. 199.

§ Do. do. p. 239.

In XVI, 18, we are told that men who resort to 'bala' are thrown by God into the demoniacal forms of existence. Again men who cast aside 'bala', etc., are fit for being identified with the 'brahman' (XVIII, 53). These two passages give us the punishment and the reward for the use or abandonment of 'bala' respectively.

Power may be utilized for good but there is in it a tendency for malevolence. Bain* remarks that the pleasure of power in its coarsest and brutal form is the pleasure of putting others to pain and as the Yogi of the B. G. is to be friendly towards all beings (maitra) it is natural that 'bala' should be condemned.

We have already remarked in treating of fear that the term 'dhṛti' as used by the B. G. in verses 33, 34 and 35 of Chapter XVIII, means a sort of mental energy which stabilizes any psychic state, intellectual or emotional. It appears to us that the 'dhṛti' which has been spoken of as 'sāttviki', 'rājasī' and 'tāmasī' is a psychical counterpart of 'bala' which pertains more to the physical and physiological side of the individual. We may render the term 'dhṛti' into English by 'volitional energy' or 'power of the will' which is the very basis of human conduct. The B. G. determines its nature by the effects of its operation on the individual and accordingly gives us its three sorts mentioned above.

Though 'bala' is undesirable for the Yogi of the B. G. 'dhṛti' is not altogether so, for we learn from XVIII, 26 that even for an action which is pure or 'sāttvika' 'dhṛti' is necessary. It is the very basis of action and as action is necessary according to the B. G., the psychological basis or action cannot be ignored.

In XVIII, 26, we are also told that 'utsāha' is 'sāttvika'. The term means 'effort, exertion, etc.'. We may distinguish 'dhṛti' and 'utsāha' by remarking that the former is static while the latter is dynamic in character. 'Utsāha' is an immediate antecedent of action, and seems identical with the "natural vigour of the constitution" so closely analysed by Bain.† 'Utsāha' causes a spontaneous discharge of an accumulated store of inward energy which is the same as 'dhṛti' of the B. G.

The word 'dhīra' as used in B. G. II, 13 and 15 means 'self-possessed' and denotes strength of will which stabilizes the emotions, and prevents drain or sudden outburst of mental energy.

There is another aspect of 'power' which is not quite psychological. It is said that love of pleasure and aversion to pain may generate love of power‡ which, combined with thirst for fame, constitutes ambition which

* Emotions and the Will, p. 195.

† Do. Do. p. 310.

‡ James McCosh: The Emotions, p. 15.

is a subject for the moralist to enlarge upon, as ambition soon degrades into love of dominion which in its turn engenders tyranny under all its forms.

That consciousness of power is attended with pleasure and that the powerful are likely to be overbearing and hence naturally inclined to commit injustice was long ago recognized by Aristotle.¹ The aim of the B. G. being complete stoicism towards pleasure and pain it is in the nature of things that consciousness of power should be considered demoniacal and destructive of spiritual life.

It may be of interest to note here that the Sāhityadarpaṇa² considers 'dhṛti' as one of the 33 subordinate feelings. The term as defined there means "satisfaction" and is quite distinct from the 'dhṛti' of the B. G. The element of pleasure is dominant in the definition of the Sāhityadarpaṇa which well illustrates the æsthetic law of the satisfaction of expectancies mentioned by Marshall.³ The Sāhityadarpaṇa mentions 'utsāha' as the feeling which gives rise to 'vīra' or the heroic sentiment. We do not find any material difference between the 'utsāha' of the B. G. and 'utsāha' of the S. D.⁴ We may regard the 'utsāha' of the B. G. as a sort of feeling of elation consequent on the natural vigour of the constitution.⁵

(d) *Darpa*, etc.—A person who is saturated with 'self-feeling' may be said to have 'mada', which is nothing but a plethora of self-feeling. 'Mada' is passive in character while 'darpa' is active. 'Darpa' may be rendered by 'insolence' which shews its external manifestations in a marked way. 'Mada' may be rendered by 'pride' in its wider sense of "isolated self-esteem" involving contemptuous indifference to the sentiments of others.⁶ 'Darpa' is condemned in B. G. XVI, 18. Absence of 'darpa' is also helpful for the identification of the Yogi with the 'brahman' (XVIII, 53). 'Darpa' is one of the constituents of 'āsuri sampad' (XVI, 4). Men filled with 'mada' of wealth are thrown into demoniacal forms of existence (XVI, 17).

The adjective 'ātma-sambhāvitāḥ' as used in XVI, 17, means 'self-glorying' or 'self-conceited'. A person who is 'ātma-sambhāvita' does not depend upon the praise or good opinion of the world.

We now come to 'māna' which may be rendered by the word 'self-regard'. A person may have 'māna' without involving in it any contempt

¹ Rhetoric (Buckley's Translation), pp. 78, 159, 80.

² Pleasure, Pain and Aesthetics, p. 342.

³ S. D. 168.

⁴ S. D. 232.

⁵ Cf. the definition of 'utsāha' given by the Rasagaṅgādhara:—

(K.M. No. 12) p. 32—"para-parākrama-dānādi-smṛti-janmā aunnatyākhyah utsāhah."

⁶ Martineau: "Types of Ethical Theory", Vol. II, p. 238.

for others. It may be regarded as 'pride' but in a good sense. As the B. G. has no regard for 'self-feeling' in any of its forms 'māna' is also condemned. In XVI, 5, we learn that persons who are free from 'māna' reach the 'imperishable abode' (avyayam padam). In another passage, however, the term 'māna' has been used in the sense of 'pride'. In XVI, 17, it is said that persons who are not free from 'dhana-māna' or pride of wealth are thrown into demoniacal forms of existence. In this passage the terms 'māna' and 'mada' seem contrasted or at least distinguished.

The 'amānittva', i.e., humility is said to be an essential of 'jñāna' (XIII, 8). Absence of too much self-regard (nātimānitā) is one of the components of 'daivi sampad' (XVI, 3). On the contrary 'abhimāna' or too much self-opinion is a component of 'āsuri sampad' (XVI, 4).

We have tried to record the several terms which the B. G. uses for self-feeling in various degrees. As no definite analysis of these forms is attempted by the B. G., it is difficult to infer the exact distinction between one form and another which the B. G. has in view. The ethical and metaphysical end which the B. G. had in view is apparent from passages mentioned above. Perhaps the B. G. took for granted that these distinctions were patent to everybody in view of the dominance of these forms in the daily life of the individual.

The special study of the above mentioned forms of self-feeling is a work for the writers on ethics and psychologists have very little to do with it.¹ We shall here mention some views of the Western writers on the subject. Spinoza defines 'pride' as "over-estimation of oneself by reason of self-love."² Hume in his treatise on 'Human Nature' devotes one part to the treatment of pride and humility.³

According to him, self is the object of pride as well as humility. When self enters not into consideration there is no room either for pride or humility. Perhaps the B. G. asks us to renounce 'ahaṅkāra' on account of the fact pointed out by Hume that it is the cause of pride and humility (humiliation), which are in their turn the causes of pleasure and pain, while the main object of the B. G. is to take the 'sthitaprajna' beyond pleasure and pain. Hume mentions as objects of pride all qualities of body and mind as also objects that are in the least related to us.

Darwin, concerned with the expression of pride, remarks that a complex state of mind, viz., pride, is not sufficiently distinct to be described or delineated.⁴

¹ See article on Pride in Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 10 and the literature given at the end of that article.

² Ethics (Boyle's Trans.), p. 134.

³ Treatise on Human Nature (Everyman's Lib.), pp. 3-47.

⁴ Expression of Emotions, p. 274.

McCosh treats of 'pride and self-humiliation' and observes that in pride we cherish and entertain a high and self-satisfied opinion of ourselves, of our abilities, of our conduct or of certain qualities supposed to be possessed by us or of certain acts we have done. In self-humiliation we depreciate all these things. He further remarks that if self-humiliation is yielded to and not counteracted by a sense of duty it may become a "poorness of spirit" which prevents us from engaging in anything which requires courage or perseverance. Now let us turn to the B. G. This difficulty seems to have been felt by the author of the B. G. The doctrine of duty (Karma) propounded in the work is a sufficient testimony on this point. We have already remarked that 'kaśmalam' which is a consequence of this "poorness of spirit" is condemned by the B. G. where Arjuna is represented as being its victim on account of his indulging in self-humiliation to an inordinate degree. The B. G. wants not 'self-humiliation' but 'humility' (amānittva) which is nothing but a lowly attitude before God and our fellow-men.

The Western writers lay stress on "vanity" which is a form of self-feeling regarded as a showing off of one's supposed superiority. It depends on the good opinion of others for its very nourishment. We do not think that the forms of self-feeling under reference, viz., 'darpa' and others comprise the feeling of "vanity". Vanity is distinct from 'dambha' or hypocrisy mentioned in the B. G. What the Western writers call 'self-respect' arising from the reflection on one's good qualities seems to be identical with the 'māna' of the B. G. which we have rendered by the word 'self-regard'. The B. G. does not want even this much self-regard in the Yogi. It wants complete self-surrender, which may be regarded as the one simple condition of the union of the 'bhakta' with the 'brahman'. There is a good deal of parallelism between this doctrine of the B. G. and the doctrine of the Christian mystics.* We note here some points of similarity:—(1) Surrender of self as the condition of union with God; (2) Duty is to be sublimed into devotion; (3) God is to be regarded as the hierarchy of affections (cf. B. G. X, 4-6); (4) The self is to be regarded as the organ of a higher spirit; (5) The 'avyabhicāriṇī bhakti' is to be the absolute spring of our moral actions and consequently there is to be harmony between morals and religion. It will thus be seen that the B. G. regards 'bhakti' as the 'rule and method for the life of man' which is absolute and knows no prudential deflection, like the conscience of Christian mystics. Sully remarks † that self-feeling is as varied in respect of its presentative factor as the presentation or consciousness of self is varied. In his opinion this feeling

* Martineau: Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p. 79.

† Human Mind, Vol. II, p. 97.

is very difficult to demarcate. At least it is not so well marked and invariable as fear. Dealing with the relation of pride and power he remarks further that the feeling of power in its more intense forms is differentiated from a pure self-feeling, through a special element, the delight in superiority. The emotion of power is accounted for in the main as a compound of self-exaltation and malignity.

We have already observed in our discussion of 'bala' that the B. G. seems to lay stress on the physical and personal aspect of power. No doubt the elements of 'self-exaltation and malignity' are present in this aspect and that is exactly the reason why the B. G. looks down upon it. But Bain's idea of power seems to extend beyond the self proper. According to him "Power is the name for many things besides the pleasure of rampant cruelty. It has much in common with the aggregate named property or wealth".¹ But the B. G. condemns this sort of power in XVI, 17, where 'dhana-mada' is said to be the cause of demoniacal forms of existence.

Bhagavan Das² regards 'mada' as the opposite of benevolence. According to him benevolence is in operation when a greater gives himself away to a lesser through 'love'. He regards love to mean nothing else than benevolence in such cases. Pride is further a resultant of anger³; and if we add compassion to pride we get what is known as majesty.⁴ He gives us two senses of vanity and thinks that the second of these two senses is used when 'vanity' is used as a derivative of the adjective 'vain'. In this latter sense it means self-complacence which is only a modification of pride.⁵ According to him the only way by which we can transmute other people's pride is by responding with humility, which is a counterpart of benevolence.⁶

We do not find in the B. G. any term which exactly conveys the sense of the English term "vanity". The adjective 'ātma-sambhāvitāḥ' used in XVI, 17, seems to us to describe a feeling which essentially differs from vanity. Persons who are the victims of vanity always get their nourishment from the good opinion of others while 'ātma-sambhāvita' people do not care for such good opinion.

To sum up our examination of the forms of 'self-feeling' viz., 'darpa, mada, māna, abhimāna,' and the quality of being 'ātma-sambhāvita'. We find that all these forms are looked down upon by the B. G. It does not matter whether the self-feeling be of such an aggressive nature as 'darpa' or

1 Emotions and the Will, p. 195.

2 The Science of the Emotions, p. 67.

3 Do. p. 73.

4 Do. p. 86.

5 Do. p. 139.

6 Do. p. 232.

of a condensed nature as 'mada'; whether it is of a comparatively innocent type as 'māna' or 'abhimāna' or is self-sufficient in character as in the case of 'ātma-sambhāṭa' people. Further as in the case of other emotions the contrary of these forms, viz., 'amānittva' or absence of 'atimānitā' are said to be godly (daivi) in nature; while these forms are styled as demoniacal (āsuri). Next the suppression of these forms of self-feeling enables us to reach the 'avyayam padam', the imperishable abode, which is the same as 'brahman' mentioned in many other passages. We have further shown that the 'amānittva' of the B. G. is different from the 'self-humiliation' of the Western writers on the subject for the reason that whereas 'self-humiliation' produces pain the 'amānittva' of the B. G. does not produce either pleasure or pain in a marked manner and hence it may be regarded as more or less a neutral state not characterized by any strong tendencies either way. It, therefore, exactly serves the purpose of the B. G., viz., to make the Yogi free from pleasure and pain. Another point of distinction is that 'self-humiliation brings on 'kaśmalam' or a mood of despondency which is categorically condemned in the B. G., because it runs counter to the doctrine of duty preached in the work. On the other hand 'amānittva' maintains a balanced state of mind which is conducive to the efficient performance of duty. We have also noticed the parallelism between the ideally perfect life of the Christian mystics and the union of God and man advocated in the B. G. with the only apparent distinction that whereas conscience is regarded as the divine element in the former, 'bhakti' may be regarded as the divine element in the latter case. Both these elements seem to be the cause of the harmony between morals and religion.

In B. G. X, 34, Śrī Kṛiṣṇa identifies himself with 'kīrti' or fame. We may infer from this fact that the author of the B. G. did not condemn this feeling but gave it an honourable place in his estimate of all the best things in the universe. We have no other passages in the B. G. which can give us a detailed analysis of this feeling.

To turn now to psychology. According to Ribot the pursuit of 'kīrti' or renown is one of the forms of ambition which he regards as the type of the higher form of egoism.¹ When all other tendencies are ruined ambition in its numerous forms persists. Except in the case of philosophers, Ribot continues, the disappearance of all ambition is the first symptom of decadence of the egotistic tendencies, which indicates want of faith in one's self, etc. According to Martineau² love of fame is not immediate and thirsty as vanity but can wait till later generations for its satisfaction. The resolve

¹ Psychology of Emotions, p. 431.

² Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, pp. 237; 238.

of the man who is swayed by ambition is not to *enjoy* public praise but to *earn* it. Martineau regards vanity, love of praise, and love of fame (or glory) as three different varieties of the sentiment of admiration. Spinoza¹ defines ambition as the "immoderate desire of glory or honour" and explains that ambition is the desire by which all the emotions are fostered and encouraged. Hume² traces love of fame to sympathy which is facilitated by the general resemblance of our natures and other circumstantial resemblances. His hypothesis is that the pleasure which we receive from praise arises from a communication of sentiments, because the praises of others never give us much pleasure unless they concur with our own opinion and extol us for those qualities in which we chiefly excel. Bain³ regards fame and honour as forms of the feeling of being admired, which is according to him an "extension by sympathy, of the self-complacent feeling". He adds that posthumous fame, which has been treated as an absurdity and a paradox is nothing but one of the many forms of ideal satisfaction.

The 'kīrti' of the B. G. appears to us to include contemporary as also posthumous fame referred to by Bain.

(e) *Dambha*.—The term has the meaning of "religious hypocrisy" in the B. G. It is condemned in XVI, 4, where it is said to belong to "āsuri sampad". In XVIII, 12, it remarked that a sacrifice performed through 'dambha' i.e., with a view to throw dust into the eyes of others is a 'rājasa yajna'. Men who practise penance through 'dambha' are characterized as 'āsura-niścayān' i.e., of devilish tendencies. This is the only analysis of 'dambha' in the B. G.

The treatment of this form of self-feeling is properly a subject for the moralist. In every religion 'dambha' is considered as a vice and treated as such. The psychologist is concerned with the genesis of 'dambha'. Hypocrisy has been defined as 'a pretence or false assumption of a high character especially in regard to religious belief or practice'.⁴ The term also means secondarily the practice of dissimulation. Dr. Murray⁵ in his article on the subject in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics traces the evolution of this form of self-feeling. According to him 'hypocrisy' was an idea outside the line of action of the primitive man for the reason that his society discouraged all independence of judgment. His tendency was to create "a cake of custom" and to conform to it. Referring to the arrested civilizations of the East and in particular to the Indian civilization he remarks that the

¹ Ethics, p. 138 (Boyle's Trans.).

² Treatise on Human Nature, Sec. XI.

³ Emotions and the Will, pp. 209, 210.

⁴ Encyclo. Brita. XI Edition.

⁵ Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, 1914.

hardening of the cake of custom became too much for India. The cake had become so hard that those who differed could not break through it. They tried to soften it and pretended that they had changed nothing. Hypocrisy has its origin in the conflict between private belief and public conduct. Whenever private belief, which is psychologically the immediate antecedent of human conduct, has no free scope hypocrisy is the consequence, whether the belief is religious or social. A feigned compliance with the current code of public conduct is a characteristic of hypocrisy. In short hypocrisy is the "divorce of creed and life".

The distinction between hypocrisy and vanity lies in the fact that while in the case of the former an element of artificiality is present there is no such element in the latter. Vanity and hypocrisy both aim at the good opinion of others but their methods of achieving this aim are different. Vanity is based on an assumption that the good qualities or objects of which a person is vainly proud are really present. In hypocrisy the assumption is quite the opposite, viz., that those qualities are not present and as the hypocrite must conform to the public standard he must show by word, gesture and deed that he really possesses the same. In vanity the vain person practises self-deception; in hypocrisy the hypocrite practises deception on others. Vanity becomes a subject for a comedy; hypocrisy that of satire.

(f) *Lobha*.—The term 'lobha' as used in the B. G. means avarice if we accept the definition of avarice, viz., that it is "an absorbing passion for earthly possessions and a selfish gratification in their retention."* Love of pleasure and love of power breed an avaricious character. Avarice, however, may continue even when both the love of pleasure and the love of power are absent.

According to B. G. 'lobha' has its origin in the quality of 'rajas' (XIV, 12, 17). It is said to be one of the three component parts of the gate of Hell, the other two being 'kāma' and 'krādha' (XVI, 21). In I, 38, we learn that the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra are so much overpowered by 'lobha' that they have become blind to any sense of crime or sin. On the contrary Arjuna is shown as condemning 'rājya-sukha-lobha' or greed for the pleasures of kingship, which emboldens men to kill their own relatives (I, 45). In XVIII, 26, 27, 28, three classes of 'doers of action' are given and it is said that the doer who is 'lubdha' i.e., greedy or avaricious is 'rājasa'. This remark is consistent with the genesis of 'lobha' given in XIV, 12, 17.

If the term 'lobha' can be rendered by the English term 'avarice' we may now render the term 'a-lolup-tva' by 'absence of covetousness' which has been included by the B.G. in "daivī sampad" (XVI, 2). What avarice

* Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, 1914, article on Avarice.

is to covetousness, 'lobha' is to 'loluptva'. Covetousness has been defined as "an eager desire to gain some possession on which the heart is set".¹ The desire may be associated not necessarily with good objects but with evil and unworthy objects. While in covetousness the desire is for things not possessed, in avarice it is for undue retention of actual possessions. The possessions in themselves are not evil but an undue desire for them constitutes the evil. The evil further lies not merely in the strength of desire but in the fact that the object of desire might be in the possession of some one else. Such desires expressed in acts are condemned as crimes by law. The spring of covetousness lies more or less in imagination which paints the blessings that are beyond reach in glowing colours, and as a result what is not possessed seems always most desirable. This passion for material possessions can be curbed by a nobler passion for the possessions of mind and spirit. True restraint consists in the recognition of the rights of others.

According to Spinoza² avarice is the "immoderate desire or love of riches". Apparently he restricts the term to the love of riches only, and not for other possessions.

McCosh³ regards 'acquisitiveness' as springing from the love of power and always combined with the love of pleasure. He regards this love as one of the primary appetances which may even be handed down from father to son.

According to Ribot⁴ the fundamental basis of avarice is an instinct of conservation which begins with the craving for food. With the progress of the human race this craving is transformed into a need of possession and finally this need becomes in itself a cause of desire and pleasure. The evolution of the original tendency in this case is so very heterogeneous that it becomes unrecognizable.

Darwin includes avarice among states of mind which according to him are not sufficiently distinct to be described and are not revealed by any fixed expression.⁵ Mantegazza like Ribot links the joy of wealth with the pleasure of taste.⁶

Martineau thinks that though love of money constitutes an end in itself in an avaricious mind it may be doubted whether even there money does not charm the imagination as a symbol of security and power.⁷

Bain⁸ treats of motives or ends of volition. The all-purchasing money is such an end and properly speaking the motive value of money should exactly correspond to an accurate estimate of the exact amount of

1 Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, 1914, article on Covetousness.

2 Ethics (Boyle's Trans.), p. 138.

3 Emotions, p. 15.

4 Psychology of Emotions, pp. 263, 264.

5 Expression of Emotions, p. 274.

6 Physiognomy and Expression, p. 119.

7 Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p. 172.

8 Emotions and the Will, pp. 389-90.

the ultimate pleasure likely to be realized. Further he treats of "impassioned, irrational ends" which produce activities, wherein it is impossible to trace any connection between pleasure enjoyed and pain averted and the energy manifested in pursuit. We think avarice must be included in this category, though Bain does not specifically do it himself.

The views mentioned above regarding avarice are sufficient to give us an idea of the origin and development of this form. The Westerners might justify it on the ground of self-conservation but of course their justification would not extend to the irrational degree of this form of self-feeling. The element of pleasure pointed out in the foregoing views cannot be denied but the aim of the B. G. is to be above pleasure and pain and hence 'lobha' and 'lolup-tva' must be kept at a distance because they are so many forms of desire. If 'sanga' which is the very root of desire must be discarded, it is clear that 'lobha' whether for paltry gain or the pleasures of kingship cannot be justified. The Yogi of the B. G. is to be 'gunātita' and as lobha originates in the quality of 'rajas' it is undesirable.

We now come to the second division of egotistic emotions which we have termed negative. If all those emotions included in the positive division and dealt with in detail so far are undesirable, according to the B. G., it is likely to be inferred that the opposite of them might be looked upon as desirable. Such is, however, not the case. 'Samatva' or a balanced state of mind is the ideal of the B. G. and consequently any extremity of the emotions, either positive or negative, is condemned in the work. Secondly, the doctrine of duty preached in the work requires strength of body and mind for an efficient performance of any action. The B. G. would not, therefore, tolerate a complete negation of the emotional strength which, if directed to the proper channel, would facilitate the attainment of 'brahma-nirvāṇa'.

II. (a) Under this negative division we include 'kāraṇya', 'klaibya', 'hrdaya-dourbalya' and the like. In II, 7, Arjuna is shown as the victim of this 'kāraṇya' or imbecility. It appears to us to be nothing but a depressive emotional tone under the influence of which no coherent or sustained activity of thought or action is possible. In the passage under reference the spirit of depression is due to the moral dread which possesses Arjuna at the sight of slaughter of his kinsmen and even elders, which he must carry out with a stern sense of duty, unmindful of all reward, earthly or heavenly. The genesis of 'kāraṇya' is given in II, 49, where it is said that persons who work with an eye to the fruit or reward of their action are 'krpanāḥ', i.e., imbecile. Duty is a stern law-giver as Wordsworth says.

'Hrdaya-dourbalya' or faint-heartedness mentioned in II, 3 is consequent upon 'kāraṇya' and the 'klaibya' or impotence mentioned in II, 3 from which Arjuna is asked to desist, appears to us to be an extreme form of 'kāraṇya'.

As against 'kāraṇya' may be contrasted 'abhaya' mentioned in XVI, 1, as belonging to the class of divine qualities (daivi sampad). From the absolute view-point of the B.G. 'bhaya' and 'abhaya' may both disturb the mental equilibrium of the Yogi but speaking relatively the B.G. gives preference to 'abhaya'. In this connection we may compare the views regarding Christian "boldness"* which is considered as consistent with humility and reverence before God. The saying "perfect love casts out all fear" is correct so far as it goes but to consider that 'boldness' as characteristic of Christian religion alone is rather too dogmatic a statement for any student of comparative religions. We quite understand the view that fear and shrinking are concomitants of the natural man's approach to the unseen. Such "fear and shrinking" possessed Arjuna's mind when he saw the infinite forms of God's glory but Arjuna is asked to cast away this very fear in XI, 49. 'Abhaya' in fact seems to us to be an invariable concomitant of 'bhakti' as it removes the wall between the 'bhakta' and his God and thus becomes helpful to the former's identification with the latter. It is perhaps on this very account that the B. G. includes it in the 'daivi sampad'. 'Abhaya' may also be taken in the sense of courage or fearlessness, which is born of a stern sense of duty. We are inclined to think that real courage according to the B. G. consists in being 'sama-duḥkha-sukha', i.e., equally affected by pleasure and pain. 'Bhaya' may cause pain while 'abhaya' may produce pleasure. Though from the relative point of view 'abhaya' is a divine quality it is not the ideal quality or virtue. Real virtue of courage lies in being 'sama-duḥkha-sukha' and 'abhaya' is a stepping stone to this ideal. At this ideal stage pleasure and pain cease to operate as springs of action. The sense of duty alone remains the only spring of action.

Aristotle's definition of courage † as "moderation in the feelings of fear and confidence" bears some resemblance to the idea of the B. G. regarding courage as explained above. Fear and confidence are causes of pleasure and pain respectively. Moderation in fear and confidence means moderation in pleasure and pain. Now this moderation is implied in the expression 'sama-duḥkha-sukha'. In spite of this resemblance between the two ideas regarding courage we notice some difference. Aristotle says that the end of courage is

* Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, article on Boldness.

† Ethics (trans. by Peters, 1906), p. 48.

noble and a courageous man acts courageously from a noble motive. The B.G. would say that a man should act courageously impelled by the categorical law of duty. It does not recognize motive or 'phala' as Aristotle does. Aristotle's analysis is psychological as it takes into account the facts of the mind as they exist, while the B. G. gives us an ideal virtue according to its ethical theory of a world without ends or motives, where there is no heat or cold, no pleasure or pain. The one looks at facts as they are; the other deals with facts as they ought to be.

Arjuna's 'kārpaṇya' on the field of battle is due to noble instincts which take an unselfish turn at a wrong time. There appears to be a conflict of immediate and mediate duties. The B. G. emphasizes the passive side of courage perhaps with a view to avoid the possibility of an error of judgment in adopting the proper course of action in a particular set of circumstances. The active side which prompts to enterprise in spite of danger is equally emphasized. Arjuna has been repeatedly exhorted to fight to the finish. The courage of deliberate purpose is exactly what is preached in the B. G. The spirit of 'kārpaṇya' which overpowers Arjuna at a wrong place and at a wrong moment is due to the impulsive character of his courage while the B. G. asks us to remove this impulsive basis of our virtues and place them on the most secure basis of duty. Courage should not be a matter of impulse and accident but a result of deliberate choice involving an effort of the will.

(v) SEXUAL EMOTION—This emotion comes last in the chronological order of the evolution of emotions. There are not sufficient references to this point in the B. G. In XI, 44, Arjuna asks Śrī Kṛṣṇa to tolerate all his shortcomings as a lover tolerates those of his beloved. This comparison shows the intimacy of man with God. There is one more passage which takes a correct view of the creative instinct in the human and animal race. In X, 28, God identifies himself with the best of each class and remarks 'prajāna-ścāsmi kandarpaḥ', i.e., "I am the Cupid of the progenitors". We can at least say from this passage that the B. G. does not condemn the sexual instinct with any more emphasis than it does the other passions. Perhaps the suppression of this passion is devoutly to be wished for in accordance with the general attitude of the B. G. towards emotions.

(To be continued.)

AN INDIAN VIEW OF 'PRESENT TIME.'

BY M. HIRIYANNA, ESQ., M.A., L.T.

IN his recent works Prof. Whitehead has emphasized the importance of conceiving the present as a duration and not as an instant.* We propose to refer here to a striking parallel to this view in the history of Indian thought. It will be best to begin by translating into English, from an old Sanskrit work†, a passage bearing upon the subject:—

"In the matter (of the three-fold division of Time into the past, present and future) —

OBJECTION—

Aphorism 39.—There is no present (time) since of a falling (body for instance), the time during which it has fallen and that during which it has yet to fall furnish a sufficient explanation.

Commentary.—When a fruit loosened from the stalk is nearing the ground, what is above (it, at any instant) is the path through which it has fallen and the time connected with it is past time; what is below is the path through which it has yet to fall and the time connected with it is future time. Now there is no third (part of the) path with reference to which present time (supposed to be implied in "falls") might be understood. Hence there is no present time.

REPLY—

Aphorism 40.—Those two (i.e., past and future) also disappear if present (time) is not (admitted), they being dependent upon it.

Commentary.—Time is not indicated by space. How else then? It is indicated by action as, for example, 'falling'. When the action of falling ceases, that is past time: when the action is yet to be, that is future time. When action is apprehended as existing in an object, it is present time. If one does not think of the action of falling characterising an object, whose cessation or future origination can one contemplate? Past time is in reference to past action; future time, to action that is yet to be. In both kinds of time, the object is without action; when (an object) is 'falling', it is connected with action. (Thus) present time refers to the object as related to action. And if that is not (admitted), the two other kinds of time depending upon it would themselves cease to be.

* Cf. e.g., 'Principles of Natural Knowledge,' page 64.

† *Nyāya Aphorisms* of Gautama, with Vātsyāyana's Commentary II, i, 39-43.

Again—

Aphorism 41.—Past and future are not mutually dependent.

Commentary.—If past and future could be conceived as dependent upon each other, we might agree to the repudiation of the present. (But) the future is not dependent on the past, nor the past on the future. Why (so)? Because it would be impossible to define from what standpoint it is past, how the future is dependent upon the past and from what standpoint it is future. The rejection of the present is (besides) opposed to the presuppositions of Grammar.* One might think that just as 'short' and 'long', 'hill' and 'hollow', 'light' and 'shade' depend upon each other, 'past' and 'future' also might do. That is not (however) necessarily so, for there is no differentiating circumstance. As there are illustrations, so there are counter-illustrations also—thus 'colour' and 'touch', 'odour' and 'taste' are not mutually dependent; so also (may be) 'past' and 'future'. Mutual dependence, (we might, on the contrary, maintain) leads to the establishment of neither. For when one is not, the other also is not and both will thus cease to be.† If the existence of the first is dependent upon the second, on what is the second (just then) dependent? If the existence of the second is dependent upon the first, on what is the first (just then) dependent? Thus when one is not, the other also is not; so both will disappear.

Present time is indicated also by the *being* of an object, *e.g.*, the *being* of a substance, of a quality, of an action.† To one that does not recognize this (*i.e.*, the indication of present time by *being*)—

Aphorism 42.—Nothing would be known, because there can be no perception in the absence of present time.

Commentary.—Perception arises from contact of senses with objects. What is not at the time, *i.e.*, the non-existent cannot come into relation with the senses. This (our opponent) does not admit that anything is *present*, (so that) the means of perception, the object of perception, and perceptual knowledge—all become impossible. And if perception be impossible, there can be no inference or verbal testimony which have their bases in it. If all means of knowledge be cut off, nothing would be known.

Present time is (thus) indicated in two ways—first by the *being* of objects as for example in 'a substance is'; secondly, by a series of actions, as for example 'cooking' or 'cutting'. A series of actions may be (i) multiform and serving a single purpose, or (ii) repeated action. Multiform and serving a single purpose is the action of 'cooking', for instance, (which consists of) putting

* *I.e.* there is no linguistic support for it.

† The word 'object' as here used should be understood in this wide sense and not merely as meaning a *concrete* thing.

vessel on fire, pouring in of water, filling with rice, placing fuel, kindling fire, stirring with spoon, pouring out gruel and taking down (vessel). 'Cutting' is an instance of repeated action. A man is said to 'cut' when he frequently lifts up an axe and lays it, say, upon a log of wood. Both these, *viz.*, what is cooked and what is cut, may be described as what is acted upon. Since in an object acted upon—

Aphorism 43.—There may be the state of having been acted upon and the state of going to be acted upon, a two-fold apprehension (of present time results).

A series of actions not yet begun but intended to be, gives future time, *e.g.*, 'he will cook'; the cessation of the series accompanied by its result gives past time, *e.g.*, 'he has cooked' and a series of actions begun, gives 'present time', *e.g.*, 'he cooks'. Here a completed (action) means (in the object) the state of *having been acted upon*; (an action) which is to come about, the state of *going to be acted upon* and (an action) which is going on, the state of *being acted upon*. Thus all the three kinds of time are involved in a series of actions, and are known by knowing the present, such as 'he cooks' or 'something is cooked'. Here the continuance of the series of actions is avowed; neither its non-commencement, nor its completion. (Thus) the present is known in two ways—as dissociated from the past and future and as associated (with them)—(the first), that which is indicated by the *being* of an object as in 'a substance is'; (the second), that which, as in 'cooking' or 'cutting', expresses a continuing series of actions and involves the three-fold time. Other forms of common usage where (the present tense) is meant to indicate nearness, etc. (to present time), should also be noted (in this connection).* Therefore present time does exist."

Here is represented a controversy between two schools of thought,—one, which denies the present and the other, which admits it. We are now concerned only with the latter. It is known as *Nyāya* and may be described as a realistic and pluralistic system. It separates substance from quality, universal from particular, etc., regarding each as an independent reality. So far as our present purpose is concerned, it recognizes, among other ultimate entities, absolute Time. The discussion here, however, is not in respect of it but relative or empirical time. The *Nyāya* does not admit the latter as such to be an objective fact and explains its notion as arising from the association of absolute Time with something else. The same absolute Time comes to be described as past, present and future through such association, as the same

* *E.g.*, 'I go' for 'I shall go'. Here again is an appeal to linguistic usage in support of present time. The use of 'I go' for 'I shall go' is secondary and a secondary use always implies the primary. See Vācaspati's Commentary, p. 284.

person might, for instance, be described as 'father', 'son', etc., from different points of view.* While some Indian thinkers maintain that objects involved in action (*kāraṇas*) serve as the index of relative time, † the *Nyāya* maintains that it is action itself. To take the illustration given in the extract, a falling body may be said to involve a reference to three things—what falls, *viz.*, the fruit here, the space through which it falls, and the action of falling. Of these, neither the space nor the fruit can be said to indicate time; for the space remains the same always and the fruit also at any two stages in the course of falling is in itself the same. They cannot thus be described as either 'past' or 'future'. It is only the action of falling that can so be described. ‡ This view of action being the index of time, implies the conception of the present as a duration for, according to the system, all action must last for at least four instants, § and there can be no instantaneous action. The duration of the present signified cannot accordingly be less than four instants but it may be more.

Now as regards the meaning which the system attaches to past and future. These are not significant without reference to a third factor. 'Before' and 'after' are meaningless unless they are referred to something different from either, *viz.*, the present which, as we have seen, is known through action. Thus past and future also refer to action though only through the present, and they mean respectively the time when some action or other we have in view is over or is yet to be. If we now consider the object involved in action we find that it is characterised by action in what is described as the present, but not in what is described as either the past or future. Hence we often apply epithets suggestive of past and future to objects, but we do so only secondarily. For instance, we distinguish a 'fallen' fruit from the same in the state of 'going to fall'; though the fruit in itself is the same if we think of it apart from action. It is this secondary use of past and future with reference to objects that accounts for the misconception, alluded to above, that objects and not action are the index of time.

Objects not associated with action also may indicate time, but it can be only present time. This is what was described above as the present known through the *being* of objects. An object like a fruit, it is believed, arises from

* See *Nyāya Vārtika*, p. 253 (Benares Edition).

† See Vācaspati's Commentary, p. 281.

‡ Cf. *Nyāya-Vārtika*, II, i, 40.

§ See *Dinakarīya* on *Muktāvalī*, i, 46 : *prathama-karmanah kṣaṇa-catuṣṭayāvasthāyinaḥ*. According to the atomism of the system, 'action' is supposed to operate through 'disjunction' and 'conjunction' each of which occupies two instants. See A. B. Keith: *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 190 and 223.

a certain concourse of atoms which continues only for a time. In other words produced objects come into relation with Time¹ and their *being* may therefore be a sign of it. There is however this important difference between time as thus indicated and the same as indicated by action. While both equally signify the present, the latter involves in addition a reference to past and future within itself. 'Cooking', for instance, comprehends various minor actions; and, at any stage some of them may have been over and others may have yet to make their appearance.² Thus though the whole series of actions when regarded as one *viz.*, 'cooking' indicates only present time, each member of the series may give rise to the conception of the three-fold time. The fire, for instance, may have been kindled; it may be in the process of being kindled or it may be going to be kindled. In the case of *being*, on the other hand, no such internal distinction is possible, and an object, so long as it is, signifies only present time.³ This view also implies that the present is a duration; for an object, according to the system, should last for at least two instants⁴ though, of course, it may last longer.

It will be seen, even from the few references which we have found necessary to make to the *Nyāya* philosophy, that there are several points in its conception of Nature (*e.g.*, recognition of absolute Time) wherein it differs from modern science. Yet there is a clear resemblance between the two as regards the view they take of 'present time'. This view may be summarized as follows:—The present is always a duration, though its breadth may vary and need not necessarily be the same wherever present time is apprehended.

1. Ultimate entities which are eternal are not in Time.

2. See *Nyāya-Vārtika* II, i, 43.

3. Commonly, no doubt, we talk of an object as *having been* or *going to be*; but there exists nothing then whose states these expressions may be taken to describe. (See Vācaspati's Com. p.284.) For the *Nyāya* does not believe in the unity of Nature and, further, explains objects like the fruit as coming into existence *anew* and passing out of it *finally*.

4. *I.e.*, the moments of origination and abidance. The earliest instant when an object can perish is the third. Some among the followers of the *Nyāya* admit instantaneous objects as a mere theoretic possibility (compare *e.g.*, *Tarka-Saṅgraha-Dīpikā*: Bombay Sanskrit Series: Section 10) but, generally speaking, it is recognized that objects, especially perceivable objects and therefore all such as indicate present time, must last longer than an instant. See *Nyāya-Mañjarī*, pp. 458 and 463.

NOTES.

Derivation of the name "Bangalore".

SOME years ago, in a paper on "Place Names in Mysore State" read by me before the Mythic Society and subsequently published in this *Journal*, I gave some space to certain possible derivations of the name "Bangalore". Since then I have given further attention to this subject. May the name be another form of "Vengalur", "Vengalur" i.e. "Vengadur" or "Venkatur"? A village named "Vengalapuram", close to Tirupattur, in the present North Arcot District, is an instance of this popular form of the name. "Vengalapuram" is more correctly "Venkatapuram". This being so, our "Bangalore" is possibly "Vengalur" or "Vengalur" i.e., really "Venkaturu" or "Venkatur" or "Venkata's town". Even now the Mahomedans pronounce the name of the city as "Vengalur", while those speaking Kannada call it "Bengalur". The change of "Va" into "Ba", "Ka" into "Ga", and "Ta" into "La" being grammatically capable of explanation, it is at least open to one to conjecture that the name of the City is identical with or has something to do with "Venkata". Who this Venkata was or when he lived, there is no evidence to speak about. Perhaps, the place was only named after the deity "Venkata" or "Venkatachala", of the famous Tirupati Hill in North Arcot District. It is common for emigrants to name the cities they found or the settlements they form after the old cities or settlements from which they emigrated in search of new abodes. It is possible Kempe Gowda, the builder of Modern Bangalore, bore this in mind and founded a temple in the new city he founded. He dedicated it to "Venkata" or "Venkataramana" of the sacred Tirupati Hill. That this view is not wholly unsupported will be evident when I say that local inquiries made show that the temple in the City Fort is actually dedicated to the deity "Venkatachala" or "Venkataramana" i.e., the deity worshipped on the Tirupati Hill. This is confirmed by Rice in his *Gazetteer of Mysore* (II. 21). It would appear that the images in the two places are exactly alike. This temple dates from the time of Kempe Gowda (16th century—the Fort being erected in 1537 A.D.) who built it and dedicated it to "Venkatachala", not only out of regard to the most renowned temple in all Southern India but also because the name was closely allied to the name of the existing village "Vengalur" or "Bengalur", which was the name of a village now called old Bangalore, the site of which is pointed out near Kodigehalli, north-west of Hebbal Tank. The early settlers in the place were partly Telugu and partly Tamil in their origins and the forms "Vengalapura" and "Vengalur", and "Bengalur" and "Bengalur" would be perfectly correct in their mouths. That the name of the place is much older than Kempe Gowda, there is no doubt whatever; and any derivation which suggests any connection

with the name "Venkata" has to take note of this fact and put forth a hypothesis which will satisfy not only the derivation of the name of the city but also the name of its presiding deity since the time of Kempe Gowda.

One other suggestion before I close this brief note. Kempe Gowda and his forbears were feudatories of the Vijayanagar Kings. Kempe Gowda built in 1537 A.D. the Bangalore Fort with the permission of Achyuta Raya, the then ruling Vijayanagar King. Whatever might have been the religion of the earlier Vijayanagar kings, there is hardly any doubt whatever that Krishna Raya (1509-1530) and his successors Achyuta Raya (1530-1542), Sadasiva Raya (1542-1547), etc., were staunch Vaishnavas and their devotion to God Venkataramana of the Tirupati Hill, as evidenced by their benefactions to its temple, etc., was well-known even in those days. The copper images of Krishna Raya and other Vijayanagar worthies are still prominent objects of regard in the Tirupati Temple. Two of the successors of Achyuta went by the name of Venkata or Venkatapati (Venkatapati I, 1585-1614 and Venkatapati II, 1626-1639). Kempe Gowda, the builder of the Mysore Fort and founder of the temple in it, might have intended his dedication of the temple to "Venkataramana" as also a compliment to Achyuta, his Sovereign Lord, whose devotion to the Tirupati temple and its presiding deity was famous in his time.

A few words about grammatical changes may be added:

The forms are or may be as follows:—

Venkata = Vengada = Vengala = Bengala.

ॐ often changes places with व.

See *Sabdamani Darpana*. (B. M. P. Edn. 1872) Pages 82, 121-123, 81, 134, 211, 212, 218, 220, 223, 251, 275.

ॐ often changes into र.

See *Sabdamani Darpana*. (B. M. P. Edn. 1872) Pages 77, 78, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 210-216, 218, 221-224, 381, 386, 387.

ॐ takes the place of ॐ and ॐ.

See *Sabdamani Darpana*. (B. M. P. Edn. 1872) Pages 31 (for ॐ) and 29, 397 (for ॐ).

Adding the termination *URU* to the above forms, the names will be as follows:—
Venkaturu = Vengaduru = Vengaluru = Bengaluru (= *Anglicè*, Bangalore).

As regards the name *Vengada*, it is necessary to refer, in passing, to the Tamil place and personal names *Vengadam* (=the name of the Venkata Hill; also name of a person); *Tiruvengadam* (=the holy Venkata Hill; also name of a person). Similarly, *Vengala*, is found as a personal name in *Vengalayya* and *Vengali*. Cf. Telugu *Tiruvengalayya*. *Vengali* is also the name of a village; and *Vengalapuram*, name of another village. I would finally refer to Mr. Puttaiya's paper on Kempe Gowda and his successors (*M. S. J.* XIII, 4, Page 739) for the strong Vaishnavite leanings that the family of Kempe Gowda showed in later days. Apparently from Immadi Kempe Gowda (1569-1658), this respect for Vaishnavism took a strong turn and ended in the founding of Mutts and building of shrines

dedicated to Vishnu, under the direction and guidance of Vaishnavite teachers of note, at Magadi (the family seat of the family), Cheluvarayapete (close to Magadi), Baichapura, etc.

If the grounds adduced above are worthy of consideration, the only inference possible is that the name "Bangalore" is derived from "Bengalur", which is another form of "Vengadur", "Venkatur" or "Venkata's town", probably after the Holy Hill at Tirupati and presiding deity on it, in whose honor the temple in the Bangalore Fort was built.*

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

The Date of the 11th Paripadal.

THE 11th *Paripāḍal* is of peculiar value and importance in fixing the Saṅgham age. Alone among the Saṅgham works, the earliest extant Tamil literature, it gives, if not actually its date of composition, at least ample astronomical data which enable us to fix its date. The poem begins with a statement of the positions of the planets, at or shortly before the commencement of a rainy season, actually observed by the poet. Venus is said to have been in the Rshabha *rāsi*. Mars was in Mēsha, and Mercury was in Mithuna. The time was at dawn. Kṛttikā was high up in the heavens, if not actually at the zenith, as the expression அந்தியூர் திற்ப may be interpreted either way. Jupiter was in Mīna, beyond Saturn's two houses Makara and Kumbha. Saturn himself was in Makara, beyond Dhanu. Then we have the expression பாம்போல்லை மதிய மறைய வருகாளில். This may mean either that the moon was eclipsed, or that the moon had disappeared in the region of Āślēsha. Agastya had reached Mithuna. The rains began to pour, as if the rainy season had actually commenced.

I may note at the outset that the positions of the planets given here must be their true, and not mean ones, as the poet evidently wrote from actual observation, and as there is no date between 1 A.C. and 700 A.C. to suit the positions given, if calculated by the mean motions of the planets. Besides, all the planets were evidently above the horizon, and the time was before sunrise, when the stars and planets were visible. So there was nothing to prevent the poet from observing them himself, if he wanted to do so. We may, therefore, rightly infer that the positions given are the true ones.

It will be noticed that the sun's position is not given. But, as the sky between the end of Makara (300°), and the beginning of Mithuna (60°) was visible, the sun must have been between 60° and 120°. Also, as Mercury and Venus, whose maximum distances from the sun are 26° and 48°, were in Mithuna and Rshabha respectively, the sun's longitude cannot be greater than 108°. The sun was thus between 60° and 108°, and the solar month must, therefore, have been Āni or Āḍi. So the statement of Parimēlaḷahar, the commentator, that the sun was in Simha cannot be correct. No doubt some astronomers before Varāhamihira

*[Note—Mr. C. H. Rao apparently overlooks the fact that a Begur inscription of the 9th century A.D. refers to the existence of Bangalore.—Ed.]

mention astrological combinations, apparently placing the distances of Mercury and Venus from the sun at a little more than 26° and 48°. But evidently, in their times, the calculation of the motions of Mercury and Venus had not yet been perfected. Anyhow, the same reason cannot apply to the case of the *Paripāḍal*, as the positions given in it were arrived at by direct observation, and not calculation. As between Āni and Āḍi, we cannot say which is to be preferred. From the wording of the text, it is possible to infer that the rainy season need not have actually begun. The rainy months are the lunar months Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada, and the statement of the *Maṇimēkhalai* that the first fortnight of Rshabha fell in spring (ch. 11, ll. 40-41; ch. 15, ll. 23-24) is not inconsistent with this, and it is possible that the *pūrṇimānta* system was the one used in the text. The positions given in the text may, therefore, be referred to the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha, shortly before the rainy season began.

I may now tabulate the data of the text as follows:—(1) Month Āni or Āḍi = Āshāḍha; before sunrise; (2) Moon—Eclipsed, or in Āślēsha; (3) Saturn-Makara = 270° to 300°; (4) Jupiter-Mīna = 330° to 360°; (5) Mars-Mēsha = 0° to 30°; (6) Venus-Rshabha = 30° to 60°; (7) Mercury-Mithuna = 60° to 90°; (8) Kṛttikā—high up in the heavens; (9) Agastya-Mithuna = 60° to 90°. But, as to Agastya, we have no means of calculating its position, as the Hindu authorities give no rules on the subject.

I have now to fix the general period for which the calculations have to be made. On the one hand, no critical writer has suggested a date before the Christian era for the Saṅgham age. On the other hand, it could not have been later than 700 A.C. as, according to the bigger Cinnamanūr plates, the hero of Talai-ālaṅkānam, Neḍuñcelyan, was an ancestor of Neḍumāraṇ, the hero of Nelvēli, who lived in the 7th century A.C. So the 11th *Paripāḍal* must date between 1 A.C. and 700 A.C.

Between these limits, only two dates, 372 A.C. and 634 A.C., have hitherto been suggested as satisfying the given data. Mr. Sōmasundara Dēśikar has already proved that the former is untenable, and Mr. R. S. Nārāyaṇasvāmi Ayyar, who suggested it, has not met the criticisms urged against his view. The date 17th June 634 A.C. was put forward by Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, who admits that on that day Saturn was in 257°, i.e., 13° from the required position. Even allowing for the errors due to unaided observation, the difference is too great for a planet which takes a year to traverse 13°. So he suggests that லில்லிற் கடை மகரமேவ may mean that Saturn was actually in Dhanu and only nearing Makara. But there is no possible way of arriving at such a meaning. So his date fails to satisfy.

I may now state the results of my own calculations, with the invaluable aid of Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's *Indian Chronology*. Between 1 A.C. and 700 A.C. only two dates satisfy the given data. I may tabulate them as follows:—

15th June 17 A.C.	6th June 254 A.C.	Required position.
(1) 31st Āni = bright half of Āshāḍha;	(1) 20th Āni = bright half of Āshāḍha;	(1) Āni or Āḍi = bright half of Āshāḍha;
(2) Āślēsha till 9 gh.;	(2) Āślēsha till 20 gh.;	(2) Āślēsha before sunrise;

15th June 17 A.C.	6th June 254 A.C.	Required position.
(3) Saturn 277°;	(3) Saturn 294°;	(3) Saturn 270° to 300°;
(4) Jupiter 335°;	(4) Jupiter 326°;	(4) Jupiter 330° to 360°;
(5) Mars 3°;	(5) Mars 359°;	(5) Mars 0° to 30°;
(6) Venus 44°;	(6) Venus 59°;	(6) Venus 30° to 60°;
(7) Mercury 90°;	(7) Mercury 72°;	(7) Mercury 60° to 90°;
(8) Kṛttikā 57° above the horizon.	(8) Kṛttikā 45° above the horizon.	(8) Kṛttikā—high up.

The only discrepancies are that, on the 6th June 254 A.C. Jupiter and Mars were respectively 4° and 1° from the required positions. But they are immaterial, if we allow for the errors of unaided observation. So both dates may be taken to satisfy the given data. As between them, choice has to be made in conformity with all other available evidence as to the Saṅgham age. But, as only astronomical calculations can give us exact dates, all theories assigning to the Saṅgham age a date later than the 3rd century A.C. must now be given up.

K. G. SANKARA.

An Interesting Grant from Girnar of V. S. 1330.

ON the famous Girnār hill in Kathiawad is found the following stone inscription at the entrance to the maṇḍapa of Gaṇadhara situated in the west of the main temple of Neminātha. The engraved portion, measuring 9 inches in length and 3½ inches in breadth, is in a good state of preservation.

The inscription is in small but beautiful Nāgarī characters usually found in the inscriptions of the Chaulukya rulers of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa. The writing is generally free from grammatical mistakes. The language is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription is very interesting as it records an unusual grant of the right of engraving inscriptions (सूत्रधारत्वं) at the religious places on the sacred hill Girnār to one Haripāla, son of Sūtradhara Goga, belonging to the Mevādī community. The grant was given by the Jain priests including Udayaprābhāsūri and by the Panchas (who managed the Jain institutions on the hill), headed by Mehetā Dhāndhā. It refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya (Vāghelā) sovereign Arjunadēva of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa in North Gujarat, whose viceroy over the Saurāṣṭra was Pālha.

The present inscription is later by two years than the Cutch* inscription of the same king dated V. S. 1328 so long known to be his latest one. The earliest inscription of the next ruler, Sārangadēva, is of V. S. 1332 also from Cutch.†

Pālha seems to have been appointed viceroy over Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawad) some time after V. S. 1320, for from an inscription‡ of Arjunadēva from the village

* Antiquarian Remains of the Province of Kachha, p. 89.

† Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 277.

‡ Published in Gujarātī in the Buddhi Prakasha, Jan. 1914.

Kāntelā in the Porbandar State in Kathiawad of that year we know that Sāmanta-simha was appointed viceroy over Saurāṣṭra after the transfer of his brother Salakṣa over Lāṭa. Pālha seems to be in the same post at least up to V. S. 1333 as an inscription of that year found in the town Āmarāṇa¹ in the Navānagar State in Kathiawad and belonging to the reign of Arjunadēva's successor Sārangadēva denotes.

With a view to see how far the privilege of engraving inscriptions on the Girnār hill was enjoyed by the grantee I examined a number of inscriptions on the hill engraved after this. But in almost all of them the name of the mason is not given. I found only one inscription² on Girnār bearing the name of Haripāla as engraver, but unfortunately its date is lost.

TEXT.

- 1 ३भ्रातृ० नरसिंह सूत्र० गोगसुत सू० हरिपालः ॥ तद्भार्या सू० रूपिणिः⁴ ॥ सू० पदमलः
- 2 सं० १३३० वैशाख शु० १५ श्रीमदजुनदेवराज्ये सुराष्ट्रायां तन्नियुक्त उ० श्रीपालहे⁵
- 3 श्रीमदुदयप्रभसूरिप्रभृत्याचार्यैर्महं० धांधाप्रमुख पंचकुलेन समस्तश्रीसंघे
- 4 नाथ मेवाडाज्ञातीय सू० गोगसुत सू० हरिपालस्य⁶ श्रीउज्जयंतमहातार्थ⁷
- 5 श्रीनेमिनाथप्रासादादिधर्मस्थानेषु सूत्रधारत्वं संप्रसादे प्रदत्तं ॥ इदं ॥⁸
- 6 सूत्रधारत्वं सू० हरिपालेन पुत्रपौत्रपरंपरया आचंद्रार्कं यावद्भोक्तुं⁹
- 7 व्यं ॥ अन्यसूत्रधारस्य कस्यापि संबंधो न हि ॥ शुभंभवतु सूत्रधारेभ्यः ॥

D. B. DISKALKAR,

Curator, Watson Museum,
Rajkot.

1 Published in Gujarātī in the Puratattva, Vol. I, Part I.

2 Revised list of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay Presidency, p. 351.

3 This line which ought to be at the end of the inscription is engraved here perhaps for want of space at the end.

4 Read रूपिणी.

5 Supply व्यापारं कुर्वति or some such expression.

6 Read हरिपालाय.

7 Read ० महातीर्थे.

8 Read इदं.

9 The sign of zero is unnecessary.

REVIEWS.

The History and Institutions of the Pallavas.

BY C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, ESQ., M.A.

THIS is a brochure of 24 royal 8vo pages giving a brief history of the Pallavas gleaned from all available sources and knit together in the form of a connected account. The subject matter is treated under four heads, *viz.*, (1) The Origin of the Pallavas, (2) Their Early History, (3) The Great Pallavas and (4) Social and Political Institutions.

The author has taken much pains in focussing all the essential details falling under each head and presenting the various theories extant in a nutshell, so that one gets a fairly vivid picture of the history and culture of this ancient dynasty who had evidently attained a high degree of civilization and who had become politically important over twelve centuries ago.

The author quotes or refers in brief to all the known authorities—authors, inscriptions, grants, etc.—in dealing with the history of the Pallavas under the different headings given above without obtruding his own opinion and leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. Under the heading 'The Origin of the Pallavas,' the author mentions the theories whether the Pallavas were a body of foreigners who entered India from outside or whether they were indigenous and quotes the final authority of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that "so far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the Andhras, probably related to or even springing out of the clan of the Satavahanas."

As regards their early history, the Pallavas were the contemporaries of the semi-royal families of Naga origin and succeeded to their power. There were two dynasties of Pallavas, one of which issued its grants written in Prakrit and the other in Sanskrit. The Prakrit grants prove that the Pallava dynasty was ruling in the third century A.D.; that during the reigns of its kings the Pallava dominions were extensive including not only Kanchi and its surrounding territory but also the Telugu country as far north as the river Krishna; and that the Pallava administration was elaborate showing a distinct Asokan character in the organization of its government.

The history of the Sanskrit dynasty of the Pallavas contains many debatable points. They probably held sway in the fifth and sixth centuries and comprised two dynasties ruling simultaneously at Palakkada and at Kanchi, the former subjugating the latter later on. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that their dominion was broken up into three divisions and three rulers were governing the territory which was under the early Pallavas. But Rai Bahadur Mr. Venkayya opines that the Pallavas were driven out of Conjeevaram by one of the indigenous tribes of the Tamil

country, *viz.*, the Karikala or Ilam Tiraiyan, which theory Dr. Aiyangar opposes. But whichever theory is true, there is no doubt that at the beginning of the period of the Sanskrit dynasty, the Pallava dominions comprised probably all the territory from Kanchi to Vengi and the districts of Kurnool and perhaps also Anantapur, Cuddapah and Bellary.

Among the great Pallavas Simhavishnu was the earliest. He claims to have vanquished the Malaya, Kalabhra, Chola and Pandya rulers, the Simhala king and the Keralas. Mahendravarman, his son, vanquished Pulakesin II. He was a Jain but was converted to Saivism by Saint Appar. "He was the author of the earliest rock-cut temples at Trichinopoly, Pallavaram, Mamandur and other places." Professor Dubreuil considers Mahendra as the greatest figure in the history of Tamil civilization. "He gave a new impulse to Saivism; glorified music and poetry; transported the taste for rock-cut temples from the banks of the Krishna to the Tamil country; and built the great tanks at Mahendravadi, Mamandur, etc." Narasimhavarman, the son of Mahendra, surpassed his father in his conquest and was surnamed Narasimha the Great. He repeatedly defeated the Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras and Pandyas. He captured the Chalukya capital Vatapi and destroyed it. He surpassed the glory of Rama by his conquest of Lanka. Narasimha II is credited with having built the Kailasanatha and Airavatisvara temples at Kanchi and the stone temples at Mamallapuram and Panamalai. The next king Paramesvaravarman was the probable builder of the Vaikuntanathaperumal temple at Kanchi as well as the Siva temple at Tiruvadi in South Arcot district. The next ruler was Nandi of Tellaru in whose reign flourished a large number of poets. His son was, according to Professor Dubreuil, Nripatunga who conquered the Pandyas and captured Madura about 862 A.D. Both Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya think that Nripatunga was not a Pallava but was a descendant of Western Gangas but Mr. Gopinatha Rao and Professor Dubreuil maintain he was a Pallava. The last king of the Pallavas was Aparajita who was conquered by Aditya Chola. His rule lasted till 900 A.D.

Kanchi was associated with Pallava power from the days of Samudragupta. Sanskrit literature came in for a large amount of encouragement in their time. Kanchi rose to be a great literary centre and a gathering place of all religious disputants of all creeds.

The Pallavas appear to have been Saivas at first while some of the kings were probably Vaishnavas. Jainism also flourished along with these creeds. Buddhism also prevailed and had its own votaries.

There was a good deal of literary activity during the Pallava period. Kanchi was the centre of Sanskrit culture. Bharavi, the author of *Kiratarjuniya*, was a contemporary of Simhavishnu of Kanchi. *Kiratarjuniya* became very popular soon after it was written and scenes from it are sculptured on the whole side of the hill at Mamallapura. Dandin, the celebrated author of *Kavyadarsa*, refers in his work to Rajavarma of the Pallava family of Kanchi. Bhamaha and Mahidatta were friends of Dandin and resided at the Pallava court. Mahendravarma I is

supposed to have been the author of the Sanskrit work *Mattavilasa Prahasana* and he also seems to be the king who inscribed a musical treatise on the whole side of the hill at Kudimiyāmalai. Abridged editions of the works of Bhasa and Sudraka recently published at Trivandrum appear to have been issued for being staged at the court of the Pallava king, Rajasimha, while in some editions of *Mudrarakshasa* the name of the Pallava king, Dantivarman, is mentioned in the last benedictory verse.

The Pallava history discloses a good organization of administrative institutions, the plates and grants of the Pallavas revealing their tax system, village assemblies and tank and irrigation committees. The Pallavas started a number of huge irrigation works among which may be mentioned Mahendra Tataka, Parameswara Tataka, etc. In temple building, the Pallavas attained glorious eminence. Great solicitude was shown in the matter of endowments and of temple services. The temples often served as the meeting places of the village Sabha, as the theatre, and the forum of the village. In almost every temple a free school was maintained while colleges for Vedic and higher studies were located in some temples supported by liberal royal grants.

Such are the main features of Pallava history and achievement which Mr. Srinivasachari has brought together to give us an impressive and graphic idea of the glories of Pallava rule. After the disappearance of the dynasty, the later Pallava chiefs sank into the position of mere feudatory nobles and officials in the service of the territorial kingdoms. The Pallavas are believed to be identical with the Kurumbas of whom the Kurumbars of the Tamil country and the Kurubas of the Kannada country and Mysore are representatives.

B. P.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1920—21.

THE matters dealt with in the Report are very interesting. The work of preservation of the paintings at Ajanta needs special mention. There can be no two opinions that the conservation of these paintings is of national importance forming as they do one of the most ancient and greatest relics of Indian Art. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have not been slow to recognize it and the liberal grant of Rs. 60,125 made by them towards their restoration bespeaks their parental solicitude for preserving the monument. Our thanks are also due to Sir John Marshall who is stated to have been greatly instrumental in procuring the expert staff requisite for performing this delicate and difficult task. We would, in this connection, invite the attention of all interested in, or having to do with, the conservation of ancient monuments to the Director's account of the processes employed by the experts in restoring the paintings, given at pages 15 and 16 of the Report.

Considerable work has also been done under Epigraphy. It is stated that two monographs, one on the inscriptions of Nagai by Mr. Krishnamacharlu of the Epigraphic Survey of the Government of India and the other on the inscription of Shitab Khan at Warangal Fort by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, Editor of the Telugu Encyclopædia, were under preparation during the year under report. The editing of the latter inscription, which, we expect, will throw a good deal of light on Warangal for long the cock-pit of contending parties in the struggles between the Vijayanagar and the Bhamini Kingdoms, could not have fallen into abler hands than that of the late Mr. Lakshmana Rao. It is a great pity that he was snatched away from us before the work was finished.

A charge generally made against archæological reports is that they are dry and uninteresting to the layman. But we are happy to observe that this Report may well claim to be free from such an attack and the plates printed in it add very much to its interest.

Our task is not equally happy in having to refer to the work of the Hyderabad Archæological Society. It is said that there was a paucity of papers to be read before the Society. This, as observed by the Government, is really unfortunate and we trust that the Director's appeal to members for greater assistance and co-operation will not go in vain.

T. S.

The Light of Ancient Persia.

By MANECK PITHAWALA, B.A., B.Sc.

Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Rs. 2-8-0.

WE have read this book with much delight. Mr. Pithawala is a Parsi patriot. He writes in the true spirit of a scholar and his book, accurate, up-to-date and handy as it is, ought to go through many editions. The interest of the book is great. It treats of Persia, its great people the Parsis, its renowned kings and its greatest religious reformer, Zoroaster. The author sketches the course of Parsi culture and the manner in which it has influenced civilization, East and West. It is impossible not to be impressed with the patient reading of well-known authorities Mr. Pithawala has brought to bear on his work. It is patent on every page of it. The reader has a pleasant run of it but every one who is accustomed to anything like systematic writing will appreciate the painstaking labour that the author must have employed in producing a book of this size packed so full with information, at once useful and handy. There will be no excuse hereafter for Indians not knowing more of Parsis, their religion, their ancient habitats and their glorious past history.

In view of the fact that this book is likely to be issued again and again to meet the demand for it, I would add a few suggestions and improvements, there

being little really in which to differ from the author or criticise—in the hackneyed sense—his writing. We should like to see a better map than the one facing page 152. This map is extremely defective. If possible, a map showing the extent of the influence exerted by Persia, both East and West, should be added. It would enable the reader to follow the author more closely. An index to the book is a desideratum.

We would, before closing this brief review, invite the attention of the Indian reader to the many points in which Hindu customs agree with those of the Parsis. Mr. Pithawala's chapter in "Modern Science in Ancient Persia" will clearly bring home these to him. In the chapter on "The Parsees and New India" is summed up the recent history of Parsis in India. Besides, in it we have Mr. Pithawala's suggestions for the general improvement of Parsis as a community. These are eminently practical and we have no doubt they will attract the attention they deserve at the hands of the leaders of the Parsi Community.

C. H. R.

The Ramayana and the Vaidika Kosha.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, D.A.V. COLLEGE, LAHORE.

WE are indebted to the research section of the above College for two serial publications; one being the first eighteen chapters of Ayodhyakanda according to twelve recensions prevailing in the North-Western part of India. The various readings in each stanza are given in footnotes. It is useful to students of the Ramayana, who are interested in scrutinizing how the great ancient classic branched off into various readings in its attempt to reach down to the masses. The work is from the hands of Mr. Pandit Ram Labhaya, M.A., some time Professor of Sanskrit, in the University of the Punjab.

The Vaidika Kosha, 1st volume, is a concordance of the etymologies, meanings of Vedic words, and scientific and moral passages, contained in the fifteen printed Brahmanas of all the Vedas. It must be of great interest to students of the Vedas, English-knowing as well as orthodox.

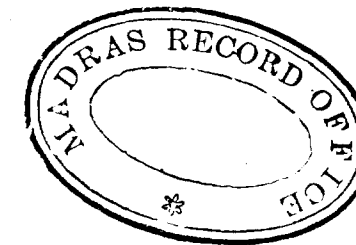
Both volumes are priced at Rs. 1/8 each, and are indicative of patient and scholarly research.

G. R. J.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the quarter ending 31st March 1924.

Names.	Volume.	Amount.
		RS. A. P.
Messrs.		
K. Chandy, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
P. Subbarama Chetty, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
C. S. Kuppusami Iyengar, Bangalore ..	.. XIII & XIV	10 0 0
Rajasabhabhushana Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
H. Lubeck, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Y. A. Yates, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Miss A. E. Nash, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Dr. H. B. Mylvaghanam Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
B. Vasudevamurthy, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Mrs. N. Lalitabai, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Dr. Leslie C. Coleman, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
K. V. Ramaswami Iyengar, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Rev. H. Bailleau, Mayavaram ..	.. XIII & XIV	6 0 0
Rev. Lenas A. Olson, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Col. P. A. Skipwith, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Rev. M. B. Taylor, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
N. Devrao Shivaram, Bangalore ..	.. Life membership } donation }	100 0 0
Rev. F. Van Peene, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
K. A. Krishnaswami Iyer, Bangalore ..	.. XIII	5 0 0
Dr. H. E. Watson, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Dr. J. J. Sudborough, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
R. B. Plumer, Bangalore ..	.. XIII & XIV	10 0 0
Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, Benares ..	.. XIV	3 0 0
B. Ramakrishna Rao, Mysore ..	.. XIV	3 0 0
B. T. Keshaviengar, Bangalore ..	.. XIII	5 0 0
A. Madhava Iyengar, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
T. S. Nanjappa, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
P. G. D'Souza, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
T. S. Venkanniah, Bangalore ..	.. XIII	5 0 0
Dr. C. Amritaraj, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
P. M. Somasundaram Pillay, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
K. Devanathan, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5 0 0
Gundu Rao, Mysore ..	.. XIV	3 4 0

Messrs.	Names.	Volume.	Amount.
			RS. A. P.
Rev. H. Heras, Bombay ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
P. P. S. Sastri, Madras ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Bhadravati ..	..	Life membership } donation	100 0 0
V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, Bangalore ..	..	XV	5 0 0
R. Gopalachari, Madras ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
N. Raghavachar, Kumbakonam ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
G. M. Taylor, K. G. F. ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
B. Rama Rao, Madras ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
C. Raitt, Baragiri Post ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
P. S. Lakshminarasu, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
Col. P. A. Barton, Bangalore ..	..	Part payment of } Vol. XIV	2 8 0
E. P. Metcalfe, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
K. S. Gundappa, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
Dr. J. C. Kann, Bangalore ..	..	XII	5 0 0
M. Gopalakrishnaswami Naik, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
K. Matthan, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
W. H. Thomson, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
M. Sreenivasamurthy, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
A. M. T. Acharya, Bangalore ..	..	Towards life } membership donation	25 0 0
S. Cadambi, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
M. P. Somasekhara Rao, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
B. Venkoba Rao, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
M. B. Varada Iyengar, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
N. Shama Iyengar, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
B. Puttaiya, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5 0 0
C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, Coimbatore ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
P. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Parvatipur ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
Rao Bahadur P. Narayana Menon, Ernakulam ..	..	XIV	3 0 0
K. G. Sankara, Trivandrum ..	..	XIV	3 0 0



The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XIV]

JULY 1924

[No. 4

DEWAN PURNIAH.

BY V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO BELATHUR, ESQ., M.A.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

MANY papers have been read before the Mythic Society on Haider Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan and it is perhaps appropriate that a short account of a leading Hindu minister of the period should be given to the members of the Society. Dewan Purniah was a trusted minister under Mussalman rule in Mysore and on the restoration of the Hindu Prince to the Gadi, Purniah continued as Dewan during the minority of Krishnaraja Wodeyar.

The guiding principle of Purniah's illustrious career may be stated at the outset. "If those to whom God had given power always acted on the principle that the path of *public virtue* would be the only path to wealth and fame, upon that day the world would be well governed, and vice would lose its motive."* It is thus small wonder that the name of Purniah conjures up visions of a great and beneficent administrator who, during the most stormy period in Mysore history, strove to preserve ancient landmarks in the country. In our State he is still remembered and his memory kept green in Hindu temples renovated, in the institution of chatrams and caravanserais for the benefit of wearied and needy travellers and pilgrims.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Purniah was great as a statesman, a soldier and a financier, a very rare combination indeed! Haider Ali Khan, Tippu Sultan and later the world-famous duke of Wellington and his brother, the marquess, have borne testimony to the organizing genius of Purniah.

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 296-7.



DEWAN PURNIAH

(from a print presented to the Mythic Society by the late Mr. Narasinga Rao Purnaiya, Jaghirdar of Yelandur and sixth in descent from the great Purnaiya)

Properly to estimate the work of this great minister, it is necessary to have in mind the condition of South India of his day. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the several dynasties in the South were fighting for power. The Nabob of Arcot, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, the English and the French, these were shuffling themselves into various contending parties, of course the English and the French being arrayed always against each other and claiming to support one or the other of the rest. Mysore and her rulers had their due share in this trouble and turmoil and the French were her allies against the English. The latter cleverly managed to render the Nizam harmless; Lord Wellesley, ably seconded by his brother 'who fought with his fiery few and won', defeated the Mahrattas in the battles of Assaye and Argaum; Mysore and her Mussalman usurpers were conquered after four famous wars and the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 closed the most famous episode in South Indian history. It has been said that the strongest fight the English had to put up in the course of empire-building in India, particularly in the South, was against the Mysore rulers. It may be said that that was in no small measure due to the sustained efforts of Purniah to provide the sinews of war for the lightning campaigns of Haider and Tippu. Later, the same Purniah helped the English and earned the gratitude and admiration of the Wellesleys by rendering prompt assistance to them in their wars against the Mahrattas.*

Dewan Purniah was born of a Brahmin family in Coimbatore, then a part of Mysore. The date of his birth is not known. He first came into prominence as the trusted Finance Minister of Haider Ali Khan. In appreciation of the work of Purniah and of his rare abilities, Haider bestowed on his talented minister the Jaghir of Maruvally near Mysore. †

The loyalty of Purniah to Haider and his son Tippu and his considerable influence in the country for that end admit of no doubt. As an example of his devout loyalty to his master and his throne, the following instance may be recalled. When Haider died in the midst of his daring campaigns, away from the capital, his son Tippu was hundreds of miles away, near about Mangalore, fighting his father's battles and ignorant of his father's fate. ‡ Within the royal camp at Seringapatam there was treachery and scheming; it was a very critical time for the Mussalman dynasty in Mysore. It must be remembered that, after all, Haider was an usurper and exploited his position in the army to the disadvantage and ruin of his chief, the Hindu Raja; now that Haider was fallen, every one tried to seize the opportunity for the restoration of the old and ancient Raja. Purniah's own position was very peculiar and must have been indeed very difficult. He was on the horns of a

* Wellington's Despatches, (Selections) No. 173, p. 155. [Ed. Col. Gurwood, 1851.]

† Travels of Francis Buchanan, Vol. I, p. 391

‡ Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 35.

dilemma. He was well aware Haider was an usurper and had risen on the ashes of the Hindu Raja; but Purniah had come to prominence under Haider and had gained his confidence. The Sultan had implicit faith in the integrity of his minister. Could he now prove disloyal to the salt he ate and prove traitorous? Under the circumstances, Purniah took the only course open to him. He rose equal to the momentous occasion and took the thread of affairs in the State into his own hands. The news of the king's death was not broken anywhere; hourly bulletins recording the illness and slow recovery of the Nawab were issued to the army. In the meantime, fleetest couriers were despatched to Tippu, desiring his instant return.*

While affairs stood thus, disloyalty and treachery were rampant in the Nabob's camp. A set of conspirators, led by a cousin-german of Tippu and aided by a French General, chose Abdul Kareem, the second son of Hyder Shah, and a convenient *roi fainéant* as the next Sultan of Mysore. Purniah, however, quickly detected this, put the ringleaders of the conspiracy in irons, and threw them into prison. At the same time, he despatched the dead body of Haider to Kolar, disguising it as a treasure-box, with the usual convoys accompanying the spoils of war. † The army was made to feel that Haider was yet alive; at any rate, the army did not appreciate any difference owing to the absence of their leader and king. The king's government went on as usual. "The whole of the arrangement of the army, the weekly relief of 2,000 horses which constantly hung round Madras, the issue of pay, adjustment of military accounts, answers to letters of state from envoys of the different courts, and all the business of the State went on as usual."

* * * Although suspicions were whispered abroad, it soon became evident that the Government was in vigorous hands and obedience was the safest course." ‡ To the credit of Tippu Sultan it must be stated that loyalty so noble and so rare was generously appreciated by the new sovereign 'who made ample acknowledgments to all who helped him to the throne, and especially to Purniah'. §

It was but natural and only to be expected that such a devoted minister and faithful public servant as Purniah had been to Haider was indispensable to Tippu Sultan. The latter continued him in office as Finance Minister and frequently entrusted him with the command of fortresses and armies—a remarkable testimony to the devotion and many-sided activities of Dewan Purniah. Purniah was also one of the four or five members of the Sultan's 'inner cabinet' and was always consulted on all the momentous policies of

* Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 33.

† Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 34.

‡ Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 35.

§ Wilke's Historical Sketches of South India, Vol. II, p. 36.

the State. It was besides customary with Tippu to converse with his councillors about the affairs of his kingdom at the breakfast table*—not an uncommon occurrence in these days! "On such occasions of particular business, the Sultan shut himself up with his councillors—even his children were not sent for as usual. His favourites whom he was fond of consulting were Meer Saduck, the Binky Nabob, Muhamud Syed Assuf, Purniah, Gollam Ali, Ahamad Khan and the confidential scribe, Haboob Ali." † It will thus be seen that Purniah was a solitary Hindu minister of Cabinet rank trusted by the zealous Mussalman sovereign we know Tippu to have been!

It is, further, worthy of note that Tippu, when he was suffering under a series of reverses and adverse fortune and was chafing under the humiliation and defeat inflicted on the Mysore armies by Lord Cornwallis, turned to Purniah for guidance and counsel. On the advice tendered to him by Purniah, his Finance Minister, Tippu reduced the establishments in all the departments of the State, excepting of course the Palace and enhanced the taxes and duties on all sources of income. Purniah doubtless was not responsible if the anticipated income from these sources was not realized. For, if the returns to the exchequer fell short of the royal expectations, it was because most of the 'Asoofs' or the district Revenue Officers defrauded the State of more than a moiety of its income and impartially fleeced the peasants with a ready-made excuse.‡

A story is told in Dr. Francis Buchanan's Travels§ relating to the Sultan's attempt to convert Purniah. When the Sultan launched on his purblind policy of compulsory proselytism to recruit his ranks by forced circumcision and administration of beef, the Brahmin minister ran very nearly within an ace of a similar fate; fortunately, however, for Purniah, the shrewd entreaties of the Queen Mother saved him from an unwilling apostasy. The compulsory conversion of Purniah to Islam would have robbed the Sultan of a very powerful minister and an intellectual prop of his kingdom. It was quite probable that it would have resulted in a loyal public servant turning into an implacable enemy. In connection with this story it has to be observed that there does not appear to be much warrant for belief, though no doubt Dr. Buchanan travelled over the country just a couple of years after Tippu's downfall and collected the current stories of the time. It is sad to contemplate how scanty is the material even about the eighteenth century in India for constructing a history in true perspective!

* History of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore [Ed. 1800 A.D.], by Col. Alex. Beatson, p. 159.

† *Ibid.*, p. 159 and Memoirs of Tippu Sultan, by an Officer of the E. I. Co. [1819 A.D.], p. 6.

‡ History of Haider Shah and Tippu Sultan [Ed. 1851], by Prince Gulam Muhamud (son of Tippu Sultan), pp. 294, 378.

§ Vol. II, p. 41.

Purniah's greatness, and skill and dash as a soldier may also be appropriately referred to. Purniah was a trusted commander with 4,600 men and horse,—a big cavalry officer. During the 'twilight' of Tippu Sultan's days, he exhibited coolness and fortitude in the presence of war, a patient and cheerful temper under suffering and turmoil, and ability to lead men in battle.

In 1792, shrapnel shells were pouring from Lord Cornwallis' battery upon the camp of Tippu Sultan, while Purniah was distributing wages amongst the army. The fire gradually increased in its intensity and Purniah was obliged reluctantly to pack off all the gold to a distant and secure place. As he was engaged in the task of sealing the money-bags and loading them on camels, a shot struck him and he was severely wounded. Uncomplaining and undaunted, Purniah continued his task and marched the camels boldly in the face of the flying fireballs of the enemy and safely landed all the treasure in Nanjangud, without the loss of a single coin!*

Again, when Seringapatam was besieged by the allied armies in 1799, Sirdar Purniah was near the Karighat Hill,† at the head of 4,600 warriors and cannonading General Stuart's camp. Before the final capitulation of the beleagured city, in the negotiations that were passing between the opposing parties, Purniah was one of the four Sirdars demanded by General Harris,‡ the others being Cummer-ud-din, Meer Saduck and Syed Gaffoor,—a splendid and eloquent testimony to the military capabilities of the Hindu General. After the fall of Seringapatam, Purniah was one of the very last to lay down his arms before the conqueror, while the first to yield were the sons and Sirdars of the fallen Tippu.

In his public career as a trusted servant of the Crown, loyalty to his duty and probity of character were the marked and distinguishing features. They have already been referred to. When the British took over the administration of the State and decided to restore the ancient Hindu Raja, they had no small difficulty in selecting a proper and capable minister to steer the ship of State during the minority of the Hindu Raja. The disappointed and the disaffected Mussalman population had to be placated; the State, for long in the throes of civil war within and a series of costly military campaigns for over half a century, had to be given rest and quiet; the finances of the State had to be carefully husbanded; and its resources properly developed. The sterling character of Purniah, his immense organizing genius, his wide and deep knowledge of men and affairs, his rare ability to inspire men to deeds of daring and courage, his capacity to pacify and placate all the turbulent and troublesome elements in the State and above all his capacity displayed as a

* Col. Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 248.

† Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore, by Col. Alex. Beatson (1800 A.D.), p. 125.

‡ *Ibid.* App: LXXXIII.

finance minister under Haider and Tippu could not fail to attract the notice of the Wellesleys. They soon realized that, given the opportunity, Purniah was the one man possessed of commanding abilities to consolidate and conserve properly the new kingdom of Mysore. They may also have thought it prudent not to make an enemy of Purniah. Whatever it was, Purniah was appointed Dewan to assist the British in their noble and generous task of reviving the Hindu Raj in Mysore. Thus declares a State paper * :—"There can be little doubt that but for his (Purniah's) prompt accession, a harassing and desultory warfare would have been carried on for a considerable time. This good service, together with his pre-eminent experience and ability, pointed him out as the proper person to be made the Dewan of the newly formed State." Col. Beatson writes:—"It was *deemed advisable* to appoint Purniah as the Dewan to the young Rajah of Mysore." †

On his appointment as Dewan, Purniah had a new role to play. Hitherto he was a trusted and loyal servant of Tippu and a deadly enemy of the English; but now he had to assist in consolidating the Hindu Raj under the ægis of the British. The fortunes of the Haider family had been settled once for all; the Mahrattas and the English had decided to re-establish Hindu culture and Hindu government in Mysore. ‡ There was thus nothing left for Purniah but to throw himself heart and soul into the task of re-establishing Hindu society in the State. § That he did this task nobly and well is too well known to need recapitulation. A well-deserved and a very handsome tribute to his work is paid by the great historian of Mysore, Mr. Lewis Rice; others can but tread the path so well laid down by him!

Preceding the coronation of the boy raja, Krishnaraja Wodeyar, a general pacification of the country was essential. To this end, the late Sultan's army had to be disbanded, and the chief forts in the country had to be taken possession of. General Harris carried out these preliminary measures for the restoration of peace "through the agency of Purniah". ||

The Regency of Purniah continued from 1800 A.D. to 1811 A.D. A general feeling of insecurity was manifest everywhere. The country had been in the hands of usurpers for over thirty years and the religion of the country had come into conflict with the proselytizing zeal of sovereigns of a different faith. The general effects of the aftermath of war were in evidence everywhere. A spirit of rebellion was abroad and everybody was trying to assert himself over his neighbour. The polygars, in addition, were giving no

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. IV, p. 289.

† Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore, by Col. Alex. Beatson, p. 226.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4; 220.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. " " ; State Papers, Vol. II., pp. 241-2.

|| Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore, by Col. Alex. Beatson, p. 199.

small amount of trouble. The British were in the middle of their great campaigns against the Mahrattas. It needed very careful vigilance to steer clear of these difficulties and dispel the dread that the heirs of the fallen foe might come again and throw the country into war once more.

Purniah proclaimed a 'general amnesty', to pacify all by persuasion if possible, or by repression if necessary. He laid down rules to develop the natural resources of the State by an equitable distribution of taxation and by encouragement of the staple industries. He endeavoured to introduce organization and method into the administration of the country and to reform the judiciary, its mainstay, on modern lines. Before he laid down his office, weighed down by age, he had amply succeeded in his endeavours. The efforts of Purniah were ably supported by Gen. Wellesley and Col. Close. The refractory Polygars of Chickballapur, Manjarabad and Nagar were firmly dealt with. The malcontents were everywhere subdued and reconciled to the new order of things by just and generous treatment and liberal stipends. Purniah, unaided, even put down a mutiny in the British garrisons stationed at Chitaldroog and Seringapatam, for which the British were very grateful to him.*

Purniah recognized that Mysore no longer required a large standing army; in time of need, she could always rely on the invincible arm of the British. Retrenchment could also be effected in the civil departments. The strength of the army was reduced from a hundred thousand, always on a war footing, to three thousand and the horse from 51,000 in the time of Tippu to 3,290. The army was officered by 'children of the soil' but furnished, to be effective, with British equipments. The Mysore army though numerically small was made national, efficient and up-to-date. † That the tradition of the Mysore army being an efficient fighting force is still maintained unsullied is known to all and it was only in the recent war that the heroism and bravery of our officers and men, both infantry and cavalry, was recognized and mentioned in despatches in many a hard-fought campaign.

In all the ancient village communities the duty of policing the village for the protection of communal life and property rested with the hereditary village officers, usually subject to the control and guidance of the village assemblies. These village officers, viz., the Thoti, Talari, Patel, etc., were generally assisted by other young men of the village in times of common danger. This system had been slightly disorganized but never given up during Muhammadan rule. Dewan Purniah in his turn enjoined on the villagers the duty of patrolling their homes.

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 298-308.

† Annals of the Royal Family, Vol. II, pp. 17-18, by B. R. Rao.

Purniah attempted at devolution in the administration of justice and in the Revenue department. Kazis were appointed in big towns to try and decide disputes of a purely social nature among the Mussalmans. In cases of disputes between Hindus and Mussalmans, the Amildar decided them, assisted thereto by a jury of five, two belonging to each community and the fifth to that of the defendant, so as to give the defendant the twofold advantages of a majority of jurymen and the benefit of the doubt. The aggrieved party had a right of appeal to the Dewan in person. In 1805, a supreme court of appeal—Adālāt Court—was created for hearing and disposing of appeals from subordinate courts. This court, consisting of a Hindu and a Mussalman, tried all kinds of cases, civil, criminal and revenue. In cases of murder and arson, the extreme penalty was rarely imposed or confirmed by the Government of Dewan Purniah, perhaps in consonance with the generous system of Hindu Government described by Fa Hien, 1500 years ago,* where 'the king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishment'.

Purniah reintroduced the system of taxation as it obtained previous to Muslim rule, to the great relief of the patient millions. Several of the *émigrés* returned home. The Dewan's periodical tours of inspection put heart into the people and terror to the wicked. In his tours in the interior, petitions were heard and disposed of, thus satisfying the wants and aspirations of the people of the locality. Public confidence in the government of the country became completely restored. The taxes payable were about one-third of the average net produce, payable in kind or in cash, according to the desire of the ryot. The house tax, plough tax and other taxes payable by the ryot were all included in this 'one-third'. Takavi loans were freely granted and officers were appointed to see to their proper utilization and to report.

There were 120 taluks, each under an Amildar; several of these constituted a district under a Subedar, also a collector of revenue, assisted by a treasurer and a sheristedar to maintain treasury accounts. At the time of opening and closing the treasury, all these three officers had to be present on the spot and they were collectively responsible for the treasury balances and accounts. In the first year of Purniah's Dewanship the gross receipts were 59·75 lakhs; on the eve of his retirement it had steadily risen to 86·75 lakhs, after meeting all the extraordinary demands† of the cost of the capital expenditure of the State and of the British Government for their war with the Mahrattas.

Dewan Purniah spent large sums of money on repairing Hindu temples which had fallen into disrepair or on evil days. Even Prince Gulam Mohammad admits that Tippu had ordered demolition of all Hindu temples except

* Annals of Mysore, Vol. II, p. 30; Travels of Fa Hien (Tr. Legge), p. 43.

† Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, p. 233; Annals of Mysore, pp. 32–33.

those of Melkote and Seringapatam. 'Purniah's chatrams' were constructed all over the country and are gratefully remembered to this day and used by the traveller and the pilgrim. Irrigation canals were dug, and tanks were repaired and restored for cultivation and for conservation and protection. Costly bridges and viaducts were undertaken to facilitate travel and communication. For these laudable objects, particularly when railways were unknown, Purniah spent over 57·4 lakhs of pagodas, nearly a crore of rupees. As referred to above, Purniah had besides to find five lakhs of pagodas to assist the British to dispel the onrush of the Mahrattas into Mysore. "All these supplies were furnished with a celerity and facility, hitherto unknown in this part of India" wrote Col. Arthur Wellesley, the famous Duke; * and he wrote later on to Sir Barry Close: "Purniah's abilities astonished me; he is so different from any other man of the same kind." †

What was most remarkable in Dewan Purniah in his financial administration of Mysore was that, like Rudradaman of old, he expended on public works "a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the country, by exactions of special taxes, forced labour and gifts." ‡ On the ninth of March 1801, so soon after Purniah had become Dewan of Mysore, the British Resident wrote of Purniah as follows:—"In consequence of the regularity of the system of government established by the Dewan and improvement in the country, its resources were so much increased as to provide for all calls made upon him." The farewell letter of Marquess Wellesley to Purniah is also very characteristic. He says:—

"I part with you with the greatest respect . . . Experience has proved the wisdom of the arrangement which was first made for the government of Mysore. . . . As a testimony of my sense of benefits which the *public* have derived from your administration, of my sincere regard and of my gratitude, I request your acceptance of my picture." § Need it be said, that this is but an illustration of the strong practical business sense of the Britisher in his affairs of the world?

It is only fair to Dewan-Regent Purniah to add that he never forgot what was due to his allegiance to the throne of Mysore. His services and devotion to the Maharaja of Mysore were equally great. To invite Col. Malcolm's evidence on this point,—Col. Malcolm is no mean authority on the history of the period and he was personally conversant with the details of Mysore administration of the time—"That officer (Purniah) placed at the creation of this government in the possession of all its authority and the charge of the infant

* Wellington's Despatches, No. 173, p. 155.

† Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, p. 222.

‡ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 39.

§ Wellington's Despatches, Selections 1851, No. 222, p. 196.

Prince has not only exercised his great power in such a manner that he has promoted the prosperity and increased the revenues of the State he ruled, but by his unabating attention to the happiness of the inhabitants of Mysore, and *the education of the young Prince*, and his undeviating adherence to the principles of alliance with the English, has merited the Jaghir.”*

Obviously, from the foregoing, Dewan Purniah had to serve two masters. Consistently with his loyalty to the principles of alliance with the English, he was able to display a rare and sturdy independence in his dealings with them. Ever ready and willing to receive the co-operation of the British Resident whenever called for, he never tolerated any correspondence between his own subordinates and the English officers, except through the Dewan as the head of the administration. Purniah's resentment at such interference, whenever that occurred, and that occurred not seldom in those days, was so great and so strongly expressed as to call forth from the Governor-General of India to the British Resident a stern rebuke advising the latter to respect the feelings of the Dewan and to allow no correspondence or interference by the English into the internal administration of the country except through ‘the proper channel’, viz., the Dewan of Mysore.†

When the cares of State multiplied and old age made it difficult, if not impossible, for Dewan Purniah any longer to continue at the helm of affairs on the advice of the British Government, the generous Maharaja assembled a full durbar and there in appreciation of the Dewan's splendid services to the State of Mysore, granted to the old and veteran statesman and his trusted Dewan, the Jaghir of Yelandur Taluk and his full salary for his pension.‡ Dewan Purniah took advantage of this opportunity to explain why he accepted service at the hands of the Hindu ruler having been a trusted minister of Haider and Tipu. “It was”, he said, “to do justice to the wise and great policy of Lord Wellesley by whom the *Hindu Government of Mysore had been re-established*.”§ Purniah retired from office full of honour and renown, worn out by age and hard work in the service of his country, in 1811. Not long did he survive the retirement. He was not privileged to enjoy the well-earned rest. Death overtook him very soon after.

We now bid good-bye to a remarkable personality in Mysore. The noble works he has left behind, however, are imperishable monuments of his greatness. May I re-echo the sentiments of the President of this Society and implore the members of the Mythic Society to give some attention to the life and work of Purniah and bring to light the hidden pages of his history?

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE KALINGA UNDER THE EASTERN GANGAS.

BY G. RAMADAS, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

As the history of Kalinga has not yet been divulged, its extent has been a matter of speculation. In my article on ‘Samapa or Asokan Kalinga’, it has been proved that the region called Kalinga did not extend, in the centuries preceding the Christian era, beyond Sompeta in the South. Sompeta is a small town in the Ganjam district.

After the Christian era, for about four centuries the history of this region is obscure and no means have yet been found to throw light upon this period. The Allahabad pillar inscription gives us a glimpse into the history of this region about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The two kingdoms of Kaurāḷaka and Mahākāntāra are named in the region called Kalinga; the region of which Mahendragiri-Kouttūra was the chief town is said to be under the sway of the ruler of Pishthapura Kingdom. The latter fact is corroborated by the Pishthapuram plates of Māgadhi ‘Vāsishthiputra’ Saktivarma, which say that Kalinga was a district, of course of the kingdom of the King. Both the Allahabad prasasti and Raghuvamsa tell us that the conqueror, whoever he might have been, restored the Kingdom of Kalinga to its prince.

From these statements it appears that the region between the mount Mahendra and the river Nāgāvali was the Kalinga at the time of Samudragupta's invasion, and that it became an independent kingdom after his invasion. It is established that Samudragupta spent from about A.D. 347 to A.D. 350 in conquering the several kingdoms of India. It must be about this time that an independent kingdom called Kalinga was established to the north of the river Nāgāvali.

Palæographically the era of the Gangas of Kalinga appears to begin from about the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. From the astronomical data supplied by the documents of the kings of the Ganga family, it is established that the Kalinga era began from A.D. 349. (Chronology of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga J.B. & O.R.S.)

About thirty-two documents of these kings have been brought to light and enough material can be culled from them to build a geographical account of the region over which these kings held sovereignty. The thirty-two documents together with their respective dates and the places mentioned in each are published as an appendix.

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 291—292.

† Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 240—241.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 291—292.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 291—292.

From the list it can be seen that their history is divided into three periods. The first period is indicated by the first three documents wherein the era is simply stated to have been Vijā-rājya-samvatsarās. The kings of this period do not call themselves the worshippers of Gokarṇaswami on the mount Mahendra. They were simple Kalingādhipatis.

Chandravarma was the first of these kings. His chief seat was Simhapura identified with Singapuram 18°23' N. Lat. and 84°4' E. Long. (Ind. Atlas). The king gives to a Brahmin a piece of land in the village of Kohētura, which word in modern times becomes Kottura. About eight miles to the north of Singapuram and on the other side of the river Vamsadhāra is the village of Kottur. Umāvarma, who also issues his charter from Simhapura, gives away a piece of land in the village of Bruhat-Prōshta. In Telugu, Bruhat means Pedda; and Prōshta is the fish Savaḍa (*Cryprinus Pausius*). The original Bruhat-Prōshta becomes Pedda Savaḍa. A village on the Vamsadhāra river exists now known as Pedda-Savalā-puram (18°30' N. Lat. and 84° E. Long.). Nandaprabhanjana Varma, the third of these earliest kings, issues his grant from Sārepalli. The name of the village that contained the land has been doubtfully read. So it is not possible to identify it with any of the modern places. With regard to Sārepalli, the identification seems to be a little difficult; for there is one village of this name in Parlakimidi taluk and another in Vizianagaram taluk. Which of these two was the Sārepalli of Nandaprabhanjana Varma?

The Pishthapuram plates of Saktivarma state that the village of Rakaluva was in the Kalinga Vishaya. The village of Ragolu has been identified with Rakaluva and it lies to the north of the Nāgāvali river. The region to the north of this river was the Kalinga district. So Sārepalli in the Parlakimidi taluk must be the Sārepalli mentioned in the grant. This village lies on 84°20' E. Long. and 18°49' N. Lat.

These three plates show that the Ganga kings, having first established a kingdom at Singapuram on the Vamsadhāra river, began to extend their sway northwards, their sole aim being to secure Mahendragiri and Kottur, the chief strongholds of Kalinga. By the time of Nandaprabhanjana Varma they appear to have conquered as far as Sārepalli and made it their seat of abode.

The conquest of Mahendragiri and the consolidation of the tract between the Nāgāvali and the Mahendra hill is first mentioned in the Urlam grant of Hastivarma dated in the eightieth year of the Kalinga era which hereafter indicated a state not only victorious but also prosperous (प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य सम्वत्सराः). The names of the kings also change. They are either Indravarmas or Devendravarmanas. The first Indravarma who ruled about the full-moon of the month of Chaitra of the eighty-seventh year of the victorious and prosperous

era appears to have been the son and successor of Hastivarma. It was, perhaps, the subjugation of the Mahendra hill, the chief landmark of Kalinga, that made Hastivarma give the name of Indra to his son. That this Hastivarma was a warrior is intimated from the verse found engraved on the back of the document. The verse runs as follows:—

मण्डलाग्रासीनप्येव निष्पिष्टा रतिसम्भवेः ।

श्रमिनो प्रतिवाञ्छस्य रणाभीतस्य शासनम् ॥

His son also was equally brave and powerful. If Hastivarma was Rājasimha and Raṇābhīta, his son Indravarma, in his grant dated in the ninety-first year, was Rājasimha.

From the time of Hastivarma, the second period in the history of the Gangas begins. Since they became the masters of Mahendra hill, they were the devout worshippers of the feet of the god Gokarṇa established on the top of the hill. It has already been shown that the era signified other things; it may, further, be observed that the country of Kalinga was divided into districts (vishayas) from the time of these kings.

Hastivarma mentions the village of Hondolika in Kroshtukavartini Vishaya. Maharajah Anantavarman, son of Maharājādhirajah Devendravarman, in his grant dated in 204th year, states that the village of Talathere was in Kroshtukavartini district. Tallatreya (83°50' E. Long. and 18°32' N. Lat.) is a village in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Ganjam district lying to the north of the Vamsadhāra river. It was this river that was called Kroshtukavartini and the country to the north of the river was called the Kroshtukavartini Vishaya. Now, Hondolika being in Kroshtukavartini, it should lie to the north of the Vamsadhāra river. The Hastivarma plates state that a piece of land was bought from the inhabitants of Hondolika and was given to a Brahmin who was a resident of Urmela. The donee must have built a small village on that land and called it after the village from which he had come. So the new village got the name Urmelā-grāma which in course of time became Urmelā-gām and then into Urlām. There is still a tradition in those parts that the lands of the proprietary of Urlām once belonged to the village of Lukulām. So it appears that the name Hondolika-grāma became Lukulām.

Both Urlām (84°3' E. Long. and 18°25' N. Lat.) and Lukulām, which is only three miles of Urlām, lie to the north of the Vamsadhāra river and Kroshtukavartini must have been its old name.

The country lying to the north of the river Vamsadhāra is unbroken by any big river until we come to Teekaly. So it had to be sub-divided into smaller jurisdictions. Such was Saraumaṭamba mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, dated 183rd year of the Kalinga era. Poppangika was the village mentioned in this sub-division.

Two miles from Parlakimidi the village Poppangi. Though not found in the Indian Atlas this is mentioned in the Census Report of 1901.

In the Atchyutāpuram plates of Indravarma dated eighty-seventh year is mentioned Siddhārthaka-grama in Varāhavartini Vishaya. The same village and the same district are also mentioned in the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarma dated 195th year. This Siddhārthaka-grama is the modern Siddhāntam (84°1' E. Long. and 18°24' N. Lat.). Tāmaracheruva with Chikkāli Vātaka in Varāhavartini vishaya is mentioned in the grant of Indravarma dated 128th year; in the grant of Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma Deva dated 251st year; and also in the Madras Museum plates dated Saka Samvat 984. In the last document is mentioned the god Kotēsvara in the village of Tāmaracheruva. The temple of Kotēsvara on the bank of the Nāgāvali is very much reputed in and around Chicacole; all the Brahmins of the place live around the temple and that part of the town still forms the chief abode of the priestly class. What was called Tāmaracheruva in the Ganga plates is this part of the modern Chicacole and the Chikkālivātaka has subsequently developed into Srikākulam by which name is now meant the whole locality. The present name seems to have come into use from before the time of Kapilēśvara Deva of Orissa (A.D. 1435—1470). The change of Chikkāli to Srikākulam and the change of Siddhārthaka-grama to Siddhāntam clearly show that the people from the country between the Godavary and the Krishna had come and settled in the Kalinga; for the names Srikākulam and Siddhāntam are there found from historic times. One of the Ganga grants (Purle plates dated 143rd year) tells us that a Brahmin of Tirilinga came and settled in the Kalinga country; and the Tirilinga was the region between the Godavary and the Krishna (Sārada, Vol. I, April 1924).

As we have seen Siddhāntam and Chicacole lie between the two rivers of Nāgāvali and Vamsadhāra; this region was called the Varāhavartini Vishaya. In this district another village Bruhat-Kōdila is also mentioned; but it is difficult to identify it with any of the places given in the Indian Atlas. It may be Pedda-Podilām (84° E. Long. and 18°29' N. Lat.) about six miles from the Chicacole Railway Station.

In the document issued by Indravarma from Dantapura in the 143rd year it is stated that Bukku-kura-grama was in Kāraka-rāshtra. The region was called a Rāshtra, *i.e.*, a kingdom. It appears to have been an independent kingdom before its conquest by the Gangas. Having conquered this region the Kalinga kings made Dantapura its centre of administration. The conquest and subjugation of this Rāshtra might have occurred in the time of Indravarma of the charter dated 128th year. All the places mentioned in the document have been identified.

Another charter issued from Dantipura is the Narasipatam plates of Vajrahasta III. The district Gōrasatta comprising the thirteen villages outside Tampava village was given to Irugana Sri Mānāditya Chotta. The boundaries of this district also were given. It is not possible to identify any of them. The river Vamsadhāra was said to lie on the west and we know that the river which is now called Vamsadhāra was, in the Kalinga days, called the Kroshtukavartini. Moreover, the country to which the modern Vamsadhāra lies to the west could not naturally have been under the jurisdiction of Dantipura which existed near Siddhāntam. The Vamsadhāra of the Narasipatam plates must have been therefore some other river in the region to the south of the Nāgāvali.

The zamindar of Oongarāda and Siripuram belongs to the family of Irugantis; this name appears to be a modification of Irugana, the family name of the donee of the grant. Oongarāda 83°47' E. Long. and 18°31' N. Lat. lies four miles to the north of Talatampara, which was, perhaps, the village of Tampava mentioned in the plates.

From these two plates it appears that the region now occupied by the taluks of Palakonda, Chipurupalli, Gajapatinagaram and Salur, formed the Kūrakarāshtra of which the administrative centre under the Gangas was Dantapura or Dantipura, which is still found in the mālukdari of Danta in Ganjam district.

Amongst the grants of the Gangas, there are three which were issued from Svetakādhishthāna, which means the chief town of the region of Svetaka. These grants bear no date and we can only assign them to their proper ages on palæographical grounds.

Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarma may be assigned to the period between Indravarma, son of Dānārnavā ruling in 149th year and Devendravarma, son of Guṇārnavā ruling in the years 183 and 195, because the Dhanantara plates resemble letter for letter the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarma; but the 𑀓 of the former set is like that of the Chicacole plates of the latter king. About a century and a half after the founding of the Ganga throne, the region of Svetaka seems to have been subdued by the Kalinga kings. The object of this grant was Vatagrāma in Hamanibhoga. In the Chinna-kimidi zamindari of Ganjam district, there is the village Bothapoor on 83°34' E. Long. and 19°34' N. Lat. There is no means of identifying Hamanibhoga. Dhanantara where the plates have been discovered is about ten miles east of this Bothapoor.

The second set of plates are the Ganjam plates of Prithivivarma Deva. These on palæographical basis may be assigned to the time of Vajrahasta Deva III *alias* Anantavarma. Perhaps Prithivivarma is Anantavarma himself, for

Prithivi and Ananta are synonyms. The reading of the place names, especially of the name of the district, was incorrect. It was read as Janora in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, No. 26. But from the estampages of the plates kindly supplied to me by the Superintendent, Madras Museum, the name clearly appears to be Jan-thau-vara and this name is corroborated by Jantāvura mentioned as the capital of Kāmārṇava I (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, June 1889, No. 179). The object of the grant was the double village of Dola (grāma-dvayam-dōla). Janthauvara or Jantāvura appears modified in Jallantra (84°36' E. Long. and 18°57' N. Lat.) in Sompeta taluk of Ganjam district. This was the headquarters of an ancient zamindari. "Jallantra cottah" contains "an old image of a village goddess" (Sewell). There are several relics in and around Jallantra to show its antiquity. In this zamindari is a village Dola-Govindapuram (117, Census Report, 1901) situated about five miles north of Jallantracoota.

The third set is that of Indravarma Deva reviewed in the Epigraphical Report of 1918. The plates have not yet been published and so I am not able to examine the characters to assign any approximate date to them. The object of the grant is the village Amēra-singa in Jalamvora Vishaya. In Chinna-kimidi zamindari is a village by name Jallamurra, 84°36' E. Long. and 19°25' N. Lat., and as its name signifies, it is situated on the southern tributary of the Rushicoolya river. There is no village now bearing the name of Amēra-singa. But Vishama-giri where the plates have been discovered may be that Amēra-singa; for 'singa' and 'giri' mean the same thing. Vishama-giri (Bisamgiri of the Indian Atlas) is about ten miles south-west of Jallamurra.

These places now identified lie in a region of which Chikati forms the centre. Chikati is not a modern town; it is found mentioned in the inscriptions in the Mukhalingam temple. In No. 335 of the Epigraphical Report of 1896 it is mentioned as Chikati and it is dated in S.S. 1212 or A.D. 1290; No. 338 which is dated in S.S. 1283 or 1361, mentions it as Śikati; No. 358 which is dated S.S. 1267 or A.D. 1345, has it as Chikati again.

The Svetaka or Svetka of the Ganga plates is only Chikati changed by metathesis. In old Dravidian, as in modern Tamil, there was only one sign to represent the two sounds of श and च. श्वेतक or च्वेतक easily becomes चैकत or चैकट which in rapid pronunciation becomes चीकट or चीकटि. This चीकट or श्वेतक region lying immediately to the north of Mahendra, must have been the Mahākāntara mentioned immediately before Mahendragiri-Kottura in the Allahabad Pillar inscription.

Before we take up the identification of the places mentioned in the other plates, it is but necessary to identify Kalinganagara from which every grant is said to have been issued. This was the capital of Kalinga. M.R.Ry. Rao

Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A., has identified it with the city that extended from Mukhalingam to Nagarikatakam. But this could not have been the Kalinganagara of the kings that gave their charters in the years of the victorious and prosperous Kalinga era; for, the copperplate grant dated S.S. 1040 of Anantavarma-Chodagangadeva clearly states that Kāmārṇava II had "his city in Nagara in which he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the God Iśa in the linga-form, to which he had given the name of Madhukēśa, because it was produced from a madhūka tree." It also tells us that Kāmārṇava I had his capital in Jantāvura. The Kalinga kings from Hastivarma to Kāmārṇava I mention Kalinganagara to have been their capital. Where was this?

We have seen that from the time of Hastivarma, the kings of the Ganga family became the devout worshippers of god Gokarṇa on the Mahendra hill. From this we understand that the Mahendra hill was subdued only about eighty years after the founding of the dynasty. Kālidāsa, in his Raghuvamśa, canto IV, tells that the king Raghu went and captured Mahendra hill. So the Mahendra hill was the chief landmark of Kalinga. The Allahabad prasasti of Samudragupta mentions the country of Kalinga by Mahendragiri-Koutturaka. The capital of Kalinga at the time of Samudragupta appears to have been Kottura near Mahendragiri. This is identified by Prof. Vincent A. Smith with Cothoor 84°89' E. Long. and 18°53' N. Lat. This is on the sea coast. In Raghuvamśa, canto VI, it is said that the capital of the Kalinga king was on the sea side.

यमात्मनः सन्ननि सन्निकृष्टा मन्द्रध्वनि त्याजित यामतृयः ।

प्रासादवातायनदृश्यवीचिः प्रवाधयत्यर्णव एव सुप्तम् ॥

The waves of the ocean are seen from the palace of the king of Kalinga and the roar of the ocean surpasses the sound of his watch drum. From this it clearly appears that the palace and so the capital of Kalinga was on the coast.

The same fact is also intimated by the Kalinga grant of Indravarma dated 146th year of the Kalinga era, which states that the city of Kalinga was 'embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean'. Here the original editor of the plates interpreted in another way. What is stated in the plates is 'Jaladhi-jala-taraṅga-karapallav-ālingita—sakala-kaling-āvanī-tala-tilakāyamānād=vijaya-kalinga-nagarāt'—This is the only Kalinga grant that describes the Kalinga-nagara in this way. In giving the meaning of this, the first phrase from 'Jaladhi' to 'ālingita' was understood to be adjectival to 'sakala-kaling-āvanī'. But from what is said in other grants this construction appears to be wrong. The first phrase is translated into 'Sarv-artu-sukha-ramanīyād' and the second into 'Sakala-vasumatī-tilakāyamānād'. A

place cannot be 'pleasant (on account of the simultaneous existence) of the comforts of all seasons' unless it is 'embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean'. This interpretation is supported by Raghuvamsa. So the Kalinganagara of these Ganga kings was Kottur (Cotoor of the Indian Atlas) and this was so till the time of Kāmārṇava I who changed his seat to 'Janōvura'. Kāmārṇava II changed it to 'Nagara'. By the time of Vajrahasta Deva III *alias* Anantavarma there were three regions, Dantapura, Kalinganagara and Svetaka, merged into the kingdom of Kalinga and so he bore the title of 'Trikalīṅga-ādhipatiḥ'.

In Kalinga proper which extended from Langulya or Nāgāvali in the south to a line drawn from Mahendragiri to Kottur in the north, we have already identified the districts of Varāhavartini and Kroshtuka-vartini and the villages thereof.

The other parts of the kingdom also have to be discovered from the places mentioned in the grants other than those that have been referred to above. Tālamūla in Korosataka-Pāṇchālī, the name of this district exists in Korasada 84°7' E. Long. and 84°44' N. Lat. situated on the southern bank of the eastern tributary of the Vamsadhāra river. Tālamūla may be Malloowa about nine miles south-east of Korasada.

Devenna-Pāṇchālī is the second pāṇchālī we are told of in the Kalinga plates. The village Khettata is said to be in this division. Devapoorum (84°24' E. Long. and 18°40' N. Lat.) and Chetapooram about five miles east of Devapoorum, perhaps represent the two respectively. Pushyagiri-Pāṇchālī with the town of Huduyaka is the third division of this name. Pushya means 'kali' and 'giri' means 'metta'. Kalimettā or Kanimetta is the translation of Pushyagiri. Kalimetta, Kalimeraka are other forms of the name. Villages with these names are found near Sigadām in Chipurupall taluk of Vizagapatam district. Eduva and Enduva are villages in the same region. Perhaps this was the region indicated by the name Pushyagiri Pāṇchālī.

These three tracts were called Pāṇchālīs. A country where men of the five trades, the carpenter, weaver, barber, washerman and shoemaker, live is a Pāṇchālī (M. Williams). It is a well-known fact that Sigadām and the surrounding tract is the home of weavers; Salis and Devangis, who even now make the finest cloths. As for Korasada and Devapoorum nothing is known. They might have been the abode of craftsmen.

Vajrahasta Deva III mentions Erāda Vishaya (Ep. Rep. 1919, App. A No. 3). The village Sattivāda was given to some Ganapatīnāyaka. This is dated in S.S. 971. The same monarch in his grant dated S.S. 979 separates twelve villages with Velpura from Erāda-Vishaya and formed the

Vēlpura-Vishaya. Sattivāda (83°36' E. Long. and 18°25' N. Lat.) is a village in Bobbili taluk. Of the villages said to have been grouped into the Vēlpura-Vishaya only some could be identified. Vēlpurah is on 83°35' E. Long. and 18°13' N. Lat. and is about fifteen miles south of Sattivāda. Vappadam is Boppadam about five miles east of Vēlpurah. Chikidim is Sigadam, about four miles east of Boppadam; a mile and a half to the north of Sigadam lies Devarapalli which is Devarema. Muringam is Mulagam about three miles north-west of Devarapalli. Pōdūru is perhaps Pondur which is about eighteen miles north-east of Vēlpurah. Five miles west of Vēlpurah lies Gundredu which is Gudra. The other places cannot be identified.

Parlakimidi plates of the time of Vajrahasta mention that Dāraparāja was the regent of Pancha-Vishaya. Lankakōna was a part of the district; its boundaries were given, but none of them can be identified now. Mandasa plates of Anantavarma Deva dated S.S. 976 mention Pancha-Patra-Vishaya; a part of this district was Mahendra-bhōga and Madhipatharakhanda was a village in the Bhōga. These two plates help us to identify the places.

Dharmakhedi, the donor of the latter grant was a Mahāmandalēśvara and seems to have been a descendant of Ugrakhedi, the donor of the former. These two charters belong to the same region which is called Pancha-Vishaya in one and Panchapātra-Vishaya in another. Where was this vishaya?

Madhipatharakhanda, the village mentioned in the second set of plates, is now represented by the two villages, Madhia (84°34' E. Long. and 18°54' N. Lat.) and Patrakhanda (84°34' E. Long. and 18°54' N. Lat.). Both these are in Mandasa zamindari which includes the famous Mahendra hill. Mahendrabhōga is represented by the village Bhogaband (No. 171, Mandasa Zamindari, Sompeta taluk, Census Report, 1901). Since all these villages are found in this zamindari which circumscribes the Mahendra hill, the original name of this country must have been Mahendrabhōga.

Mahendrabhōga was a sub-division of the Panchapātra-Vishaya which must have been from the river Mahendratānaya which forms the southern boundary of the Mandasa estate. Lankakōna is said to have been in Pancha Vishaya. So we have to search for this place to the north of the Mandasa estate.

In Juradah estate there is a village of the name of Lankah (84°38' E. Long. and 19°3' N. Lat.). Hossandi may have been that village; but it cannot be identified; much less, any of the places mentioned as its boundaries. Anyhow it is clear that the Juradah estate was the Lankah-cona division and Mandasa estate was the Mahendrabhōga division of the Pancha-Vishaya of Kalinga.

Similarly, the three Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma-Chodaganga-deva help us to discover the Sambava-Vishaya of Kalinga. In the grant dated S.S. 1003 Chākivāda in Samvā-Vishaya was granted to the god Siva

under the name of Rājarājeśvara in the village of Rēngujēd. The charter of S.S. 1040 grants the village of Tāmarakhandi in the Samvā-Vishaya to a person named Mādhava. The village of Sumuda, in the Sammag or Sammaga-Vishaya in the Kalingadēsa, was granted by the gift of S.S. 1057. All these grants refer to the same tract of the country called the Samvā district (Sammag must be a wrong spelling of Samvā).

In Sālur taluk of the Vizagapatam district is the village Chemudū (83°18' E. Long. and 18°38' N. Lat.) which is only another form of Sumuda. Six miles to the east of this village is Rejeru, where, I am told, there is a temple built of polished black granite. This must be the Rēngujēd of the document. Tāmarakhandi is three miles north-east of Rejeru. All the villages are beautifully situated on rivers that form the tributary of the Nāgāvali. About a mile and a half to the north-west of Chemudū lies, beautifully situated on a stream, Sambara, the village that gave the name to the district. Chāktivāda is not found either in the Indian Atlas or in the Census lists.

Tārugrama in Galela-Vishaya was the object of grant in the document dated 351 of the Kalinga era of Maharājah Satyavarma Deva. Galela is Galāvelli (83°20' E. Long. and 18°32' N. Lat.) a village in Bobbili taluk. This village is mentioned in Sewell's Lists. It is said that in this village is the temple of Kāmēśvaraswami said to be of considerable antiquity, and that near the gate are some 'illegible' inscriptions. Tārugrama is perhaps Tārāpuram which is about four miles east of Sālur. This region, in which Galāvelli and Tārāpuram are located, lies to the south of the river Vegāvatī which flows into the Nāgāvali. In this region also lies Nārāyanapuram mentioned as a place of encampment of Narasimha Deva IV on 24th February 1397 A.D. This village contains two temples; on a pillar of the larger temple are inscriptions in old Telugu characters. I saw these and read one or two of them. Both of them were gifts by Chodagangadeva. In this region lies also the village Gangāda about three miles west of Galāvelli. Here are also some ruined temples and tradition says that, in ancient times, a big city extended from Gangāda to Galāvelli; and it is also said that big bricks and pieces of pottery are very generally seen between these two villages. Since Gangāda is a corruption of Gangavādi, the vishaya in which Kolhālapura, the place from which Kāmār-
nava I is said to have come with his four brothers, was said to exist, the ruins between Gangāda and Galāvelli may perhaps mark the site of Kolhālapura.

Pudila, Muḍuda, Māsina, Sōliga and some other villages of Dēvadāmadavam-Vishaya are said to have been given to Bhattāraka Dharmēśvara. Devadāmadavam is Devadam (83°42' E. Long. and 18°41' N. Lat.) in Pālakonda taluk. Sōliga may be Chillakam about twelve miles west of Devadam; the other places cannot be identified. Dharmēśvara Bhattāraka is, perhaps, the

linga at the village of Sangam situated at the confluence of Nāgāvali and its western tributaries.

Mandasa plates of Rājendravarma Deva dated 342nd year of the Kalinga era mentions Tāmvaddi in Sailāda-Vishaya. In Parlakimidi zamindari there is the village Sailāda (No. 150, Census Report, 1901), Cheehlapooram of Indian Atlas (84°12' E. Long. and 18°42' N. Lat.); about two miles north-west of this village lies Tamara which may be a contraction of Tāmvaddi.

Virintaka in Pushkarani-Vishaya is mentioned in the grant of Devendrar-
varma, son of Rājendravarma Deva. Pushkarini means an elephant. In Gumsoor forests of the Ganjam district elephants are found in herds even now. It is no wonder if the modern Rushikoolya river which rises in the Gumsoor hills was given, in ancient days, the name of Pushkarini. It is a great problem for the research students how Pushkarini became converted into Rushicoolya.

Rushicoolya may be a modification of the Savara name. From the place names in this part of the district, it can be clearly seen that Savaras, who now form the inhabitants of the hills, originally occupied both the littoral and the hills. They must have given a name, significant of some striking feature, to every object in their surroundings. The Gangas that had conquered the country from the Savaras, translated the names of objects into Sanskrit. That the Savaras gave this river a name significant of its being the abode of elephants is proved by the very fact that the name Pushkarini was applied to it by the Gangas. Rā, in Savara language, means 'an elephant', Rāji is the plural. 'Kandya' means a river. So Rāji-kandya means 'elephants river'. This can be very easily transformed into Rushi-koolya.

Pushkarini-Vishaya must have been the country to the north of this river. Virintaka may be Biridi, the head-quarters of a very ancient zamindari.

There is only one more village that can be identified. Sellāda in Rūpā-vartini-Vishaya is mentioned in the grant of Anantavarma Chodaganga, son of Rājarāja Deva. Sellāda is in Tekkali taluk. Three miles to the south of this village flows a river, the name of which is not known. It appears that the village Sellāda was given to an inhabitant of Tālagrama for the worship of the goddess Bhagavati in Sellāda. It is not known if the goddess still exists there. But Tālagrama (Talagam of Indian Atlas) is about five miles south-west of Sellāda. In the light of these evidences it appears that Rūpāvartini was the name of the river that flows to the south of Sellāda.

From the above it becomes clear that the kingdom of Kalinga originally extended from the Nāgāvali river to the Mahendra hill. Then in course of time, the countries to the south and the north were conquered and by the time of Anantavarma-Chodagangadeva the Kalinga kingdom extended from Sālur in the south to the Chilka lake in the north.

LIST OF COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA BROUGHT TO LIGHT TILL NOW.

Serial No.	Where noticed and number	Name	Donor	Year	Vishaya	Village	Place of Issue	Remarks
1	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, No. 16	Comerti plates	Chandavarma	6th year of the Victorious era	...	Kohctura	Simhapura	
2	Do. Vol. XII, No. 2	Bruhat prosh- ta plates	Umavarma	30 do.	...	Bruhatprosh- tha	Do.	
3	Archæol. Sur. of S. India, Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions, old series	No. 16	Nandaprabhanjana- varma	...	...	Dēyavāta	Sirepalli	
4	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, No. 1	Ragolu plates	Saktivarma	13th year (era not known)	Kalinga	Ragolu	Pishthapur- an	
5	Epigraphical Report (Madras) 1920, App. A, No. 3	Utlam plates	Hastivarma	80th year (Kalinga era)	Kroshuka- vartini	Hondolaka	Kalinga- nagara	The king's epithets 'Rājasimha' and 'Kana bhīta'
6	Do. 1921, App. A, No. 2	Parlakimidi plates	Anantavarma, son of Devendravarma	204th year	Do.	Talathere	Do.	
7	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, No. 21	Chicacole plates	Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava	183rd year	Do. Saraumatam	Poppangika	Do.	
8	Do. do. No. 20	Achyutapuram plates	Indravarma	87th year	-ba Varāhavar- tini	Siddhārtha- ka grama	Do.	The king's epithet 'Rājasimha'
9	Do. Vol. XIII, No. 19	Siddhāntam plates	Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava	195th year	Do.	Do.	Do.	
10	Archæol. Sur. of S. India, Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions, old series	No. 17	Indravarma	187th year	Do.	Tāmarache- ruva, Chik- kali vātaka	Do.	
11	Do. do. do.	No. 20	Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma Deva	251st year	Do.	Do.	Do.	
12	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, No. 11	Madras Muse- um plates	Vajrahasta Deva III	S. S. 984	Do.	Do.	Do.	The god Koteśvara is mentioned

13	Epigraphical Report (Madras) 1919	App. A, No. 3	Vajrahasta III	S.S. 971	Do.	Vrihat Kō- dila	Do.	
14	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIV, No. 27	Purle plates	Indravarma, son of Dānārṇava	143rd year (Kalinga era)	Kiraka-rāsh- tra	Bhukkukura grama	Dantapura	
15	Do. Vol. XI, No. 14	Narasipatam plates	Vajrahasta III	S.S. 967	Gorasatta	District be- yond the Tāmpava Village	Dantipura	
16	Do. Vol. XV, No. 14	Dhanantara plates	Sāmantavarma	...	Homani Bhoga	Vatagrama	Svetakādhish- -thāna	
17	Do. Vol. IX, No. 14	Ganjam plates	Prithivivarma Deva, son of Mahendra- varma	...	Janthouvara	Grāma-dva- yam-Dola	Do.	
18	Epigraphical Report (Madras) 1918, App. A, No. 9	Vishmagiri plates	Sri Indravarma Deva	...	Jalamvora	Amēra Singa	Do.	
19	Archæol. Sur. of S. India, Tamil and Sanskrit, old series	No. 18	Indravarma	146th year (Kalinga era)	Korosataka pañchālī	Tālamūla	Kalinga- nagara	
20	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVI, 1889, No. 169	Parlakimidi plates	Indravarma	91st year	Devanna pañchālī	Khettata	Do.	The king's epithet 'Rājasimha'
21	Ep. Report (Madras) 1921, App. A, No. 1	Parlakimidi plates	Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava	184th year	Pushyagiri pañchālī	Huduvaka	Do.	
22	Do. 1919, App. A, No. 3	...	Vajrahasta III	S.S. 971	Ērāda	Sattivāda	Do.	
23	Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, No. 24	Nadagam plates	Do.	S.S. 979	Do.	Vālpura, Poduru Vādām, Muringam Devarima, Chikidima, Gudra, etc.	Do.	These villages were formed into Vel- pura district
24	Ep. Ind., Vol. III, No. 31	Parlakimidi plates	Vajrahasta Deva's time, Dāraparāja	...	Pancha Vishaya, Lanka-kōna	Hossandi	Kalinga nagara	
25	Ep. Report (Madras) 1918, App. A, No. 12	Mandasa plates	Anantavarma Deva	S.S. 976	Pancha- Vishaya, Ma- hendra bhōga	Madhipat- thera konda	Do.	

LIST OF COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA BROUGHT TO LIGHT TILL NOW (Concluded).

Serial No.	Where noticed and number	Name	Donor	Year	Vishaya	Village	Place of Issue	Remarks
26	Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, No. 178	Vizagapatam plates	Anantavarma Choda-gangadeva	S.S. 1003	Samvā	Chakivāda	...	The village was given to the god Rājārājīśvara at Rūngujed
27	Do. do. No. 179	Do.	Do.	S.S. 1040	Do.	Tamara-khandi	...	
28	Do. do. No. 180	Do.	Do.	S.S. 1057	Sammag	Samuda	...	
29	Do. Vol. XIV, No. 152	Chicacole plates	Satyavarma Deva	351st year (Kalinga era)	Galela	Taru-grāma	Kalinga-nagara	
30	Do. Vol. XVIII, No. 177	Vizagapatam plates	Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma Deva	254th year	Devādama-davam	Tāduva, Māsina Pudi, Sōliga, Mududa, Tamvaddi	Do.	
31	Ep. Report (Madras) 1918, App. A, No. 13	Mandasa plates	Rājendradeva, son of Anantavarma Deva	342nd year	Sailāda	Virintika	Do.	
32	Do. 1919, App. A, No. 7	Chicacole plates	Devendravarma, son of Rājendravarma	...	Pushkārtini	Sellāda	...	This village was given to an inhabitant of Tālagrāma for the worship of the goddess Bhagavati at Sellāda
33	Ep. Report (Madras) 1919, App. A, No. 6	...	Anantavarma Choda-ganga deva, son of Rājārāja and Rājāsundari	S.S. 1006	Rūpāvartini	Medelaka	...	
34	Ep. Ind., Vol. III, No. 3	Alamanda plates	Anantavarma Deva, son of Rājendravarma Deva	304th year (Kalinga era)	Trikatu	Patugrama	...	
35	Ep. Report (Madras) 1919, App. A, No. 5	...	Madhukāmārava Deva, son of Ananta-varma	526th year	...	Hondoro-bādo	...	
36	Do. do. No. 8	...	Anantavarma Deva, son of Devendra-varma	...	Kantaka-vartini	Morakhini	...	

THE KOSAR AND THE VAMBA MORIYAR.

BY K. G. SESHA AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

AT p. 596 of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Dr. Barnett, writing about the Kōśar, says:—"From the references of the poets to them it would seem that they once made an unsuccessful attack on Mōgūr, and found allies in the Vamba Mōriyar or 'Bastard Mauryas,' possibly a branch of the Konkani Mauryas." The statement is apparently based on lyric No. 251 of the Ahanānūru collection, and possibly also on some passages in Chapter II of Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, where he considers the question of the Mauryan invasion of South India. The learned professor has stated there that the Kōśar formed the advance guard of the Mauryan army of invasion, and administered a crushing defeat upon their enemies near Potiyil hill, in the south-western corner of Madura; but as the Chief of Mōgūr declined to submit to them, the Mauryas advanced south to subjugate him. He has quite recently reiterated that view in his article on *The Kōśar of Tamil Literature*, which appeared in the issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October last. The names of Dr. Barnett and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar justly carry so much weight that one would feel inclined to accept their statements without reservation. Nevertheless, in this instance, I venture to doubt if their conclusions are supported by ancient Tamil literature, on which alone they profess to rely.

The questions that arise are:—(i) Did the Kōśar form the advance party of a foreign army that invaded the Tamil country? (ii) Did they gain a victory at Potiyil hill? (iii) Were they the enemies of the Mōgūr chieftain? (iv) Who were the Vamba Mōriyar, and did they invade South India? I am inclined to think that, on all these questions, both Dr. Barnett and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar have probably erred. They seem to have proceeded on a wrong interpretation of Ahanānūru 251, which is the most important poem in this connection. That lyric tells us of the attempt of a faithful maid-servant to console her mistress who is in distress on account of her husband's long absence in a distant land. The attendant says that several messengers have already been sent to him, and if he receives the news of her condition from any one of them, he will not stay away even for all the fabulous riches of Nanda. The maid then reminds her mistress that the land to which he has gone is far, far away, beyond the distant mountain. It is here that the passage relating to the Kōśar, Mōgūr and the Vamba 'Mōriyar'

occurs; and everything depends upon the correct interpretation of the passage. The original is as follows:—

Vel kodi-t-

tunai kālanna punai tēr-k-kōṣar
ton mūtālat-tarum paṇai-p-potiyil
innīśai muraśam kadip-pigut-tiranga-t-
temmunai citaitta nāṇṇai Mōgūr
paṇiyāmaiṇṇi pakaitalai vanta
mākeṇṇu tānai vampa mōriyar
punaitēr nēmi yruḷiya kuraitta
vilanku veḷ laṇuviya vaṇaiṇṇi yumpar.

The English rendering would be: Beyond the mountain pass shining with cascades, which the Vamba Mōriyar lowered for the wheels of their ornamented cars to roll along, when with a large army they came intent on war, because Mōgūr would not submit in the days when the Kōṣar, possessed of the victorious flag and swift decorated cars, destroyed the enemies in the battle field and (thus) enabled the sweet music of their drums to resound in the assembly ground underneath the ancient banian tree with its mighty spreading branches. This passage shows that the Kōṣar were regarded as invincible in war; and relying on the well-known prowess of the Kōṣar, the Mōgūr chief treated with disdain the Vamba Mōriyar, a foreign people who made a hostile march towards the Tamil country. It will be noticed that to the ears of the Tamil poet the sound of the Kōṣar's war-drum as it resounded in the assembly ground was 'sweet music' (in-isai); and this it could not be unless the Kōṣar were a friendly people. That the Kōṣar were the friends and allies of the Mōgūr chief is also seen from *Madurai-Kānci*, another Śaṅgam work like *Ahanānūru*, where the poet tells us that the presence of the Kōṣar brought fame and lustre to Mōgūr's kingdom (*Madurai-Kānci* vl. 508-9). It was the consciousness that he had the help of the Kōṣar that made the Mōgūr chief so bold. The Vamba Mōriyar were an enemy people, who apparently came on an expedition of conquest; but there is no warrant in Tamil literature so far as I know for holding that the Kōṣar formed their advance guard or were in alliance with them in their expedition. On the other hand, the oldest Tamil works like *Ahanānūru* invariably refer to the Kōṣar in eulogistic terms as a trustworthy and truthful people, celebrated for their valour (*Cf.* *Ahanānūru* 15; 196; 205; 251; 262). They inhabited Tuḷu-Nādu (Aha. 15) and, perhaps at a later period, also Kongu-Nādu (Śilappadhikāram), within the limits of the Tamil country. Of course they had their occasional fights with some chiefs of the Tamil land, who were their neighbours (*Cf.* Aha. 196; Kuruntokai 73); as, indeed, all the Tamil kings and

chiefs had in those remote days; but nowhere is found any statement or indication that the Kōṣar were a new arrival in the land, or that they were a non-Tamil people in alliance with hostile foreigners.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is responsible for the statement that the Kōṣar 'administered a crushing defeat on their enemies near Potiyil hill'; and for this he relies on the *Ahanānūru* lyric above quoted. He has, I am afraid, misunderstood the meaning of *potiyil* which occurs there. The word has no reference to Potiyil Hill at all; but it means 'the place of assembly,' the tract of open land outside the town used by the inhabitants for common purposes. In this instance, the poet says that the assembly ground was marked by an ancient, spreading banian tree. (*Ton-mūtu-ālattu-arum-paṇai-potiyil.*) This identical line occurs also in *Kuruntokai* 15 in connection with the Kōṣar. The very description shows it was not the mountain Potiyil that the poet intended; there is absolutely no attribute of a mountain mentioned, and so the alleged victory of the Kōṣar at Potiyil Hill should be rejected as a myth.

A word now about the 'Vamba Mōriyar'. Who were they? Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon Committee, Madras, says that the poet's reference is to the Guptas; Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar maintains that the expression refers to the imperial Mauryas of Magadha; and Dr. Barnett, and perhaps Mr. T. N. Subramaniam also, understand it to refer to the Konkani Mauryas of the South. They are not all agreed about the meaning of the term *Vampa* in this connection; but whether we assign to it its original meaning of 'unstable' or the secondary or derived meaning of 'new' or 'useless', it seems to me we can hardly take the expression *Vamba mōriyar* to refer to the Konkani Mauryas. The Konkani Mauryas were apparently an insignificant people. 'Petty Mauryan dynasties,' says Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* (3rd Edition, p. 195), 'apparently connected in some unknown way with the imperial line, ruled in the Konkan, between the Western Ghats and the sea, and in some other parts of Western India, during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions.' The inscriptions mention them with such small tribes as the Nalas and the Kadambas; and besides, the Āihole inscription of Pulakesin II refers to the Konkani Mauryas in terms not flattering to their military prowess. They were not a formidable people, renowned in war; and so far as I know, they do not seem to have ever attempted any daring conquest. The description of the 'Mōriyar' that is found in the *Ahanānūru* lyrics leaves no room for doubt that they were a powerful, venturesome people, whose army crossed a distant mountain on an expedition to the south; and that description cannot suit the Konkani Mauryas, or the unsettled freebooters, as

Mr. Subramaniam says, on the border of the Tulu land. There are three lyrics in the Ahanānūru collection where the expression 'Mōriyar' occurs; they are Nos. 69, 251, and 281. In all the three poems, the passage of their war chariots through the mountain pass, which they are said to have cut low (*kuṟaitta*) for the purpose, receives prominent mention. Apparently the mountain had been thought to be impassable; and the daring feat of these foreigners who crossed it with their huge cars so excited the imagination of the Tamil poets that they explained it by saying that the invaders had cut a pass through the mountain. What is certain is that a warlike people, whose country lay beyond a distant mountain had crossed it on a hostile expedition with the full equipment of war. It is almost impossible that these people could be the Konkani Mauryas.

Were they the Guptas? Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangar, a Tamil scholar of acknowledged ability, entertains the view that the expression *Vamba Mōriyar* denotes the army of Samudragupta that invaded South India; and in this view he is supported by Prof. Ramaswami Aiyangar (*vide Śeran Śenkuṭṭuvan*, and *Studies in South Indian Jainism*). I had taken the liberty on a former occasion to doubt whether the generally accepted or orthodox estimate of Samudragupta's military achievements was not considerably exaggerated, and referred to the view of Dr. Dubreuil in support. However that be, there is no evidence, so far as I know, that Samudragupta invaded South India; and the suggestion of Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar that 'small expeditions might have been sent by him to effect an entry into the Tāmīl-kam' does not appeal to me. It seems to me that both the learned Pandit and the learned Professor have sought to assign a forced meaning to 'Mōriyar'. Their suggestion is that the poet, who was contemporary or nearly so with the incident he narrated referred to them as *Vamba Mōriyar* or *new Mauriyar* in contradistinction to the *old* Mauryas, the imperial Mauryas of Magadha; and Prof. Ramaswami Aiyangar makes the further suggestion that Māmūlanār, the author of the Tamil poem, gives us, perhaps, a bit of the history of the origin of the Gupta dynasty by calling the Guptas, new Mauryas (p. 139, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*), though in a previous page (p. 137) he says: 'Our point is that there has been a confusion in the mind of Māmūlanār himself in regard to Gupta ancestry.' However, he recognizes that 'the difficulty of identifying the Mauryas of Māmūlanār with the forces of Samudragupta is no doubt very great.' (p. 136.) Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar's identification was based on an incorrect reading and a wrong interpretation of Samudragupta's pillar inscription; and the halting support that Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar extends to that identification is based on several suppositions or assumptions and not one proved or accepted fact of history.

Were they the imperial Mauryas? Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says they were. He seems to think that his view derives support from the mention by the same poet in another lyric (Atah. 265) of the hiding in the Ganges of the wealth which the Nandas had accumulated in Pātalipura. 'Hence' he says, 'the expression *Vamba Mōriyar*, the Maurya *novi homines*, is justified in respect of this author and his contemporaries' (*Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89). In spite of the natural temptation to equate the 'Mōriyar' of the Ahanānūru lyrics—supposing that is the correct reading—with the imperial Mauryas, I feel considerable difficulty in doing so. Having regard to Tamil literary usage, it seems to me that before the word *Mōriyar* comes into literary use, the term *Mauriyar* of which the other is a corruption, must have been well-known to Tamil literature; but there does not seem to be any instance in classical Tamil literature where the word *Mauriyar* appears. Obviously the ancient Tamil poets did not know that word, and it could not, therefore, have been subjected to any process of phonetic alteration by them, with a view to easier pronunciation or otherwise. The use of a word in its normal form must be familiar before a modified form springs up in use as the result of phonetic tendencies. Thus we have in Tamil works both *Kausikan* and *Kōsikan*, *Gautaman* and *Gōtaman*; but nowhere in Tamil literature are the *Kauriyar* spoken of as *Koriyar*, or the *Kauniyar* referred to as *Kōniyar*. I know that, according to the old Pāli works, the Buddhist republic of *Mōriyas* existed at Pippalivana, long before the imperial Mauryas of the Magadha kingdom; but they do not appear to have been a warrior clan, and it is not suggested that they are the people referred to in *Ahanānūru*.

However, I am not satisfied that *Mōriyar* is the correct reading. The Ahanānūru collection has just recently been printed; but it cannot be said that it has been critically edited. In a manuscript copy that I have seen, *pōliyar* occurs instead of *Mōriyar* in poem 69, and *Mōriyā* (மோரியா) instead of *Mōriyar* in poem 281. In poem 251, *Vamba Mōriyar* is found in the manuscript also, but otherwise the reading there is in several respects different from what we find in the printed copy. However, there is a poem in the Puṟa-nānūru collection from which assistance may be derived. In Puṟam 175, we have

viṇ poru neduṅkudai yiyaṟēr ōriyar
tiṇ katir-t-tikari tiritara-k. kuṟaitta
..... aṟaivāi.

With this we may compare Ahanānūru 69, where almost the identical lines occur. We have in the printed edition,

viṇ poru nedu varai yiyaṟēr mōriyar
pon punai tikari tiritara-k-kuṟaitta
varai.

and, as quoted in Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*,

viṇ poru neduṅkudai yiyarēr mōriyar
pon punai tikari tiritara-k-kuṟaitta
varai.

We have in Ahanānūru 251,

vampa mōriyar
punai ter nēmi yuruḷiya kuṟaitta
. . . . aṟaivāi.

and in Ahanānūru 281,

mōriyar
oḷ katir tikari yuruḷiya kuṟaitta
varai.

In all these passages, the reference is to the same event, as the language of the extracts shows. It is, however, significant, that while in the Ahanānūru poems the deed is ascribed to the *Mōriyar*, the Puṟanānūru lyric ascribes it to the *ōriyar*. Which of these two readings is incorrect, *ōriyar* or *Mōriyar*? While one cannot yet be certain of the text of the Ahanānūru poems, which have not been critically examined and edited, the Puṟanānūru collection has been carefully edited by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar, with its old invaluable commentary; and the ancient scholiast, who takes care to notice the existence of different readings in his commentary under each poem, and has noticed under lyric No. 175 itself several textual variations from those he has himself adopted, as actually known to exist, does not say that there existed for *ōriyar* an alternative reading *mōriyar*. We cannot possibly impute to him ignorance of the passages in Ahanānūru: and if, as a matter of fact, the reading *mōriyar* in the passages from Ahanānūru be the correct one, it is strange that having regard to the striking similarity of language and the manifest allusion to the same event in both the works, the commentator of Puṟanānūru not only adopted a misreading like *ōriyar*, but totally ignored the existence of even a possible alternative reading like *mōriyar*. There is no mention of *mōriyar* at all in the commentary; and from this it may not unreasonably be inferred that not only was *ōriyar* the only reading current in his day and traditionally accepted as the correct reading in the Puṟanānūru passage, but also that *mōriyar* was not the current reading in the Ahanānūru passages even in his day. The conclusion, then, seems to be irresistible that *mōriyar* is a mistaken reading for *ōriyar*. The Commentator says that the term *ōriyar* denotes the *nāgar* or *viccātatarar*. The country of the Nāgar lies beyond the north-eastern corner of India (*Manimēkalai; Mahāparinibhanasutta*), perhaps about Assam; and the land of the Vidhyatarar

or Chakravālam is also said to lie there, beyond the Himalayas. I take it that the reference in all the passages quoted is, perhaps, to a southerly march into India, through a north-eastern pass of the Himalayas, of a trans-Himalayan martial tribe at some remote period of antiquity, and that there is no allusion to a Maurya or Gupta invasion of the South. Writing in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* in 1917 on the *Date of Chilaḥṇṇadikaram*, I said while reviewing the view expressed by Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar—Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had not then published his view which he has since done with characteristic learning and fulness in his *Beginnings of South Indian History*—: “In the verses from Ahanānūru relied on by Sriman Rāghava Aiyangar, there is no mention, either by name or by necessary implication, of any Gupta conqueror of South India We know from history that Bindusara Maurya, the successor of Chandragupta Maurya, conquered and brought under his sway a considerable portion of Dakhinapāṭha or the Dakhan, . . . and may not Māmūlar, even admitting the reading given by Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar of the passage from Ahanānūru to be correct, be regarded as referring to one of Bindusara's expeditions? I say, even admitting the reading to be correct; for in the passage from Puṟanānūru the expression that is read by Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar as *mōriyar* appears in Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition as *ōriyar*, which is also the reading adopted by the ancient scholiast in his commentary on Puṟanānūru.” The doubt I there expressed about the reading I still retain.

Did these people, whether *ōriyar* or *Mōriyar*, actually come to South India? It is clear their objective was South India; but whether as a matter of fact they reached South India, we cannot definitely say from the materials available. The relevant poem in this connection is Ahanānūru 281. For their southward march, the poem says the *mōriyar* crossed the mountain, sending the *Vaḍukar* as an advance guard, or, perhaps, opposed by the *Vaḍukar*. *Vaḍukar munnura* which is the expression occurring in the poem, may bear either of these two meanings; but, perhaps, the former is preferable. Like the ‘*Mōriyar*’, the *Vaḍukar* too are described as *vampa* *Vaḍukar* (Aha. 375); and they were obviously a ferocious people, as their frequent description *Katanāi vaḍukar*, *Vaḍukar* fierce as dogs, would show (*vide* Aha. 107; 381). If they came as the vanguard of the *Mōriyar* army, they sustained an ignominious and crushing defeat at the hands of the Chola Perum-cenni (Aha. 375); and we do not hear of any conquest or occupation of the Tamil land by the ‘*Mōriyar*’. Perhaps, for some reason or other, the ‘*Mōriyar*’ never entered South India, though the language of Aha. 281, (*tenriṣai mātira munniya varaviṟku*) undoubtedly shows that was the point towards which their advance was originally directed.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SIVA-WORSHIP WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIRASAIVISM.

BY R. RAMA RAO, ESQ., B.A.

(Continued from last issue.)

Pratyabhijna School: Kashmir Saivism.

ANOTHER school of Śaivism which is dealt with in Sarvadarśanasangraha is the Pratyabhijñā school prevalent in Kashmir. The founder of this school was Sōmānanda and its principal text-book is the Pratyabhijñā sūtras by his disciple Udayākara and commentaries thereon by Abhinavagupta, the last of whom flourished at the end of the tenth century (Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 130). According to this, God illumines the whole world by the glory of His luminous intelligence, and the diversity or plurality of the object world whereby the light which irradiates objects is a blue, a yellow light and the like, arises from diversity of tint cast upon the light by the objects, through the efficacy of His will: this activity is creative-ness. With what materials did God construct this universe? He painted this world-picture without materials, without appliances, without a wall to paint it on. With regard to the soul and its re-births, etc., this school says: The soul does not feel his oneness with God, because he is blinded by illusion and therefore undergoes transmigration. But when he is led by his preceptor to realize His divine nature he attains salvation.

Another school of Śaivism in Kashmir is the Spanda school whose chief sacred authority is the Śivasūtras which are believed to have been revealed to Vasugupta by Śiva. His period is believed to be the beginning of the ninth century and the doctrines that are inculcated by him are similar to those of the Pratyabhijñā system or Śaiva-Siddhānta.

Saivism in the Tamil Land or Saiva-Siddhanta.

Saivism had a large following in the Drāviḍa or Tamil country and an extensive literature has been produced in Tamil language pertaining to that religion. A large number of hymns known as the Dēvaram were composed by three Śaiva saints, Tiruñānasambandhar, Appar and Sundarar. These are held to be as sacred as the Brahmanical Vedas and are recited in religious processions along with them. We find that as early as the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja who ascended the throne in 985 A.D., a grant was made in the Rājarājēśvari temple at Tanjore for the support of the reciters of the Tiruppadiyam of Tiruñānasambandhar (S. I. I., II, p. 252). In addition to the

Dēvaram hymns there are also other sacred works in Tamil connected with Śaivism, chief among these being the writings of Māṇikkavāsagar, a philosopher, Kaṇḍarāditya, a king, and Tirumūlar, a yogin. Śaivism of the Tamil land differs from that of North India in the following respects: It is free from the bloody sacrifices and revolting practices of the Kāpālikas. It regards the Vedas and Āgamas as its scriptures. Śiva is regarded as the author of both. The Vedas are intended for the twice-born while the Āgamas are intended for all. The Āgamas like the Suprabhēda, Kāraṇa, Kirāṇa, etc., are all in Sanskrit and deal with the philosophy and ritual of Śaivism. In addition to these the Dēvaram hymns and other sacred Tamil works are all held in high esteem.

Certain devotees of Śiva, sixty-three in number, known as Nāyanārs, some of whom are the authors of Dēvaram hymns, are held by the Southern Śaivas in as much reverence as the Brahman *rishis*. Their lives are written in a work called Periyapurāṇam. Their images are set up in most of the important Śaiva temples of the south and worshipped on all ceremonial occasions. These Nāyanārs or devotees of Śiva belonged to different castes. Among them may be mentioned: (1) Tiruñānasambandhar who probably lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. and sang the praise of Śiva in all the Śaivite shrines in the South which he visited. He next went to Madura, where the queen-consort and her prime minister were the only followers of Śiva and the rest Jainas. The saint boldly met the Jainas in argument, conquered them and converted the king. With his consent 8000 of the Jainas who refused to change their faith were impaled. (2) Tiruñāvukkarasu commonly called Appar, who belonged to Vellāla caste. Although brought up by a loving elder sister as a devotee of Śiva he changed his faith for Jainism. But after some time he was tormented by severe pain throughout the body and finding that all the remedies the Jainas could think of were of no avail went to his sister and was re-converted to Śaivism. At once the pain disappeared. The Jainas regarded him as a renegade and persecuted him by throwing him into a lime-kiln but he was unhurt. Pictures show him holding in his hand a little tool for scraping grass, with which he used to scrape the stones of the temple courts. (3) Sundaramūrti, a Brahman, who probably lived in the early part of the ninth century and who however did not adhere to his caste rules but married a dancing-girl and also a Vellāla girl and when overcome by family troubles composed fervent hymns in praise of Śiva. (4) Kaṇṇappa of Bēḍar caste who offered to *linga* the meat which he got from hunting and when, to test him, blood issued from an eye of the *linga*, he at once, without any further ado, scooped out his own eye and put it on the *linga* in the place of the eye from which blood was flowing.

Later when blood flowed from the other eye of the linga, Kaṇṇappa was about to pluck out his other eye also joyfully but the god stopped him and allowed him to remain permanently to his right at Kāḷahasti, a place some miles off from Conjeevaram. (5) Nandanār, a pariah who frequently tried to go to Chidambaram but would not enter its sacred precincts on account of his low caste. (6) Śiruttonḍa Nāyanār, a Brahman who, in order to satisfy a Śaiva devotee of the North, killed his own son Śiriyāla and cooked his flesh. But the pretended devotee who was none other than Śiva miraculously revived the boy.

The philosophy of Southern Śaivism is explained in the Sarvadarśana-sangraha under the heading Śaivadarśana. Some of the works relating to this sect being in Tamil were not easily understood by scholars for a long time but many of them have been since translated into English and published mostly in the Journal, Siddhānta Dīpika. According to this system Soul is different from God. It is formless and all-pervasive but unlike that of *achit* or matter. Its *Vyāpaka* (or pervading power) consists in becoming one with the thing it dwells in for the time being (body or God). Its eternal intelligence and power is eternally concealed by the *Pāśa* (bondage), *Āṇava-mala* and hence called Paśu (Śivajñāna Siddhiar of Aruṇandi Śivāchārya : III, 2-20). There are three subtle *avasthas* (states) of the soul. In the *Kēvalāvasthā* the soul is non-intelligent; not united to Rāgam and other Guṇas, is actionless; but it is united to Āṇava. In the *Sakalā* the soul gets a body, and becomes clothed with the various organs and senses, internal and external, and the desire to enjoy the objects of the senses and re-incarnates in different births. In the *Śuddhāvasthā* the soul becomes balanced in good and evil. The grace of the lord descends on him. He gets his Guru's blessing. He attains to Jñāna Yōga Samādhi and is freed from the triple mala (impurities, viz., Āṇava-mala, Karma-mala and Māyā-mala). He ceases to be finite in intelligence and becoming omniscient he is united to the feet of the Lord (*Ibid.*, III, 3,38). The Lord like the potter, creates the worlds from Māyā as the material cause with the aid of His Śakti as the instrumental cause. As the Soul is attached to its forms and organs and is yet separate from the body, so also is God attached to the souls. However, the souls cannot become God and God cannot become the souls. God is one and different from the souls (*Ibid.*, III, 2, 2).

The four ways of reaching God are *Sanmārga*, *Sahamārga*, *Satputra-mārga* and *Dāsamārga*. These four are also called Jñāna and Yōga, Kriyā and Charyā-pādas. They will respectively lead one to *Sāyujya*, *Sārūpya*, *Sāmīpya* and *Sālōka* kinds of Mukti. The first kind of Mukti attained by Jñāna-mārga is the final bliss (*Para-mukti*); the rest are called *Pada-mukti*.

or way to Mukti (*Ibid.*, III, 2, 18). From this it is evident that the religion of this sect is a kind of qualified monism in which stress is laid on Jñāna or knowledge of God.

The Birth of Virasaiva or Lingayat Sect.

We have seen before that from the ninth century to the fifteenth century the Kāḷāmukha sect flourished throughout the Karṇāṭaka country. Its priests controlled the leading educational institutions and Śaiva temples. But the teachings of this sect were in Sanskrit, the language of the Pandits and based on an elaborate study of the Vedas, Smṛitis, Purāṇas, etc. Their gurus or priests were generally Brahmans who alone could find the leisure to master the learned works of the sect. Their teachings therefore failed to appeal to the masses. From about the eighth century A.D., the teachings and the achievements of the Tamil Śaiva saints spread to Karṇāṭaka also. Frequent wars between the Chōḷa and Chalukya kings in the eleventh century and the conquest of a portion of Mysore by the Chōḷas furthered the intercourse between the Kannaḍigars and the Tamils. As a result of the spread of Tamil Śaivism in the Karṇāṭaka, several devotees of Śiva rose in the Karṇāṭaka country also, their deeds emulating those of the sixty-three saints. The names of a few such teachers can be found in Viraśaiva works where they are treated with the same respect as the sixty-three Nāyanārs or Purātanars, as they are called in Kannaḍa. But the new movement lacked organization and political support, and was led mostly by ignorant men. It fell to the lot of an Ārādhyā Brāhmaṇa named Basava to give a definite shape to its teachings, organize it on a strong and popular basis, and attract all classes of people, learned and ignorant, Brahman and Non-Brahman, to join it, and bring it political support. The Śaiva movement as shaped and reformed by him is known as the Viraśaiva or Lingāyat religion.

The Aradhyas and Aradhya Brahmanas.

Basava however never claimed to have established a new religion. His followers, the Viraśaivas or Lingāyats, acknowledge as their original gurus five saints called Pancha Ārādhyas, who are believed to have been born from the five faces of Śiva and as such are considered to be holy beings who give dikshā or initiation to all the Śaiva devotees on earth. Their names are Rēvaṇasiddha, Maruḷasiddha, Ēkōrāma, Paṇḍitārādhyā and Viśvārādhyā. Their names are invoked even to-day when the Lingāyat guru ties the *linga* to the child or gives him dikshā. During this ceremony five metallic vessels are placed before the person to be initiated, four in the cardinal directions and the last in the middle to represent them. Certain Lingāyat mutts trace their spiritual descent from them. But very little is known about their history. According to a Kannaḍa poem called Rēvaṇasāṅgatya by

Channabasavakavi, one of these gurus called Rēvaṇa or Rēṇuka was born at Kollipāka and lived for seven hundred years. He is said to have taught to sage Agastya the eight-fold Yōga, worship of Linga, and to have helped Vibhīshaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa to set up four crores of lingas. Though his naked figure caused a great deal of scorn still the miracles he worked brought him great fame and several kings are said to have given their daughters in marriage to the ascetic. He is reputed to have gone to king Bijjaḷa at Kalyāṇa, dissuaded him from his nefarious project of sacrificing twelve thousand virgins in order to attain some *siddhi* (supernatural power), married his daughter and constructed a tank at which he and his wives worked with the spade. Finally he departed for Kollipāka leaving a child named Rudramuni behind him and disappeared in the Sōmēśvara-linga at that place. In spite of the legends in which the work abounds it furnishes a clue to his time by the mention of king Bijjaḷa at Kalyāṇa. Further he is also stated to have gone to Sonnalige and there foretold the birth of Basava's associate Siddharāma to his parents. From this we may infer that Rēvaṇa and the other Ārādhyas were Śaiva teachers of great distinction in the Karnāṭaka country who preceded Basava by some years and that their methods of initiation and to some extent their teaching were adopted by him and his associates.

In this connection we must also notice the features of the Ārādhyā Brāhmaṇa sect to which Basava belonged by birth and from which he seceded later. Members of this sect are found mostly in the four Northern Districts of the Madras Presidency and to a smaller extent in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts and Mysore State. They revere the Ārādhyas previously mentioned. In all their social and religious functions, birth, marriage, initiation and funeral, four vases of water are solemnly placed in their name and they are invoked to preside over them. They are staunch Śaivites worshipping no god but Śiva, but wear the Brahmanical sacred thread and linga and offer their food as *naivēdyam* to the linga. Like the other Brahmanas they observe caste and the Vedic ceremonies and accept the Vedas and Smritis as their sacred scriptures. But like the Lingāyats they bury the dead in the sitting posture. They observe death-pollution for ten days though they do not give up linga-worship during the period and perform the *ēkōddshṭa* and a few other Brahmanical ceremonies for their progenitors. From a Telugu work published by the Āndhrasahityaparishad at Madras recently entitled *Śivatatvasāramu* by Mallikārjunapaṇḍitārādhyā, a contemporary of Basava and an Ārādhyā Brāhmaṇa, we learn that they accept the definitions of Paśu, Pāśa and Paśupati of the Southern Śaiva school and are like them followers of a qualified monism and opposed to the Advaita of Śankara (see stanzas 21-80 of that work). We also find in the same work reverence paid to the

Brāhmanas, Vedas and Vedic ceremonies (Verses 20, 28, 33, 101). But all the oblations, and the karmas laid down in the Vedas, Purāṇas, etc., are considered useless if they are done without devotion to Śiva (Verse 113). In other respects such as the worship of linga, Jangamas, dikshā and the forbidding of intercourse with the non-Śaivas, etc., they resemble the Lingāyats. At present there is however very little social intercourse between the Ārādhyā Brāhmaṇas and the ordinary Lingāyats.

Life and Work of Basava.

We shall now study the life of Basava who was chiefly instrumental in giving the present shape to the Viraśaiva religion and spreading it and who in a restricted sense may even be called its founder. We have several works dealing with his life. There are three poetry works in Kannaḍa language treating of his life written by the Viraśaivas : (1) Basavapurāṇa (of 1369 A.D.) based upon a Sanskrit work Vṛishabhāvataraṇa of Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha, (2) Chennabasavapurāṇa (of 1585 A.D.) by Virūpāksha, (3) Prabhudēvacharite (of 1606 A.D.) by Hariśvara. We have also a Jaina book in Kannaḍa poetry called Bijjaḷarājacharitre by Dharaṇīndra which gives a view of the history of Bijjaḷa and Basava from the standpoint of the Jainas.* Another work called Bijjaḷāṅkakāvya is referred to in Mr. Rice's Mysore Gazetteer of 1897 (Vol. I, p. 332).

His Birth and Early Life.

The Jaina book says very little about the early life of Basava. According to the Viraśaiva accounts Basava is an incarnation of Śiva's Bull or Nandi sent on earth to revive the Viraśaiva faith. His father was a Śaiva or Ārādhyā Brāhmaṇa named Maṇḍige Mādirāja at Ingaleśvara Bāgavāḍi. His mother's name was Mādāmbike. For a long time the parents had no male issue. They therefore prayed to Nandi, or Bull-god, the vehicle of Śiva, to bless them with a good son who would be a true devotee of Śiva. As a result of their prayer a son was born to them, whom they named Basava in honour of Vṛishabha or the bull-god (Basava is a Kannaḍa form of the Sanskrit word *Vṛishabha*). Soon after the child was born Śiva appeared in the guise of a Jangama (priest) and tying a linga to it disappeared suddenly. As years passed by, the child Basava grew into a boy of extraordinary precocious intellect and at the early age of eight was well-versed in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, poetry, music, Purāṇas, Āgamas and Vedas. His father now proposed to invest him with the sacred thread agreeable to his Brahman custom. But Basava stoutly refused to undergo the ceremony. He said "Where is the necessity for *Upanayanam* to me when the god Śiva

* This work has not yet been published. I have made use of a MS. copy of this book available in the Oriental Library, Mysore, for this article.

himself has initiated me in the true faith at my birth? Upanayanam is the gate-way to Brahmanism with its elaborate and useless rites and ceremonies and the worship of inferior gods like the Sun, Fire, etc. Śaivism into which one gets initiated through the hands of a guru is of a different type altogether. It is free from the complex ritual which ties the soul more and more to this world. On the other hand it consists of exclusive devotion to the one true god Śiva and leads to salvation." With these words he left his parental home taking with him his sister Nāgalāmbe. But his firm determination brought him several friends and devotees in the neighbourhood and he soon laid the foundation of his reformed religion. As years went on the Brahmins living in the locality found Basava and his followers so irreconcilable to their religion that they excommunicated them all. Basava who had by this time been reconciled to his parents was now sent away by his mother to her brother Baladēva at Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Kalachurya king Bijjaḷa under whom he was serving as minister (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 3; Prabhu-dēvacharitre, chapter 6).

His Rise to Power under King Bijjaḷa.

Basava's uncle soon gave his daughter Gangāmbe in marriage to Basava and this marriage brought considerable wealth and influence to Basava. In course of time Baladēva died and Basava was installed in his place by the king. An incident is now said to have occurred which made him highly popular with Bijjaḷa. One day while the king was holding his court a letter fell miraculously from above in the midst of the assembly and none could decipher its contents. The king thereupon declared that in case any person was found able to read it he would make him the chief minister. No one came forward for some time but in the end Basava took the letter, read it and interpreted it as stating to be a communication from Śiva revealing the existence of a large treasure buried under the king's throne. At once the throne was removed and excavation carried on underneath it. The treasure was found there as Basava had stated. The king was struck with admiration at the intelligence and skill of Basava and entrusted him with the office of the chief treasurer and prime minister under him (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 5). He also gave his younger sister Nīlāmbā to him in marriage and thus bound him closely to him (Prabhudēvacharitre, chapter 7). But the Jaina work attributes Basava's sudden rise to quite a different cause. According to it, Bijjaḷa one day saw the handsome sister of Basava standing before her house and was so smitten with her charms as to send for her father and straightway marry her. He now left all the administration of the kingdom to her brother Basava and became absorbed in voluptuous pleasures with the newly married bride (Bijjaḷarājacharitre, chapter 2). Probably

there is an element of truth in both the versions. It must however be noted that Basava only held the post of a treasurer (*bhaṇḍāri*) under the king and merely carried on the affairs of the kingdom in the king's name, while the old ministers of the kingdom still remained in office though they were not so powerful. Basava does not seem to have been invested with any high title or office and could only have exercised his power as the king's favourite. This explains the absence of his name in the numerous inscriptions of king Bijjaḷa.

His Missionary Zeal.

Basava used the newly obtained power and wealth for the furtherance of his religious cause. All classes of people were induced to join his religion or become Śivabhaktas (devotees of Śiva). No distinction of caste was made among them and all were treated as equals. They had to give up all caste scruples about ceremonial uncleanness, constantly wear a linga given by the priest at the time of initiation on their body, and worship it, put on marks of sacred ashes and take only food first offered before the *linga* or a Viraśaiva guru. He showed great favour to all such as thus became his followers. The Jangamas or the priests who gave initiation or *dikṣhā* in the new religion were treated with special liberality. Houses were built for them, they were sumptuously fed thrice a day and presents of cloth and money were freely poured on them. It is said that there were 196,000 Jangamas living on his bounty. Basava was so generous to them that there was hardly anything that he denied to them. It is said that on one occasion when a Jangama coveted the valuable cloth that Basava's wife wore, he began to strip his wife with the object of giving her cloth to the Jangama, but her dress miraculously multiplied and it was possible to satisfy the Jangama without depriving Basava's wife of her cloth (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 11). On another occasion it so happened that when Basava was engaged in linga-worship some Jangama came to his mansion and being refused admittance inside by the door-keepers departed elsewhere. Soon it was found that Basava had suddenly died and hundreds of devotees flocked round his body. But knowing that he was a *Jangama-prāṇin* or one whose life was the Jangama, some of them inquired if any Jangama had arrived there and been sent away. Then the door-keepers told him about the Jangama who had just left and the devotees at once ran in search of him, found him and brought him to where Basava's body lay. Immediately Basava revived (*Ibid.*, chapter 36).

His Co-Workers.

Like all great men Basava gathered around him several able and enthusiastic persons who helped him in his mission. They were men of different castes and professions and of different temperaments. But there was one

thing common to them all. They were all Vīraśaivas filled with zeal in spreading the faith and are said to have worked miracles like Basava. Among them were Maḍivāla Māchayya, the washerman, who would carry every day to the tank the foul linen of the Vīraśaiva associates of Basava and wash them clean. No *Bhavi* (non-Vīraśaiva) was permitted to cross him on the way. Once a passer-by who was going to the bazaar suddenly came across him and at once Māchayya pierced him through. This news reached the ears of the king who angrily sent some soldiers with elephants to take him prisoner. But the brave washerman seized both elephants and men and threw them aloft. Basava then induced the king to make peace with him and Māchayya thereupon restored the dead to life (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 21). He also often discoursed on the stories of the Southern Śaiva saints and the duties of the Vīraśaivas. There was also Ekāntada Rāmayya, a Vīraśaiva Brahman who is said to have defeated in argument the Jainas at Kalyāṇa and when they asked for a supernatural sign, cut off his own head in their presence and recovered it at the end of seven days. The Jainas acknowledged themselves beaten and were converted into Vīraśaivas or Lingāyats and their *bastis* became Śiva temples (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 52). This Ekāntada Rāmayya is referred to in an inscription at Āblūr as having worsted the Jainas etc., and Dr. Fleet regards him as the founder of the Vīraśaiva religion but there is nothing in the inscription to support such a statement (Ep. Ind., Vol. v, p. 243). There were also round Basava the weaver Dāsimayya, the dancer (*Kalakēta*) Bommayya, the violinist Bommayya, Bibbi Bāchayya and Śivanāgamayya and a host of others all of whom are said to have worked miracles and gained converts to their faith. Many of these names are also referred to with praise in Mallikārjuna-panḍita's Telugu work *Śivatatvasāramu* referred to before.

Siddharāma, Allama Prabhu and Chennabasava.

A more detailed notice is necessary, however, as regards the three famous colleagues of Basava who along with him may be regarded as the pillars of the reformed religion. These were Chennabasava, his nephew, Allama Prabhu, a wandering ascetic and Siddharāma, the chief of Sonnalige. There are separate purāṇas among the Vīraśaivas describing the life and achievements of the above. Chennabasava was the son of Basava's sister Nāgalāmbe. She was a virgin but by the miraculous power of the *prasāda* of the saint Kakayya which she ate she became pregnant. The news spread like wild fire throughout Kalyāṇa and the king himself went to the mansion of Basava to ascertain the truth. Nāgalāmbe then appeared before the king and courtiers and tore open her womb with her nails and lo! the child inside which looked like Śiva was seen by all and a mysterious voice was heard to say "This is the incarnation of the *Chitkalā* (intellectual power) of Śiva and no ordinary

human foetus". Bijjala was astounded at this and honoured Basava greatly. In due course the child was born and named Chennabasava or the beautiful Basava (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book 1, chapter 4). The Jaina version calls Basava's sister Sumitra and gives a more human account of his birth (Bijja-larāja-charita, chapter 8). Chennabasava was remarkable for his intelligence, sagacity, and thorough mastery of the Vīraśaiva rites and doctrines and is regarded as even superior to Basava. He was the right-hand man of his uncle and was also much respected by the Jangamas and even by the king. Allama-prabhu was the son of royal parents, Nirabankāra and Sujñāni at Balligāmve (Belgāme in Shikarpur taluk, Mysore State). At an early age he left his home and wandered about in the land like Rēvaṇārādhya teaching wisdom to such as desired it. At Banavase the princess Māyā, who was no other than a partial incarnation of the goddess Pārvati, fell in love with him and tried to conquer him by her superior charms. But Prabhudēva who was unaffected by Cupid's arrows made fun of her and leaving her love-stricken and mad left the place. He next wandered to Sonnalāpura (near modern Sholapur, Bombay Presidency) where Siddharāma, son of Muddagaḍa was ruling as the chief (the gaḍa of the Nāḍa). Now Siddharāma was regarded as a Siddha, one possessed of miraculous powers and was born with an eye on the forehead resembling Śiva. He had constructed several public works, tanks, canals, etc., and had a large number of followers who implicitly obeyed him as their guru and ruler. While his men were engaged in working at a tank, Prabhu suddenly appeared before them and calling their master as the chief of *vaddas* (earth-workers) spoke contemptuously of him. This news reached Siddharāma who at once repaired to the spot and tried to kill the blasphemous intruder with the fire of his third eye. But Prabhu remained unhurt and Siddharāma now understood the greatness of the stranger and prostrated before him. Prabhu took him to Basava at Kalyāṇa where they were both received with great respect by Chennabasava but Siddharāma could not be permitted to enter Basava's mansion as he had not undergone *dikshā* in the Vīraśaiva fashion and did not wear a linga on his body. Chennabasava next related to him the stories of Śaiva saints and giving him *dikshā* explained to him the mysteries of Vīraśaivism. Siddharāma remained for a time at Kalyāṇa and then left for Sonnalige. Prabhudēva occasionally paid visits to Basava and delighted the hearts of Vīraśaiva devotees. According to Chennabasavapurāṇa, all the above four are incarnations of Śiva, Prabhudēva representing the *vairāgya* (renunciation) aspect, Basava the *bhakti* (devotion) aspect, Chennabasava the *sujñāna* (knowledge) aspect and Siddharāma is regarded as the *Paḍibimba* (reflection) of Śiva (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book 1, chapter 3). The other associates of Basava like the violinist Bommayya are said to be

incarnations of Śivagaṇas or hosts of Śiva. Basava's greatness lay in true devotion to such teachers and the wealth and political influence which he brought to their aid and the skilful use he made of them in his propagandistic work.

Basava's Difficulties with the King.

But Basava's path was not strewn with roses and he had to contend with many difficulties. The non-observance of caste, doing away with the Brahmanical rites and ceremonies, disregard of uncleanness observed during child-birth, death and monthly sickness of women and the contempt with which he and his followers treated the *bhavis* or non-Vīraśaivas made them objects of dislike and hatred both to the Brahmins and the Jains who repeatedly complained to the king Bijjala (who was a Jain) against their misdemeanours and called upon him as a true Kshatriya ruler to defend the caste principles. Bijjala therefore had to repeatedly remonstrate with Basava about the misconduct of his followers and even punish them when there was a flagrant breach of old customs. But Basava defended them and the solidarity in his community and the supernatural powers attributed to its members made them all the more feared and hated by other sects. Thus we find that some people (called Kabbilars) once complained to the king that though they had the hereditary right to a share in the food offered to the god in all Śiva temples Basava and his congregation never gave them a morsel of food while they enjoyed grand public dinners. The king sent for Basava and the latter explained that his people only ate what was offered to *ishṭalinga* worn by them and that no remnant of the food so offered could be given to a non-Vīraśaiva. The Kabbilars however were still loud in their complaints. Basava then caused a large quantity of poisons to be mixed and served to his congregation after offering it first to his *ishṭalinga* and they ate heartily and were unhurt. The Kabbilars however were afraid and never again urged their claim (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 58). Once it so happened that Kannada Bommayya, a Śivabhakta and a burglar cut a hole in the wall of the royal treasure-house and entering inside carried off several bags of money. But when the king examined the treasure, he found that everything had been miraculously restored (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 31).

More often, however, the king made fun of Basava's supernatural powers and put them to test. Once he caused some of his mistresses to be dressed like Jangamas wearing rudrāksha rosaries, matted hair, etc., and taking Basava before them told him: "Here are some of your priests." "Yes" said Basava. At once the king explained the trick he had played upon him. Basava answered that he never uttered a lie and the king discovered to his dismay that his mistresses had become real Jangama priests. He next begged Basava to

restore them to their former condition which was instantly effected (Prabhu-dēvacharite, chapter VII). Similarly when the king once showed a figure stuffed in straw and dressed like a Lingāyat and told Basava that there was one of his followers, Basava said it was true and gave life to the figure by his miraculous power (*Ibid.*, chapter VII). A tale-bearer once reported to the king that Basava while standing before the throne, never performed obeisance to him but really folded his hands paying obeisance to a ring in his own finger. The king naturally grew indignant at this and sent for Basava and asked him to explain his conduct. Basava requested the king to get down from the throne, removed the ring in his finger and folded his hands before the throne. At once the throne suddenly caught fire and was burnt down. Bijjala then understood the real reason of Basava's conduct and Basava restored the throne to its former condition (*Ibid.*, chapter VII).

Basava's Death.

But in spite of the hundred and eight miracles (or *parāḍas*) said to have been worked by Basava and his political sagacity the relations between him and the king began to grow more and more strained as time went on. According to the Jain account Basava filled all the highest offices with his followers, squandered the public treasure among his devotees, and devised ways to get more and more converts to his faith. The king was roused to action by repeated complaints from his old and faithful ministers and was going to punish Basava severely but the latter, leaving the capital, collected an army to oppose the king. Bijjala pursued him, destroyed his army and took him prisoner but later forgave him and even restored him to his favour as he was his brother-in-law (Bijjala-rājacharitre, chapter 3). The birth of a child to Bijjala by his wife Padmāvatī soon after increased the influence of Basava still more. He was now uncle to the heir to the throne who was named Aliya Bijjala or Immadi Bijjala. Basava now formed a plot to murder the king and become the ruler in the name of his son and managed to get two followers of his employed as king's torch-bearers and instigated them to murder the king. But Bijjala found out the trick, and put the torch-bearers to a cruel death (*Ibid.*, chapters 5 & 6). Some time after this one Madhuvarasaiya, a Brahman at Kalyāṇa who was said to have been miraculously cured of the sores in his body by washing them with water brought from a pool adjacent to the house of a cobbler named Arālayya or Hallayya, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the said cobbler. This was a horrible sin in the eyes of the king and the caste Hindus. The king at once summoned them to his presence and asked them if the report was true. They confessed that it was true and also stated that Basava had made them Lingāyats and had asked them to murder the king. The king ordered them to be tied to a plough and dragged by bullocks in

public streets till they died (*Ibid.*, chapter 7). In the same way the king is said to have punished with death the followers of Basava, Maḍivāla Māchayya for his disobedience to royal commands (*Ibid.*, chapter 8), Chikkaiya for his adultery and Guṇḍabrahmas for robbery and murder (*Ibid.*, chapter 10). These acts infuriated Basava against the king and he made one more attempt to murder him and was successful this time. Bijjala had left Kalyāṇa on an expedition to Kolhapur to punish the chief Sūryadaṇḍēśa for refusal to pay him the customary tribute and encamped on the bank of the Bhīmarāthi river. The rebellious chief was soon made to submit. At this time a follower of Basava appeared before the king in the guise of a Jaina priest and presented a beautiful-looking poisoned fruit to him. The king received the fruit with reverence and smelt it. At once he felt burning pain all over the body and died shortly after. But his attendants seized the pretended Jaina priest and tortured him. He confessed that he had been instigated by Basava to kill the king by the poisoned fruit. Bijjala's son Aḷiya Bijjala or Immadi Bijjala now became king. He at once ordered his minister Subuddhi to seize Basava. But Basava who learnt of this fled westwards and reached Vṛishabhapura or Uḷivi on the west coast (in N. Kanara District) but the minister soon overtook him and massacred his followers. Finding that no quarter would be given to him Basava fell into a well and died. When this news reached Kalyāṇa his wife Nīlāmbike swallowed poison and put an end to her life. All the treasure in his house was presented to the new king by Chennabasava who remained faithful to the king and was treated with distinction (*Ibid.*, chapter 12).

The above account of Bijjala's murder and Basava's death coming as it does from a later and hostile source cannot be taken to represent a faithful version of the affair. Basava is portrayed in black colours and is represented as ever intent on murdering the king. It is however impossible to believe that Basava who was beholden to the king for his position and who was permitted to exercise great authority by him would have been always plotting for his death. A very strong provocation only could make him think it necessary to punish his benefactor. According to Basavapurāṇa the horrible execution of Araḷayya and Madhuvarasaiya in spite of Basava's advice to the contrary and for no criminal act of theirs caused a strong feeling of revulsion to spring in the hearts of Vīraśaivas towards king Bijjala. Basava thought it time to leave Kalyāṇa and calling his followers to accompany him went to Kūḍali-sangama at the junction of the Kṛishṇā and Malaprabhā rivers and was absorbed in the linga at the Sangamēśvara temple at that place. Before leaving the capital, however, he had solemnly ordered two faithful followers of his to inflict death on the king who had unjustly murdered the Vīraśaiva

devotees. They accordingly went in the guise of torch-bearers to the king and killed him at night (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 61). Chennabasavapurāṇa gives further details and a slightly different version. According to this work Basava was not responsible for the king's death. Hearing of the death of Allama Prabhudēva Basava thought it time for him also to depart from this world and repairing to Kūḍali-sangama was absorbed in the lingam. Chennabasava was now installed in his office. Next occurred the execution of Araḷayya and Madhuvarasaiya and the murder of the king by the Vīraśaiva fanatics Jaga-dēva and Bommaṇṇa in the guise of torch-bearers with the permission of Chennabasava. During the same night Chennabasava departed with his followers for Uḷuve. But the royal army pursued them after the death of Bijjala and overtook them at Taḍegōḍu and a battle was fought at Kātaravalli in which the royal army was killed and Aḷiya Bijjala (son of Bijjala) taken prisoner. But at the intercession of Nāgalāmbē, Chennabasava liberated him, and sent him back with a warning not to persecute the Jangamas and even restored to life the dead soldiers. He next reached Uḷuve where he ordered a large swing to be set up in which he and all his followers were swung one after another, and departed for Śiva's region Kailāsa (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book V, chapter 9).

Basava's Date.

As Basava's death synchronised with that of king Bijjala whose reign is fixed by inscriptions to have lasted from 1156 to 1168 A.D. we have to infer that Basava died in 1168 A.D. According to Chennabasavapurāṇa, however, his death is said to have taken place in Śaka year 707 Raktākshi (*Ibid.*, chapter 9) and the Jaina account gives the year of the death of Bijjala as Prabhava, 4255th year after the commencement of the Kali Age, which corresponds to 1154 A.D.

Basava's Teachings : the Tenets of Virasaiva Religion.

Basava was more a social than a religious reformer. In fact, when we consider the times in which he lived when Brahmanism was in full ascendancy and the principle of perfect religious and even social equality among his followers of all castes and professions which he enunciated and carried out in practice in spite of opposition we cannot but be filled with wonder and admiration for his genius and courage. Kabir, Nanak and Ram Mohan Roy of later times were also great reformers but they never touched the masses to the same extent and depended for their inspiration upon foreign religious and social systems. But Basava stuck to the old religion with its Vedas, Purāṇas, and Āgamas and yet fought for equality.

The followers of Basava are known as Vīraśaivas or Śivabhaktas or Lingāyats and their religion called Lingāyata-mata or Vīraśaivism. The

word *Vīraśaiva* means extreme Śaiva but several ingenious derivations of the name are also found. Thus a writer says: *vi* means knowledge which teaches the oneness of soul with god; those Śaivas who delight (*ramante*) in that knowledge are called *Vīraśaivas* (Nīlakaṇṭha's *Kriyāsāra* I, 2).^{*} Its philosophy and theology closely resemble those of the Śaiva Siddhānta or southern Śaivism. The term *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (qualified monism) is used by some (like the author of *Kriyāsāra*) to designate *Vīraśaiva* religious system; others (like Śrīpati Paṇḍita, author of *Śrīkarabhāṣya*) call it *Dvaitādvaita* (Dualism and Monism), and the terms *Viśuddhavaidikādvaita* (pure non-dualism based on the Vedas) and *Śivādvaita* (non-dualism in Śiva), are also found used by some writers (as in the inscriptions of Kelaḍi chiefs) to denote the system.

Like other Hindu religious systems *Vīraśaivism* claims to be based on the Vedas, Smṛitis, Purāṇas, and Āgamas. But that portion of the Vedas which deals with the Karma Kāṇḍa or the rites and sacrifices to be performed by the twice-born caste is looked down upon by the *Vīraśaivas* as being incapable of leading to salvation, and as such unfit to be followed by the true seekers after Mōksha. In this respect most *Vīraśaiva* writers differ from orthodox Brahmin propounders of religion like Śankarāchārya, Rāmānujāchārya, and Madhvāchārya who have incorporated the Vedic ceremonies and sacrifices and caste principles into their systems. However, *Vīraśaiva* writers treat the Vedas with the highest respect and frequently quote from the Purushasūkta and Śatarudriya Hymns, the Śvētāśvatara, Atharvaśiras and Kālāgnirudra Upanishads. The Śaiva Āgamas like *Suprabhēda* and *Kāraṇa* are quoted from much more frequently. In fact the *Vīraśaivas* say that the Vedas are the out-breathings of Śiva and the Āgamas the words spoken with his mouth and there is no discord between them (*Kriyāsāra*, Introduction 30-31). Allusions to Śiva Purāṇas and the lives of sixty-three Tamil saints (or Purāṭanas as they are called) as well as to those of several Śaiva saints of the Karṇāṭaka land are also quite common in their writings. But neither the Dēvārām hymns of the Tamil saints nor the *vachanas* (prose writings) of Basava and Chennabasava are found referred to by most writers of this sect. According to the *Vīraśaivas* the One, the Highest, Paraśiva or Parabrahma is without shape or (material) attributes. He is the Supreme Light (*Param-jyōti*), Supreme Bliss (*Parasukha*), Supreme Ruler (*Paramēśa*), Ever-existing (*nitya*), and is quite distinct from the Jīva or soul. The contrast between the soul and God is thus stated by one writer of this sect: the soul

* विशब्देनोच्यते विद्या शिवजैवैक्य बोधिनी ।
तस्यां रमन्ते ये शैवा वीरशैवाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

contains *mala* (dirt), God is pure; the soul is associated with bad *Karma*, God is free from Karma; soul is *paśu*, God is *paśupati* or lord of *paśu*; soul is connected with the world and is subject to births, God is distinct from the world and is not subject to births; soul is ever changing, subject to grief and possessed of imperfect knowledge, God is constant, eternally happy and omniscient; soul is to get *mukti* (or liberation) in future, God is always *mukta* or free and the two are quite distinct from each other (*Basavapurāṇa*, 51-27, 28). In popular language the soul and God are spoken of as the *anga* (body) and *linga* respectively and their relation explained as that subsisting between wife and husband. The souls are said to exist in God before creation like grain in a measure. (*Śrīkarabhāṣya*, published at Secunderabad, p. 19.)

The creation of the universe with its tatvas (elements) and beings is explained by the *Vīraśaivas* in similar terms as is to be found in the Śaiva-siddhānta. From the one without the second, the Supreme Light, the Brahma (or Paraśiva) was born the Śūnyalinga without attributes. From the Śūnyalinga issued the Ādimūrthi; from him came Paraśakti (supreme energy); from that issued Nāda and Bindu; from them the Sādas; from them Ichchhā and Śiva; from them Īsvara; from him Kriyā and Rudra; from them Vishṇu and Lakshmī; from them Brahma and Vāṇi; from them all the beings in the universe were born (*Śivatatvaratnākara*, I, 4, 10-15). The supreme Śiva (Paraśiva) willed to create the universe; his will became the *Chichchhakti* (intellectual energy); from their union was born the Mahālinga and from that issued Paraśakti; from them came Sadāśiva and Ādiśakti; from them were born Īsvara and Ichchhāśakti (energy of desire); from them came Mahēśvara and Jñānaśakti (energy of knowledge); they created from their union the whole universe. Brahma, the creator, Vishṇu, the protector and Rudra, the destroyer are born from Mahēśvara. Of these Rudra is an image of Mahēśvara himself and is entrusted with the supremacy over the universe having authority over Brahma and Vishṇu (*Chennabasavapurāṇa*, Book II, chapters 1 and 2). It is Rudra that assumed the twenty-five *līlāmūrti* forms (forms assumed out of sport or free will) such as Sōmadhāri (bearer of the moon), Tripurāri (enemy of the Tripura demons), Vishāpaharaṇa (protector from poison), Haridhvamsi (killer of the Lion form of Vishṇu), etc., for the happiness of the world.

The soul does not perceive its true nature on account of the three *malas* (dirt) that cling to it: Āṇava-mala (dirt born with the soul) Māyā-mala (dirt due to Māyā or illusion), Kārmika-mala (dirt due to Karma or acts done by the soul) (*Chennabasavapurāṇa*, Book V, 6-6). In Basava's own words, "Māyā gave birth to me becoming a mother. She became a child to infatuate me. She became a wife to attract me; she is troubling me in all

possible ways. To get over this Māyā is not in my power. You only know it, O God Kūḍala-sangamadēva" (Basava's vachanas, published in the Kannaḍa Journal, Jayakarnataka at Dharwar, Vol. I, page 319). The soul thus identified himself with the world around him and is subject to births. He can only get over this infatuation by the help of Guru (teacher) and the favour of God. He must therefore first undergo dīkshā or initiation from a true guru. There are three kinds of dīkshā, *Vēdā-dīkshā* in which the guru puts his hand on the head of the disciple and influences his mind (*bhāvalinga*), *Mantra-dīkshā* in which the guru teaches the supreme mantra (Om Namaśśivāya) in the ear of the disciple and thus acts on his inner soul (*prāṇalinga*), and *Kriyā-dīkshā* in which the guru ties the linga to the physical body of the disciple. This *linga* (consisting of a piece of pot-stone) should be always worn over the body and is known as *iṣṭālinga*. By the above three kinds of dīkshā one becomes a Vīraśaiva. A Vīraśaiva (male or female) should never lose his or her *iṣṭālinga**. He should purify his body daily by bath, put on streaks of vibhūti or ashes, and wear a necklace of Rudrāksha beads. He must meditate on the sacred Panchākshari-mantra (Namaśśivāya) into the meaning and significance of which he has been initiated by his guru. He must next worship his *iṣṭālinga* by bathing, waving of lights, offering of food etc., and holding it in his left hand gaze over it, meditate on the Śiva in it and enjoy communion with it. This is called *lingāngasāmarasya* (union between *linga* or God and *anga* or soul). Without this deep communion *linga* worship is incomplete. In Basava's words "What is the use of worshipping *Linga* till you are able to feel one with it in communion and bliss? Until after worshipping Kūḍala Sangamadēva you are lost in him like a tributary in a larger river" (*Ibid.*, p. 326). The happiness arising from such a union is thus described. "In the joy of mixing with the *linga* I could not see the ten directions, earth or sky. Like a hail-stone falling into the sea, I lost consciousness of being separate from God and was merely uttering the name of Śiva" (*Ibid.*). The Vīraśaiva idea of *mukti* is the final union of the soul with God and absorption into Him. But though in *mukti* the soul loses consciousness of its separate entity and partakes of the nature of Śiva still its individuality is not believed to be lost. In this lies the difference between Śankara's Advaita and Vīraśaivism. The Vīraśaiva is also enjoined to meditate on the oneness with God as found in the Upanishad formulas

* The wearing of a *linga* constantly suspended over the body is peculiar to Vīraśaivas. No other Śaiva sect seems to have adopted it. It seems to have been introduced by the Ārādhyā Saints just previous to Basava and was popularized by him. Several authorities from the Vēdas, Āgamas and Purāṇas are recited by the Vīraśaiva writers in favour of the custom (See Śrīkara-bhāṣya, p. 5).

Sōham Brahma (I am the Brahma or God), *Tat tvam asi* (Thou art that) but oneness with God is understood to be the capacity to become united with God and partake of His nature.

The Vīraśaiva is free from the sacraments and the karmas of the Brahman. Vīraśaiva writers accept the caste system and the Karma-kāṇḍa or the portion of the Vēdas relating to the proper performance of Karmas but they explain them as applying only to the non-Vīraśaivas. The Śivayōgi or Vīraśaiva is said to be superior to men of all the four castes born from the four faces of Brahma since he is (spiritually) born from the faces of Śiva himself through initiation. His religion is believed to be superior to other Śaiva faiths in that the acts enjoined to be performed in it are few but their fruit is great while in other Śaiva faiths there is more action with less fruit (Anādivīraśaivasārasaṅgraha by Siddhavīra, Sholapur, page 46). But though simple in its system of ritual the Vīraśaiva religion is extremely difficult to practise since it requires unswerving attachment and obedience to its principles. The Vīraśaiva must give up all pride of birth, or of family or of wealth, must not worship any other god, (except Śiva in the form of *iṣṭālinga*) nor associate with bhavis (those who are not Vīraśaivas) even if they be his relatives. He must treat his guru with the greatest reverence, drink the water with which he washes his feet. The Vīraśaiva is asked to perform what is called *ashṭāvaranapūjā*, worship of the following eight factors: (1) Guru, (2) *Linga*, (3) Jangama (or priest), (4) Vibhūti (sacred ashes), (5) Rudrāksha (beads), (6) Pādōdaka (drinking the water in which the feet of the Guru and Jangama or the *linga* are bathed), (7) Prasāda (presentation of food to the Guru, Jangama or *linga* and eating sacramentally what is left), (8) Panchākshara (the formula Namaśśivāya). The Vīraśaivas also talk of *Ṣaṭsthaḷas*, six holy things (1) *aikyasthaḷa*, feeling of oneness with God and separateness from the world, (2) *śaranasthaḷa*, surrendering oneself to God, (3) *prāṇalingisthaḷa*, freedom from delusion and meditating on the true nature of God, (4) *prasādisthaḷa*, offering all one's acts and the bodily joys to God, (5) *mahēṣasthaḷa*, worshipping the *linga*, (6) *bhaktasthaḷa* showing devotion to God (Chennabasavapurāṇa, book V, chapter 8, verses 30-33).

The Vīraśaivas are at present divided into four classes:—(1) Jangamas or priests. (2) Śīlavantas or Sādhus, the pious. These mostly live by agriculture. (3) Baṇajigas or merchants. (4) Panchamaśālis or professional people. The Jangamas are held in great reverence. They alone act as *gurus*, give *dīkshā* to boys or girls and decide religious disputes. The householders among them do not intermarry with other classes but dine in the houses of the Sādhus whenever invited and officiate at all ceremonies. There are also Jangamas that lead a celibate life and are heads of maṭhas or

monasteries. The most important mutts among the Viraśaivas are at Chitaldroog (in Mysore State), Ujjini (in Bellary District), Bālehalli (in Mysore State).

Although theoretically all Viraśaivas are of one caste and in the days of Basava seem to have all interdined and even intermarried without distinction of caste, they no longer interdine now with each other so freely and intermarriage is confined to very limited circles. Viraśaivism attracted to it in early days men from all castes including Brahmans but such conversions are now unknown among them. Pariahs are no longer invested with linga in these days. Viraśaivas do not acknowledge the authority of the Brahmans nor take food or water in their houses. The ceremonial impurities connected with child-birth and death as well as the uncleanness attached to women during monthly sickness observed by Brahmans and other thread-wearing castes of Hindus are conspicuous by their absence among the Lingayats (लिगाचनरता नारी रजस्सूतकसंयुता । रविगन्धिर्यथावायु स्तद्वत्केतिद्युण्दशुचिः ॥ Anādiviraśaivasāra-sangraha, page 195). Women occupy a high status among them; several female saints like Nilamma, Mahadēviyakka are highly praised in their religious works. About the condition of widowhood, the sacred books of the Viraśaivas are silent and no sanction for widow-marriage or divorce can be found in them. Certain classes of Viraśaivas (not the priests or Jangamas) permit the widows to re-marry but without any elaborate ceremonies. Similarly divorce too seems to be resorted to by some, though the general trend of their tradition is opposed to it. The Viraśaivas do not burn their dead but carry the corpse in a sitting-posture with much grandeur to the grave-yard and bury it. They believe that *true* Viraśaivas attain mukti after death and no funeral ceremonies and pollution are therefore necessary.* They do not perform *Yāgas* in which animals are killed. In fact both meat and wine are positively forbidden to them. They do not worship any god except Śiva. Even with regard to Śiva the worship of *ishṭalinga* or the linga which they carry on their body is of greater importance than temple worship. In fact few Śiva-temples are in the hands of the Lingāyats. In addition to pure devotion or *Bhakti* to God Lingāyats have also attached a great deal

* अतो लिङ्गाङ्गुक्तस्य षट्सलमन्त्रवचसः । पशूनामिव तस्यैह न कुर्यादौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ नास्ति शवः यतस्तस्य सज्यते सूतकादयः । नैवाशौचं प्रसज्येत तत्पुत्रादेर्विशेषतः ॥ अशुद्धिः क्षणमात्राच्च त्सापि स्नानात्पलायते । न च श्राद्धादिकं कर्म न पिण्डनोदकक्रिया । न कुर्यात्पार्वणादीनि शिवभूताय योगिने ॥ दग्धस्य दहनं नास्ति पक्षस्य पचनं यथा । शिवज्ञानाग्निं दग्धस्य पुनर्दाहो न विद्यते । दग्धेऽपि देहे पुनरङ्गुशेषो निश्चिप्यतेऽन्ते भुवि वा जले वा । तस्मादिदं निश्चेपविधिर्बलीयान् - निःशेषभावादपुनर्विधानात् ॥ (*Viśēshārtha-prakāśikā*, *Sholapur*, chapter 6.)

of importance to *Yōga* or meditation accompanied with breathing exercises. Their works are full of references to this subject and a certain amount of mysticism is common to them. The Viraśaiva upheaval being a popular movement it is only natural that its teachers mostly spoke and wrote for the masses in their own dialect though the learned wrote in Sanskrit also. Hence a number of works have been written by members of this sect in the Kannaḍa language. They are sometimes in *vachana* (or prose) form and contain the teachings of their saints expressed in a terse and pithy language. But most of their works are, however, in poetry either in the *shatpadi* or *sāngatya* metre. Among them may be mentioned the Purāṇas previously named, Prabhulingahile, Rēvana-sāngatya, etc. These works treat of Viraśaiva philosophy and religious practices, purāṇic stories, lives of saints and *kāla-jñāna* (or fore-telling). Among the books dealing with the last subject may be mentioned Basavaṇṇanavara Kāla-jñāna and Chennabasa-vaṇṇanavara Kāla-jñāna. An idea common to all such works is the belief in the birth in the near future of a just and pious king called Viravasantarāya corresponding to the Kalki incarnation of Vishṇu.

69425

NALODAYA AND ITS AUTHOR.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., *Trivandrum*.

DUPLICATION of names has always been a fruitful source of confusion in the domain of literature and this perplexing similarity in the names of some authors and their works has led to several misleading identifications, resulting in the wrong attribution of some works and verses to authors who had nothing at all to do with them, except possessing the fortune or otherwise of having borne names similar to those of the real authors of those works, whoever they were. Tradition which has successfully done duty for and has been the only available history in India, has also sometimes played with these literary 'kings and pawns', and has added its own appreciable quota to the prevailing confusion by replacing its victims in promiscuous groupings on the chequered chess-board of the history of letters. There have been duplicates and triplicates even, in several instances, of Kālidāsa, Umbēkas, Śaṅkaras, Rājaśēkharas, Kulaśēkharas, Auvais and Kapilars; and a large mass of literature has been allowed to accumulate round the names of these literary celebrities as a result either of the adulation of a well-meaning but uncritical posterity or of the subterfuge of anonymous authors and literary forgers. It has been the work of modern research, therefore, to assort and classify this heterogeneous mass and furnish their proper labels to the incorrectly docketed works.

One such instance of contested authorship is the *yamakakāvya* of four short chapters called the *Naḷodaya*, which narrates the story of Naḷa's marriage with Bhaimī, his misfortunes and final emancipation from the machinations of Kali. This literary curio "is confessedly a difficult work, as much so at least as Persius is in Latin or Pindar in Greek. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Raghuvamśa*, the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Māgha*, the *Naishadha*, the *Kirātārjunīya*, and the *Bhaṭṭi*, the entire circle of Sanskrit epic poetry, and by no means a small one, there cannot be found four consecutive books of equal difficulty with these four of the *Naḷodaya*."* The style employed in this *kāvya* is of the most artificial kind, each verse containing a repetition of the same syllables in a portion of each of its four quarters but conveying different meanings; so that this alliterative work, although it has necessarily lost somewhat in beauty of ideas owing to its self-imposed literary shackles, has had its value considerably

enhanced by the ingenuity displayed 'in the manipulation of the varied and artificial metres and the elaborate tricks of style'. That its author must have been a trained hand at this kind of verbal gymnastics is evidenced by the fact that this work stands almost unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature; for none of the other great pioneer poets of Sanskrit has, or could have, composed a whole book in this difficult style, although each of them has enjoyed himself by way of variety in occasional indulgence in alliterative verse. This *kāvya* was for a long time considered to be the composition of that prince of Indian poets Kālidāsa, on whose capacious shoulders this queer work appears to have been thrust in the same way as several other anonymous but humorous little verses connected with many a spicy anecdote. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* has also tabulated many copies of manuscript which attribute the *Naḷodaya* to him. But Kālidāsa himself, great as his cantering powers were on the flowery meadows of poesy, would have shied at trudging this furrowed path of alliteration, and, attempting, may indeed have wearied before he could reach the journey's end; and the evident incompatibility of such an artificial work as the *Naḷodaya* emanating from the same pen, or rather stylus, as wrote the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Śakuntala* was sought to be explained by the invention of a story that Kālidāsa was spurred on to the production of this work as an effective silencer to his traducers, who had accused him of alliterative incapacity. The very necessity for such a staff to keep this theory going proves indirectly the unreliability of the orthodox pandits' belief in Kālidāsa's authorship and considerations of style, diction and other literary tests from the poet's other works unanimously militate against such an attribution. There were therefore other scholars who were of opinion that, if a poet called Kālidāsa had to be the author of the *Naḷodaya*, for which however there was no necessity, then he must have been only a later namesake of, but quite different from, the famous poet of Ujjain;* and the verse† of Rājaśēkhara (10th century A.D.) who was himself cognizant of the existence of at least three Kālidāsas before his time, lent its support to this conclusion. Professor Peterson, however, came across a manuscript of the *Naḷodaya* in 1884, whose commentary by Rāmarshi (A.D. 1608) attributed the authorship to a certain Ravidēva;‡ and literary opinion at once veered round to

* Mr. K. P. Trivedi, at page 147 of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1916.

† एकोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।

शृंगरे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥—Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī*.

‡ 'इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजमिश्ररामपिदाधीच्यविरचितायां रविदेवविरचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटीकायां यमकत्रोपिन्यां नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थ आश्वासः'—(page 337 of the *J. B. A. S.*—Extra number 1887).

* Introduction to the *Naḷodaya*, by W. Yates, page 11.

that discovery and this *kāvya* has since then been considered to have been the work of a Ravidēva, about whom no other biographical particulars were available.

I had occasion to peruse the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya** in connection with an enquiry into the age of the Kēraḷa king Kulaśēkhara, who has been mentioned in its introductory portion, which runs thus:—

अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गतशुगजरा जगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवंति जन्यं यदीयमधिककवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशोभाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।

This alliterative *kāvya* is known to be the work of a poet called Vāsudēva as the following verses show:—

वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुभवाद्यनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
ये प्राप रमां चार्यं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तो दान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रसत्तमग्रामं यम् ।
तिलकं भूमाबाहुयस्याधिषु दत्तभूमिभूमा बाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणदिशब्धोऽनुवर्त्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रां तेन सरता भारतमुधामदभ्रतेन ।
जगदपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कलमपाह्ला सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

This necessitated a cursory examination of another *kāvya* called the *Tripuradahana*, which has been attributed in Malabar literary tradition to the same poet, and a copy of whose manuscript was fortunately available in His Highness the Maharaja's Palace Library at Trivandrum. This work disclosed that it was composed in the reign of a king named Rāma:—

अस्ति स कविलोकनतः क्षितिभृदरियस्य सैनिकाविलोकनतः ।
बहुविपदि क्षुद्रवति क्षमाभृति कुर्वन् पदानि दिक्षु द्रवति ॥ ६ ॥
साधूनां पाता यः स्थिरव्रतो यश्च पापिनां पाताय ।
यसादुर्व्यापारं प्रीतिं यस्यामलं विदुर्व्यापारम् ॥ ७ ॥
स्वपदपयोजनतेयं सदैव संपादकं श्रियो जनतेयम् ।
भूतिभरं व्यालपति स्फुरत्करं राजशेखरं व्यालपति ॥ ८ ॥
रामसमत्वादेव स्रष्टा रामाख्यमकृत मत्वा देवः ।
यं स च रक्षोऽपायं चक्रेऽस्य च कर्म जनितरक्षोपायम् ॥ ९ ॥

* This book printed in the Bombay *Kāvyamālā* Series wrongly locates both poet and patron in Kashmir.

by a poet called Ravibhū (son of Ravi)—

निजयातन्वा नेत्रप्रमोदनं प्राणिनां वितन्वानेऽत्र ।

मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् ॥ १० ॥

whom its Kēraḷiya commentator (about 1300 A.D.) had identified with Vāsudēva, who must evidently be the same as the author of the other *kāvya*—

त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं

कविरथ रविभुवामुदेवाभिधानः ।

• निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं

नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥

Even without this tip the identity of the two authors could be guessed at from the close similarity of the alliterative style employed in both the *kāvyas* noted above. The *Travancore State Manual** also states that Vāsudēva, a poet of the ninth century A.D., was the author of the two *kāvyas* called the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya* and the *Tripuradahana*.†

This again led up to the following hypothesis that the *Naḷodaya*, a *kāvya* of disputed authorship composed in the same *yamaka* styles but exhibiting a maturer development, may have also been an achievement of the same Vāsudēva because none other than an author who had had previous training experience in this species of composition could have successfully launched out on such an attempt. This view luckily received confirmation from an appropriately alliterative verse with which an old commentator on the *Naḷodaya* called Vishṇu has given the finishing touch to his gloss, wherein he has stated that the *kāvya* was the work of a Ravitanubhū (son of Ravi). Another copy of the same commentary adds a further important colophonian detail that Vāsudēva was the author of the work.

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्गतिदशब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।

जनहासाय मितायाः धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥

The introductory verses in this work also mention a king named Rāma who must have been the same as the patron panegyrised in the *Tripuradahana*:

अस्ति स राजा नीते रामाख्यो यो गतिः परा जानीते ।

यस्य रराजानीते रत्नानि जनः कुले धराजानीते ॥ ५ ॥

यः सेनानावारिप्रकरनदीः शरमयं धुनानावारि ।

अतरन्नानावारि व्यसनैर्यत्सुवि वनञ्च नानावारि ॥ ६ ॥

अपि यो दायादाय क्षयप्रदोऽहसि सतां यदायादायः ।

करमादायादाय श्रियोन्धिराधिराजमसिगदायादायः ॥ ७ ॥

* *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

† Dr. Aufrecht also attributes the *Tripuradahana* to Ravisūnū and Vāsudēva, p. 237.

अविदूराजादित्या कृताल्पभेदैव भूः सराजादित्या ।
 येन सराजादित्या विदिवात् संयुक्तशत्रुराजादित्या ॥ ८ ॥
 खलसेनानावेद्यः स्वाहोभ्यौ भुवि च नानावेद्यः ।
 निग्धजनानावेद्य प्रयतेऽस्य सुकाव्यरचनानावेद्य ॥ ९ ॥

Thereafter the story-proper begins in this as in the other two works of Vāsudēva with the word 'atha' evidently to mark off the main theme from the preface, as correctly explained (अथशब्दः प्रमेयारंभार्थः ।) by Nilakantha in the eleventh verse of the *Tripuradahana*.

With the interpretations given by Prajñākaramiśra in his commentary called the *Subōdhi* for the following lines, viz., अस्ति सराजानीते रामाख्यः (v. 5) and येन सराजादित्या (v. 8) which are perhaps the result of the wrong attribution of the *kāvya*'s authorship to Kālidāsa and which read respectively:

स रामाख्यो राजास्तीत्यन्वयः । रामोऽभिरामः सुन्दर इति यावत् आख्या नाम यस्य सः ॥
 (which recognizes 'Rāma' only in the sense of 'beautiful' as applied as a personal epithet of king Naḷa)

and राजसु क्षत्रियेषु आदित्याः राजादित्याः तेन सह वर्तमाना सा तथा स क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठेत्यर्थः । अथवा राजादित्य-
 नाम नलभ्राता तेन सह वर्तमाना । यदा राज्ञामध्ये आदित्यो राजादित्यस्तेन युक्त्यर्थः ॥

(where the word 'Rājāditya' has been explained as 'a sun among kings' or as the name of a brother of king Naḷa), the more appropriate explanations furnished by the Kēraḷiya commentator Viṣṇu may be compared, viz.,

अस्तीति । विरचित काव्यस्थापनार्थन्तदानीन्तन नृपस्तुतिः क्रियते । स राजा रामाख्यः अस्ति ।

तत्कालापेक्षया वर्तमानन्यवहारः अथवा कालसामान्यवृत्तिरप्ययमसि शब्दः ।

and स राजादित्या राजादित्येन सह वर्तमाना राजादित्य इत्यमुष्यैवाभिषेकप्रयुक्तं नाम ।

(which state that a king named Rāma was reigning at the time of composition of the *kāvya* and that Rājāditya was the name given him at his coronation-ceremony).

It will thus be seen that there is greater justification in assigning the authorship of the *Naḷodaya* to the Kēraḷa poet Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, than to a nondescript Ravidēva of whom nothing beyond his name has been known. A plausible explanation as to how the work came to be connected with the name of a Ravidēva will be to consider that it must have arisen from the carelessness of a scribe who may have wrongly transcribed a Ravisūnu into a Ravidēva or who may have dropped the middle two syllables in the patronymic designation of Ravi-Vāsudēva, dovetailing the extremes together into a Ravidēva. Two of the Palace Library manuscripts give this incorrect colophon also. It is noteworthy that the British Museum contains a manuscript of the *Naḷodaya* in the Malayalam characters, which fact may be taken to mark, indirectly at least, the country of its birth.

The approximate age in which this author Vāsudēva flourished may now be examined, so far as the available data help us towards its determination. As pointed out already, king Kulaśekhara and king Rāma were contemporaneous with the composition of the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya* and of both the *Tripuradahana* and the *Naḷodaya* together respectively, wherein they are specifically mentioned as reigning kings and have been given a panegyric tribute of reverence by the poet.

The *Mukundamālā*, a poem of forty verses in its southern recension and thirty-four only in its northern, is a devotional piece composed by a Kēraḷa king called Kulaśekhara, who has been universally identified with Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, one of the twelve saints of the South Indian Vaishṇava hagiology. According to orthodox tradition, this Saint is believed to have been born in Kali years 28 Parābhava;* but epigraphical research has set aside this impossible date and has fixed the beginning of the ninth century A.D.† as the probable period when he could reasonably have flourished. The last verse of the poem referred to above reads as follows in the text printed by the Bombay *Kāvya-mālā* Series:—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतवरौ कविलोकगीतौ

मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।

तेनां बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजपद्पदेन

राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलेश्वरेण ॥

* वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके । श्रीमत्पुनर्वसुतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ।

कौस्तुभांशेन संज्ञे महात्मा कुलेश्वर ।—*Prapannāmritam*.

† Scholars are divided in their opinion in regard to the date of Kulaśekhara-Ālvār; but the beginning of the ninth century A.D. seems to be the nearest approximation to probability. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* which dates Kulaśekhara in the first half of the fourth century A.D. mentions also that he brought Bhaṭṭāchārya (Kumārila) and Prabhākara (Guru) to teach the sciences to the ignorant brahmins of Kēraḷa. Following the lead of tradition which states that Bhaṭṭa and his disciple Prabhākara flourished as contemporaries of the great Śaṅkara, we arrive at the same period for the Vaishṇava saint also. Dr. A. B. Keith, however, considers that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila and lived between 600-650 A.D. (the *Karma-Mimāṃsā*, p. 9). From the following references kindly furnished by Pandit V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada, from the *Sarvamatasāṅgraha* (No. LXII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) : viz.,

अर्थापत्या सह प्रत्यक्षादिचतुष्टयप्रामाण्यवादिनः प्रभाकरस्य, अभावेन सह प्रत्यक्षादिपञ्चकप्रामाण्य-
 वादिनो भट्टकुमारस्य च जैमिनीभाष्यव्याख्यातृत्वे तुल्येऽपि —p. 31 and गुरोरपि गुरोः प्रभाकरस्य—p. 35.

it is seen that both Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara wrote separate commentaries with certain divergent views on the same Bhāṣhya of Śabaravāmin and were also contemporaries. The fact that Prabhākara while criticising an opinion of Kumārila uses a different set of words need not necessarily postulate the existence of an older author whom Kumārila had followed (p. 10 of the *Karma-Mimāṃsā*), but it is quite possible that as a contemporary, Prabhākara opposed his *guru*'s interpretations of some passages from their common source-book, the *Śābara-bhāṣhya*, and that the tradition connecting them may be founded on fact.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., has adopted a different alternative for the second line of this verse, namely, मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपद्मशरावभूताम् * and has interpreted it to mean that the Kēraḷa king had two friends named *Dvi-janmavara* (best among Brahmans) and *Padmāsara* (one whose arrow was the lotus, a name of the Indian god of Love, Kāma); but in another Kēraḷiya manuscript, Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., of Trivandrum, has discovered the following reading, which may be relied upon as better than the other two:—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ

मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपद्मशरावभूताम् । †

According to this verse and from its Kēraḷiya commentary as noted by him, it is learnt that a Nambudiri brahman called Ravi and a *pāraśava* ‡ (a śūdra of the *vāriyar* caste) named or having the title of Lōkavīra were the king's friends, whose names the royal author thought it gracious to immortalize in his verse. *Bṛihatstotra* gives the variant *pārśvachara*, a follower.

Vāsudēva, the poet, who mentions a certain king Kulaśēkhara as his patron in the prefatory portion of his *Yudhisṭhiravijaya*, calls himself a *Ravidhū* in his *Triṣuradahana* and Nīlakaṇṭha, its commentator, has, as already stated, no hesitation in identifying him with Vāsudēva, son of Ravi. Similarly, Viṣṇu, the commentator of the *Naḷōdaya*, attributes the authorship of that *kāvya* to a *Ravitanubhū*, who is further equated with Vāsudēva in another manuscript of the same commentary. Thus it follows that king Kulaśēkhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā*, in whose reign the aged father Ravi lived, was also the king who continued on the throne in the time of the brahman's son-poet Vāsudēva § and was extolled by the latter in his *Yudhisṭhiravijaya*. This identification therefore enables us to locate poet Vāsudēva in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

A short paragraph may, with advantage, be appended to this paper on a few biographical particulars relating to the poet, about whom the following traditional story is current in these parts. Vāsudēva, called Paṭṭattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri of Perumaṇam in the Cochin State, was a brahman by birth and

* *Early History of Vaishnavism* in South India, p. 35.

† The *Bhāṣāpōshini* (a Malayalam Journal) for 1917. See also *Bṛihatstotra muktāhūra* II, 123.

‡ The *pāraśava* is an ordinary product of Kēraḷa eugenics; he is defined as:

यं ब्राह्मणस्तु शूद्रायां कामादुत्पादयेत्सुतम् ।

स पारशवेव शवस्तस्मात्पारशवः स्मृतः ॥—*Manusmṛiti*, IX, 178.

§ It is noteworthy that the Malayalam chronicle, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* (c. seventeenth century A.D.) also states that Mahābhārata Bhaṭṭātiri and Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri were the contemporaries of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāl, whose *svargārōhaṇam* it however dates in A.D. 333.

he entered life in the service of a brahman-expounder of the Vēdas. He was of such a stupid disposition that his schoolmates used to taunt and tease him for his block-headedness. One stormy night, the ill-used youth took shelter in the temple at Tiruvilakkāvu; and it is stated that the god taking pity on his deplorable condition gave him a bunch of plantains to eat and that thenceforth 'the butt of the school' bloomed into a poet of a high order of merit, with a special predilection for alliteration. From the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya* we learn that 'there lived in the time of king Kulaśēkhara a learned preceptor called Bhārata-guru * (who may have also had another name Paramēśvara ?) who was a *purāṇaḥparamāchārya* or a professional expounder of the *Mahābhārata* and other stories, who was well versed in the Vēdas, who bestowed largesses and gifts of land to the needy and who hailed from a brahman settlement whose modern location is, however, indeterminate. To such an instructor with this string of attributes, Vāsudēva * apprenticed himself as a willing *śishya* and with his mind fully steeped in the epic lore of the *Bhārata*, he composed in the *yamaka* style the 'story of Pārtha' or the '*Yudhisṭhiravijaya*'. The poet's diffidence as to what sort of reception his alliterative *kāvya* will be accorded in the literary circles, as expressed in the word 'जगदपह्लासाय', and the greater details he furnishes in regard to his *guru* are perhaps suggestive of the fact that this work may have been his first attempt in the line. *Triṣuradahana* may have followed some years after, while the *Naḷōdaya* though shorter consisting, as it does, of only two hundred and odd verses, is otherwise a more difficult undertaking with its complicated scheme of quadruple rhyming in each verse, and may have been, in all probability, the final achievement of this alliterative author. The sequence based on the above-mentioned slender grounds is not however conclusive. Two more works, the *Bhramarādūta* and the *Vāsudēvavijaya*† are mentioned on page 567 of Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogue* as the composition of a Kēraḷa-Vāsudēva; and of these the latter which is an incomplete grammatical work illustrating the *sūtras* of Pāṇini on the model of the *Bhaṭṭi-kārya* and which may have been a possible achievement of this Vāsudēva of *yamaka* fame, has been continued by Nārāyaṇa in his *Dhātu-kārya*. ‡

One other point that requires consideration is whether the two kings, Kulaśēkhara and Rāma, praised in the three *yamaka-kāryas*, noted above, are two separate personages or one and the same individual; but unfortunately the prefatory verses in all these three works do not furnish us

* It is noteworthy that the Malayalam chronicle, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* (c. seventeenth century A.D.) also states that Mahābhārata-Bhaṭṭātiri and Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri were the contemporaries of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāl, whose *svargārōhaṇam* it however dates in the 4th century.

† Printed in Part X of the Bombay *Kāvyamālā* Series.

with any definite clues except the usual descriptive catalogue of virtues and attributes which an oriental poet naturally adds to the credit of his sovereign, and which, in the present instances, had to be cramped in so as to suit the exigencies of rhyme.

“Kulaśekhara was terrific in his battles and his kingdom peopled by his law-abiding subjects smiled in plenty and prosperity. Rāma was as equally valiant on the battlefield as in the arena of letters and as steady (*sthiravrata*) * in punishing the wicked as ready in succouring the righteous. He resembled god Śiva (Rājaśekhara) in two attributes and was also considered as an incarnation of Rāma himself, both because he bore that very name and imitated that divine hero in providing ‘*rakshōpāyam*’ to his subjects (danger to the *rākshasas*: means of protection). His forests with elephantine stalls were rendered gay.”

In a learned paper† Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar has made the suggestion that Kulaśekhara may have been a regal title of the Kēraḷa king who was named Rāma at his birth. This naming may have been quite possible, because of his having been, according to tradition, the offspring of religious vows and born in the same asterism Punarvasu as the Rāmāyaṇa’s hero. If however this Rāma was a different king, we may have to make him Kulaśekhara’s successor; and in that case also, it is perfectly natural that he was named Rāma by his saintly predecessor, the great Rāmabhakta, about whom the story is related with much embellishment of detail in the *Guruparamparas* that when the particular episode of the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Sita’s abduction by Rāvaṇa was being narrated, this pious sovereign got into such a sudden mood of frenzy as to rush into the sea with intent to invade Ceylon and punish the wicked island-king, and that Rāma and Sita appeared in bodily form before the devotee to assure him of their own personal welfare.

From epigraphical sources, we know of a Kēraḷa king Rājaśekhara‡ whose copper-plate record is attributable to the early part of the ninth century on palæographical considerations and whose traditional contemporaneity with the famous Advaitin Śaṅkara (c. ninth century A.D.) also favours this assignment. The next Chēra king that we know of is Sthāṇu

* The *Tripuradahana* uses the word ‘*Stthiravrata*’ as descriptive of king Rāma; but it cannot be asserted whether there is any implied reference to Driḍhavrata (he of unswerving determination) of the Vaishṇava narratives, who was the son of Kulaśekhara-Ālvār and who was named as such after his own grandfather. In regard to the word ‘*Rājaśekhara*’ again, the same doubt arises as to whether it is only a royal title or another personal name of the same king Rāma.

† The Malayalam *Bhāṣāpōshinī* for 1917.

‡ *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 8-14.

Ravi of the Kottayam Christian plates, * who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Āditya I (about 880-907 A.D.) and who can therefore be considered to have reigned approximately in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. Between these two landmarks then, *i.e.*, in the second and a part of the third quarter of the ninth century, has to be located a Kulaśekhara *alias* Rāma if both the names refer to one and the same sovereign, or if different, a Kulaśekhara followed by a Rāma. In the Kottayam plates themselves, a certain royal personage called Rāma-Tiruvaḍi figures in a subordinate capacity coupled with his senior Ayyanaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi; but there are, at present, no means of connecting the former with the Rāma of the two *kāvyas*. Again a stone record† discovered at Quilon which is dated in Kollam 278 (= A.D. 1102) introduces a king or two kings of the Chēra dynasty in the expression—‘*[Irāmar]-Tiruvaḍi kōyiladhikāriḡalāyina Kulaśekhara-chakravartigaḷ*’; and as both the names Rāma and Kulaśekhara occur in the same epigraph, the temptation offers itself to equate them respectively with the Rāma and Kulaśekhara of the *kāvyas*. But this identification will yield the result that Kulaśekhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā*, lived in the beginning of the twelfth century—a conclusion that goes against the grain of accepted tradition which uniformly attributes the poem to the Vaishṇava saint Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, who cannot, under any circumstances, be brought down to so late a period as the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

So far as the available data go, it may be presumed therefore that poet Vāsudēva and king Kulaśekhara flourished together in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. and that the former was the author of the three *yamaka-kāvyas*, the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya*, the *Tripuradahana* and the *Naḷōḍaya*—a triple achievement which, despite the artificial nature and limitations of the style selected for its exposition, serves however as an example to show the variety of forms into which the plastic Sanskrit language could be shaped by a master-hand, and may therefore be considered as an asset about which any literature can reasonably be proud.

* *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 60-85.

† *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. V, p. 44.

VENKATAPATIRAYA I AND THE PORTUGUESE.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.,

Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

WHEN previously writing on *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagar*,¹ I published a letter of King Venkata I addressed to Philip III of Spain and Portugal. In the meantime I have fortunately discovered in the Government Archives at Pangim (*Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*) a copy of Philip III's letter to which King Venkata's was the answer. It is noteworthy that the Spanish King speaks only of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, for the letter of the Hindu King has two parts apparently corresponding to those of Philip's letter; viz., his protection of the missionaries, and the defensive alliance against the Mahomedans of the Deccan. After inspection of this copy I am inclined to think that the second chapter referred only to business proposed to Venkata by the Viceroy of Goa. In fact this is tacitly stated in the Spanish King's letter, according to which, he ordered his Viceroy to do everything which would please the Vijayanagar Sovereign.

The translation of this letter runs as follows:²

"Copy of the letter that goes by this mail to the King of Bisnaga.

"Very Noble King of Bisnaga.

"I, Dom Phelippe, etc. I make you aware that I have come to know the good hospitality you have given the Religious of the Society who dwell in that your Kingdom, and the favour and assistance you have bestowed on them, as to things concerning Christianity, for which I deemed that it was my duty to thank you—as I do by this letter of mine—and to inform you of the good will with which I shall be pleased, for the sake of all this, to oblige you in all your things.

"And thus, I command my Viceroy to carry it out in whatsoever way you may want from him. And I expect from your nobility that you will keep up this your excellent dealing with the aforesaid Religious, so that I may ever feel more and more indebted to you, the Very Noble King of Bisnaga.

"May Our Lord enlighten you with the light of His grace, and with the same keep you under His protection.

"Written in Madrid, January 27th, 1607."

The intercourse between Venkata and the Portuguese is often recorded in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers living at his court, the originals of which are kept in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Europe: but I have lately had the opportunity of examining photographs of their correspondence while searching for materials for the history of the Āraṇiḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagar, which I intend

1. Cf. The Q. J. of the Myth. Soc., Vol. XIV, pp. 130-140.

2. I shall only publish here the English translation of this and other documents, since their originals will shortly be published in a work I am preparing at present. This Portuguese letter comes from the Volume *Monções do Reino, No. 6 (1a pte.) ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 124*.

publishing in the near future. In the proposed work I shall publish all these documents in their original language together with translations, but I feel sure that Indian scholars in general, and especially those who are interested in the history of that great Southern Empire, will be glad to read at once some extracts from those letters concerning the aforesaid relations.

The oldest document I know of on the subject is a Latin letter of Fr. N. Pimenta, Visitor of the Jesuit Missions in India, dated Goa, December 21st, 1602. It refers to an Embassy sent by Venkata to the Viceroy of Goa, Ayres de Saldanha, in the year 1601, and is to the following effect:

"The Viceroy had written to him (the King) and, while announcing by this letter his landing in India, thanked him for the benevolence with which he treats the members of our Society. Hence the King was moved to send an Embassy, consisting of two principal Nobles, to the Viceroy, and ordered two of our Fathers, viz., Simon de Sã and Melchior Coutinho³ to join them, and the other two to remain with him in the Church at Chandegri.⁴ I should be able to write a long account of the whole history of this legation, as well as of the endless urging of the Prince, whose country they had to go through, in order that one of the Fathers would stay with him on returning."

The Prince, Fr. Pimenta speaks of in this letter, is the Viceroy Tirumala, of Seringapatam. Fr. Coutinho himself in a letter dated Vellore, October 11th, 1608, recalls the kindness on this occasion of the last unfortunate Viceroy of Seringapatam, as follows:

"Trimalarayu, the Prince, is continuously writing *olas* to us from Cirangapatão, where he resides, calling us [to his court] and showing by writing the same friendship shown personally to us while we were going to Goa accompanying the Ambassadors of this King."

This is no doubt the same Prince as referred to in one of the letters published in my last article; I was then under the impression that he was the Chikka Rāya, commonly held to be his son, but who in reality was not so, according to Barradas; but I have since changed my mind after having seen several other letters and documents from our Archives: Fr. Pimenta again, in the above letter, mentions him as the Crown Prince and even copies one of his *olas*. It will perhaps be of interest to quote this passage as well:

"Trimaragius—says he—the eldest son of the King's brother,⁵ heir of this kingdom, urges us again and again inviting us to his court; Your Reverence

3. In my last paper mention was made of Fr. M. Coutinho. He was then the Superior of the residence at Chandragiri. Fr. S. de Saa had first of all visited the court of Venkata in 1597, accompanied by Fr. Francis Riccio, but at this time he was at St. Thome. We find him in Chandragiri in 1604.

4. These were Fr. Francis Riccio and the English Lay Brother Alexander Frey, a famous painter. These names are to be seen in the old catalogues of the Jesuit Missionaries of the Province of Malabar.

5. King Venkata's brother, Rāma, had two sons, Tirumala, Viceroy of Seringapatam, and Ranga, the future successor of Venkata and father of Rāma, 'one of several brothers'.

knows that after the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given, by the unanimous vote of all the classes, to the brother of the deceased, that is the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom. And although the King loves more the youngest brother, who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless people say the eldest one will be the king, because he is liked by more and stronger chieftains. This man is living in his city Cirangapatano that is only forty or fifty leagues from our Mangalore. He sent us a letter, I am going to copy here:

'Trimanus, Mahanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Lord great Prince, sends this letter to the Fathers. I shall rejoice very much when I shall hear that you are coming to this town of mine; I shall give you then a good piece of land in this city to build a house and church; moreover five hundred golden pagodes yearly. Besides, I shall receive you with great honour and generosity. So I swear by Lord Zanganatam 6 and by the feet of my father Rāmaraja. You will learn the rest from my Ambassador; come at once and do not make me wait.'"

The information given by Fr. Pimenta in this extract is of more than passing interest: we learn from it that the Viceroy Tirumala was still very young at the time of the accession of Venkaṭa I (1585-86); hence he was not so old when he retired to Tulcand in 1610, as many authors state 7, leaving the place to the rising chief of Mysore, Rāja Woḍeyar; because even if he were fifteen years old in 1585, and he was probably still younger, he could not have been more than forty in 1610. Moreover, we know after the study of this passage, that the King was fonder of the younger brother, Ranga, whom he was educating at his palace; this was precisely the one appointed his successor at his death bed: as Barradas informs us, preferring him even to the boy *commonly held to be his son*. But, on the other hand, the elder brother Tirumala was a greater favourite with his feudatory chiefs, so much so that there was still hope of his being the heir-apparent. Cannot this explain the strange conduct of Venkaṭa on the occasion of the seizing of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar? Both subjects and especially the feudatory chiefs were more inclined to favour Tirumala; but Venkaṭa had decided to adopt Ranga his younger nephew, for this is shown by the fact that he had Ranga educated under his supervision in the palace. It was then necessary to disgrace Tirumala before his subjects; hence the King orders him secretly to retire from Seringapatam, while he willingly sees Rāja Woḍeyar take possession of that city 8. Thus it was proved that the unfortunate Viceroy was not able to defend the territory of his Viceroyalty. How would he be able to defend that of the whole Empire seated on the *jewelled throne*? According to this theory, not indeed unfounded, the origin of the independence of Mysore was due to the preference of Venkaṭa for his second nephew, and this circumstance was also responsible for the great

6. I suppose the Z must be R: thus read Ranganatam.

7. Cf. Rice, Mysore. A Gazetteer compiled for Government, Vol. I, p. 364 (Westminster MDCCCXCVII). P. Krishna Row, A Brief History of Mysore, p. 10 (Bangalore, 1868).

8. Accordingly Venkaṭa presented Rāja Woḍeyar with some villages. Cf. *Epigr. Carn.*, Vol. III, Seringapatam Taluk, n. 157; Tirumakūḍu Narasipūr Taluk, n. 116.

civil war recorded by Barradas and by the Telugu poem *Rāmarājīyam*. Nepotism has always proved fatal to nations as well as to societies.

But let us go back now to Venkaṭa's Embassy to the Portuguese Viceroy referred to in the letter of Fr. Pimenta. In another letter written the following year, 1603, this Embassy is mentioned again, and we know from it that it was followed by another Embassy of the Viceroy to King Venkaṭa. It runs as follows:

"Among the practical results of this Mission [Chandragiri], not the smallest one was to cause so powerful a king to renew the friendship his forefathers had made with the Portuguese; it was almost forgotten at the time; for this purpose he sent the Viceroy his Ambassadors along with our Fathers, as it was related last year, I suppose. The Ambassadors after having left Goa, full of gifts and honours from the Viceroy, went by land to Chandegri, where in the presence of the King and of the Nobles of his court they extolled all our things and the honours and favours they had received from the Viceroy and our Fathers in Goa, which was highly esteemed by the King; and he showed himself hereafter more inclined to our things. To answer this Embassy, the Viceroy sent him another: the Ambassador was received by the King with great reverence and ostentation, because on his arrival at Chandegri one of the chiefs of the Royal Council accompanied by elephants, camels, horses, kettle-drummers and other signs of joy and merriment went out to fetch them and lodged them in the best palaces and houses of that city. The King was at that time in Tripeti [Tirupati], two leagues from Chandegri; the city of Tripeti is very great and beautiful, and because of a temple much venerated, and dedicated to their Pirmal [Perumal] is for this heathenism like another Rome. . . . Lots of people of the whole of the East, with gifts and offerings come here to pay a visit to this temple. The King determined to receive our Ambassador in this city, for which he sent his intimate favourite with great show and reverence to bring him there: the King was outside a very great court, not dressed in rich clothes, because it is not customary, but covered with precious stones, armlets, and strings of pearls from his feet to the crown of his head; he wore among others two jewels of great beauty, one was an emerald surrounded by big pearls and brilliant diamonds, and the other a ruby of high price and extraordinary greatness; the Ambassador knelt down, but the King ordered him to get up and sit down. He received joyfully the letter and the gift of the Viceroy, and spoke of the friendship and intercourse with the Portuguese he wished to have, and other things concerning the welfare of the State. Afterwards he sent back the Ambassador full of honours and presents, and since then he showed himself more affectionate to the Fathers."

Nevertheless this friendship did not last very long. Fr. M. Roiz, Rector of the College of St. Thome, on November 1st, 1606, wrote to Fr. J. Alvares, at Rome, the following letter:

"When I reached this country, on September 3rd, 1606, I found the Portuguese quarrelling and fighting among themselves, as they were doing two or three years ago; a few months back the same Portuguese of this town fought also against

the Hindus that live outside our city. The reason was because they murdered a Portuguese gentleman married here; on hearing this the Portuguese became very angry, went out and took by storm and plundered the Hindu town that was near; they went besides to a fortress of the Hindu King, who is the King of Bisnaga, which stands next to our city, and set it on fire; the King who resides eighteen or twenty leagues far from here became very furious even with our Fathers."⁹

Another letter of Fr. M. Coutinho to the Most Rev. Fr. C. Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus, dated St. Thome, November 4th of the same year, gives some more information. After relating the sack of the Hindu town and fortress, it continues:

"The aforesaid town [of the Hindus] or its governor sent at once their *olas* or letters to the King, but they related the events falsely, and the Queen, who has paramount power all over the country at present, excited the King against the Portuguese on account of this business, so much so that after the aforesaid letters were read in the presence of the whole court, the Sovereign refused to hear the apology of Fr. Rector, and became so furious that being himself as meek as a lamb he appeared on that occasion like a lion and said several times that he would destroy even the foundations of our city, to do which he appointed some captains declaring that he did not want friendship with the Portuguese any more, and that he would call the Dutch, and so on. His courtiers said [afterwards] that they had never seen him so much excited as on this occasion; he accordingly did not want to receive us nor to read our letters, nor those of the city, nor hear anything in favour of the Portuguese, although he has decided for our own sake not to send the army against this city; pourparlers are already taking place in order to make peace."

It was really made soon afterwards, as other letters show; then the letter of Philip III, published in the beginning of this paper, came, followed by Venkaṭa's answer, and the friendship was renewed even stronger than before, because, for the sake of the Portuguese, he ordered the Nāyak of Gingi to expel the Dutch from the fort they were starting at Tevanapatnam. But suddenly another storm burst out.

One Antonio Viles Decima, whom I have hitherto been unable to identify, sent to the Spanish King a series of accusations against the Jesuits at Chandragiri¹⁰; presumably, on account of these accusations being partly believed by the Monarch, or because of the lack of everything in Chandragiri and Vellore, since Venkaṭa had long withheld the yearly revenues he had promised in the beginning, the Provincial of Malabar, their Superior recalled them sending some to St. Thome, others to Cochin and other places. We are made aware of this piece of news by a

9. Fr. Roiz speaks of a Hindu town *that was near* and of a fortress of the Hindu King, *which stands next to our city*. From the Portuguese original it is quite clear that the fortress was nearer and the Hindu town was a little farther on. It seems probable that the *fortress* was the old city of Mylapore; was the *Hindu town*, the native city of Madras, called some years later by Englishmen *Black Town*? In the Bēvinahallī Grant of Sadāsiva-Rāya (1542-68) we find both places mentioned as Mailāpura and Mādarasa. Cf. *Epigr. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 216.

10. I shall publish this document in my work.

letter of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronimo d' Azevedo, dated 1613, to his own King a copy of which I have unearthed from the Archives at Pangim. Here it is:¹¹

"Answer of the letter which deals with the Fathers of the Society that reside in the Kingdom of Bisnaga.

"These Religious who were in Bisnaga and resided at Chandegri, where the King resides, too, as soon as their Superiors knew what Your Majesty wrote about them, they called them back to their Province; it was a great loss to Your Majesty's service, and on account of that the Dutch have already a fort in Paleacate [Pulicat], and war was waged with Meliapor by order of this King, which was very pernicious for that city, and many other bad consequences of their departure may be daily seen. Therefore I think that they must reside at Chandegri near the King, and besides in Paleacate, too, after taking that fort from the Dutch."

In another letter of the King to his Viceroy, dated Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, I found in the same Archives, the following interesting details are given:¹²

"To Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo, Viceroy of India, friend: I, the King, am sending you many greetings. By letters of the Viceroy Ruiz L^{co}. d'Etaura and of the Bishop of Meliapor, I was informed of the tight siege suffered by the city from the army of the King of Bisnaga, and that it became necessary to fortify it, not only because its possession is of great importance for the navigation and commerce throughout those seas, but especially because it keeps the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas; and on account of that I have decided to fortify the aforesaid city...

I am very much indebted to the Bishop for his action during the siege... And since I have also been told of the good conduct of the Nāyak of Tanjaor in my service during the aforesaid siege, I am sending by this mail a letter thanking him, entrusting you with the charge of forwarding it to him."

In the Viceroy's answer, as it is found roughly written in the margin of the King's letter, we read the following words:

"The letter of Your Majesty to the Nāyak of Tanjaor is being sent to the Bishop [of Mylapore] who will hand it over to him."

From other contemporary documents it is evident that the resistance of Mylapore against Venkaṭa's army was principally due to the above mentioned Bishop, so much so, that he himself wrote at about this time to the King demanding some sort of reward, as we know from another letter of the King to the Viceroy, dated Lisbon, February 20th, 1614:¹³

"The Bishop of Meliapor—the writer states—wrote to me representing his action in my royal service during the blockade of that city and its fortification."

These extracts outline the history of the relations of the great Āraṇḍa Emperor with the old allies of the Vijayanagar Empire. I hope they will be read with interest by the admirers of that wonderful Hindu Empire, pending publication of my work on its Fourth Dynasty.

11. *Monções do Reino*, N. 12. Ano de 1614, fol. 26.

12. *Ibid.*, fols. 143-44.

13. *Ibid.*, fol. 143.

RURAL HABITATION IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

IN this paper, *Dekhan* means the tableland between the Eastern and Western Ghats, including Mysore State and the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. By *Coromandel Coast* is meant generally the eastern coast of Madras Presidency from Point Calimere to the mouth of the Krishna river, or a little further up.

Rural habitation in Southern India depends on certain important primary conditions. Among these are:—(1) Race, (2) Physical environment, and (3) Occupation. Among causes which have led to agglomerations may be mentioned (a) wars, (b) foundation of *agrāharas* by pious kings, ministers and generals; (c) establishment of Brahmanical temples.

The subject is a large one. What is attempted here is only an indication of its general outlines.

During the days prior to the Muhammadan conquest, the village in South India was inhabited solely by Hindus. Even now Muhammadans are more urban than rural in their residence. Soldiers once, they dislike the hard manual labour which agricultural operations involve. They have, however, taken kindly to petty trades and artizan work, to which they add shop-keeping on the minor scale. Except in rare cases, Muhammadans are not found in any large numbers in South Indian villages. Where they are found, they are found to live a little away from the houses of Hindus.

The village, then, was and is of the Hindus generally. The plan on which a village is laid out differs from place to place; it depends on the nature of the ground occupied by it, the character of the population occupying it, and on the facilities for water and other conveniences it possesses. In Southern India, generally, wherever the density of population is great and the Brahmin element preponderates, river-side villages are common. Water is a great necessity in tropical regions and to a Brahmin in particular water is a *sine qua non* for his ablutions. He lives and has his being in water. Where there are no rivers, the village is close to a tank (reservoir of water) or wells dug for supplying water. In the village, people of the same caste usually live together, the habitations of the lower castes being a little away from the caste blocks. If there are Brahmins in the village they live in a row or rows by themselves. The houses of the middle and poorer classes are usually mud-built and thatched. A characteristic feature of the exterior of a Muhammadan house is a scattered daub of chunam over its outer walls, in streaks and dots all over.

Usually some definite plan is followed in the lay-out. Not infrequently a village seems to possess tortuous lanes, but on examination it would be found, that the plan adopted had followed the natural drainage of the locality, full advantage being taken of it. Even in big cities—like Conjeevaram, Madura,

built entirely in the Hindu period of history—this has been ascertained to be a regular feature in the town-planning of ancient days.

As regards houses, the materials are nearly always obtained locally, the environment being fully laid under contribution. The thatch of millet, ragi, etc., is obtained locally. The red earth required for floors and walls, is similarly locally obtained. The sea-coast villages—on the Coromandel Coast—use palmyra leaves for the roof and the palmyra posts—cut out specially for the purpose—help as scantlings. The wood required in other localities is entirely local. The ordinary woods used are the *nim* (margosa), the *ippa* or the *iluppe* (or bassia), jack and the mango, for both scantlings and planks. The principle is that certain kinds of wood are *taboo* and should not be used, if deaths, sickness, etc., are to be avoided.

Certain rules are commonly observed in the building of houses. These may be briefly mentioned. Saline soils, low marshy tracts, soils betraying cracks, old burning or burial grounds or cattle pounds, land close to tanks or lakes and ground which is comparatively small when measured east and west are usually avoided. To ensure proper sunlight, it is held necessary that the general elevation of the site chosen should gently rise from the east and north towards the west and south. Houses may, however, be at varying angles according to their size, but care should be taken in allotting the right place for every thing. According to one plan the rubbish may be thrown on the southern side; the straw for cattle may be stored on the south-west; the cattle may be housed in the west; the grain granary in the north-west; and the milch-cows on the north. If the house is built on the southern side, its entrance should be from the north, if on the western side, from the east. This is obviously to admit free air and light into the house. However situated, it is deemed desirable that the central hall should face the east. The main entrance should be on a higher level than the interior apartments. A sloping towards the east is always commended. A house once built cannot be extended to the south. This is a cardinal belief. Houses should have *pials* (earthen benches) and the doors should open inside and be bolted from the left to right. The *pials* should be usually covered to afford shelter to strangers. There should be niches at the outside of a house, one on either side, for placing lighted lamps in the evening. The windows, doors, and the inner courtyard should be so placed as to admit the free passage of light and air. The general idea underlying the construction of a house is that it is fashioned after the body of a human being, lying on the site with his head on the north-east and his feet on the south-west, reclining on his left arm and facing the east.

The principles of house construction are part of the traditional beliefs governing house erection in every part of South India and are followed in the building of houses by all castes and creeds. The artizan knows them to a fault and will not allow any deviation from them.

Houses should not face a lane or street, a well or tank, if the inmates are to prosper. They should be entered after due ceremonies and feeding of Brahmins, the workmen and the poor. In the Dekhan in front of houses as we enter, is a

modest square erection in which the *tulasi* (*Ossimum Sanctum*) is planted and worshipped daily.

The deviations, if any, in the general plan, are usually made to suit the weather conditions of the area and in particular to ward off the effects of rain.

A poor raiyat's house in many places is a long narrow room, half of which is appropriated to the cattle at night.* It is usually thatched with grass, palmyra leaves or other similar material.

Temporary hovels are erected by migratory tribes like Waddars, etc. These are made of what material may be available on the spot, split bamboo mats playing a large part, where available.

The hut of the poorest classes, such as the Pariahs or Holeyas, and Madigas, is often called by a name *gādu* which means "nest". This describes its essential character, *i.e.*, a single room, with a narrow entrance admitting of little light and air.

Agriculturists usually build new huts as required, when the members in the family marry and get their wives to live with them. Usually brothers and other close relations live next to each other and they appropriate more space as required.

A few aberrant departures may be quoted. On the Nilgiri Hills, the Badagas build their houses (thatched or brick-built) in a single straight row on a high

* The connection between malaria, men and cattle thus penned has been often referred to by medical men. I may refer this to a recent authority on the subject:

Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. Fry, I.M.S., in the course of an article in the January issue of the INDIAN MEDICAL GAZETTE states that the editorial note in the September number on the role played by cattle in the prevention of Malaria refers to a subject which is of the greatest importance in India, where cattle are commonly housed in close association with human dwellings.

The parasite infection rate in Bengal, which I estimated by the dissection of many hundred anophelines to be about 0.2 per cent was extraordinarily low, and I formed a theory then that the vast majority of anophelines never fed on human beings at all.

In my second report I wrote that "The daytime resting place of anophelines in Bengal is cowshed and the low mosquito infection rate which we found in Bengal may be explained by the fact that most of the mosquitoes which were dissected by us were not caught in sleeping rooms, where it was always very difficult to find specimens. Cowhouses are packed with animals at night, and the number of anophelines found in them increases in direct proportion to warmth and darkness. The sleeping apartments of houses in Bengal are generally very clean and well kept. Though the cowhouses in the same compound may swarm with anophelines, it is exceptional to find a single specimen in a cook-house or sleeping apartment. As the cattle are penned in these houses at sunset, it is natural to suppose that the majority of anophelines have no desire to go abroad but feed chiefly on the cattle. It is only those wishing to lay eggs that need go outside, and it is probably these insects and those newly hatched that feed on human beings."

Major Christophers has kindly sent me a paper read by Dr. Schuffner at the recent Batavia Congress. Schuffner states that he has found that certain species of anopheles actually prefer to feed on bullocks rather than on man and suggests as a prophylactic measure the regular placing of animals between dwelling houses. Many of the villages in the endemic areas of Bengal are built on high ground surrounded by swamps. If the cowsheds were arranged in a ring on the outskirts of the village with dwelling houses in the centre instead of indiscriminately as is usual, I am sure that the dwelling houses and their inhabitants would be even more free from infestation by mosquitoes than they are at present.

eminence and call it their *Kēri* (or street). The house is a neat structure with a small hall, having close to the wall an elevated bench-like construction to sit or sleep on. Into this hall opens, in one part, the kitchen. There are no windows, light being let in only from the main door, which usually faces the east. If the door is shut, the house is snug, which is what is required on the cold Nilgiris. No water is available on the eminence on which the *Kēri* is built. It has to be fetched by the women-folk from the valley far below. The houses of the Todas similarly are on hill tops. Each house is of a conical shape, with thatched roof. Egress and ingress into it is by a small door through which one should creep.

In the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Godavari and Vizagapatam, the villages are away from the roads. If a road is taken near a village, the village is deserted and a new one founded in the interior. The people are averse to having any visits from the Government servants, who usually frequent the road. The houses themselves are small one-roomed structures of wattled-bamboo and are just sufficient for single families.

In the Malnād (hilly) parts of Mysore, houses are built of mud with wooden posts at the corners, and in the walls at intervals of six or eight feet, which support the roof, sun-dried or burnt bricks of a large square shape being used by some in recent years. The roof projects so as to form a verandah of two and half feet on the outside, and protects the walls from the rain, tiled or thatched as the case may be, and remarkably wide and low. The floor is raised three feet above the level of the ground, and the walls are about six feet high from the floor. Larger houses have one or more courtyards, open in the centre with corridors all round; small dormitories and closets without windows open into these verandahs. A building like this is proof against rain, which is pretty heavy in the Malnād parts and is open to light and air inside it during the summer.

The above short description will show that the general principles on which rural habitations are based are well-understood throughout South India. That the normal house is built on a well understood plan and that the aberrations are deviations from the normal seems uncontested. The interior economy of each house is different in the case of each caste, to which its occupant may belong. Granaries, cowsheds, etc., play a large part in a cultivator's household. In a shepherd's other considerations prevail; far different are the needs of a Brahmin, with his need for sitting space, reading accommodation, and room for worshipping his household deities, etc. To this extent the difference in detail is dictated as much by the needs of the different avocations followed by their owners as by their ethnic character.

This brings us to a class of dwellings in villages formed entirely for Brahmins by kings, generals, ministers and other pious founders in olden days. These foundations are known as *Agrahāras*. They are primarily intended for Brahmins. They are laid out on definite lines and houses are built in them for Brahmins belonging to the four Vedic schools, who come to occupy them. In other parts of a foundation of this nature, are laid out in parallel rows, houses for the agriculturists dependent on the Brahmins and others who usually belong to a well-equipped

village. There are, of course, a temple, a tank, etc., for each village thus founded. Each house has the usual interior accommodation requisite for a Brahmin family and a good backyard, with a mango and tamarind trees and space enough for a kitchen garden. Numerous grants of villages thus equipped—or on similar lines—are referred to in countless inscriptions found throughout the length and breadth of South India. The ethnic demarcation of villages of this kind is most marked and is its main characteristic. But it must be added that foundations of this kind, though frequent in ancient and even in mediæval times in South India, are now practically out of date. Promiscuous house building is more and more the rule though to a smaller extent in the rural areas. The establishment of a temple in a place meant, similarly, a new village designed on ethnical lines. Brahmins live round the temple, the village being in the centre of a square, the four roads being used for taking round the processional car. The other classes and castes are located according to the occupations they follow, in regular streets, in different parts of the village. This plan has earned much modern admiration. Foundations of this kind, if we are to believe the old poets and inscriptions, were frequent in ancient days. Some of the larger cities of South India which have existed from pre-British days were founded on this plan.

A study of place names shows that physical environment has played a great part in the foundation of villages. Thus the endings *Kattē*, *Samudra*, *Sāgara*, *Belgola* in Kanarese districts show that the villages are close to large sheets of water. *Bande*, *Kallu*, *Betta* and *Konda* show that they are close to a rock, hill or other eminence. *Mahal* indicates that they are close to the palace of a chieftain or important person. *Kōle* or *Gōdi* to a fort. Proximity to big trees, forests (say bamboo or other), flowering plants of a striking kind, etc., have also not infrequently given their names to villages.

Frequent wars in South India led to agglomerations in rural areas. Villages founded as the result of war or other similar sudden disturbance (for example, famine) generally end in *Valasa* or *Valse* and *Guli*. The houses usually belong to a single caste or a few different castes which with later accretions make up the population. Settlements of this kind are as common on the Coromandel Coast as in the Dekhan proper.

Villages thus owe their origins to natural causes and are connected closely with their environment, both as to names and as to their structure. Villages are not far away from water, building materials and minor or major forests. Houses are built on known principles and admit, in the majority of cases, both light and air. The poorer classes live in small houses of a simple make-up. The internal arrangement of houses was, in olden days, largely based on the idea of occupation, each caste following a particular craft being located in one street or parallel streets. Similarly the internal economy of the house was dictated by the occupation followed by the occupier, which in the main depended on his caste or calling. The weavers' streets are usually broad; the car street in a Brahmin settlement is also broad; and the tortuous lanes in other areas are usually due to the peculiarities of

the ground. Wars, the foundation of Brahman settlements by kings and others and the establishment of temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu in the Brahmanic revival which followed in the wake of the absorption of Buddhism by the revived Brahmanism in the eighth century A.D., led to agglomerations in various parts of South India which still exist, some of them being the larger and better known cities of South India from times anterior to the appearance of the European nations in the land.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. L. RICE—*Mysore Gazetteer*.
2. W. FRANCIS—*Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*; *Bellary District Gazetteer* and *Nilgiris District Gazetteer*.
3. STOKES, M.C.S.—*Report on Nagar Division of Mysore*.
4. W. BREEKS—*Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris*.
5. C. P. VENKATRAMA IYER—*Town-planning in the Dekhan*.
6. *Bangalore Mythic Society's Journal*.

NOTES.

Derivation of the name "Bangalore".

IN connection with my article on the above subject, the following foot-note in the "Journal" for April 1924, was added by the Editor on page 240:—"Mr. C. H. Rao apparently overlooks the fact that a Begur inscription of the 9th century A.D. refers to the existence of Bangalore.—*Ed.*" May I say that I have not overlooked it? I know this inscription and have even quoted it in my original paper on "Place-Names of Mysore" published in the *Journal* ten years ago! Again, from the article itself, it will be seen that this inscription was not only borne in mind by me but also an attempt was made to show that the name "Bangalore" was named after some "Venkata", of whose identity or age we know nothing at present and that whoever founded it, he found the name already in existence, and in keeping with the name, founded the temple of Venkataramana in the Fort.

The name—the original name—in my view, is a corrupted form of the word "Venkata + ur". Why it was so called, there is at present no evidence to adduce. This applies to the name, even to times before the Begur inscription (tenth century A.D., not ninth century, an obvious slip). Kempe Gowda found the name already there and transferred it to the new town he built. In other words, the name is older than Kempe Gowda; and also older than the temple which came into existence later. Perhaps, also, it is *much older* than the Begur inscription itself. Kempe Gowda transferred it to his own city, because he found it convenient to do so. His appropriation of the old name may be due to his desire to commemorate and perpetuate it by linking it with the new city he founded. That the name of the city is not after the temple is as clear as noon-day-sun, for it is obviously much older; it is possible, in view of what I have said, that the temple itself derived its name from the city, which Kempe Gowda transferred from the old city to the new.

It seems necessary to add that the temple of Venkataramana in the Fort was *not* built by Kempe Gowda but by Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar. An inscription dated Saka 1627 (=1705 A.D.) at Kottanūr (see Rice's *Ep. Car., Bangalore, No. 118*) distinctly states that the temple had been "newly built" by the "father" (Appāji) of Kantirava Narasaraaja Wodeyar. This Kantirava was surnamed Mūkarasu and ruled from 1704-1713. He succeeded Chikka Deva. This Kottanūr inscription records a grant by Kantirava of the village of Kottanūr, in Gottigere, "belonging to the Fort of Bangalore", with its hamlets, with all relative rights of ownership and enjoyment, for maintaining the daily offerings and illuminations of the God Venkatēśvara, "newly consecrated in the Bangalore Fort by our father", to use the words of the inscription. Bangalore passed into the hands of the

Mysore Kings in 1687, during the time of Chikka Deva, having been practically purchased by him from the Moghul General Khāsim Khān. Apparently the temple was built between 1687 and 1704, the year of Chikka Deva's death. As Kantirava in his Kottanūr inscription, which is dated in 1705 A.D., states that the temple had been "recently" built by his father, it may be inferred that it had only been built towards the close of Chikka Deva's reign. The story of the temple having been built by Kempe Gowda seems thus baseless. Accordingly, the statement in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 21, which ascribes the building of this temple to Kempe Gowda from the revenue derived by him from the 12 *hoblis* granted by Achyutarāya, the Vijayanagar sovereign, requires correction. This, however, does not affect the derivation suggested by me, for the derivation affects the name "Bangalore" as it was at the time of and long anterior to this and the Begur inscription. Prāktaṇa Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimha-char informs me that he remembers inscriptions in which "Vēngalanātha" and "Tiruvēngalanātha" occur as the name of the deity in the temple and that there is no doubt that "Vēngala" and "Vēngalanātha" are correct terms when used in connection with a temple dedicated to God Venkata or Venkataramana. I must thank him for this information.

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

The Sky-Lark.

Is it the same as *Chātaka*?

IN the January (1924) number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., tries to suggest that the Indian name for the sky-lark is *Chātaka*. To my mind, the learned writer does not seem to be correct. No proof or authority for identifying the sky-lark with the *Chātaka* is forthcoming. He speaks of two species of the sky-lark described by Rāi Bāhādur R. B. Sānyāl and by Mr. Eugene W. Oates, and incidentally states that the Hindi and Bengali names of the bird are *Bharata* and *Bharata Pakshi*. (I may note that *Bharadvāja*, which is the Sanskrit name for the sky-lark, is obviously turned to *Bharata*.) Mr. Mitra then observes:

"Curiously enough, both Rāi Bāhādur Rām Brāhma Sānyāl and Mr. Eugene W. Oates have not mentioned the Bengali synonym *Chātaka* of both the aforementioned species of sky-larks."

I should say there is nothing curious in this omission on the part of the two experts. The reason is obvious, *viz.*, *Chātaka* and the sky-lark are distinct birds. Amarakośa gives *Bharadvāja* (which is indisputably the word for the sky-lark), and *Chātaka* as names of distinct kinds of birds. It is difficult to find out what makes Mr. Mitra say that *Chātaka* is a Bengali synonym of *Bharata* (or *Bharadvāja*). An abridged edition of Dr. Carey's Bengali Dictionary tells us that *Chātaka* is the

name of a bird, probably a swallow, but generally supposed to be the *cuculus melanoleucus*. It does not give sky-lark as the meaning of *Chātaka*. Starting on the assumption that the *Chātaka* is the same as the skylark, Mr. Mitra goes on relating certain well-known myths about this rain-drinking bird, and wishes us to believe that the myths pertain to the sky-lark!

A reference to the Encyclopædia Britannica will show that the sky-lark is a bird whose ways and habits do not tally with the ways and habits attributed to the *Chātaka*.

N. B. DIVATIA.

REVIEWS.

The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture.

BY DR. G. SLATER, M.A., D.SC.,

Late Professor of Indian Economics in the University of Madras.

Published by Ernest Benn, Ltd., 9, Bouverie Street, London E. C. 4.

Price 10s. 6d.

DOCTOR GILBERT SLATER is so well-known in Southern India that any book from him ought to be welcome to our readers. It speaks highly of his versatility that almost the first book he should publish after his return home should be closely connected with the subject of South Indian ethnology. But it is to be feared that the conclusions he states are rather of the ill-founded type, some at least of them going against the results of well-known recent investigators in India. The date of Dravidian Immigration "800, or 900 or even 1000 B.C." or even a period "long before" these dates seems too late for the obvious reason that in the Vedas we already find mention of non-Aryan tribes of whom some at least, even according to Dr. Slater, must have been Dravidians. Dr. Slater himself seems to accept this view (see page 117 of his book). The chapter on Aryans is a conglomerate of ideas, facts, and fancies that does not yield any definite result. The third chapter is devoted to the antiquity of Dravidian civilization, in which the deduction is drawn that the latter "resembled" Egypt and Mesopotamia in its religious ideas and that "the first linking up of India with Egypt was accomplished when the Egyptians navigated the Red Sea and reached the Land of Punt". Indian magic, in Dr. Slater's opinion, "must be regarded as a Dravidian rather than an Aryan contribution to Indian culture". The economic basis of Dravidian culture is, according to him, rice culture. He thinks that the Dravidians did not cultivate rice "in the district which they inhabited before entering India" and that if they had done so they would have settled down in that spot. Migration is due to many causes, and there are instances even in South India of castes and tribes once rice-cultivating, who have now given up rice-cultivating. For example, the Badagas of the Nilgiris do not cultivate rice now on the Hills, but it is an undoubted fact that they *did* cultivate it in their original homes. A study of tattoo marks revealed this fact and tradition still current among them fully confirms the statement. Dr. Slater's view that a rice-growing community do not or would not emigrate is not borne out either by experience or by historical tradition. Even in modern times rice-growing agriculturists have travelled away from their original lands and set up as such or not as the occasion demanded it. Dr. Slater agrees with Perry in thinking that

cereal-growing "was imported into India from Egypt although the grain cultivated was native". There is not even the shadow of any evidence, through language or otherwise, for all this. "Cultural" contact theory cannot be abused indefinitely for purposes of proving fanciful views. "Rice" is derived from "Arisi" and, as Caldwell long ago pointed out, is a Tamil name which has travelled into Europe through Greek 'Oryza,' Latin 'Oriza', French 'Ris'. Rice culture has made the Dravidian, in Dr. Slater's view, an obedient man. Caste, according to him, is both political and social in origin; and caste is of "Dravidian rather than of Aryan origin" (Pp. 51-53). As it is Dravidian in origin, it can be best studied in South India. The result of his study of it is that "its origin lies partly in occupational, and partly in racial differences". We would advise Dr. Slater to read Sir Herbert Risley's "People of India" for a scientific treatment of the problem of the origins of caste. His attempt at a solution of this problem in the chapter, headed "Some Features of Dravidian Culture", is not only misleading but entirely unscientific. The following sentences are from this chapter:—"The distinguishing mark of the Brahman is the sacred cotton cord worn by him inside all other clothing. This appears to be a very clear indication that the Brahman ascendancy has one of its roots in the descent of Brahmans from foreigners, who earned the gratitude and homage of the population of India by teaching them to spin and weave." And this art of weaving was, it is suggested, brought to India from "across the sea from Egypt". The last chapter in the book deals with "The Dravidian Problem To-day". The question is stated thus: "What special part has that corner of India in which Dravidian speech persists to play in the future history of India and of the world?" Dr. Slater, who thinks of Dravidian India in terms of Egypt and Babylon, finds it in closest touch with the twentieth century. The chapter is a pen-picture of Madras, intellectual and other, in anything modern—from the League of Nations to the Aluminium Workers' Union. This is due to British influence. English is largely the language of South India. This is "amazing". Unification of languages is necessary; ergo a common script is needed. Dr. Slater gives an account of his attempt in the Madras Legislative Council for the adoption of a common script and how it was lost "by a large majority", through "sentimental conservatism". But he agrees ultimately that South Indians "are wise in their generation in desiring that their children should learn English early and master it thoroughly". Then comes the arguable question of "Parliamentary institutions" and "Bureaucratic government with foreigners holding the most important posts". Then the Prince of Wales' visit, the Reform of the Constitution, the Malabar Rebellion, the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements and finally the arrival of the representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation and the initiation of the Crusade against hook-worm. Then follows the observation that the great majority of the Dravidians are "sick men suffering from diseases till recently little understood, but, when understood, preventable". When he has shaken off his anæmia and thrown off "his mental handicap of a too one-sided method of thinking," the factors which made India a land of high

civilization while Europe was in the stage of barbarism will no doubt again produce their appropriate results. But it is gratifying to learn at the end of it all:—"Ultimately it may be found that the West has as much to learn from India as to teach. But in whichever way the flow of intellectual commerce is moving the English-speaking Dravidians will supply many of the most active intermediaries." Thus is the "Dravidian Problem To-day" answered by Dr. Slater, a book aiming singularly high and creating expectations even higher, but terribly disappointing both in the treatment of the subject, and the summing up of conclusions, such as they are, arrived at by the author.

Intangible and elusive in argument, loose in treatment, appalling in the ignoring of first-hand authorities on the subject, it is wholly to be deplored that Dr. Slater should have thought of a publication of this kind, so entirely alien to his proper domain.

C. H. R.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1923.

THE year under review marks an interesting departure in two things. From September 1922, the Department was placed under the administrative control of the Mysore University and its office shifted to Mysore. Secondly, there was a change in the personnel. Dr. Shamasastri became Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore in succession to Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimha Char. It was no easy task to succeed the Rao Bahadur. The report before us, however, shows how worthily he has fulfilled the onerous responsibilities of the office.

Owing to pressure of work, extensive tours were not possible. Nevertheless the Belur and the Halebid temples and bastis were re-visited and improvements for their preservation suggested by the Doctor. In this connection it is very gratifying to observe that, as a result of a detailed inspection of these places conducted by a Special Committee, certain important repairs to these shrines are about to be taken in hand. Now that the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, though rather late in the day, is about to become law of the land, we may express a hope that a systematic and careful control will be exercised so as to prevent further damage to ancient monuments in the State.

Of the numerous monuments, manuscripts and inscriptions, etc., discovered during the year, a Viragal at Gaddemane in the Shimoga district relating to the seventh century A.D. recording the death of a commander in fighting with numbers led by Mahendra opposing Siladitya's claim to sovereignty over Shimoga may be mentioned.

Dr. Shamasastri has endeavoured to put together, in the report, all the traditional, astronomical and synchronistic evidences bearing on the controversial question of the chronology of the Brihadbanas, the Kadambas and the Gangas, and suggests what he says is a satisfactory solution regarding the date of the

early Guptas, understood to be the contemporaries of the Kadambas (pp. 9-30). To criticise Dr. Fleet's Gupta chronology, the Director presses into his service the traditional data: (1) Alberuni's statement that Valabhi era dates from the extermination of the Guptas and Valabhi (Valabhi's being destroyed in A.D. 319); (2) the Chinese statement that the Yui-chi during the period between A.D. 220-280 put their kings to death and established military chiefs; (3) Hiuen Tsiang's statement in respect of the Kingdom of Valabhi that "the present king is of the race of Kshatriyas (Tsati-li); he is the son-in-law of Siladitya (Chilo-O-tie-to), king of Kanyakubja (Kie-jo-kid-che); his name is Dhruvabhata (Tou-lou-po-poto)"; (4) the Jaina tradition relating to the subjugation of Murunda by Samudragupta, as mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. On this last, the Doctor says, 'the glorious period of Murundas begins from about 18 A.D. and lasts for about 250 years, overlapping that of the Guptas during its close. The Jaina account relating to chronology is untrustworthy.' After considering in detail Dr. Fleet and Mr. Pathak's comments on the 'Harivamsa passage' and their different conclusions therefrom, he proceeds to synchronistic evidence from inscriptions and concludes (see Summary on p. 30) that Gupta Valabhi era was started from A.D. 319-320; that the initial date of the Gupta era is fixed to lie in A.D. 200-201; that the date of Siladitya was A.D. 647; that Samudragupta's rule was about A.D. 282. As he says, "this scheme throws a flood of light on what has hitherto been regarded a dark period between A.D. 200-300 in the History of India." This is, however, a question which deserves further consideration and, in the light of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's recent lecture in the Mythic Society, we have to suspend judgment.

Belavadi temple was inspected and completely explored. Belavadi is a village about eight miles from Halebid. The Trikutachala temple is a fine Hoysala specimen and perhaps the biggest of the kind in size. The illustrations in the report taken from this temple are all excellent.

We must also thank Dr. Shamasastri for the important departure made in the report in giving an account of the archaeological and epigraphical work of the Department. All the records collected during the year are arranged by districts with serial numbers; chronological and epigraphical notes, with the transliteration of the inscription in Roman characters, are given; the subject-matter of the inscription and the chronology of the personages and events mentioned in it are also given. These are bound to be very helpful to the students of ancient history; all the facts connected with a find are put together and the reader has not got to search all through the report for the same.

The new items of discovery, so far not noticed in this review, are the exact date of the erection of the statue of Gomata in Sravana Belagola, A.D. 1028, and the date of birth, accession, and death of Kalki A.D. 402, 432 and 472.

The report maintains a very high level of excellence like its predecessors, and the Department has to be congratulated on the amount of useful work done during the year.

S.

* A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary.

BY A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., HON. LL.D.

THIS volume, of which the following is a review, is a corrected reprint of a former edition of the book by the same author, who is well-known and who certainly does not stand in need of any introduction to Sanskritists.

In undertaking this short review I crave the indulgence of the readers of this Journal and of the author for any shortcomings either in thought or language. My claims for this critical function stand on very slender foundations. Nothing but the fact of my having sat at the feet of the Goddess of Sanskrit learning during the leisure hours of my professional work emboldens me to take it up. But, on the other hand, the great learning and the high repute and esteem in which the author is held, have a depressing effect on me. But a few remarks, offered by way of suggestions, could never be out of place and unwelcome; and I am sure the author will take them in the best spirit.

In the course of my cursory references, here and there, I notice that small words either do not find a place or their interpretations do not appear to be quite satisfactory. In certain places the interpretation is not supported by any references. Words having either different or derivative meanings have been omitted, perhaps by oversight or as unnecessary or as exceeding the limits of a handy volume. The insertion of such words would have been more useful to the student. It is clear from these observations that the size of the work was uppermost in the mind of the author. Suggestions regarding words and their special uses in special works referred to by the author in his preface, will be given later on in the critical review, which will follow in a subsequent issue.

The time and labour bestowed on the preparation of such a valuable work can never be adequately estimated, much less appreciated. Years of patient toil and elaborate references must have preceded the production of such a compendious work. The price of the book is somewhat prohibitive and makes it inaccessible to many. It is hoped that the author will soon find it feasible to publish a cheaper reprint so as to bring it within easy reach of the Indian student.

The present work is stated to have derived its material mainly from the shorter St. Petersburg Dictionary. Since I have not this valuable work before me, I am not in a position to say how far the present work justifies its maternity; but I am sure the original excellence will not only have been maintained, but carried forward with redoubled vigour. The Indian public can never be too grateful to the foreign savants of Sanskrit learning as day by day our store of knowledge is not only enriched but ransacked from all points of view. It is no wonder that several words and their compounds are omitted as the standpoint of view of different authors is different. What is found in one dictionary may not be found in the other as they will not only differ according to their size, but with the ideals

* Published by the Oxford University Press. Price 5s. 30.

pursued by their respective authors. The choice of words and passages will also vary with the ideals of the authors. A comparative view of different dictionaries would be quite inappropriate. We, Indians, think that the home of Sanskrit learning is India and therefore modern Indian interpretation of Sanskrit passages and quotations generally follows the ancient surrounding tradition. But sometimes, such interpretations, I do admit, are biased. The author has thought fit, I believe, with a view to encourage and induce the habit of industry and research, to omit the quotations to support his meaning, though giving references. Hence I am led to doubt, from a cursory perusal of the book, whether the author would have stuck to the same views and meanings of words and passages and followed the present plan of his work, had he lived amidst Indian surroundings.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. It is published by the Oxford University Press.

M. B. V.

**The History of His Holiness Sri Sacchidananda Sivabhinava
NRISIMHABHARATI SWAMI,
Jagadguru of Sri Sringeri.**

BY VEDAMURTI BRAHMASRI SADACHARA PRAVARTHANA PRAVINA
N. SRIKANTA SASTRI, *Agent of the Sringeri Mutt.*
(The Bangalore Press. Price Rs. 3-0-0.)

IN memory of the foundation ceremony relating to the installation of His Holiness' *murthi* by His Holiness Sri Jagadguru Chandrasekharabharati Swamigalavaru at Mysore, on the occasion of His Holiness' sixty-seventh birthday, this book has been published by the agent of the Mutt, Mr. Srikanta Sastri. The latter had very close association with and had intimate knowledge of the work of the late Holiness. This work could not have been entrusted to better hands. The life work of the Swami has been given in a connected, narrative form and will form most interesting reading. To the disciples of the Mutt in particular, the absorbing nature of the details described in the book can never be surpassed.

Kunigal Ramasastri belonged to a most distinguished line of Sanskrit scholars and Vidwans in Mysore and his son, the subject of the book, was born in 1857 and called Sivaswami. In 1859, he lost his father and at the age of 5, his mother also. His predecessor on the *pitha* of Sringeri, H. H. Sri Nrisimhabharati Swami (1817 to 1879) had made an extensive tour, for a period extending, off and on, over forty years and secured grants and recognition from the Peshwas of Poona, the Maharajas Scindia, Holkar, Gaikwar, the Maharajas of Mysore and Travancore, Princes, Rajas, Jodidars, etc., in Mysore, Hyderabad and elsewhere. In 1868 when the Swami was at Bangalore, Commissioner Bowring visited him at 1 A.M. of a particular day and saw him performing *Japa*. With such an illustrious and austere example before him, the new Swami of the *Jagadguru pitha* had no easy

task. The book before us gives a detailed and accurate account of his life, his travels, etc., which we do not propose to dwell on here. It used to be said that His Holiness was not much in favour of the written word and desired that his disciples should learn things for themselves by personal effort and from the lips of the wise. Agreeably to this injunction, we close this review with the hope that those who are anxious to know the life and times of H. H. Sri Nrisimhabharati Swami will read the book for themselves. The get-up is splendid and we congratulate the Bangalore Press on the excellence of the blocks and printing.

S.

The Djawa, Vol. IV, No. 1.

THE first article gives a very interesting insight into Javanese music writing. The second article is a description of the more popular forms of music or rather sounds produced by words, and some peculiar instruments. The third article introduces us to some *Muhammadan writers* regarded by some as not quite orthodox and their influence on Javanese mysticism. The fourth article explains some popular beliefs about remedies for several common ailments. The fifth article is on the legend of *Kin Tambechan* in Malay literature and the last one is a very interesting, and for its short space, instructive article on Javanese architecture, its origin and further development.

F. S.

Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala, Vol. XIV, Fasc 1—2, and 3.

THE work is devoted mostly to the derivation of words—principally Arabic. Though not of general interest to the members of the Mythic Society, it contains some information which it may be useful to know. On p. 107 begins an article in Swedish, entirely, on *bad language*, curses and expletives in Arabic! On p. 114 the author concludes with a hope that he may find out the swearwords and general terms of abuse in the Turkish and other Oriental languages; needless to add, this could not be done unless the author went and lived amongst the people. What is written in German in the book is also mostly on words.

Z. S.

**List of Subscriptions and Donations received during
the quarter ending 30th June 1924.**

Names.	Volume.	Amount.
Messrs.		RS. A. P.
T. Singaravelu, Bangalore ..	XIV	5 0 0
K. B. Madhava, Bangalore ..	"	5 0 0
D. Venkatramiah, Bangalore ..	XIII	5 0 0
P. K. Ramaswami Iyengar, Coimbatore ..	XIV	3 0 0
T. S. Ramanathan, Sattur ..	"	3 0 0
R. Ranga Rao, Bangalore ..	"	5 0 0
Bishop of Mangalore ..	XIV & part pay- ment of XV }	5 0 0
N. Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore ..	XIV	5 0 0
B. Subrahmanya Iya, Mysore ..	"	3 0 0
M. G. Rama Rao, Bangalore ..	"	5 0 0
Rao Bahadur P. R. Vengu Iyer, Bangalore ..	"	5 0 0
M. V. Lakshmana Iyer, Kuttalam ..	"	3 0 0
A. Mervyn Smith, Bangalore ..	"	5 0 0
Private Secretary to Her Highness the Junior Ranee of Travancore ..	"	5 0 0
Secretary, Public Library, Bangalore ..	XIII & XIV	10 0 0
R. Alwar Iyengar, Bhawani ..	XIV	3 4 0
T. Abdul Khader, Mysore ..	"	3 4 0
Batni Bheema Rao, Channapatna ..	"	3 4 0
P. Bhadrish, Anantapur ..	"	3 4 0
H. J. Bhabha, Bombay ..	"	3 4 0
K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Madras ..	"	3 4 0
H. M. A. Cooke, Oorgaum ..	"	3 4 0
S. Dharma Rao, Bowringpet ..	"	3 4 0
Dr. J. J. Fitz Maurice, K. G. F. ..	"	3 4 0
V. B. Alur, Dharwar ..	"	3 4 0
W. A. F. Bracken, Coorg ..	"	3 4 0
S. A. Balakrishna Iyer, Mayavaram ..	"	3 4 0
Bheema Rao Belladone, Bellary ..	"	3 4 0
Rev. R. C. Bensen, Cocanada ..	"	3 4 0
C. R. T. Congreeve, Valapara ..	"	3 4 0
Rev. Father E. Fernandez, Bombay ..	"	3 4 0
J. W. Fairweather, K. G. F. ..	"	3 4 0
Rev. D. Giovanni, Mangalore ..	"	3 4 0
Dr. K. Gundopanth, Mysore ..	"	3 4 0

Names.	Volume.	Amount.
Messrs.		RS. A. P.
C. Gopalacharya, Poonamalee..	XIV	3 4 0
R. V. Krishnan, Madras ..	"	3 4 0
C. Krishna Rao, Tumkur ..	"	3 4 0
Rev. Father I. J. McCormick, Bellary ..	"	3 4 0
Rev. A. R. Slater, Hassan ..	XII, XIII & XIV	9 4 0
L. S. V. Rama Iyer, Channapatna ..	XIV	3 4 0
P. Sundaram Pillay, Salem ..	"	3 4 0
M. Haritheertham, Pudukottai ..	"	3 4 0
Rao Saheb V. T. Krishnamachari, Ramnad ..	"	3 4 0
P. S. Govinda Rao, Mysore ..	"	3 4 0
G. Sridharamurthy, Tumkur ..	"	3 4 0
S. Seetharamiah, Shimoga ..	"	3 4 0
M. Venkatakrishniah, Mysore ..	"	3 4 0
Rev. C. Auzuech, Vayathri ..	"	3 4 0
L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyer ..	"	3 4 0
Lt.-Col. Crawford, Saklespur ..	"	3 4 0
C. W. E. Cotton, Trivandrum ..	"	3 4 0
R. H. Hitchcock ..	"	3 4 0
P. R. Krishnaswami ..	"	3 4 0
A. V. Krishnamurthy ..	"	3 4 0
Kolandai Velu ..	"	3 4 0
S. Krishnamurthy ..	"	3 4 0
K. Krishnamurthy Rao ..	"	3 4 0
B. Krishna Iyengar ..	"	3 4 0
S. Abdul Khaleck ..	"	3 4 0
L. A. Krishna Iyer ..	"	3 4 0
Charles Lister ..	"	3 4 0
C. Nilakantaiya ..	"	3 4 0
P. R. Narayana Iyer ..	"	3 4 0
J. S. Nicolls ..	"	3 4 0
R. Puttaraj Urs ..	"	3 4 0
B. Ramaswamaiya, Hassan ..	"	3 4 0
S. P. Rajagopalachari ..	"	3 4 0
Douglas M. Reid ..	"	3 4 0
Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Ramesam ..	"	3 4 0
A. Rangaswami Sarasvathi ..	"	3 4 0
M. Rangaswami Iyengar ..	"	3 4 0
Y. K. Ramachandra Rao ..	"	3 4 0
B. Sundara Bhashyam ..	"	3 4 0
K. S. Seetharaman ..	"	3 4 0
S. Sreenivasa Iyengar ..	XIII & XIV	6 4 0

Messrs.	Names.	Volume.	Amount. RS. A. P.
C. Subba Rao	..	Balance of Vol. XIII & in full for XIV	4 4 0
P. F. Bowring, Bangalore	..	XIV	5 0 0
H. Allardice	..	"	3 4 0
Bhagavadatta	..	"	3 4 0
F. Foulkes	..	"	3 4 0
S. Hiriyanniah	..	"	3 4 0
B. V. Kamesvara Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
C. Lake	..	"	3 4 0
R. A. Narasimha Iyengar	..	"	3 4 0
N. S. Narasimha Iyengar	..	"	3 4 0
S. Paramesvara Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar	..	"	3 4 0
M. Raja Rao	..	"	3 4 0
B. Ramaswamaiya, Sringeri	..	"	3 4 0
J. E. Saklatwalla	..	"	3 4 0
C. R. Subrahmanyachari	..	"	3 4 0
S. Venkatesiah, Hassan	..	"	3 4 0
C. Rama Rao, Bangalore	..	"	5 0 0
J. Fernandez, Calcutta	..	"	3 4 0
Dr. Gouranganath Banerji	..	"	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur M. Gopalaswami Mudaliar	..	"	3 4 0
C. J. Hall	..	"	3 4 0
T. K. Krishna Menon	..	"	3 4 0
N. Lakshmanan	..	"	3 4 0
F. Aylmer Martin	..	"	3 4 0
Hiralal T. Panpi	..	"	3 4 0
C. Ranganatha Rao Saheb	..	XIII & XIV	8 4 0
C. Ransford	..	XIV	3 4 0
V. K. Rajagopalathamban	..	"	3 4 0
Dewan Bahadur T. Raghavaia	..	"	3 4 0
K. S. Ramaswami Sastri	..	"	3 4 0
K. S. Sreenivasa Pillay	..	"	3 4 0
S. Sarvothama Rao	..	"	3 4 0
R. Subbarayadu	..	"	3 4 0
K. G. Sesha Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
Sir P. S. Sivasami Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
A. Suryanarayana Rao	..	"	3 4 0
K. Tatachar	..	"	3 4 0
M. Venkatanaranappa	..	"	3 4 0
O. Visvanatha Rao	..	"	3 4 0

Messrs.	Names.	Volume.	Amount. RS. A. P.
K. D. Venkate Urs	..	XIV	3 4 0
Librarian, Adyar Library	..	"	3 4 0
O. C. Ganguly	..	"	3 4 0
C. L. Jaina	..	"	3 4 0
Dr. M. Krishnamacharya	..	"	3 4 0
R. V. Krishnaswami Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastri	..	"	3 4 0
H. L. Pinches	..	"	3 4 0
Rt. Rev. F. Perier	..	"	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis	..	"	3 4 0
S. K. Rajagopala Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur M. Raghunatha Rao	..	"	3 4 0
J. A. Richardson	..	"	3 4 0
Sindige Siddappa	..	"	3 4 0
V. Subrahmanya Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
S. Seetharamiah (Amildar)	..	"	3 4 0
T. Sreenivasachar	..	"	3 4 0
P. M. Sundararaja Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
R. Subba Rao	..	"	3 4 0
R. Vaidyanathan	..	"	3 4 0
V. Venkatachala Iyer	..	"	3 4 0
Honorary Secretary, K. G. F. Club	..	"	3 4 0
Honorary Secretary, Literary Union, Kolar	..	"	3 4 0
C. V. Narasaiya	..	XV	3 0 0
J. S. Aseervatham Pillay	..	XIV	3 4 0
Rev. A. J. D'Souza	..	"	3 4 0
B. Gururaja Rao	..	"	3 4 0
Dr. R. K. Mukerji	..	"	3 4 0
M. Zahiruddin Mecci	..	"	3 4 0
Narendranath Law	..	"	3 4 0
J. C. Rollo	..	XIII & XIV	6 4 0
Dewan Bahadur C. Srikanteswara Iyer	..	XIV	3 4 0
Sherkhan Jammaud, Nawab of Honnali	..	"	3 4 0
V. H. Vader	..	"	3 4 0
V. N. Ramanatha Rao	..	"	3 4 0
V. K. Ramuni Menon	..	"	3 4 0
Rev. I. Wright	..	"	3 4 0
Principal, A.E.L.M. College, Guntur	..	"	3 4 0
H. Waddington	..	"	3 4 0
Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow	..	"	3 4 0
G. T. Hall, Bangalore	..	"	5 0 0

Names.	Volume.	Amount.
Messrs.		RS. A. P.
A. R. Loftus Tottenham	XIV	3 4 0
W. H. Nurse	"	3 4 0
S. T. Moses	"	3 4 0
S. S. Sinha	"	3 4 0
A. S. Woodburne	"	3 4 0
B. Nagesha Rao, Bangalore	XIII	5 0 0
M. B. Krishnachettiar	XIV	3 4 0
K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer	"	3 4 0
Honorary Secretary, J. N. Petit Institute, Bombay ..	"	3 4 0
Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram ..	XV	3 4 0
D. Kongadiyappa	XIV	3 4 0
A. V. Seshachar	"	3 4 0
Gulam Ahmed Kalami	"	3 4 0
T. R. V. Sarma	"	3 4 0
V. Rangachary	"	3 4 0
K. Rama Pisharoti	"	3 4 0
Rev. Robert S. J. Zimmerman	"	3 4 0
C. Theobald	"	3 4 0
C. R. Kalyanasundaram Panthulu	"	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur S. K. Rodda	"	3 4 0
Kshitindranath Tagore	"	3 4 0
D. Venkatesiah	"	3 4 0
Secretary, Peace Memorial Association, Anantapur ..	"	3 4 0
S. H. Thompson, Bangalore	"	5 0 0
A. J. Wright	"	3 4 0
Dr. S. Rama Iyer	"	3 4 0
V. Seshagiri Rao	"	3 4 0
Principal, Ernakulam College	XV	3 0 0
E. H. L. Seppings	XIV	3 4 0
T. Raghavachar	"	3 4 0
P. Subba Rao	"	3 4 0
H. K. Veerabasavaiya	"	3 4 0
M. S. Ramachar	"	3 4 0
Subrahmanya Iyer, Burma	"	3 4 0
V. Venkatarama Iyer	"	3 4 0
Librarian, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta ..	"	3 4 0
Luzac and Company, London	"	3 0 0
J. R. Bhat	"	3 4 0
John Gibb	"	3 4 0
S. R. Rasaratnam	"	3 4 0
J. A. Saldanha	"	3 4 0

Names.	Volume.	Amount.
Messrs.		RS. A. P.
Progressive Union, Nellore	XIV	3 4 0
Babu Haridas Mitra	"	3 4 0
Honorary Secretary, Barton Library, Bhavnagar ..	"	3 4 0
Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior	"	3 4 0
Superintendent of Archæology, Patna	"	3 4 0
Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot	"	3 4 0
Secretary, Public Library, Mysore	"	3 0 0
R. S. Vaidyanatha Iyer	"	3 0 0
Professor P. Pissurlencar	"	3 4 0
W. H. Murphy, Bangalore	"	5 0 0
Dr. M. Sreenivasa Rao, Bangalore	"	5 0 0
A. Hayes, Bangalore	"	5 0 0
M. Sundara Rao	"	3 8 0
Rai Yatindranath Chowdhuri, Taki	"	3 8 0
B. A. Saletore	XV	3 0 0
Dr. Mariano Saldanha	XIV	3 4 0
Secretary, Literary Society, Salem	XV	3 0 0
S. Narasimha Rao	XIV	3 4 0

**Books presented or purchased during the
quarter ending 30th June 1924.**

Presented by—

Calcutta University—

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XI.

Government of India, Departments of Education and Public Health—

Catalogue of the Indian Office Library, Vol. II, Pt. IV, Bengali Books Supplement (1906—1920).

Superintendent, Government Printing, Madras—

Ananda Ranga Pillay's Diary, 1736—1761 (Vol. IX).

Director of Archaeology, Mysore—

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1923.

Oxford University Press, Bombay—

A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary by A. A. Macdonell.

Guzarat Purra Tatwa Mandir, Ahmedabad—

Abhidhanapradipika by Muni Jina Vijaya.

The Shama'a Publishing House—

"Pundalik" by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard—

Romance and Legend of Chivalry by H. R. Hope Moncrieff.

Classic Myth and Legend by H. R. Hope Moncrieff.

Celtic Myth and Legend by Charles Squire.

Egyptian Myth and Legend by Donald A. Mackenzie.

Myths of Babylonia and Assyria by Donald A. Mackenzie.

Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe by Donald A. Mackenzie.

Teutonic Myth and Legend by Donald A. Mackenzie.

Indian Myth and Legend by Donald A. Mackenzie.

Le Bouddhisme dans l'Inde by Henri Bailleau.

Rev. Father A. Lobo—

Qanoon-E-Islam or the Customs of the Mussalmans of India by Jaffu Sherif.

Rev. Father H. Heras (Author)—

A Catholic Chapel in the Court of Akbar.

The Siege and Conquest of Asirgarh by the Emperor Akbar.

The Rev. Canon Sell, D.D.—

Politique Musulmane by A. Le Chatelier.

Archives Marocaines, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2.

Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Vol. 43, Nos. 1, 3.

Fas, Son Université et l'enseignement supérieur musulman, by C. Delphin.

Un grand Maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin by M. Stanislas Guyard.

La Condition de la Femme dans la tradition et l'évolution de l'Islamisme by Mansour Fahmy.

Mémoire sur les Emirs Al-Omëra.

Brahmasri Sadachara Pravarthana Pravina N. Srikanta Sastri—

"Life of H. H. Sri Sacchidananda Sivabhinava Nrisimhabharati Swam Jagadguru of Sringeri" by himself.

By Purchase—

Sivatattwa Ratnakara, Part II, Kallolas 4 and 5.

EXCHANGES.

I. The Editors of :—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," Bankipore.

2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY,"

British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.

3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The "Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*

4. "MODERN REVIEW," Calcutta.

5. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," Srirangam.

6. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*

7. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH,"

Vepery, Madras.

8. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST," *The Library, Sinshu*

Otani University, Kyoto.

9. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," Madras.

10. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*

11. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," Lahore.

12. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDIS-

CHEN GESELLSCHAFT, Halle, Germany.

13. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*

14. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL

SOCIETY, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.

15. "THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevely.*

16. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," Madras.

17. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*

18. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*

19. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi B.N.Ry. (India)*

20. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," Mysore.

21. "THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," Tumkur.

22. "THE JAIN GAZETTE," *Parish Venkatachala Iyer*

Street, George Town, Madras.

23. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," Bombay.

24. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"

Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.

25. "THE SHAMA'A" *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*

26. "VISHVA-BHARATHI," *10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

27. "NAVASHAKTI," *Dharwar.*

28. "THE SHRINE OF WISDOM," *The Hermetic Truth*

Society, Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton, London (21-3)

Publications from :—

- II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
 III. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla.*
 IV. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA
 RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna.*
 V. Do. "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY",
Bombay Branch, Bombay.
 VI. Do. ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
1, Park Street, Calcutta.
 VII. Do. THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Pondicherry.
 VIII. Do. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
 IX. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras.*
 X. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore.*
 XI. THE REGISTRAR, MADRAS UNIVERSITY, *Madras.*
 XII. THE SECRETARY OF—
 (a) THE CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Madras.*
 (b) THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Hyderabad (Deccan).*
 (c) THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.
 (d) THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *Poona.*
 (e) LE BIBLIOTHECAIRE, SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE,
1, Rue de Seine, Paris.
 (f) THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Lahore.*
 (g) THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington,*
D. C. (U.S.A.)
 (h) THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD,
243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
 (i) THE PURRA TATTWA MANDIR, *Ahmedabad.*
 (j) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY,
Town Hall, Fort, Bombay.
 (k) THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,
172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
 (l) ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES AMIS DE L'ORIENT,
Musée Guimet, Place d'Iena, Paris (XVI).
 XIII. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF—
 (a) ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, *Southern Circle, Madras.*
 (b) RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Kashmir State, Srinagar.*
 (c) ARCHÆOLOGY, *Trivandrum, Travancore.*
 XIV. THE CURATOR, *Oriental Library, Mysore.*
 XV. ASSISTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT
 FOR EPIGRAPHY, *Madras.*

Index to Volume XIV.

Papers Read or Contributed.

	PAGE.
Annual Meeting of The Mythic Society, The Thirteenth—	1- 9
Ancient Varna Dharma, Glimpses of—	49-58
Baasa's Pratima-Natakam	39-48
Bhagavadgita, Psychology of Emotions as represented in the—	{ 89-105 & 217-32
Brh-Myths, Studies in—	{ 23-28 & 106-10
Dances, Two Tamil—	184-89
Disc-Play on the First Day of the White Half of the Month Kartika	117-19
Gangas of Talkad, The Western—	10-22
Getting Plagiarism in Kannada, A—	111-16
Historical Geography of the Kalinga under the Eastern Gangas	251-60
Hydridroog and Huliardroog	73-81
Indian History, Some Problems of—	120-24
Indian Music	165-83
Indian View of "Present Time", An—	233-37
Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagar	130-40
Kotrankudi Plates of Nandivarman II, The—	125-29
Kosar and the Vamba Moriyar, The—	275-81
"Mann and Fuchs" Type, On a Santal Etiological Tale of the—	211-16
Mitradeva or Muladeva	29-38
Nalodaya and its Author	302-11
Purnaya, Dewan—	251-60
Rashtrakuta Copper Plate Grant of A.D. 810, A New—	82-88
Rural Habitation in South India	318-23
Siva-Worship with Special Reference to Virasaivism, Origin and Development of—	{ 119-210 & 282-301
Tenkata-Patiraya I, and the Portuguese	312-17

Notes, Reviews, etc.

Academy of Arts, The Indian—	61
Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1920-21	152
Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1920-21	246
Ancient Persia, The Light of—	247
Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1923	329
Bhagavadgita, Introduction to the—	159

	PAGE.
Cage of Gold, The—	68
Djava, The—	333
Dravidian Elements in Indian Culture, The—	327
Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II (Revised Edition)	66
Faith of Islam, The—	158
How the Fly got its Name	141
History and Institutions of the Pallavas, The—	244
History of His Holiness Sri Sachidananda Sivabhinava Nrisimha Bharathi	332
Indian Antiquary, The—	160
Indian Characters in English Fiction	144
Indian Logic, History of—	155
Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities	49
Karnataka Sabdanusasanam	35
Le Monde Oriental, Upsala	156
Lhota Nagas, The—	248
Ramayana and the Vaidika Kosha, The—	331
Sanskrit Dictionary, A Practical—	159
Sanskrit Literature, A Short History of—	147
Some Contributions of South Indian Culture	59
South Indian Parallel to the Bengali Cumulative Folk-Tale, A—	150
Studies in Tasawwulf	157
Vaishnava Lyrics	158
Vedanta, The—, its Ethical Aspect	64
Virataparvan of the Mahabharata, The—	

