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Journal of Indian History

1934

April - 13 - 37.



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Vol XIII, Part I.

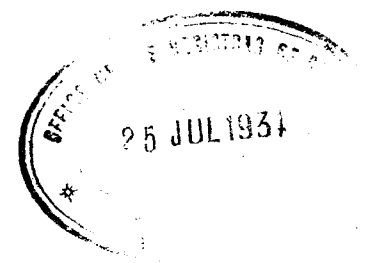
April 1934

Serial No. 37.

JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY

(Published three times a year)

198



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PRINTED BY
G. S. PRESS, LINO PRINTERS
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ON A WRITING OCEANIQUE OF NEOLITHIC ORIGIN—By M. G. De Hevesy ..	1
THE GENEALOGY AND EARLY CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KADAMBAS OF BANAVASI—By Mr. M. Govind Pai ..	18
SAMUDRA GUPTA'S ASVAMEDHA SACRIFICE—By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A. ..	35
A MADHAVA-VIDYARANYA OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, A.D.—By Mr. T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T. ..	41
YACHAMA NAYAKA—THE KING-MAKER—By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.) ..	51
THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS—By Mr. Abdul Aziz, BAR-AT-LAW ..	59
THE AMBASTHAS—By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., PH.D. ..	74
EDITORIAL ..	77
REVIEWS—'Life in Mediaeval South India : Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire' (A.D. 1346—A.D. 1646); 'Rise of the Christian Power in India'; 'India under the British Crown'; 'History of Indian Philosophy' and 'Mysticism East and West' ..	103
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	115
OUR EXCHANGES ..	121



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CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, 'Śrīpadam', 143, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proof, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

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THE MANAGER,
Journal of Indian History,
'Śrīpadam',
143, Brodies Road, Mylapore,
MADRAS, S.

Journal of Indian History

On a Writing Oceanique of Neolithic Origin

By

M. G. DE HEVESY.

An account given at the Conference of the French Pre-historic Society during its Session on 22nd June 1933.

[The Editor acknowledges with gratitude his obligation to M. G. de Hevesy and the Société Préhistorique Française for permission to print the following English version of M. Hevesy's lecture published in the bulletin of the Société, as No. 7-8, 1933, and for the loan of the excellent blocks illustrating the lecture. The translation was done by Mr. V. J. George, M.A., L.T., of the Women's Christian College, Madras. The Editor offers his thanks both to him and to Miss E. Macdougall, the Principal of the College, for revising the translation.]

THE lecturer recalls that it is at the instance of our President that it has been decided to propound this question before the Society. After some complimentary words to the Assembly, he asked for an immediate discussion when questions may be put and objections raised. In fact, he said, there exist only a few questions that need engage our serious attention.

Passing on to a consideration of the facts M. de Hevesy continued as follows:—

"We have all learned that in India savages and barbarians alone lived till the arrival of the civilised Aryans. Their sacred books the Vedas, their Sanskrit language, have been for us for all times, synonymous with what we knew of ancient, most classic, and, I would almost say, the most venerable.

To-day we know that this view is practically untrue.

Sir John Marshall and his collaborators have discovered in the region of the Middle Indus, a civilization, ancient, prosperous and magnificent, a civilization even more developed than the contemporary civilizations of Sumeria and Egypt, and a civilization which may appear marvellous, since ten years ago no one even suspected its existence.

You know that Mohenjo-Daro has already revealed the plan of a town so highly developed, that it could rival those (plans) of modern times.

You know that the spacious storeyed houses contained bathing rooms and other sanitary installations, of which the drainage had been secured by means of drains with culverts having almost the dimensions of those in Paris.

You also know that the artistic sense of the population has been attested by countless objects, as I shall have occasion to illustrate later on.¹

* * * *

They (Sir John Marshall and collaborators) soon secured evidence, that the newly discovered civilization could not have been Aryan, since we know a good deal about the latter from the Vedas. The Aryans had only villages, but here we find towns; they built with wood and bamboos, but here all is in stone masonry with red (baked) bricks, of such a finish that one hardly comes across even at present. The Aryans did not, for example, consume fish; at Mohenjo-Daro, it is one of their favourite dishes. There it was the cow that was and still is their god; here it is the bull. The absolute intolerance of the Aryans towards all those who did not belong to their race is well known; but at Mohenjo-Daro on the contrary, the skulls found there show that there was a population consisting of at least four different races.

I could proceed further, but I prefer to draw your attention to two main points. The objects coming from the Indus found at

1. The lines of points substituted in the account given in the passages at the conference have presented and explained the reproductions of the document.

Sumer, on the one side, and metals and stones found at Mohenjo-Daro on the other, prove that the towns of India, had communications with distant places, and that their commerce might have reached the Black Sea on one side and Burma on the other, and even Central Asia, as is vouched by the jade found there.

Secondly, more important still. People have the impression from the point of view of its extent, of its geographical area, that the newly discovered civilization must have been superior to those that are known already before this.

At first, Mohenjo-Daro did not possess any fortification, from which we conclude that it was not a frontier town.

Next, they have found at Harappa, which is removed from Mohenjo-Daro by the same distance that separates Paris and the Pyrennees exactly the same objects.

Finally, Sir John Marshall wrote to me a few weeks ago—his letter is dated end of April—from Taxila, that he has just identified some "scores of sites" which await excavation, and a small fund, and some spirit of enterprise would quite suffice to unveil "this most fascinating chapter of human history."

You will also be probably interested to know that Sir John has added: "I hope that France and other countries will not wait further to send their own expeditions to take an active part in the exploration of these prehistoric antiquities."

That civilization had also a hieroglyphic script similar to all those of the period. The greater part of these writings recorded, evidently on perishable materials, have been lost for ever. But, fortunately they have also found some brass plates full of writing, and specially a large number of seals in steatite (a kind of soap-stone).

* * * *

It would appear that the objects you have just seen served a religious purpose; just as a Bible used to be found in the house of every Englishman who respected himself, so also we have found that these seals are seen indiscriminately in almost all the houses discovered in Mohenjo-Daro as well as at Harappa.

One would think that they placed these writings—and also the seals (marks) which they discovered thanks to them—along-

side the offerings which they made to the animals: the tutelary deity of each family being always an animal. It is by means of these visiting cards—seals—that one wished to communicate to his sacred animal what one wanted to make known, and particularly the name of the person who made the offering.

There are among these animals some domestic ones also, for instance the bull and the buffalo, as well as wild beasts like the tiger, the rhinoceros, the elephant, and even the crocodile. These signs are found by the side of these animals.

* * * *

On the other hand, I could also state that on these numerous seals found till now—there are almost a thousand—the lion, the king of beasts which played such a prominent part in the West, does not appear even once. If this omission is not accidental, it gives room for reflection; you will tell me if we are right in concluding that the people of Mohenjo-Daro would have come from a country where there were no lions, that is to say from the direction of the East.

The writing in the new civilization had been studied at close quarters by English scholars, by Rev. Langdon, of Oxford, and by Dr. Hunter of the same University. If these "savants" have not succeeded in reading it, they have at least made many interesting statements.

Thus, they were certain that writing proceeded from right to left. Besides in a good many cases it was writing "boustrophedon," that is to say a kind of writing in which the figures of the alternate lines turned in the opposite direction.

This last statement appears to me particularly interesting, from that we can conclude, I believe, that the use of writing in the Indus region must have been very extensive and not confined to inscription on plates.

In fact, why did they in ancient times use this method of writing (boustrophedon); or still the other methods of writing where the figures in each line were placed somewhat on the top, obliging one to turn (shift the position of) the tablet for the purpose of reading? It was always to enable one to pass from one line to the next with certainty.

When we read, we are generally desirous of jumping from the end of one line to the commencement of the next and we are seldom mistaken. But with the hieroglyphics not only the writing but also the reading must evidently have been less easy.

Therefore, we find at Mohenjo-Daro "boustrophedon" writing.

But on the other hand we never find more than three lines on the surface of each seal—people often wrote on both sides—so much so that the risk of being deceived in reading did not exist.

Even though there is the "boustrophedon" writing, that is to say that they had it ready at hand, other writing infinitely longer and for which the use had been indicated, must have existed.

Here for example, a seal was found at Harappa, where the figures of the line on top and the line at the bottom are turned topsy turvey at 180 degrees in relation of the one to the other.

Dr. Langdon has already published a complete copy (corpus) of all the inscriptions found at Mohenjo-Daro till 1927.

Mr. Hunter wrote from India, where he is now, that the same body (collection) of signs found at Harappa will be sent for publication.

Mr. Hunter has also given me to understand that he has since established the whole of the inscriptions of the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro as well as at Harappa between 1927 and 1930. There would be signs not known yet, but the whole, says he, would not seriously affect the list of signs already known.

Certainly the most interesting result of the researches of English scholars is that the writing of Mohenjo-Daro and of Harappa represents a well established system, that is to say that the writing is without doubt more a writing simply ideographic, but still already semi-syllabic.

They have studied that stems could be grafted to these signs, that borders could be added, circumflex accents put over them, and other accents, such as dots, could be placed on both sides: they have found the evidence from this "methodical collection," which is always, as you know, one of the most characteristic and remarkable features of any invention.

With this, ladies and gentlemen, let us leave India. Let us cross over the seas and transport ourselves to 20,000 kilometres (about 12,000 miles) just to the antipodes of Mohenjo-Daro.

The learned bishop of Australia, Father Jaussen, had asked his clergy in the Pacific to send him from his collections of Tahiti all the objects of ethnographic interest.

It is thus that he received one day some hairs of the natives. The missionary from whom he received it, Father Zumbohm, was doing his work about 70 years before at the *Island of Paques*.* It is a small barren island covering an area of 12,000 hectares (about 3,000 sq. miles) only; and also as distant in the wide ocean, from all land, and all human habitation, as for example between Paris and the confines of Iceland.

The Bishop Jaussen saw at once that the wooden tablet with which his missionary had wrapped the hairs, was of infinitely greater interest than all the rest, for the tablet was covered with an hieroglyphic writing.

* * * * *

Two special reasons rendered the discovery of that writing particularly disturbing: the first is that never before nor ever since had they found in Australia any inscriptions; the second is that they had found them precisely in that island of Paques where one of the most mysterious of phenomena had already drawn their attention.

There are in that isle, as you know, ancient statues of immense size reaching up to 20 metres (60 feet roughly) and more, statues carved from a single block of stone of an extinct volcano and then carried, they know not how, up to the seashore and a stone covering placed over it—like a hat—the covering itself being 2 to 3 metres, and marking finally that place as the burial ground of the natives.

They have counted in all hundreds of these statues which made the *Island of Paques** one of the grandest Mausoleums in the world.

* Easter Islands.



PLATE I.

Top: Various specimens of the seals of Mohenjo-Daro (after Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*).

Bottom: One of the "talking woods" of the Easter Islands. The tablet called *mamari* preserved by the Friars of Picpus at Braine-le-Comte—A certain number of common signs are seen.

But let us return to our tablet. The Bishop of Tahiti asked for some of the pieces of this kind which the natives called their "speaking wood" and he received seven in all.

On the other hand the explorers have found among them in the island, of the kind, of which they now know, about fifteen.

But "*habent sua fata libelli*" even if these tables are of wood, actually these inscribed tablets of the Isle of Paques are spread all over the world : one finds them at Santiago, at Chili, at Leningrad, at Washington, at London, Berlin, Vienna; however, the finest ones are without doubt those that are preserved at Braine-le-Compte, in Belgium.

Thanks to your dear President, Paris will have very soon something better than all these different museums. Dr. Rivet is, in fact, collecting at the Trocadero Museum exact moulds of all the existing tablets which will then considerably facilitate further researches.

* * * *

The largest tablet that exists, precisely one of those at Braine-le-Compte, is almost 1 metre in length and 12 centimetres in breadth and contains on the 2 sides more than 1,500 characters.

Another, preserved at the museum at Leningrad in the shape of a club, the weapon called "mere" which was carried by the chiefs of New Zealand which was, besides, often in wood like the tablets.

(The lecturer drew attention to the fact that from one of the tablets at Braine-le-Compte, the best preserved one among those existing, and of which he gives an extract that one ought to read the text, by turning down (bringing round) the tablet at the end of each line, since the figures of the alternate lines appeared in some sort head downwards.) (See Plate I.)

Some explorers, he continued, particularly the missionaries claimed that they read the tablets from left to right; some scholars like Geisler, Haberland and Harrisson, held an entirely different view. The process of magnifying the writing had already inclined me to support the opinion of the latter, when two anomalies, one on one of the tablets at Braine-le-Compte, the other on one of the

tablets at Washington, irregularities which are not present here, and which are otherwise inexplicable, have furnished me with the proof, that the writing evidently proceeded from right to left.

There remains the commencement of the text. The explorers of whom I have spoken, say, probably on the strength of the evidence supplied by the natives, that it begins in one of the corners at the bottom from right or left.

I must confess that they are more fortunate than myself, for I could not say where the beginning is. It is certain that in 2 tablets on which I could test the anomalies that existed, in the order of the drawing, the text begins in both cases, without any doubt, with the fifth character from the left, of the first line on top. For all the other tablets, just as for these that I place before you, I could not say where to begin the reading.

As for the reading of the text itself, I shall not expatiate upon the various tests which I was able to make, on this subject, since they are still incomplete; nevertheless I could confidently state that in more than the mechanical aspect of the writing, which already with its incessant repetitions recalls strongly the Polynesian, I have also been able to secure a proof, quite probable, that it was connected with a Polynesian language. What will be most interesting to know, and what when well understood would facilitate considerably the reading of the tablets, would be to know what the different figures represented. But there we come across great difficulties because the manner by which these scripts and the ancient writers attempted to represent the objects, was very peculiar.

Thus you will agree with me in finding that this figure before us must be that of a man and that one certainly of a fish.

But this triangle at the end of a handle, is it a weapon? And this circumference, with these off-shoots, a tortoise, or simply an insect (hanneton)?

Do these 2 arcs of a circle wish to represent a quarter of the moon which is formed by the triangle in the middle?

Finally, this picture of an animal with a kind of trunk, does it represent an elephant and the other one a monkey? You see the colossal importance of having some sort of certainty and de-

finiteness on the matter of these figures, for the 2 species, the elephant and the monkey, being as you know, utter strangers to the Polynesian fauna, the field for finding the birth place of this writing would recede further immediately.

But, unfortunately, we are after all for almost all these figures at the mercy of guesses. On the contrary, it is here that we meet with one of the most disturbing proofs, and it is the fact of having made this small proof that confers on me now the great honour of being called upon to give this modest address.

The writing of the Isle of Paques and that of its antipodes, the valley of the Indus, belong to the same source, and you will judge so immediately for yourselves.

I was present at the lecture of one of the Professors of the College of France, M. Sylvain Levi, when he explained to us the new civilization of Mohenjo-Daro. He had insisted at that time on the fruitless attempts made to co-ordinate this writing with other hieroglyphic systems. But all the terms of comparisons were found in the West. In the East among others the writings of the Isle of Paques,* has been comparatively neglected. Then I decided to see on this side, I admit without any conviction—indeed with indifference on the matter, but just to relieve my conscience I took with me only the photograph of a tablet in the British museum reproduced in the book of Mrs. Rootledge. But that I soon found a common sign, three circles placed one over the other, cut by a vertical line. It was not however a very simple sign but that did not explain matters much.

I remember very well what one of the great scholars of our time M. Dussaud, had recalled regarding the controversy of Glozel; that in short not only the same signs if they are simple prove nothing, but still it is natural enough that the hieroglyphic representation of the same objects resemble each other. It was clear that one can ascribe the same source to this writing only if the number of the same signs was large and numerous, and if there were among them signs altogether complicated.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are going to see very well that such is the case. I shall spare you the trouble of proving the

* Easter Islands.

general concordance of these two writings; for example, of proving to you that here and there there are the same elements of modifications and of combinations that govern the use of these signs: that they are of the stems which are grafted on the signs, the same stops and borders—"tassels"—that are added to them and that one can note even the same circumflex accents sometimes put over them.

It will suffice me to confine myself to the signs alone and to compare them. And you could verify not only the strong analogies, but proceed even up to the absolute identity.

Certainly the signs found at the Isle of Paques* appear something like a more ancient edition. You will see that their design is more detailed and finer; one cannot find there still this simplified character: this trouble of standardising which I already met with at Mohenjo-Daro, where undoubtedly they made a frequent use of the writing.

But permit me to show you some of the comparisons presented by M. Pelliot at the Institute, and as I have just said it, you could judge for yourself.

* * * *

The lecturer explained then some plans by which one could compare the signs of those in Indus with the others at the Island of Paques,* and of which we give you on the opposite side some reproductions (Plates II and III). It may be remarked that outside of these simple signs there exists a resemblance between the signs of which the intricacy is such as to exclude any element of chance. The comparisons have been applied to over 300 signs on each side.

It is probably, continued M. de Hevesy, that the comparison of signs having man for their basis graph that is the most surprising.

At Mohenjo-Daro, the man is already reduced to a very simple figure; some lines, the trunk, the hand, the legs, almost a simple scheme.

But compare the position of the hand and the legs of those of the men in the Isle of Paques, and, much more than these fore-

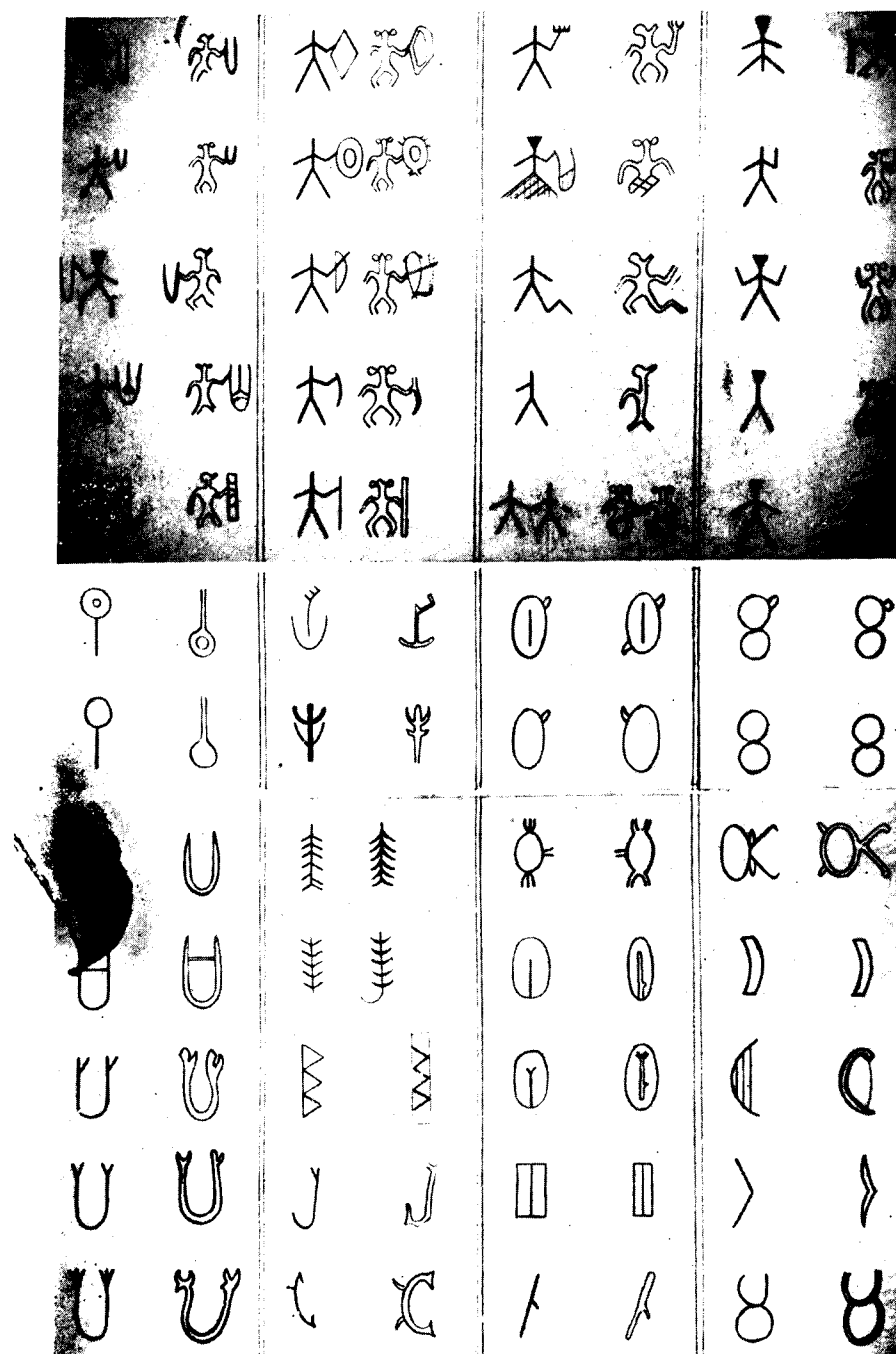


PLATE II.

Signs of the Indus writing compared with those of the Easter Isles. (In each of the four columns, the signs of the Indus are at the left, those of the Easter Isles are at right).

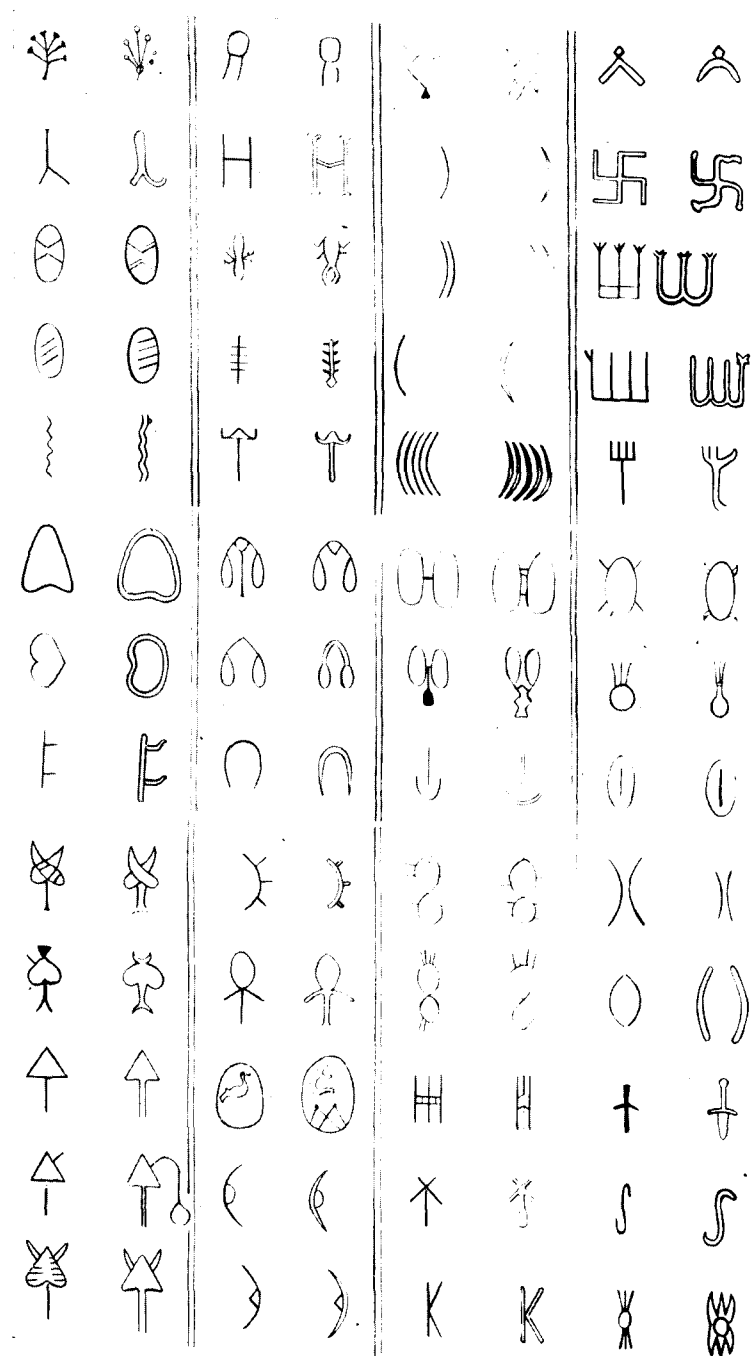


PLATE III.

Signs of the Indus writing compared with those of the Easter Isles. (In each of the four columns, the signs of the Indus are at the left, those of the Easter Isles are at right).

ON A WRITING OCEANIQUE OF NEOLITHIC ORIGIN 11

most the objects that the men held in their hands ; and you can go on to striking resemblances.

There are finally some signs and groups of signs, very simple, as well as the employment of the same accent, the kind of circumflex accent that you have seen.

Ladies and gentlemen, what ought one to conclude from all these? It is now that the prudence and circumspection and reflection of which I had spoken to you in the beginning, becomes necessary.

It is not perhaps rash to affirm of the enormous number of the signs that these two writings are the same. In any case, on that point not one of the savants that have seen not only the comparisons that I am going to present to you but my manuscript which is still more in detail (and I could show it not only to the French savants but also to the Belgians, English and Austrians) has expressed a doubt. In spite of the great difference in the space and the time which the two writings present the new point of departure of which I spoke to you in the beginning is certainly given. But what next? How to explain the affinities between these two writings?

Since I have spoken to you of prudence you evidently expect nothing else from me, and it also is proper on my part that I should describe, enumerate and recall some of those facts in the course of time before you pronounce your final judgment.

Let us divide them at first in 2 groups: firstly the questions relating to those tablets in the Isle of Paques; secondly the questions raised by the similarities of these two writings.

Of the tablets of the Isle of Paques one could ask among other things if their execution is relatively new, dating for example by some centuries only, or if it is really ancient, one could next ask if these have been made in the Isle itself, or if they have been conveyed there. Finally, in that case, whence have they brought them.

The age of these tablets? We know nothing. You only know that wood can be preserved very long. You will see at Louvre the Egyptian statues in wood that date from the fifth Egyptian

dynasty, that is to say four thousand years before our era. Thus it is possible to assign any date to them.

The tablets, have they been imported or not? Upon that one could reply with some assurance, and the answer is yes.

We are in the act of analysing the wood of the tablets in order to determine the species (the variety); the analysis which, by the scientific methods actually at our disposal, could be already made over some millimetre cubes. We are still in the beginning of the work, but an analysis of the first discovered tablets, those around which had been wrapped the hairs, has already revealed that it referred to that of a *Podocarpus*, that is to say of a wood that did not grow in the Isle of Paques. From a strictly scientific point of view we can exactly say if it refers to a "*Podocarpus Latifolia*" which grows in the tropics, at Molluccas, at Celebes, and even in Central America, or still that of "*Podocarpus Ferruginea*" that we find in New Zealand.

In any case, I could test that the "*miro*" with which the natives of the Isle of Paques described their more important trees, the "*Sophora*," has in New Zealand, that is to say in the Maori language, the name of *Podocarpus Ferruginea*.

They have also ventured the hypothesis that we have to do in the case of the tablets of the Isle of Paques with the floating woods brought into the isle by ocean currents. The chemists assure me that one could even to-day decide that wood must have floated in the sea-water. For the purpose of that analysis a few millimetre cubes of the tablets will be sufficient, and assuredly no museum will be prepared to sacrifice its own tablets.

There is still another reason which makes us think that these woods have been brought from outside, and that is the tradition of the natives.

Ladies and gentlemen, all of you know from experience what importance you should attach to such historical traditions since you have often seen for yourselves the changing character of facts even within a brief period of 20 years; and all of you will be incredulous, if I were to say that they have reconstructed almost the whole of Polynesian history by means of their traditions.

But with these people the truth of tradition is indisputable.

The very foundation of religion and religious rights, in some islands were so rigorous as to entail capital punishments on those who dared to alter them.

The memory of the great achievements of ancestors as well as their genealogies, some oral genealogies going back sometimes to more than a hundred generations, that is to say for more than three thousand years, constituted for the Polynesians their most sacred knowledge.

These traditions were taught in special schools and always in the most solemn manner. Europeans have expressed the opinion that there are gaps in the genealogies of the distant island; it is thus that they had the evidence that they had been preserved as reverently and exactly as possible.

There are the Polynesians, of whose migrations we know well enough now—since you could retrace their steps with certainty up to 'Indonesia'—it is the seafaring people who carried a writing to the Isle of Paques.

For if the tradition of these islanders that their chief Hotu-Matua, came to the Island in 2 large boats with 300 warriors and their families, which could be perhaps 900 years ago, they might have carried 67 written tablets with them—and not one more or less—there is a great probability that this is true, that is to say, that the writing of the tablets could not be seen to-day in the Isle even, unless they have been imported from outside.

There remains to be known from where these tablets have been imported? It is not perhaps very extravagant to trace the sources now up to New Zealand. The inhabitants of the Isle of Paques might have come from the Isle of Rarotonga, but the latter ought to have been colonised by the New Zealanders. Certain details of rights and customs and "last but not least" certain linguistic peculiarities have always made us imagine that the natives of the Isle of Paques belonged wholly to New Zealand.

But leaving for the moment the question of tablets and passing to those of the relations between the two writings, at first sight, having given the difference in the time and the space, nothing appeared more improbable than the hypothesis of direct relations between the Indies and Australia.

What is then the explanation that we are coming to on the subject of the similitude of these writings ?

The explanation has already been given, it appears to me, by a conjecture of Sir John Marshall. The latter in giving an account in his book on Mohenjo-Daro of the different efforts made to trace back (or co-ordinate) his writings to those of the other ancient writings puts us on our guard against these reconciliations.

On the contrary he thinks that if the writings of the Mediterranean region and of Eastern Asia as of the Sumerian, the Egyptian, the Hittite, the Cretan, the Proto-Elamite and naturally those of the Indus are evolved separately, they could not by succession of the different languages trace to the same and unique source.

The principles on which they are founded, says he, are the same, and there is every likelihood that all are derived from a common source, that goes probably very far back even up to the neolithic period.

This neolithic writing, the most ancient of all writings, do we not have it before us in these tablets of the Isle of Paques,* that isle the whole culture of which at the moment of its discovery was neolithic still.

Allow me to say that I could scarcely believe it to be any other.

Where is the birth place of the first writing? And where should we search for the native place of this neolithic civilization, already very much developed without doubt, and to whom does this credit of invention go?

In Eastern Asia, some part of it in eastern extremity, in the hot country on the border of the ocean? At this moment we cannot still say. But the tablets must nevertheless exist there as witnesses. In any case we have already two lines of evidence linking together the centre of the Pacific to the east of Asia. Of the first, of the linguistic evidence, unfortunately I cannot say anything good about it. There are undoubtedly some linguistic bonds between the two parts of the globe, but the relationships that we believe exist now—thus the "Austric" family of languages established by Father Schmidt, and notably "Austro-Asiatic"

* Easter Islands.

family of Schmidt, as well as what I explained to the Asiatic Society of Paris—appear to be non-existent. I reckon besides to enlarge on that topic at the Third International and Linguistic Congress, in the coming September at Rome. I refer to that last in my communication "a false linguistic family", which will be more appropriate than the terms "Austric" and "Austro-Asiatic," since they actually define nothing, and are, because of it, very dangerous.

More true, more serious, and therefore more successful are the ties that you archaeologists have established between the Pacific and Australasia. And why should they not be so, since they are associated with palpable objects, and further, since, you can find pleasure by interesting yourself in the labour of your colleagues and controlling those labours, whereas the linguists excel in evading similar control, by declaring each time, that the question under discussion in no manner concerns their special domain.

The memorable researches of Mr. Mansuy and Miss Colani "in Indo-China and at Tonkin," further the labours of a Dutch scholar Mr. van Callenfels, and finally those of an Austrian scholar Baron Heine-Geldern, Professor at the University of Vienna, have already taken back the Melanesians in those parts up to the frontiers of China to-day.

The Melanesians say that it is not what the Polynesians still say. But perhaps we shall reassure ourselves in recounting one day the Asiatic migrations of that marvellous race, of those unrivalled sailors who, at the time when our ancestors plied along the coast, a thousand years before the Christian Era, crossed already the high seas, and which, in the sixth century of our Era, penetrated up to the Antarctic, finding the way of going and coming between islands separated by a distance of several thousands of miles; (further) that they reached with their whole fleets, carrying their women, children, domestic animals, and even those plants and tools to cultivate the earth, thus showing themselves to be the greatest colonisers of all times.

Already Baron Heine Geldern has written to me that he has found some positive relationships between the indigenous culture of New Zealand, which resembles exactly those of the inhabitants of the Easter Isle and the Neolithic culture of Northern China.

Professor Schirokogoroff, who has come to demonstrate so peremptorily the absurdity of a common Ural-Altaic (family), wrote on the first of April from Peking: "experimentally I have shown your characters, after having explained the origin of the Chinese with which one is familiar to-day, (to be of the same nature), with the ancient writing of the Chinese; they are known as "Chinois" and they are so called in China. That is at least very curious and perhaps significant; I hope to show these Chinese (characters) all made familiar to you."

All this is evidently very vague still, and even though vague, I could make certain minor statements in this field, statements yet little investigated that I prefer not to speak of them for the time being. But perhaps the day is not far removed, when our knowledge of the prehistoric conditions of that part of the globe will widen itself considerably. Just as you know to-day of the commerce between the two sides of the Pacific, and more minutely that between (those of) the Atlantic, even so it could be that the movement of the civilising emigration had been very strong in the South East of Asia as in the Western lands; thus we forget very often that at the end of the Paleolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic age there existed a mixture of the races in Indo-China as perhaps did not exist in any other part at that time.

In conclusion, I shall show you further an instance that, though in itself not absolutely probable, appears to be too strange to be neglected. I draw your timely attention to the last tablet of the Easter Isles, concerning the manner of representation of the profile of a man. It is the mouth that is specially prominent on the face, and the feet are turned towards one another. It is indeed surprising that one could find the same representation of a man in an old relic of the drawings of Khmer, exhibited at a brilliant conference, that our dear President held on a voyage to Indo-China.

Another feature similar to one of the objects that are found in ancient Indo-China is that of the arc over the tablets. The Polynesians did not know—as those at Mohenjo-Daro—very little; I could not recover the whole during these two occasions. But there, his form, with the two ends bent back and the centre slightly projecting, is the same.

I think that in pursuing these studies one could find many other analogies, in the same way that in ten years nobody guessed

ON A WRITING OCEANIQUE OF NEOLITHIC ORIGIN 17

the existence of the civilization of the Indus, so also the future years might unveil completely a highly developed Neolithic civilization in the East of Asia.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen.

At the commencement of my modest lecture that I am about to conclude I recalled with what prudence we had to proceed. Similarly I expressed up till now a single and unique conclusion: to know that the two writings the Indus and those of Oceania belonged to the same source. All the rest, I consider to be more or less probabilities, eventualities, possibilities; it is not some sort of a list that I have attempted to trace for you.

However, ladies and gentlemen, one could arrive at a twofold conclusion still, and even at one conclusion unmistakably.

You could ascertain by some point in the French possessions, that Tonkin, and the Indo-China play some part in the new problems; you could see, how the cultural lines that could unite the Pacific and India converge all towards these territories.

Already the science of ancient history has come into existence, more than any other science in the soil of France. Till lately it is the French scholars that have taken the lion's share in the reconstruction of the great civilizations of the Mediterranean and the West of Asia.

Being granted that Indo-China appeared naturally the spot for the continuation of these researches, I arrive at a twofold conclusion, that will appear convincing to you: the prehistoric science not only has been but still remains, or to be more exact, all the probabilities are, that they would still remain an unrivalled French science."

The Genealogy and Early Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

(Continued from p. 373 Vol. XII Part III.)

II.

We have already seen that no Kadamba king from Mayūraśarma down to Śāntivarman ever performed the *Aśvamēdha*, and as further there is no reference to it in the records of Śāntivarman's son Mrigēśavarman, whether in respect of his father or of himself, it is conclusive that neither of them performed it. It is but natural therefore that there could be no reference to *Aśvamēdha* in any of the Kadamba records dated anterior to the death of Mrigēśavarman. The earliest reference to *Aśvamēdha* in the Kadamba records is found in the Birūr plates of Viṣṇuvārman, where it is asserted that his father Kṛṣṇavarman I celebrated it, and this fact is further repeated in his Hebbaṭa plates, and is confirmed by the Bannahaḷli plates of his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. In the line of Mrigēśavarman, however, the first reference to the *Aśvamēdha* as having been celebrated in the Kadamba family is found in the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman,⁵³ where the whole family itself is said to have been washed pure and (rendered) sinless by the ablutions performed after the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*—

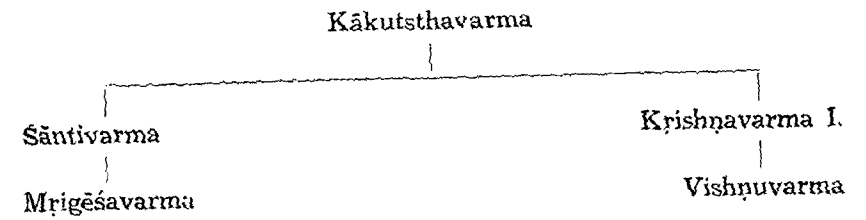
अश्वमेधावभूयस्तान पवित्रीकृतानघानाम्.....कदम्बानाम् ।

Ravivarman therefore must have come to the throne after Kṛṣṇavarman I had ruled and celebrated his *Aśvamēdha*, i.e. to say, Kṛṣṇavarman I must have ruled as king between Mrigēśavarman and his son Ravivarman. In other words, Kṛṣṇavarman I must be either another son of Śāntivarman and thus the younger brother of Mrigēśavarman, or he must have been a grandson⁵⁴ of that younger

and unnamed brother of Kākutsthavarman, in which case he would be a cousin-brother of Mrigēśavarman. In either case, Kṛṣṇavarman I would be the uncle of Ravivarman, whether once or thrice removed from him, and it was thus on account of the precedence due to seniority that he ruled between Mrigēśavarman and Ravivarman.

In the Birūr plates of Viṣṇuvārman, the son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, we are told that the grant in question was made with the permission of his elder uncle⁵⁵ Śāntivaravārman, who is also said to be a Dharmamahārāja, as well as the master of the entire Karnāṭa country— समग्रकर्नाट भूवर्ग भर्तारं ज्येष्ठपितरं श्रीशान्तिवरवर्म धर्म-महाराजमनुज्ञाप्य .

and all the scholars are of one opinion that this Śāntivaravārman is the Kadamba king Śāntivarman of the Tālagunda inscription (i.e. the son of Kākutsthavarman and the father of Mrigēśavarman), who is the only king of that name in the Kadamba dynasty, and who, as we have already seen, has also been called Śāntivaravārman in two of the grants of his son Mrigēśavarman.⁵⁶ Consequently it has been held that Viṣṇuvārman's father Kṛṣṇavarman I was another son of Kākutsthavarman, and therefore a younger brother of Śāntivarman of the Tālagunda inscription. But this is quite inadmissible, nay, it is impossible; for, in that case, their mutual relationship would be :—



and evidently there would be the intermediate reigns of two kings,

53. E. I. VIII (pp. 147-148).
54. He could not be a son of that unnamed brother of Kākutsthavarman, as in that case being an uncle of Mrigēśavarman (and thus his senior) he should have ruled between Śāntivarman and Mrigēśavarman, and his horse-sacrifice would have been referred to by Mrigēśavarman.

55. Mr. Rice has taken the word ज्येष्ठपितृ to mean 'grandfather,' which however is entirely wrong (E. C. II. Translations p. 33).

56. श्रीशान्तिवरवर्मोऽपि राजा (I. A. VI. p. 24; VII. p. 35); and in the latter grant Mrigēśavarman himself has also been called Mrigēśavaravārman :—

• श्रीशान्तिवरवर्मोऽपि राजा श्रीमृगेशवरवर्मोऽपि राजा

Kṛishṇavarma I and Mṛigēśavarma (the former ⁵⁷ of whom having had to make many a conquest for the *Aśvamēdha*, which he celebrated, must have ruled sufficiently long), between the death of Śāntivarma and the accession of Viṣṇuvarma. Is it possible then that Śāntivarma could have lived on till after Viṣṇuvarma came to the throne and became the *Dharmamahārāja*? Whether it was his brother Kṛishṇavarma I or his son Mṛgēśavarma, who immediately succeeded Śāntivarma, he could do so only after the latter's death, and never when the latter was still living and ruling; and likewise Viṣṇuvarma could come to the throne only after the death of his cousin brother Mṛigēśavarma or of his own father Kṛishṇavarma I, according as Kṛishṇavarma or Mṛigēśavarma was the immediate successor of Śāntivarma. Or even supposing that Śāntivarma had been deposed by his brother Kṛishṇavarma I or by his son Mṛigēśavarma, would it be possible that he could have lived on till after Viṣṇuvarma ascended the throne? Even if it were so, would ever a deposed and crownless ex-king be still called the master of the entire Karnaṭa region and a *Dharmamahārāja* to boot, when Viṣṇuvarma was the actual *Dharmamahārāja*, as is so apparent from the same Bīrūr plates? Unquestionably therefore the Śāntivarma of the Tālagunda inscription had been long dead before Viṣṇuvarma came to the throne, and never could be present, when the Bīrūr plates were issued by Viṣṇuvarma. Thus the theory that the Kadamba Śāntivarma of the Tālagunda inscription was the elder brother of Kṛishṇavarma I and the paternal uncle of the latter's son Viṣṇuvarma is easily disposed of as quite untenable. The Śāntivaravarma mentioned in the Bīrūr plates must therefore be an entirely different person, and has to be looked for elsewhere than in the Kadamba dynasty, as there is no other king of that name in it. Who then could he be?

If in his Bīrūr plates Viṣṇuvarma says that Śāntivaravarma was his elder uncle, in his Hebbāṭa plates he says that he was

57. From the fact that Kṛishṇavarma I performed the *Aśvamēdha*, which at once argues him a paramount sovereign, as well from the other fact that in the Bennūr plates (E. C. V. Bl. 245) of his great grandson Kṛishṇavarma II he has been spoken of as *Rājarāja* (king of kings i.e., an emperor), it seems clear that Kṛishṇavarma I was a very great king and ruled as the sole monarch of the Kadamba kingdom during his time, and as such without doubt had his capital nowhere else than at Banavāsi, which from Mayūraśarma onwards was the principal capital of the Kadambas.

anointed to the throne by the Pallava king Śāntivara⁵⁸ whose full royal name, it need hardly be said, would be Śāntivaravarma. Coordinating these two homologous statements, we can at once make out that it was the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma, who was the elder uncle of Viṣṇuvarma, and who further installed him on the Kadamba throne. It may, however, be questioned how could a Pallava be the ज्येष्ठपितृ of a Kadamba? How again could a Pallava be the master of the entire Karnaṭaka country, as has been said in the Bīrūr plates?

According to the Hindu habit of calling one's relations, it is not only one's father's elder brother that is called as ज्येष्ठपितृ, but the husband of one's mother's elder sister is also called as such,⁵⁹ and thus the Pallava, who had married the elder sister of the mother of a Kadamba, would naturally be the ज्येष्ठपितृ of that Kadamba. The Pallava king Śāntivaravarma therefore must have married the elder sister of Viṣṇuvarma's mother.

In the Anaji stone inscription,⁶⁰ we are told that the Kēkaya king Śivanandavarma lost his country, whence he was exiled, and when in the tumultuous battle that ensued between the Pallava king (who, however, has not been mentioned by name⁶¹) and king Kṛishṇavarma the defeat of the latter's army broke his heart, he

58. M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)—शान्तिवर महाराज पल्लवेन्द्राभिषिक्तेन श्री विष्णुवर्म महाराजेन.

59. Similarly the husband of one's mother's younger sister is called कनिष्ठपितृ, exactly as one's father's younger brother would be called.

60. E. C. XI (Dg. 161). According to Mr. Rice, this Śivanandavarma was a son of the Kadamba Kṛishṇavarma I, which, however, is simply impossible in that Śivanandavarma, as is clearly stated in this Anaji inscription, was born of the Kēkaya family, which was of Ātrēya-sa gōtra and of the lunar race, whereas the Kadambas were of Mānava-sa gōtra, and having been descended from the Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarma they could neither be of the solar race nor of the lunar race as we have already said.

61. This inscription is believed to reveal a new Pallava name, that of Nanakkāsa Pallava (E. C. XI. Int. p. 6; M. C. I. p. 24); but what in fact it reveals is a mislection pure and simple due to a wrong grouping of letters in the 2nd and 3rd lines:—‘शिवनन्दवर्मा स्वदेशक्षये नणक्कास पल्लवराज

lay on a bed of *kuśa* grass and starved himself to death. The most important thing to note here is that Śivanandavarma is said to have lost his country and to have been exiled thence before Kṛishṇavarma's army was put to rout by the Pallava king, i.e., to say, his exile preceded that battle. There could be no question whether Śivanandavarma may have been an ally of the Pallava king, as that would tell against the fact that it was the defeat of Kṛishṇavarma by that Pallava that broke his heart, and it was on that account that he starved himself to death. If on the other hand, he had not been an ally of Kṛishṇavarma, not only would he have deplored the loss of his own army much more than he did that of Kṛishṇavarma's, but also the loss of his country and his consequent exile would have been subsequent to the defeat of Kṛishṇavarma. The only possible conclusion therefore seems to be that Śivanandavarma never took part in that battle. Why else then could he be exiled unless because he must have interceded to avert that battle? Why would he thus intervene unless because he must have been equally interested in, or in other words, equally related to both the combatants? Now in the Bannahaḷli plates, the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarma is said to be the son of Kṛishṇavarma I begotten by him on the daughter of the Kaikēya king :—

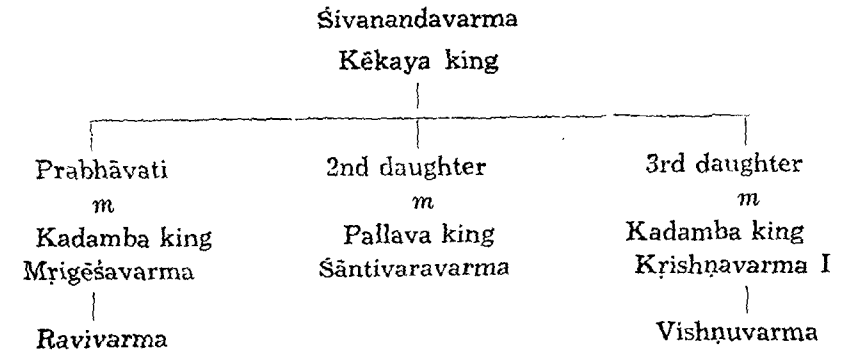
श्रीकदम्बानां कृष्णवर्म धर्ममहाराजस्य.....कैकेयसुतायामुपपन्नेन श्रीविष्णुवर्म धर्ममहाराजेन;

and consequently the presumption would be natural that the Kṛishṇavarma spoken of in the Aṇaji stone inscription could be

कृष्णवर्मराजयोः समरे तुमुलिने (?) प्रवृत्ते कृष्णवर्मराजसैन्ये भग्ने'

which has been consequently wrongly translated as :—'Śivanandavarma, in the ruin of his country, Kṛishṇavarma Rāja's army being overcome in the tumultuous battle which took place between Neṇakkasa Pallava Rāja and Kṛishṇavarma Rāja'; whereas the undoubtedly correct reading of those lines is :—'... 'स्वदेशक्षयेन निष्कासित' ...' which means Śivanandavarma having lost his country and having been exiled on that account &c,' for the word निष्कासित means 'exiled,' 'driven out.' It is thus the last letter न (of the instrumental singular स्वदेशक्षयेन) and the first three letters of the next word निष्कासित (which could not be correctly made out) that have brought forth a new Pallava, or given a new (but an impossible) name to an unnamed Pallava. This inscription therefore discloses no new Pallava name, but only refers to a battle fought between Kṛishṇavarma and an unnamed Pallava.

none else than the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarma I, who would thus be a son-in-law of the Kēkaya king Śivanandavarma. Likewise, the Pallava king spoken of in the same inscription was in all probability another son-in-law of Śivanandavarma, and it was thus to avert the impending battle between his two sons-in-law that he must have interceded, which however, as the Pallava son-in-law would not brook it, cost him his kingdom as well as his life. The Pallava adversary of Kṛishṇavarma I would then be the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma, who, we have already seen, had married the elder aunt of Viṣṇuvarma i.e., the elder sister-in-law of Kṛishṇavarma I. Further from an unfinished inscription found on the left jamb of the doorway of Śrī Praṇavēśvara temple at Tālagunda,⁶² we know that Prabhāvatī, the queen-consort of Mṛigēśvara and the mother of Ravivarma, sprang from the Kaikēya family. As we have already seen that Mṛigēśvara and Kṛishṇavarma I were either own brothers or cousin-brothers, and also that the former must have preceded the latter on the Kadamba throne, their wives, who were both alike descended from the Kaikēya family, would likely be sisters, in which case Mṛigēśvara's wife would naturally be the elder sister of the wife of Kṛishṇavarma I, and both of them thus would be the daughters of the Kaikēya king Śivanandavarma. This triple alliance of Śivanandavarma may be thus represented :—



The other question why the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma must have come to be called the master of the entire Karnāṭa region

62. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33 and 35):— उदितोदित कैकेय महाकुलप्रसूता
पद्मा प्रभावती राज्ञीविख्यातकदम्बकुलोद्भूतस्य श्रीमृगेशवर्मधर्ममहाराज
प्रियभार्या या श्रीरविवर्मधर्ममहाराज माता ॥

will be duly discussed later on, when also the identity of that Pallava will be determined.

We have yet not only to find out the connecting link or links between the Kadamba pedigrees A and B, but also to settle the proper places of (1) Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛivarma of the Kūḍagere plates,⁶³ (2) Maduvarma of the Taḍagaṇi stone inscription,⁶⁴ (3) Māndhātārāja of the Shimoga plates⁶⁵ and (4) Dāmōdara of the Koṇṇūr rock inscription⁶⁶ in the Kadamba Genealogy.

(i) *Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛivarma*

In his Kūḍagere plates, Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛivarma is said to be a *Dharmamahārāja* ruling from Vijayanti i.e., Banavāsi, whence it is evident that he actually ruled as king. As we have already seen, the names of 'Vijaya,' 'Śiva' and 'Vijayaśiva,' are merely honorific prefixes, wherefore his real proper name would be Māndhātṛivarma, and an indication of his antiquity is furnished by the fact that the Kūḍagere plates are in the box-headed characters. Though, however, this document is integral enough containing as it does all the different epithets of the Kaḍamba dynasty as are found in almost all their records, it has no reference whatever to the horse-sacrifice, as having been performed in the family, wherefore the donor Māndhātṛivarma must have reigned prior to Kṛishṇavarma I. The Kūḍagere plates further begin with the auspicious word 'Siddham,' as does the Maḷavalli pillar inscription of Śiva-skandavarma as well as the Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarma, whereas in the Kadamba inscriptions of Mṛigēśavarma onwards it freely alternates with the other auspicious word 'Śvasti,' so much so that from the time of Kṛishṇavarma I onwards *Siddham* becomes conspicuous by absence. Thus it would follow that this Māndhātṛivarma must be placed earlier than Mṛigēśavarma. Then there is his epic name Māndhātṛi,⁶⁷ which stands apart from the mythological and other names of the Kadambas later than Śāntivarma, and claiming direct kinship with the only three other epic

63. E. C. VII. (Sk. 29).

64. Ibid (Sk. 66).

65. M. A. R. 1911 (p. 32).

66. I. A. XXI. (p. 96).

67. *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparva. chapters 29 and 122).

names—Bhagīratha, Raghu and Kākutstha—among those of his predecessors, it sufficiently argues him to be another son of Bhagīratha and another brother of Raghu and Kākutstha, as all these four names alike are those of the four famous kings of the Ikshvāku dynasty of the solar race. Thus then this Māndhātṛivarma would be that another and third son of Bhagīratha, who, as we have seen, would be governing the Kadamba principality, which had Tripurvata for its capital, when his eldest brother Raghu was ruling as king on the principal capital at Banavāsi, and his next elder brother Kākutsthavarma was governing the other Palāśikā division of the Kadamba kingdom. We have also seen, he succeeded Kākutsthavarma, and ruled as king between him and his son Śāntivarma.

(ii) *Madu (?) -varma.*

At the outset it must be remarked that in so far as can be made out from the facsimile of the Taḍagaṇi stone inscription given in the 15th plate of E. C. VII (Translations p. 195), the first five letters of the 6th line do not appear to be श्रीमदुवर्मा, as they have been read there, whereas the 3rd letter clearly seems to be a double consonant, most likely a द्वे (ddē), for which reason the correct reading would be श्रीमद्वेवर्मा (*Śrīmad-dēvavarmā*). The correct name of the donor however would be श्रीमद्वेवर्मा (*Śrīmad-Dēvavarmā* i.e. the illustrious Dēvavarmma.) Evidently one of the two consecutive letters व (va) was left out by the sculptor, and accordingly the name stands mis-spelt as श्रीमद्वेवर्मा instead of श्रीमद्वेवर्मा. The name Maduvarma moreover does not seem to lend itself to be a proper name, in that the word मदु (Madu) by itself is meaningless, and in case it is the Skt. word मधु (Madhu) that has been mis-engraved as such, or if it has been used as a vulgar or vernacular variant of that Skt. word, it means

68. We have similar instances in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma (M. A. R. 1918; p. 35), in which one of the two consecutive letters म (ma) has been left out unengraved with the result that कृष्णवर्म महाराज is mis-spelt as कृष्णवर्ममहाराज. (line 6), and भोगिवर्म महाराज as भोगिवर्ममहाराज (1. 8); and also in the Dēvagere plates of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma (I. A. VII. p. 34), in which his name is engraved in the 6th line as देवर्मा, leaving out one of the two consecutive letters व, just as in the inscription under notice.

in the masculine gender the Chaitra month, the name of a demon slain by God Vishṇu, a certain plant, and liquorice, and in the neuter gender it means milk, nectar, liquor, honey and flower-juice, none of which senses would be fit enough to be a proper name.

Further, in the 5th line of the Taḍagaṇi inscription, it is only two letters at its end that are either missing or are illegible, and there is scarcely any room for an additional letter. Therefore filling in the gap, as well as fitting in well with the context, they would in all probability be राजा (rājā), when the connected phrase would read as कदम्बराजा. It would not be inconsequent then to conclude that inasmuch as it is in an inscription composed in prose, which is quite unrestricted by metrical or other exigences, that the donor Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) is said to be merely राजा and not a धर्ममहाराज, nor even a महाराज, he could not have ruled as king, but must have been only a prince governing one of the principalities of the Kadamba kingdom. There is no mention in this inscription of the *Aśvamēdha* as having been performed in the family, for which reason this Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) will have to be placed before Krishṇavarma I. It begins with the auspicious word *Svasti*, wherefor also he must be placed just before Mrigēśavarma, or alongside of him.

We have already seen from the Tālagunda inscription that the Kadamba kingdom had 3 capitals, viz., the principal capital at Banavāsi, where the king resided, and the other two at Palāśikā and Tripārvata (or Uccaśringi) whence the princes of blood royal governed the principalities called after the names of those respective sub-capitals; and when therefore Raghu was ruling as king from Banavāsi, and his next brother Kākutsthavarma was governing from Palāśikā,⁶⁹ their youngest brother Māndhātṛivarma would be in charge of the Tripārvata principality. As a matter of course therefore when the reigning king, whether he belonged to the branch of Kākutsthavarma or to that of Māndhātṛivarma (as Raghu was without issue) would be ruling from Banavāsi, the descendants of Kākutsthavarma would continue to be the occupants of the Palāśikā principality, while the descendants of Māndhātṛivarma would retain that of Tripārvata. This Taḍagaṇi inscription, which is engraved on a stone, and is therefore not liable to any change of

69. I. A. VI (p. 23).

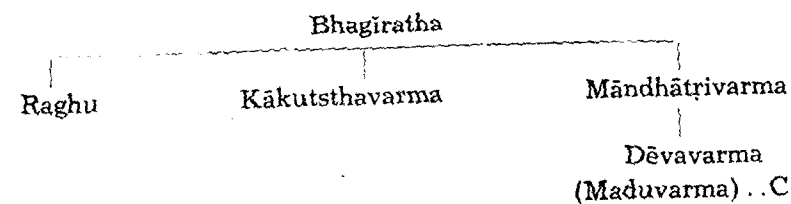
place, stands practically within the precincts of the Tripārvata principality, and it must therefore have been issued from that sub-capital. Consequently this Dēvavarma, who is the donor of that grant, must be a scion of the line of Māndhātṛivarma, and was presumably his son.

Now in his Tālagunda inscription, Śāntivarma calls himself (v. 34) the legitimate son of Kākutsthavarma (तस्यौरस) and in the other Kadamba inscriptions that filiation is thus expressed:—

श्रीमत्काकुत्स्थराजप्रियहितनयः शान्तिवर्ममौवनीशः⁷⁰,
which means 'king Śāntivarma the beloved and favourite son of king Kākutsthavarma'; श्री काकुत्स्थनन्दस्य सनुः.....

श्रीशान्तिवर्ममैत्रिराजा⁷¹

which means 'the king called Śāntivarma who is the son of king Kākutstha'; and श्रीमत्काकुत्स्थ प्रियतनय सुत श्रीभृगेश्वरवर्मा⁷², which means 'Mrigēśavarma, who is the son of the beloved son (i.e. Śāntivarma) of Kākutstha.' Thus none of the Kadamba inscriptions says that Śāntivarma was the eldest son of Kākutstha, and if he were so, that fact would certainly have been mentioned in one or other of these inscriptions. The presumption therefore is natural that Śāntivarma was the only son of Kākutsthavarma, for which reason he must have spoken of himself as the lawful as well as the beloved and favourite son of his father, as is but natural in the case of an only son of a father. This affords a further reason why this Dēvavarma (Maduvarma), who thus could not be a full brother of Śāntivarma, will have therefore to be placed in the line of Māndhātṛivarma; and his pedigree then would be:—



70. I. A. VI. (p. 28) Dr. Fleet has rendered the word हित by 'eldest,' as 'the beloved and the eldest son' (Ibid. p. 29), which is evidently quite wrong.

71. Ibid (p. 24).

72. E. C. VIII (Sb. 33).

(iii) *Māndhātārājā*

The Shimoga plates⁷³ speak of a grant made by a Kadamba *Māndhātārājā*, who is said to be the son of *Mahārāja* Kumaravarma. These plates begin with the benedictory words *जितंभगवता*, which, though invariably found in the Pallava as well as Gaṅga records, are conspicuous by absence in those of the Kadambas anterior to the time of Vishṇuvarma, and make their first appearance in his Hebbāṭa plates,⁷⁴ where also he is further stated to have been anointed by the Pallava king Śāntivarma. This phrase therefore must have been directly copied or borrowed from the Pallavas,⁷⁵ from whom the Gaṅgas also took it up. Consequently, this *Māndhātārājā* will have to be placed alongside of or after Vishṇuvarma, and also in his line, as the aforesaid benedictory phrase never opens the records of the Kadambas of *Mṛigēśavarma*'s line, who, it may also be noted here, were hostile to the Pallavas,⁷⁶ and therefore never succumbed to their influence, as their cousins of the other branch did. In referring to the *Aśvamēdha* performed in the family, these plates have:— *अश्वमेध पवित्रीकृतान्वयानां..... कदम्बानाम्* (i.e. of the Kadambas whose family was sanctified by the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*) which are exactly the same words as are found in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma;⁷⁷ whereas in the Birūr and the Hebbāṭa plates of Vishṇuvarma as well as the Bannahalli plates of his grandson Kṛishṇavarma II, that sacrifice is clearly stated to have been performed by Kṛishṇavarma I, who was the father of the former and the great grandfather of the

73. M. A. R. 1911 (p. 32).

74. Ibid 1925 (p. 98).

75. There is also another epithet occurring in the Bennūr plates (E. C. V. Bl. 245) of Kṛishṇavarma II, which also must have been borrowed from the Pallavas:— '*पञ्चमोलोकपालः*' (Vide the Uruvapalli plates—I. A. V. p. 50). This epithet is explained as follows:—In the Nānāghāt cave inscription (Lüders' list, No. 1112), the gods *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, *Kubēra* and *Vāsava* (*Indra*) are mentioned as the four *Lōkapālas* i.e. the guardians of the world; and in the Gupta inscriptions, Samudra Gupta is spoken of as 'equal to (the gods) *Dhanada* (*Kubēra*), *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Antaka* (*Yama*)' (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions: No. I, p. 14, fn. 4; Nos. 4, 10 &c.), which description is also found later on in many other records (E. I., XII, p. 34 &c.). It is but natural that a king, held equal to those four *Lōkapālas*, might well be described as a *fifth Lōkapāla* (See also F. G. I., No. 57, p. 250).

76. I. A. VI. (pp. 24 and 29).

77. M. A. R. 1918 (p. 35).

latter, while in the Sirsi plates of Kṛishṇavarma II,⁷⁸ which as will be seen later on, were issued after he himself also had performed that sacrifice, we have the expression: *अश्वमेधाभिषिक्तानां..... कदम्बानाम्* (i.e. of the Kadambas who had taken the sacred bath of the *Aśvamēdha*), as is appropriate in the case of one who had himself taken that ceremonial bath. In the other line of Śāntivarma, however, the only reference to the *Aśvamēdha* as having been performed in the family occurs in the Nīlambūr plates⁷⁹ of Ravivarma, which, as we have already seen, is *अश्वमेधावभूथ पवित्रीकृतान्वयानां..... कदम्बानाम्* (i.e. of the Kadambas washed pure and rendered sinless by the ritual bath taken after the *Aśvamēdha* ceremony). Thus it follows that as the expression found in the Shimoga plates of *Māndhātārājā* is quite different from any of these, whereas it is quite the same as that found in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma, it must have been copied from the Tagare plates, or *vice versa*; and in either case therefore this *Māndhātārājā* and Bhōgivarma must be approximate to each other, or in other words *Māndhātārājā* will have to be placed either a step above or a step below Bhōgivarma or alongside of him.

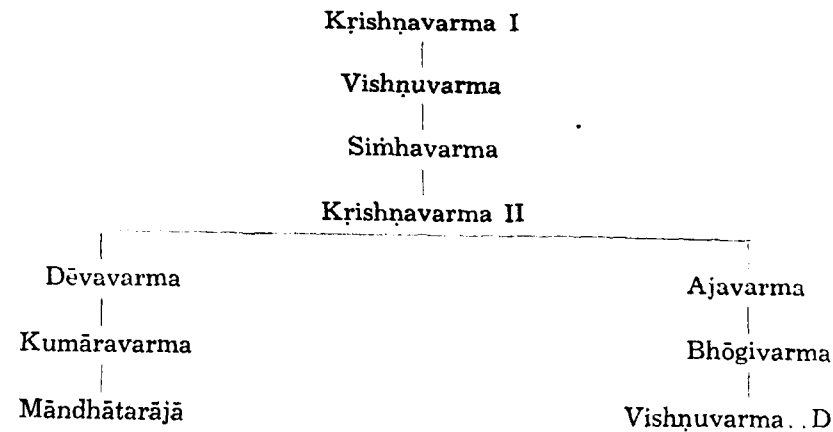
Then again these Shimoga plates were issued from *विजयोच्छ्री* i.e. the court of *Māndhātārājā* at *Ucchṛiṅgi* (i.e. *Ucchāśṛiṅgi*), and we have seen that *Ucchāśṛiṅgi* is only an *alter nomen* of *Tripurvata*. We have also seen that it was at *Ucchāśṛiṅgi* or *Tripurvata* that Kākutstha's younger brother *Māndhātṛivarma* (*alias Vijayaśiva* *Māndhātṛivarma*) held his court during the reigns of his elder brothers Raghū as well as Kākutsthavarma, and that thenceforth that principality remained in the hands of his descendants. Later on it will be seen that, when after the death of Kṛishṇavarma I his son Vishṇuvarma ascended the Kadamba throne, his cousin-brother Ravivarma of the senior branch fought with him, and having defeated him and his Pallava ally *Chañḍadaṇḍa*, seized the Kadamba crown and enthroned himself as king.⁸⁰ As a consequence, Vishṇuvarma was obliged to remove his court to a place called *Kūḍalūr* (whence he made his Hebbāṭa grant), which was

78. E. I. XVI (p. 270).

79. E. I. VIII (pp. 147-148).

80. I. A. VI (p. 29).

perhaps some outlying place and lay within the sphere of Pallava influence, if not within the Pallava kingdom itself. Thus the Triparvata principality which was till then governed by the princes of Māndhātṛivarma's branch was consequently lost to the senior branch (as is evident from the fact that in the Halsi grant⁸¹ of Harivarma of the senior branch, his uncle Śivaratha is said to be in charge of Uchchāṣṛiṅgi) until when after Harivarma's death, Kṛishṇavarma II became king and appointed the members of his own junior branch to govern it (as again is evident from the fact that the Dēvagere grant of his son crown-prince Dēvavarma⁸² was made from his court at Triparvata). Accordingly this Māndhātārājā may be properly assigned to the branch of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma, and it may also be presumed with a close approximation to the truth that he was the grandson of that Dēvavarma, when the concerned pedigree B from Kṛishṇavarma I would be further extended as :—



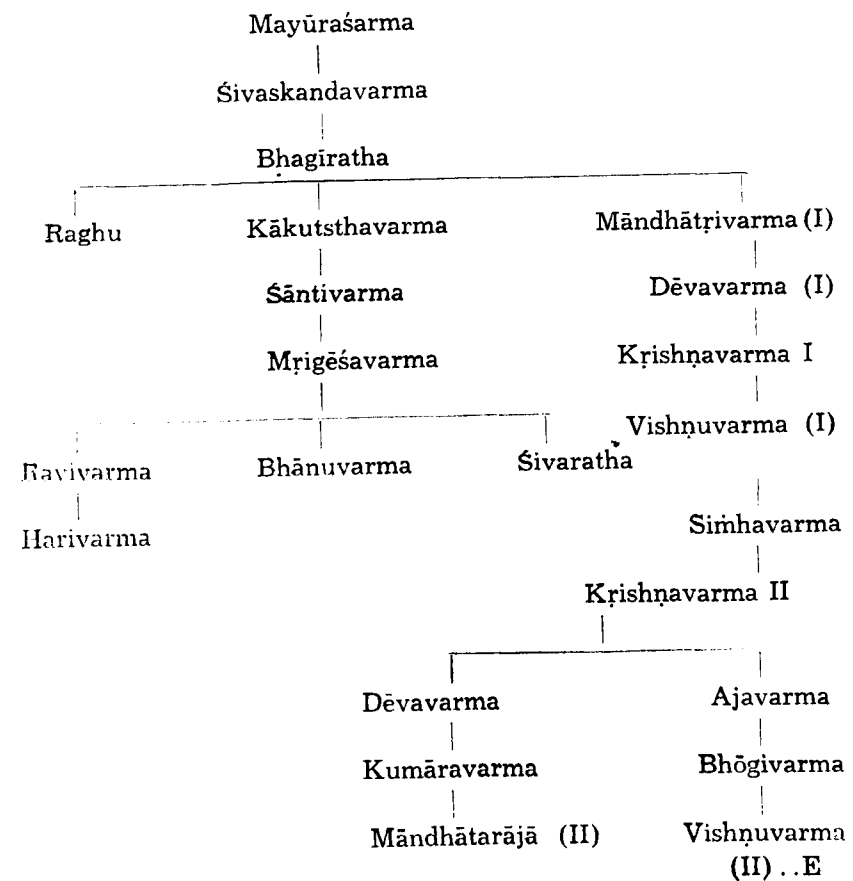
It is apparent that the names Kṛishṇa and Vishṇu are repeated twice in this pedigree; or in other words those names of the ancestors were given to their descendants, which however is not the case in the pedigree of the other branch, where no name occurs twice. It follows therefore that this pedigree must be an extension of the line of Māndhātṛivarma and his son Dēvavarma (Madu-

81. I. A. VI (p. 30).

82. I. A. VII. (p. 33).

varma) inasmuch as their names also are repeated in it in the branch of Dēvavarma the eldest son of Kṛishṇavarma II, the latter name (Dēvavarma) being repeated in his (i.e. Yuvarāja Dēvavarma's) own name, and the former (Māndhātṛi) in that of his grandson Māndhātārājā. We have already seen that Māndhātṛivarma was the younger brother of Kākutsthavarma, wherefore his son Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) would be a cousin brother of Śāntivarma, who was the son of Kākutsthavarma. We have further seen that Kṛishṇavarma I must have ruled immediately after Mṛigēśavarma and must therefore be a cousin brother of his. It follows therefore that Kṛishṇavarma I was the son of Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) and the grandson of Māndhātṛivarma.

Consolidating then the pedigrees A, C and D, we have :—



(iv) Dāmōdara

Finally there is one other name, that of Dāmōdara, who has to be properly placed in the Kadamba genealogy. It occurs in an epigraph consisting of a single verse inscribed on a rock near Konnūr in Belgaum district,⁸³ which runs:—

पितुर्मेकदशुचिर्दशः सखोःसाहयनापवान् ।

कदम्बानां कुले जातः श्रीमान्दामोदरो नृपः ॥

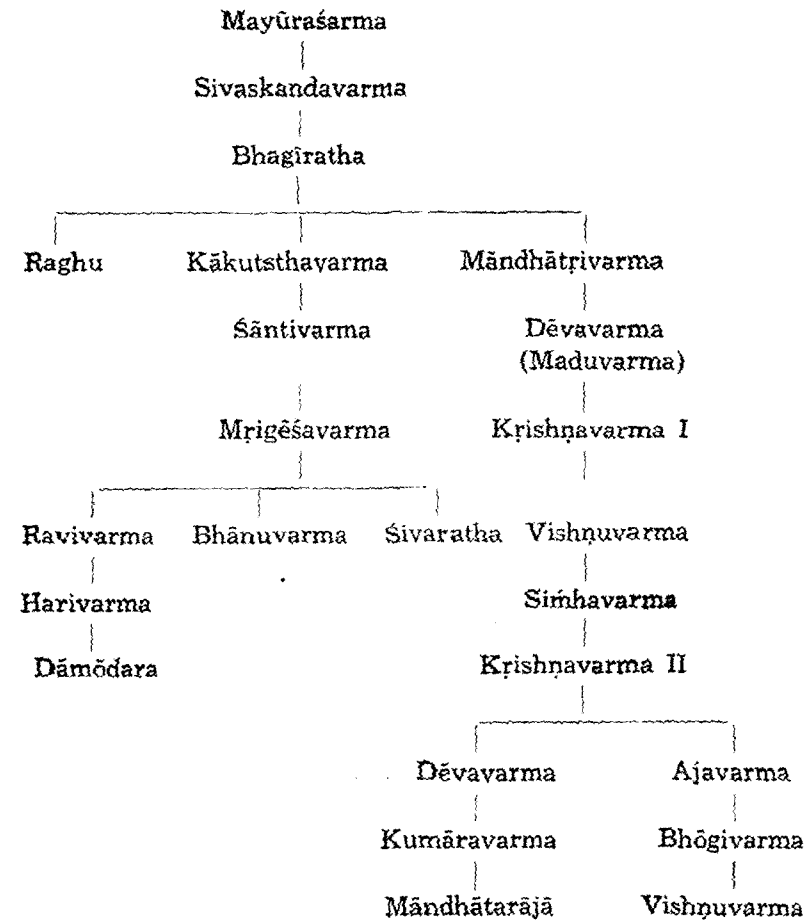
Though being too short an inscription to include any reference to *Āśvamēdha*, and for the same reason lacking in the benedictory word or words at its opening, neither of those tests, which had been applied in the preceding cases, can be of any use to determine the limits within which Dāmōdara will have to be placed in the Kadamba genealogy, the fact, that this is an immoveable lithic record standing unquestionably within the precincts of the Palāśikā division of the Kadamba kingdom, sufficiently argues that Dāmōdara must be placed in the line of Kākutsthavarma. Another point with regard to this record is that it is in what has been called the box-headed characters, just as the Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarma as well as the other unfinished inscription of Mrigēśavarma's wife and Ravivarma's mother Prabhāvatī found on the doorway of the temple at Tālagunda⁸⁴ are. But it must be noted once for all that just above this Konnūr inscription, there occurs twice the name 'Śrī Dāmōdara' inscribed in the same rock: once in box-headed characters of precisely the same type, and once in the characters customarily used in the early and western Chalukya records.⁸⁵ It would therefore follow that Dāmōdara will have to be assigned to a period when the box-headed type was fast going out of use, and was being steadily replaced by the other characters, in about the 5th century and not earlier; or in other words Dāmōdara must be later than Ravivarma in whose reign the record of his mother came to be inscribed. As we shall see later on, Ravivarma died at about the end of the 4th century, and his son Harivarma, who succeeded him ruled till about the end of the first quarter of the next, i.e. the 5th century. Presumably therefore this Dāmōdara was the son of Harivarma.

83. I. A. XXI. (p. 96).

84. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33 and 35).

85. I. A. XXI (p. 96).

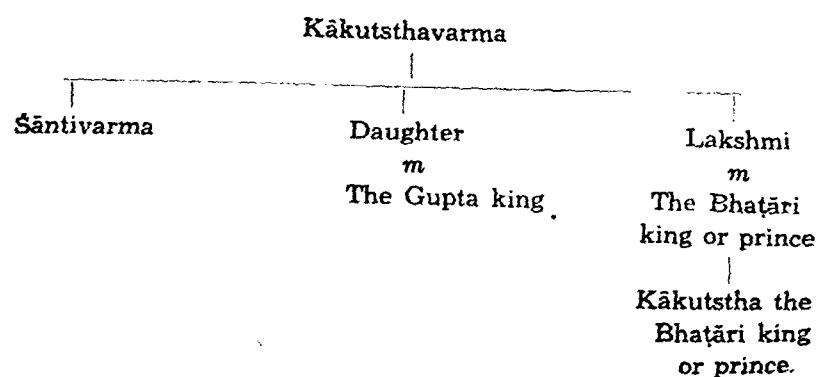
Thus then the final genealogy of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi in so far as it can be settled from all their records hitherto accessible to us would be as follows:—



There is yet another lithic record inscribed in box-headed characters on the right jamb of the doorway of *Pranavēśvara* temple at Tālagunda⁸⁶ which speaks of a grant made by a certain king or prince Kākutstha of the Bhaṭāri dynasty and his queen-mother Lakshmi, who was a Kadamba princess by birth. Now from the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Śāntivarma, we know (v. 31) that

86. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33 and 35). काकुत्स्थेन भट्टारिवंशतिलकेनानन्य
रूपश्रिया मात्रा चापि कदम्बवंशभवया लक्ष्म्या च ।

his father Kākutsthavarma had several daughters (at any rate more than one), one of whom (and in all probability the eldest) was given in marriage into the Gupta family. We know too that it is a very common practice to give a child the name of its maternal grandfather, and this is not less common than that of calling it after its paternal grandfather. The inscription in question is on the right jamb on the same doorway, the left jamb of which contains the inscription of Ravivarma's mother Prabhāvatī; and inasmuch as the right side has long been held to be the better side and that of honour, this inscription must have naturally preceded that of Ravivarma's mother. It therefore stands to reason that this Kadamba princess and Bhaṭāri queen Lakshmi was one of the daughters of the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarma, and those two steps in the Kadamba pedigree would be:—



(to be continued)

Samudra Gupta's Asvamedha Sacrifice

By

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ALL students of ancient Indian History know that Mahārājādhirāja Samudra Gupta, son of Mahārājāhirāja Chandra Gupta I. of the imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha, performed an *Asvamedha* sacrifice. It is evidenced by the *Asvamedha* type of coins issued by Samudra Gupta himself and his epithet, *chir-otsann-āsvamedhā-hartri* (i.e. performer of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice which was for a long time in abeyance) in the inscriptions of his descendants. In the Poona plates of his grand-daughter, the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatī Guptā, he is even called *anēk-āsvamedha-yājī* (performer of more than one horse-sacrifice). The boast, however, seems to me unfounded. First, if Samudra Gupta performed many *Asvamedha* sacrifices, his successors would have emphatically mentioned it in their official records. The Gupta kings after Samudra Gupta cannot be called reserved with reference to boasts; because, as has been noticed by Dr. Raychaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India* (3rd. Ed. p. 314), even the epithet *chir-otsann-āsvamedhā-hartri* applied by them to Samudra Gupta was an exaggeration. Secondly, there appear to be some mistakes in both the plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā (J. P. A. S. B., N. S., XX. 58; Ep. Ind., XV. 41). In her grants Prabhāvatī calls Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha, the *ādirāja* (the first king) of the Gupta family, while the official Gupta records begin the Gupta line with Mahārāja Gupta, the father of Ghaṭotkacha.¹ Next, here Chandra

1. The passage *Gupt = ādirāja mahārāja-Śrī-Ghaṭotkacha* has been translated by Messrs. K. B. Pathak and K. N. Dikshit as "Ghaṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first." It however seems that there is an instance of the *Shashṭhi-tat-purusha* compound: *Guptānām = ādirājah* i.e., the first king of the Guptas. As a *Bahuvrihi* compound, the word *Gupt-ādirāja* of course means Gupta *ādirāja yasya* i.e., having Gupta as the first king. It is then certainly inappropriate as an epithet of an individual king. The Gupta family of course, may well be styled *Guptādirāja vamsah*. That the above translation is wrong can also be proved from the Riddhāpūr plates of the same queen, where we have *Guptānām = ādirāja* which admits of no double interpretation (See J. P. A. S. B., N. S., XX. 58).

Gupta I. has been given the simple title *Mahārāja* ; but the official records of his royal successors style him as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Even Samudra Gupta is called *Mahārāja* in the Riddhāpūr plates. Again, some attributes, such as *Sarva-rāj-ochchētri* etc., applied to Samudra Gupta in the Gupta records, are here applied to his son Chandra Gupta II. These facts appear to prove that references to the Guptas in the grants of Prabhāvatī Guptā were not very carefully made. Moreover, as has been suggested by H. R. Divekar in *Annals of Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute* (VII, pp. 164-65), Samudra Gupta performed the *Aśvamedha* very late in life i.e., after the engraving of the Allahabad pillar inscription, which does not make mention of any such sacrifice. It is, therefore, doubtful whether, the Gupta emperor had time enough to perform *anēka aśvamedha*.

Now, in a paper entitled *Two Copper-plate grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi* in the *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V. pp. 21 ff., Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao thus remarks on the epithet *assamedha-yājī* (performer of horse-sacrifice) applied to the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Dēvavarman in the Ellore Prakrit plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. 56) : "I am of opinion that the boast *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) started with the Imperial Guptas and the contagion spread to the minor dynasties like the Chēdis, the Vākātakas, the Kadambas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and others. The proximity in time of Vijaya-Devavarman to Samudra Gupta's South Indian triumphal march, in my opinion, explains the insertion of the word *Aśvamedha-yājīnā* (1.5) in the grant of Vijaya-Deva. He must have seen some of the Imperial grants with similar titles and coolly imitated them." My theory, however, is exactly opposite to what has been propounded by Mr. Lakshmana Rao.

The first point to notice here is that there is no reference to any title like *aśvamedha-yājī* in the Gupta records. If, however, we take it that the epithet is an imitation of *chir-otsann-aśvamedhā-hartri*, we should hold that the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Devavarman lived to see the records of Samudra Gupta's successors ; because we do not get the epithet in his own epigraphs so far known. But the theory appears to be untenable, as it can be proved that this Devavarman was earlier than Samudra Gupta's contemporary *Vaiṅgēyaka* Hastivarman ; and he could therefore have been at best an earlier contemporary of the Gupta emperor.

Here we shall take notice of the Peddavēgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Nandivarman II, published in the *J. Andhra*

Hist. Res. Sec., I. pp. 92 ff. In this grant we get the following genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana kings :

Mahārāja Hastivarman, his son

Mahārāja Nandivarman I., his son

Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman, his eldest son

Mahārāja Nandivarman II.

This inscription, like all other Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions, is issued from Veṅgīpura, and can be palaeographically assigned to the 5th century A. D. So there can hardly be any doubt that this Hastivarman Śālaṅkāyana, *Mahārāja* of Veṅgī, is the same as the *Vaiṅgēyaka* Hastivarman, a king defeated by Samudra Gupta (c. 330—375 A.D.) according to the Allahabad pillar inscription (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX. pp. 213-4). If Devavarman saw the records of Samudra Gupta's successors, he must have come after Nandivarman II. who was approximately contemporaneous with Skanda Gupta (end of rule about A. D. 467). But Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman could not possibly rule after Nandivarman II and, therefore, not after Hastivarman, the regular succession (from father to son) between Hastivarman and Nandivarman II being established by the Peddavēgi plates (*Ibid.*, p. 212). Devavarman records his Ellore grant in Prakrit, while Nandivarman's grants are all in Sanskrit ; this fact goes to prove, as has been noticed by Prof. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. 58), that Devavarman was a predecessor of Nandivarman. Devavarman might have been the immediate predecessor of Hastivarman. It therefore seems to me most likely that the idea of *Aśvamedha* was borrowed not by the Śālaṅkāyanas from the Guptas, but by the Guptas from the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Whatever the value of the above suggestion may be, I have no doubt that Samudra Gupta got the inspiration of performing the horse-sacrifice from his connection with the southern countries, which may be rightly called the land of Vedic Customs. Even to-day Southern India represents Vedic rituals more fanatically than Northern India. So, we may see, it was also in ancient times. In comparison with the number and variety of Vedic sacrifices performed by early South Indian kings, the one *Aśvamedha* performed by Gājāyanasaratāta, the two by Pushyamitra and the two performed by the Gupta kings, Samudra Gupta and Kumāra

Gupta I, are ridiculously insignificant. The South might well, in this respect, be the teacher of the North.

Besides *Mahārāja* Devavarman, many other south Indian monarchs performed numerous Vedic sacrifices, including the *Āśvamedha*, before the performance of the horse-sacrifice by *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudra Gupta. The *Sātavāhana* king referred to in the Nanaghat Inscription No. I (A. S., W. I., V. pp. 60 ff.) is known to have performed the *Āśvamedha* twice along with numerous other sacrifices, such as *Agnyādheya*, *Anvārambhanīya*, *Rājasūya*, *Bhagaladaśarātra*, *Gargatrirātra*, *Gavāmayana*, more than one *Āṅgirasamayana*, *Satātīrātra*, *Āṅgiratrirātra*, *Chhandomapavamānatrirātra*, *tryodaśarātra*, *Daśarātra* and many others the names of which cannot be read owing to the fragmentary condition of the inscription. This *Sātavāhana* king, who has been taken to be the same as *Śātakarṇi*, the husband of *Nāyanikā*, must have ruled before the Christian era.

Another early performer of horse-sacrifice is *Vāsiṭhiputa Chāmtamūla* I of the *Ikshvāku* dynasty, who appears to have ruled over the *Nāgārjunikonda-Jaggayyapetta* region in about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.² He is described in the *Nāgārjunikonda* inscriptions of his son, as a performer of *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Āśvamedha* sacrifices.

It is strange, how Lakshmana Rao could say that the *Vākātakas* imitated the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice from the *Guptas*. Of the *Vākātakas*, *Mahārāja* Pravarasena I claims to have performed four *Āśvamedhas* along with *Agnishṭoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shoḍaśī Atirātra*, *Bṛihaspatisava* and *Sādyaskra*. But it must be noted that Pravarasena could not be later than Samudra Gupta. We know that *Prabhāvatī* Guptā, the grand-daughter of Samudra Gupta was given in marriage to the *Vākātika* king Rudrasena II who was the

2. Like the *Sātavāhana* and other early *Prakrit* inscriptions, the *Ikshvāku* records express double consonants by single letters. This fact seems to show that the *Ikshvāku* kings known from the *Jaggayyapetta* and *Nāgārjunikonda* inscriptions are earlier than the *Pallava* king *Śivaskandavarman* (c. 300 A.D.), whose *Mayidavolu* and *Hirahadagalli* grants express double consonants, in many cases, by two letters. The latter grant moreover begins and ends with two *maṅgalas* in *Sanskrit*. The legend on the seals of both these grants is also written in *Sanskrit*.

grandson's grandson of Pravarasena I. We give here a genealogical chart for easy reference.

Vākātakas	Guptas
Pravarasena I	
Gautamīputra	
Rudrasena I	Chandra Gupta (acc. 320 A. D.)
Prithivisena I	Samudra Gupta (c. 330—375).
Rudrasena II	married Prabhāvatī Guptā daughter of Chandra Gupta II (c. 375—414).

It therefore appears that Rudrasena I *Vākātika* was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta's father, who began to reign from 320 A. D. The beginning of the reign of Pravarasena I, grandfather of Rudrasena I, may fall in the ninth or the tenth decade of the 3rd cent.

So, if any was the borrower, it was the *Guptas* and not the *Vākātakas*.³

It must also be noted that king Bhavanāga, who was the *Vaivāhika* (father of son's wife) of this Pravarasena I, is said to have been the *mahārāja* of the *Bhāraśivas* who performed ten *Āśvamedha* sacrifices. These *Āśvamedhas* were evidently performed before the *Āśvamedha* of Samudra Gupta. The early *Pallava* king *Śivaskandavarman*, who has been described as the

3. That Pravarasena I was earlier than Samudra Gupta can also be proved from *Purāṇic* evidence. The *Purāṇas*, which do not mention any Gupta king by name and which limit the Gupta rule within the area *anugaṅgam prayāgaṁ = ca sāketa-magadhāms = tathā* (*Vāyu*, 99. 383), not only mention *Vindhyasakti* and his son *Pravira* (doubtless Pravarasena I.), but also refer to the performance of some *Vājapeya* (according to one MS. *Vājimedha*) sacrifices by the latter. cf.

Vindhyasakti-sutaś=cāpi pravīro nāma vīryavān . . .

Yakshyanti Vājapeyaiś = ca śamāpta-varadakshinaiḥ (*Ibid.*, vv. 371-2).

Pravarasena I could, however, have got the inspiration from his relatives, the *Bhāraśivas*, who have been credited with the performance of ten *Āśvamedha* sacrifices.

performer of *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha*, in the Hira-
hadagallī grant seems also to have been earlier than Samudra
Gupta.

I do not know whether any Chēdi king performed an *Aśva-
medha* as Lakshmana Rao tells us. But I am sure, later
dynasties like the Kadambas, Vishṇukunḍins, Śailodbhavas, Cha-
lukyas, etc., who performed the *Aśvamedha*, could necessarily be
inspired not by the *Aśvamedha* of Samudra Gupta, but by the time-
honoured traditions of their own land where Vedic sacrifices were
being usually performed from pre-Christian times.

It must be noticed that the *Aśvamedhas* performed by these
southern monarchs possibly lacked the grandeur of the *Aśva-
medhas* described in the Epics. These were simpler like the *Aśva-
medhas* of the Vedic age when, we know, a king could perform a
good many *Aśvamedhas*. According to a *gāthā* recorded in the
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bharata Daushyanti performed 133 *Aśva-
medhas* (according to another *gāthā*, more than 1000 *Aśvamedhas*)
on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna (XIII. iii. 5. 11 & 13).
We should also note the grandeur of the *Aśvamedhas* performed
by mighty Epic heroes like Daśaratha, Rāma and Yudhishṭhira,
and the fact that even Epic imagination could not go beyond the
performance of 100th *Aśvamedha*, which it connected with the
attainment of the seat of Indra. As for an instance of the simpler
nature of the South Indian *Aśvamedhas*, Mādhavavarman I,⁴ the
third of the known Vishṇukunḍin kings, is described in his own
Īpūr (No. 1) and Polamūru grants and the Īpūr (No. 2) Rāma-
tirtham and Chikkulla grants of his descendants, as a performer of
eleven *Aśvamedhas* and one thousand *agnishṭomas* (or *kratus*).
Mādhavavarman I, appears to have ruled in about the middle of
the 6th century A.D. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX. 961) and as it was the
age of the growth of the Chālukya and Pallava powers, it is almost
impossible that Mādhavavarman I could have performed even a
single *Aśvamedha* in the Epic signification of the sacrifice.⁵

4. Mādhavavarman I, of the Īpūr plates (No. 2) must be identical with
Mādhavavarman of the Īpūr plates (No. 1) the Rāmatirtham, Polamūru and
the Chikkulla plates; because in all these records the king is referred to as a
performer of eleven *aśvamedhas* and one thousand *agnishṭomas* (*kratus*).
(*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX. p. 273.)

5. In this connection, we must also note the very late tradition that
credits Mayūraśarman (varman), the earliest Kadamba King, with the per-
formance of eighteen *Aśvamedhas* (*Ep. carn.*, VII, Sk. 178). The tradition
itself is certainly without any historical foundation; but its spirit appears to
support our conjecture.

A Mādhava-Vidyāranya of the Eleventh Century A. D.

By

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THE very interesting controversy that has been raging over the
Mādhava-Vidyāranya problem will, it seems to me, be silenced by
the article on that subject published in the *Journal of Indian
History* for August 1933 (Vol. XII, No. 35) by Mr. Doraiswami
Iyengar of Mysore. The Mādhava and Vidyāranya whose identity
or non-identity formed the bone of contention in the above-
mentioned controversy are of the fourteenth century. There is
another Mādhava *alias* Vidyāranya who is mentioned in an un-
published Sanskrit work called *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* as having lived
in the *eleventh* century.

Brahma Pratiṣṭhā is a Sanskrit metrical account of the intro-
duction of Kanarese Brahmans into his kingdom by King Udaya
Varma of Kōlattunāḍ, the northernmost of the ancient principalities
in the Malayālam country. The colophon of the work indicates
that it is only a portion (a *prakaraṇa*) of a work called *Kēraḷa
Māhātmyam* (= the glory of Kēraḷa). According to the colophon
this section of the work, *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* (= the settlement of
the Brahmans), is included in *Udaya Varma Charitam* forming part
of *Kōlarāṣṭra Varṇanam* (= a description of Kōlattunāḍu) in
Kēraḷa Māhātmyam. This is the colophon: 'iti śrī kēraḷamāhātmye
kōlarāṣṭravarnanē udayavarmacharitē brahmapratiṣṭhā nāma pra-
karaṇam sampūrṇam.' But an edition of *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* in
Malayālam characters by Śeṣu Śāstri (Trichur, 1912) does not con-
tain this section. The 80th chapter of this edition (pp. 163, 164),
however, refers to the introduction of some northern Brahmans
into his kingdom by a king of the Madhya Khaṇḍa (the Middle
Division) of Kēraḷa.

Brahma Pratiṣṭhā consists of 122 verses in *anuṣṭub* metre fol-
lowed by the colophon quoted above and ends with the following
ślōka (the 123rd):

kamalākaramadhyē yad rōdhōntē kamalādikē (sic)
lālasīti param daivam haimākhyam tanmahō'vatu.

Rōdhōnta here is Chirakkal, a portion of Kōlattunāḍu. Since the *ślōka* is in praise of the deity of Chirakkal we may suppose that the author was a native of Chirakkal, perhaps one of the Chirakkal Rajas reputed for their learning. A Sanskrit poem called *Dēśyaṣṭakam* (= eight *ślōkas* on the *Dēśi* or Kanarese Brahmans) has two *ślōkas* appended to it, the last (the tenth) of which makes mention of a detailed history (in two chapters) of Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍu who brought the Kanarese Brahmans, written by a member of his own family. The opening verse of *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* is in praise of Sri Rama of Cherutāḷattu temple, called Kruśādhah Kṣētra by the author of the *prakaraṇa*. Cherutāḷattu is in the Chirakkal taluk, North Malabar.

The *prakaraṇa* is in the form of a dialogue between some Brahman enquirers and Sūta of the *Purāṇas*, that took place while he was in the great temple at Riṣabhādrī (= Trichur in Cochin). Sūta recounts to them the story about *Dēvabrahma pratiṣṭhā*, i.e., the erection of temples and the settlement of Kanarese Brahmans in Kōlattunāḍ, as narrated previously by Nārada the famous Rishi to a *Gandharva* called Suprabha who was very curious to know the story of the new kind of Brahmans whom the latter saw in Kōlattunāḍ while aviating over Kēraḷa.

Nārada prefaces his story with a list of the five kings, eight Sāmantas and five Śūdra chiefs among whom the eighteen divisions of Kēraḷa were distributed by Chēramān Perumāḷ before his pilgrimage to Mecca (*ślōkas* 11 to 15).

The most important of the eighteen rulers of Kēraḷa was the King of Kōlattunāḍ. Udaya Varma of that kingdom once waged war with his enemies and chanced to kill Brahmans and incur the sin of *Brahmahatyā* (Brahmanicide). In order to expiate that sin he made up his mind to give gifts to the Brahmans. But the Nambudiris of Kakshmi Grama, i.e., Perinchellūr, and other villages declined to accept the sinner's gift, and in consequence he cast about for other Brahmans who would accept the expiatory gift.

There were at that time some Kanarese and Tuḷu Brahmans in Tiruvallā (in Central Travancore), who were the *pūjāris* of Viṣṇu. This idol had been brought by the Tuḷu Brahmans from the river Gandaki, a tributary of the Ganges, to Gokarṇa on the West Coast. It was unfortunately lost in the Gokarṇa river while the Tuḷus crossed it, but with the help of some of the Kanarese

Brahmans of Gokarṇa they lifted it out of the water. Both the Tuḷu and Kanarese Brahmans together took it to Tiruvallā, and settling down there, officiated as *pūjāris* of that image. The Tuḷus belonged to the Śrīvalli *grāma* and the Kanarese to the three *grāmas* of Iḍukunchi, Viḷakkūr and Guḍubanta (called Gunavati in the *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā*).

In the year 220 M.E. (A.D. 1044-45) indicated by the chronogram *nararatna* (see appendix), Udaya Varma who had been on the look-out for Brahmans who would receive his expiatory gifts, sent messengers to Tiruvallā and took to his kingdom 237 families of Kanarese Brahmans (known as Tiruvallā Dēśis) belonging to 14 houses of the three *grāmas* already mentioned. These willingly received Udaya Varma's gifts along with his sin of *Brahmahatyā*. The gift included two new temples, one at Kruśādhah (Cherutāḷattu in Malayāḷam) and the other at Arhastha (Arattil in Malayāḷam), besides land and money. These Brahmans were also given precedence in his kingdom over the Nambudiri Brahmans already settled there. These Nambudiris, however, ostracized the Kanarese Dēśis¹ on account of their having done *pūja* to Viṣṇu in Tiruvallā according to Pāncharātra and Kāpāla rites, and of having accepted the sinner's gifts.

The Kanarese Brahmans of Kōlattunāḍ were ill at ease and continued in that state of ostracism for a long time. Then one day a yogi called Nityānanda came to the temple of Cherutāḷattu from Badaryāśrama along with four disciples, and began to perform his *pūjā* in it. But the Dēśis ousted them from the temple, and the yogi went away having cursed them. Some of the elders among the Dēśis then overtook him on his way and entreated him to remove the curse. 'Another yogi would be here in a year, and he would,' he said, 'deliver you from my curse if you would please him.'

On his way back from Cherutāḷattu temple Nityānanda was entertained by Mādhava Bhaṭṭa (a Kanarese Brahman), who learned from the yogi a certain form of *dhyāna* (contemplation) and some *mantras* and rituals (*tantras*). Nityānanda went away to the north, and Mādhava doing *pūja* to the God (Śiva) of the

1. Dēśis or Dēśasthas are those who live in *dēśas* as opposed to the *grāmas* of the Nambudiris, who are called *grāmis* or *grāmakār* as distinct from *dēśis* or *pōṭṭis*.

village called Guṇavati (Guḍubanta) according to Nityānanda's instructions and rites became endowed with the eight *aiśvaryas* (or divine faculties) and the eighteen *vidyas* (or forms of ancient lore). Thereafter he was given the title of *Paṇḍita* at a meeting of learned men held at the Vākrūraka temple (not identified).

Subsequently Mādhava Paṇḍita came one day to Kōlattunād on his way to the Tirunelli temple in Wynad, in a palanquin borne by *bhūtas* (spirits). The Kanarese *Dēśis* then approached him and told him the whole story relating to Nityānanda's curse and their ostracism. He advised them not to accept any more expiatory gifts from the king, and promised to rid them of their curse on his return from Tirunelli.

Mādhava Paṇḍita proceeded to the Tirunelli temple to perform the *piṇḍa* * ceremony for the souls of his departed ancestors. On his arrival he found a dead dog on the rook (called *Piṇḍappāra*), on which *piṇḍa* had to be offered and immediately bringing it back to life, offered *piṇḍa* on the purified stone and gave Kanarese Brahmans of (his own) Haika sect the right of performing *piṇḍa* ceremonies at the temple. Soon after this miraculous resuscitation of the dog there came a voice from heaven praising Mādhava Paṇḍita and calling him Mādhava Āchārya.

Mādhavāchārya then went to the temple at Trucchambaram (in North Malabar). There his palanquin was abandoned by the *Bhūtās*, and divining that the reason for it was the continued acceptance by the Kanarese *Dēśis* of his own race, of expiatory gifts from Udaya Varma, he too cursed them and went to the Cherutaḷattu temple.

Udaya Varma and the *Dēśis* approached Mādhavāchārya. He was very angry and went away in disgust. The king and the *Dēśis* finally succeeded in extracting from him a promise of restitution. 'Come to the next meeting at Gokarṇa,' he commanded, 'and I shall see what I can do for you.' He then reached Gokarṇa and became Vidyāraṇya Muni.

Then in the month of Kumbha in the year 264 M.E. (A.D. 1089) a great meeting of kings and *yatis* (ascetics) and the Brahmans of the 64 *grāmas* of Kerala, was held in the Gokarṇa temple. Udaya

* Offering of food in the shape of bales of boiled rice or other equivalent for the satisfaction of departed ancestors. (Editor).

Varma and his Kanarese Brahmans also went to the meeting and presented their case before the assembly. The Brahmans were then taught the four Vedas, and in obedience to the dictates of the assembly they gave gifts in expiation of their guilt. They were thus purified, and to them were joined 237 families of orthodox Kanarese Brahmans belonging to ten houses from 13 *grāmas*. Udaya Varma now had 477 families of Kanarese Brahmans in all. All these belonging to (14+10) 24 houses or main families from (3+13) 16 *grāmas*, were *yajurvēdis* and of the *bōdhāyana sūtra*. They were all Haikas too. The 240 *Dēśis* swore before the assembly by the God Mahābala of Gokarṇa, on 27th Kumbha, 264 M. E. (see appendix), that they would co-operate with their new associates (the 237 families from Gokarṇa) in all religious and social functions and intermarrying with them, remain as one united people, or lapse into their former degenerate state if they should break their promise.

Udaya Varma then gave gifts to God Mahābala and presents to Vidyāraṇya Swāmi and others, and returned happy to his own kingdom along with the (237+240) 477 families of Haika Brahmans. His brother Ravi Varma, his eight ministers² and his subjects were glad of their return. The 237 families were settled in four *dēśas* (districts) and the 240 in five. Houses, temples and lands also were granted them by the king. The above nine *dēśas* are between Nilēśvaram in the north and Cherukunnu in the South, Perinchellūr in the East and Payyannūr in the West. Udaya Varma went a step further and made the language, dress and customs of his Kanarese Brahmans the same as those of the orthodox Nambudiris of Perinchellūr *grāma*, and appointed some Nambudiris of the *grāma* as *Smārtās* and *Vaidikas* to his Brahmans. The king performed the *hiranyagarbha* ceremony, gave *mahādāna* and other gifts, and finally went to heaven (died) after having long enjoyed the pleasures of life along with the Kanarese Brahmans that he had introduced into his country, and also with the Nambudiri Brahmans of Perinchellūr.

After the demise of Udaya Varma his Kanarese Brahmans have spread over the whole of Kerala and lived as *pūjāris*. In consequence of their having done *pūja* to the God (Vishṇu) of Tiru-

2. The king of Kōlattunād had a council called *Enmaryōgam*, the council of eight.

vallā according to the Pāncharātra and Kāpāla systems, and of the abandonment of their original home (in the Kanarese country) the other Brahmans (remaining in the Kanarese grāmas) do not regard these Dēsis as belonging to their grāmas.

Nārada thus concluded his story and returned to Satyaloka, and Suprabha the listener went to the house of Chitraratha, king of the gandharvas.

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There is a poem of 10 ślokas called *Dēśyaṣṭakam* which gives a summary of the *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* story narrated above. The *Aṣṭaka* story is as follows.

Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍ grew very haughty on account of his wealth and insulted the Nambudiri Brahmans of Lakshmigrāma (Perinchellūr) as well as their God Rājarājēsvara. Consequently, all his religious ceremonies had to be discontinued, and he became childless. On consultation with his brother Ravi Varma and his ministers, he went and bathed in the Ganges and brought away 8000 *Sāligrāmas* (holy ammonite shells) from the Gaṇḍaki (a tributary of the Ganges). On his way back he visited King Mayūra Varma of Gokarṇa (and returned to Kōlattunāḍ). He then went again to Mayūra Varma (with the necessary materials) and (having exhibited his prowess) by repairing in one night a tank there called Kōṭitirtham, bought from the king 14 houses of Kanarese Brahmans and returned with them to his kingdom.

They comprised 237 families. Udaya Varma built houses for them in five *dēśas* (districts) and settled them there. He built also the Cherutaḷattu temple for them, and changing their language and mode of dress, gave them riches and titles of honour. The 8000 *sāligrāmas* were installed in the temple of Raghunātha (Sri Rama), and the king caused *pūja* to be done to them by his new Brahman colonists. He built also many other temples for Subramanya, Śiva and other deities, and gave them as gifts to his new Brahmans. Udaya Varma made them the authorities of the temples of Śrī Rāma, the Sun, Durga, Subrahmanya, Hanumān and other deities, and performed the ceremony of *hiranyagarbha* according to their instructions. Later on came the relatives of those Brahmans, and the king settled them in four *dēśas* (or districts). After both these colonists were thus settled in (5 + 4) nine *dēśas*, others came from Gokarṇa. These Kanarese Brahmans also were allowed to settle down in all parts of his kingdom.

In spite of Udaya Varma's having thus peopled his kingdom with Brahmans he remained childless because he had insulted God himself and the Nambudiris. He was sorry because those Kanarese Brahmans were devoid of Keralan manners and customs. In his distress he went to Perinchellūr and propitiated the Nambudiris there with gifts. They blessed him and thereby children were born to him. The Nambudiris of Perinchellūr were appointed *smārtas* and *vaidikas* of the Kanarese Brahmans after the manners and customs of the latter had been made the same as those of the Nambudiris. With these two kinds of Brahmans (the Nambudiris and the Dēsis) Udaya Varma lived a long life and went to heaven after a glorious reign (Here ends the eighth śloka).

In course of time the Dēsis spread over the whole of Kerala and have been appointed *pūjāris* in temples by the Nambudiris and the other people of Kerala. The Dēsis marry their girls to Kanarese Brahmans who come from Gokarṇa, and even now retain their (Kanarese) manners and customs. The above *Aṣṭaka* (or poem of 8 ślokas) was composed by a Brahman (probably a Dēsi) after duly consulting the larger history of Udaya Varma in two chapters written by one of his own family (Here ends the tenth śloka).

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The chief divergences between the *Pratiṣṭhā* account and the *Aṣṭaka* account, and the additional details in the latter may now be noted. In the first place, the author of the *Aṣṭaka* introduces a new personage, Mayūra Varma. Secondly, the *Aṣṭaka* makes the king buy the first colony of 237 families belonging to 14 houses from Mayūra Varma, while the *Pratiṣṭhā* makes the king bring them from Tiruvallā. This difference may be explained by assuming that the author having no idea about the relative ages of Mayūra Varma and Udaya Varma put in that king's name also because he was well-known to tradition as the person who brought Brahmans to the region north of Malabar. We may suppose that the episodes of the partition of Kēraḷa, of the image of Viṣṇu brought from the Gaṇḍaki river, and of Nityānanda yogi, Mādhavacārya and the Gokarṇam conference are not found in the *Aṣṭaka* because it is avowedly nothing more than a *samkṣēpa* (or summary) of the *Pratiṣṭhā*, several expressions from which are in fact repeated in the *Aṣṭaka*.

The God Rājarājēśvara³ mentioned in the *Aṣṭaka* is the God of a temple in Talipparampu (Perinchellūr) built (presumably) by some king called Rājarāja (perhaps a Chēramān Perumāḷ or Chera king). The famous temple at Tanjore built by Rājarāja Chōla (A.D. 985-1018) is called Rājarājēśvaram. It is not impossible that this Rājarāja, who is known to have conquered Coorg bordering on Kōlattunād, and some parts of Kēraḷa, built a temple at Talipparampu and called it Rājarājēśvaram.

The *Aṣṭaka* mentions also (according to my interpretation of 'Lakshmi-grāma dvijēndrānapi, tadadhipatim, Rājarājēśvaram cha') the *adhipati* or lord of the Nambudiris of Perinchellūr. This lord was probably the head-man of their *grāma*, known from a Kēra-*lōlppatti* as Nāyaka Nambūrippādu of Puḷiyapparambu house in Perinchellūr *grāma*. Nāyaka means leader. This Nambūdiri Nāyaka is mentioned also in Kēraḷa *Māhātmyam* (1912), p. 77, *śloka* 21, as lord of the Nambūdiris of Lakshmipuram (This *śloka* is appended to the present article.)

Udaya Varma of Kōlattunād who according to *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* was alive from 220 to 264 M.E. (A.D. 1044 to 1089) may or may not be the Udaya Varma to whom (according to Kēraḷōlppatti) the Perumāḷ (i.e., the Kēraḷa king) who went to Mecca (or Makta Dēśa according to Kēraḷa *Māhātmyam*, 1912, pp. 137, 138) gave Kōlattunād. Bhaskara Ravi Varma who reigned from A.D. 1047 to 1105 or even later was Perumāḷ of Kēraḷa when Udaya Varma of *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* and *Dēśyāṣṭakam* was reigning in Kōlattunād. Bhaskara Ravi is sometimes called the last Perumāḷ of Kēraḷa.

And who is this Mayūra Varma of the *Aṣṭaka*? There is a Kaḍamba king of that name famous in Kanarese and Mahratta legends preserved in the Mackenzie MSS. According to the Kanarese tradition Mayūra Varma's son Chandrāngada introduced a large colony of Brahmans into Kēraḷa, Tuḷuva, Haigiri,⁴ Konkana and Chorada before Paraśurāma came with his Nambudiris of the 64 *grāmas* of Kēraḷa. The Mahratta tradition says that Mayūra

3. Chapters 32-34 of Śeṣu Sastri's edition of *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* (Trichur, 1912) describe the God Rājarājēśvara and the temple at Lakshmipuram, i.e. Talipparampu.

4. The Dēśis introduced into Kōlattunād are called Haikas in *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā*. Haigiri and Haika may be one and the same place.

Varma, king of Kēraḷa and Saurāṣṭra (i.e., Kathiawar), not satisfied with the social status of the Boyijati Brahmans introduced into Kēraḷa by Paraśurāma sent for other Brahmans from Hai-kshētram and settled them in different parts of his kingdom. The date of this Mayūra Varma (or these two Mayūra Varmas?) is not known, nor is there any Mayūra Varma (known to me) who was a contemporary of our Udaya Varma of circa 1050 A.D.

According to the *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* account Nityānanda Yogi and Mādhavācārya alias Vidyāranya were contemporaries of Udaya Varma of Kōlattunād. Nothing is known about Nityānanda and his date. There is the well-known Dvaita teacher Mādhavācārya * born near Udipi in South Kanara in 1119 A.D. He lived in the 12th century, some time after Udaya Varma of the 11th century.

One cannot be sure whether the combination of dates and names in the *Pratiṣṭhā* and *Aṣṭakam* is reliable. It is quite possible that the authors of the two metrical accounts merely recorded tradition which had already made a mess of well-known names, events, and chronograms.

There is a Vidyāranya buried at Śringēri, and another Vidyāranya buried at Hampe. 'Epigraphy shows,' according to Mr. Doraiswamy Iyengar's article, p. 247, 'that Vidyāranya' (of the 14th century) 'died at Śringēri and a temple was erected over his tomb there. But a kaḍita of Śringēri as well as oral tradition make out that the tomb at Hampe is equally genuine.' Could the Hampe tomb be supposed to be that of Vidyāranya of the eleventh century mentioned in *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā*?

APPENDIX

A. Extracts from *Pratiṣṭhā* :—

Śloka 1. श्रीरायवं प्रणम्याहं कृशाधः क्षेत्रवासिने ।
कोलभूपदयोदन्तं ब्राह्मणस्थापनं ब्रुवे ॥

Śloka 28. 'नररत्न' समायां प्राक् कोल्लंबे 'सागरान' द्विजान् ।
आनाय्य तेभ्यो ददिवान् क्षेत्राद्युदयभूपतिः ॥

* The Dvaita teacher's name is Mādhvācārya not Mādhavācārya. The two names differ in form and meaning. (Editor).

- Sloka* 69. ततश्चिरगते काले कोळंबादे सयागते ।
‘वबोरले’ कुंभयासे ‘सौर’हि सुरगायक ॥
- Sloka* 70. गोकर्णाख्ये महाक्षेत्रे संगतासीन्महासभा ।
तत्र पूर्वोक्तप्रजा विप्रास्तेपि समाययुः ॥
- Sloka* 84. महावलस्य गोकर्ण महाक्षेत्राधिवासिनः ।
सन्निधौ सत्यमकरोत् सत्सभेयं सभान्तरे ॥
- Sloka* 85. कोळंबादे ‘भातिरले’ कुंभयासे ‘सुर’द्वनि ।
विचारण्यतीन्द्रश्च षोडशग्राभिणो द्विजाः ॥
- Sloka* 86. कोलभू पोन्न्यभूयाश्च नानादेशमहाजनाः ।
गोकर्णाख्ये महाक्षेत्रे तत्र सम्मिलिता सभा ॥
- Sloka* 87. सर्वे वयममीनित्यं श्रौतस्मातांदि कर्मसु ।
विवाहापनयाद्येषु भवामः सहकारिणः ॥
- Sloka* 122. यत्प्रसादात् सत्कथेयं मन्देनापि मयोदिता ।
तान् गुरुन् सर्वदा नौमि यडाननपरायणान् ॥
इति श्रीकेरळमाहात्म्ये कोलराष्ट्रवर्णने उदयवर्मचरिते ब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठा
नाम प्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ॥
- Sloka* 123. कमलाकरमध्ये यद् रोधोन्ते कमलादिके ।
लालसीति परं दैवं हेमाख्यं तन्महोचतु ॥
शुभयस्तु
- B. Extract from *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* (1912), p. 77 :—
- Sloka* 21. काश्यपान्वय संभूतं नायकं नामभूसुरं ।
नायकं सर्वविप्राणां रक्षार्थं समकल्पयत् ॥

Yachama Nayaka—The King-Maker

By

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THE accounts of two independent writers, one of them an Indian, and the other, a foreigner, agree as regards the activities in the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire, bringing into relief the noble figure of Yāchama Nāyaka. These two writers are Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikshita¹ and Manuel Barradas.² The vivid account of the civil war in the capital as given by Barradas is to be found in Robert Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagara*. In a letter written while at Cochin on December 11th, A.D. 1616, Barradas describes the events of A. D. 1614. We shall first summarise them, and then turn our attention to the narrative of Dikshita in order to clear the mist that hangs over the deplorable state of affairs in the Hindu capital. And in so doing we shall eschew all epigraphical and other contemporary sources, in order to understand better the evidence of the two writers.

Manuel Barradas tells us about “the death of the old king of Bisnaga, called Vencattapatti Rayulu, and of his selection as his successor of a nephew by name Chica Rayulu.”³ Sewell locates these events at Chandragiri,⁴ obviously on the strength of the statement of Barradas that Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva, called by some the I, and by others, the II of that name,⁵ kept a putative son of his “always shut up in the palace of Chandragiri. . . .”⁶ Excepting this there is no other clue to the place where the events took place, in the letter of Barradas.

This putative son was really the offspring of Brahman parents. How Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva Rāya's queen—who, by the way,

1. His work styled *Sāhitya Ratnākara* has been edited by Mr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Madras, 1932. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar noticed it in his *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 267 seq., published in 1917.

2. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222 seq. (1900).

3. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 223.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Intr., p. 28.

6. Sewell, *Ibid.*

was the daughter of Jagga Rāya—came to bring him forward is also narrated by Barradas.⁷ He was called “Chica Raya.” The Emperor imprisoned him at Chandragiri but on the boy attaining the 14th year, gave him in marriage to a niece of his. But three days before his death, the old monarch set aside this “Chica Raya” and selected as his successor his nephew also called “Chica Raya” or “Chica Rayulu,”⁸ identified by Sewell with Raṅga Rāya III.⁹

This selection drowned the land in civil war. On the side of the putative boy was his supposed mother Queen Bāyammā—who was the daughter of Jagga Rāya. This nobleman together with two others called by Barradas “Tima Naique” (Timma Nāyaka) and “Maca Raya” (Mācha Rāya?) refused to swear allegiance to Chikka Raya (Raṅga Rāya III), and espoused the cause of his namesake.¹⁰ Between these three rebels they could muster an army of 38,000 men, and command a revenue of 1,200,000 cruzados.¹¹

Chikka Rāya, whom we shall henceforth style in this paper as Ranga Rāya III, soon gave an opportunity to Jagga Rāya to raise the standard of revolt. The Emperor Raṅga Rāya III displeased three of his own nobles, his Daḷavāyi, whose name Barradas does not give; his minister, who is likewise not given a name; and “Narpa Raya” whom Barradas makes the brother-in-law of Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva.¹² Excepting these three and Jagga Rāya, Timma Nāyaka, and “Maca Raya,” the rest of the kingdom proved loyal to Raṅga Rāya, III.

Jagga Rāya and his rebel compatriots soon executed a plot. And Barradas tells us briefly how Raṅga Rāya III surrendered to the traitors with his wife, daughters, and sons.¹³ Jagga Rāya crowned his own nephew king after having taken possession of the fortress and all the riches in it.¹⁴

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-3.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 222, n. (2).

10. On this Chikka Raya read Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 225.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

12. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 225.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-7.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

On this dark background shines a solitary figure—that of Yāchama Nāyaka. Alone among the unfaithful followers of Raṅga Rāya III, Yāchama “stopped outside the fortress with eight thousand men, and refused to join Jagga Rāya.” Instead, as Barradas continues, “hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began to collect troops.”¹⁵

The immensity of the task which Yāchama Nāyaka had undertaken can be understood when we realize the forces of the rebels led by Jagga Rāya and of their new ally who now joined them—the Nāyaka of Madura.¹⁶ Barradas does not mention him by name but Sewell identified him with Muttu Virappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1609-1623).¹⁷

Jagga Rāya had deposed and imprisoned Raṅga Rāya III. He despaired of securing Yāchama Nāyaka's allegiance but he won over many of the nobles of the latter by gifts and promises.¹⁸

Meanwhile Yāchama Nāyaka got possession of one of the sons of Raṅga Rāya III. How cleverly he did this through the medium of a washerman is told by Barradas.¹⁹ On hearing this Jagga Rāya doubled the guards around the imprisoned king.²⁰

Four of Jagga Rāya's followers now joined Yāchama Nāyaka with 8,000 men. Yāchama Nāyaka next made three attempts to rescue Raṅga Rāya III. The first attempt was with the aid of twenty soldiers. It failed just when Raṅga Rāya “was descending into it (the underground passage) in order to escape.”²¹ Yāchama Nāyaka next bribed a captain of Jagga Rāya to slay the guards and rescue the king. Jagga Rāya forestalled Yāchama Nāyaka in this and so the second attempt also failed. The captain and his 500 men were killed.²²

It was now that Jagga Rāya decided to kill Raṅga Rāya III. “He entrusted this business to a brother of his named China-

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

17. *Ibid.*, n. (2).

18. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 226.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

Obrya (Chinna Ōbala Rāya ?), ordering him to go to the palace, and tell the poor king that he must slay himself, and that if he would not, he himself would kill him with stabs of his dagger."²³ The tragic story of how Raṅga Rāya then beheaded his own wife, his youngest son and his little daughter; how Raṅga Rāya's eldest son beheaded his wife; how Raṅga Rāya threw himself upon a long sword of four fingers' breadth; and how his eldest son did the same—all this is related by Barradas.

Jagga Rāya alienated the sympathy of his followers some of whom now joined the side of Yāchama Nāyaka. The prince who had been rescued by the washerman, was the only person who remained of all the royal family. With 10,000 men under him, Yāchama Nāyaka offered battle to Jagga Rāya who commanded more than 60,000 men and a number of elephants and horses. With a sense of patriotism and justice unrivalled in the history of southern India, Yāchama Nāyaka put to flight Jagga Rāya and proclaimed the son of Raṅga Rāya as the King of Vijayanagara. But for two years (A.D. 1614-16) Jagga Rāya managed to wage war with such of the disloyal people who had deserted the cause of the rightful king.²⁵

Yāchama Nāyaka's ally was the "Naïque of Tanjore" whose name Barradas does not give.²⁶

Now we may cite Yajñanārayana Dikshita as a witness in order to corroborate the evidence of Barradas. The activities of Jagga Rāya and his confederates come in two cantos-X and XIII of the *Sāhitya Ratnākara*. We shall first take the former. In the court of Achyuta Nāyaka, father of Raghunātha Nāyaka, the great minister Gōvinda Dikshita proposed measures to bring the vile Chōlaka and the Pārasikas to reason.²⁷ The spy, who was sent to ascertain the strength of the Pāṇḍya king and his allies, is then introduced.²⁸ This Pāṇḍya king, having been defeated by Achyuta

Rāya, had conspired to attack him.²⁹ And among his allies was one Jagga Rāya who had killed the king of Karṇāṭaka and the members of his family, and with the remaining son of the Karṇāṭaka king had taken the side of the Pāṇḍya king against Achyuta Nāyaka. Gōvinda Dikshita tells us merely that Jagga Rāya had killed the King of Karṇāṭaka with his children and grandchildren.³⁰ He describes in a later passage how they were killed.

The spy then advocates a policy of alliance with the son of the dead Karṇāṭaka king, and of sending Prince Raghunātha who was to be crowned, against the foe.³¹

Before we proceed with the narrative of the spy, we may observe the following: all the events mentioned by Barradas from the time of the Brahman child was adopted as the son of the Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva till the actual murder of the Karṇāṭaka king by Jagga Rāya, are not to be found in Dikshita's narrative.

There is another point of difference between Dikshita and Barradas as chroniclers. According to the latter, one of Raṅga Rāyas's sons escapes. This son, as we saw, was handed over to Yāchama Nāyaka by the washerman. But Dikshita tells us that the remaining son of the murdered Karṇāṭaka king was in the hands of Jagga Rāya.³²

Since we know from the chronicle of Barradas who the king who fell into the hands of Jagga Rāya was, we may safely identify the Karṇāṭaka king mentioned by Dikshita with Chikka Rāyalu or Raṅga Rāya III. Evidently Dikshita confounds the putative son of the Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva with one of the sons of Raṅga Rāya III.

This confusion is rectified by Dikshita in the second account of Jagga Rāya as given in Canto XIII. where the same spy relates the same incidents in connection with Jagga Rāya. This traitor on

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-9.

25. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 229.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 230, n. (3).

27. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 10, v. 22, p. 68.

28. *Ibid.*, vv. 32-37, p. 69.

29. *Ibid.*, v. 54, p. 71.

30. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 10, vv. 55-57, p. 69.

31. *Ibid.*, vv. 60-64, p. 71.

32. *Ibid.* v. 56, p. 71. [Śl. 56 states quite correctly that the surviving Prince was in the guardianship of "Yācha-bhūpa" who was on his way to Tanjore with the Prince. The error is in Mr. Chintamani's interpretation as given on p. xvi which apparently Dr. Saletore borrowed. (*Editor*)].

the pretext of serving the Emperor with his army, killed him with all his relatives and children :³³

Then allying himself with the kings (of Dramira, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya, Jagga Rāya caused much havoc in the land. Hearing the murder of the Karṇāṭaka king, Yācha Mahipa (Yāchama Nāyaka) escaped with one of the sons of the king and had just come to seek the aid of Raghunātha Nāyaka.³⁴

The reason why the Pāṇḍya king was ravaging the territory of Raghunātha Nāyaka is next given. It was because he was prompted to do so by Jagga Rāya who came to know of the escape of Yāchama Nāyaka with one of the sons of Rāṅga Rāya.³⁵

Raghunātha Nāyaka resolves to reinstate the son of the Karṇāṭaka king at Kumbhakonum and to crush Jagga Rāya with his rebel partisans.³⁶ Here we have all the allies of Jagga Rāya named—the Pāṇḍya, Tuṇḍira, Chēra, Dramira, Magadha kings.³⁷

Having thus determined Raghunātha Nāyaka puts his forces into motion, and after due formalities passes out of the city of Tanjore.³⁸ Dikshita's work breaks off abruptly here throwing the reader back on the narrative of Manuel Barradas.

There are certain considerations in our estimate of Dikshita as a chronicler. He does not enlighten us on the method adopted by Yāchama Nāyaka to rescue Rāṅga Rāya III, and when he failed to do it, to secure the possession of one of the sons of the Karṇāṭaka king. About the first battle between Jagga Rāya and Yāchama Nāyaka, and the proclamation of the prince as the "king of all the Empire of Bisnaga," which Barradas so graphically describes, Dikshita is silent.

Barradas' statement in regard to one of the allies of Jagga Rāya and the continuation of the war, we may be permitted to repeat,

33. *Ibid*, Canto XIII, v. 74, p. 103.

34. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 13, v. 78, p. 104.

35. *Ibid*, v. 78, p. 104.

[At least this serious inconsistency should have led to careful reading of Sl. 55 to 57 of canto x. It does not appear to have been done. (Editor)].

36. *Ibid*, v. 80, p. 104.

37. *Ibid*, v. 82, p. *ibid*.

38. *Ibid*, Canto 16, v. 74, p. 126.

helps us to assign a date to the composition of *Sāhitya Ratnākara*. After the defeat and flight of Jagga Rāya, Barradas says:—"that the war has continued these two years, (i.e., A.D. 1616),³⁹ fortune favouring now one side now the other. But the party of the young prince has always been gaining strength; the more so because, although the great Naique of Madura took the side of Jagga Rāya, and sustained him against the Naique of Tanjore. Yet the latter, though not so powerful, is, with the aid of the young king, gradually getting the upper hand. Indeed, there are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichinopoly not only the hundred thousand men that each party has, but as many as a million of soldiers."⁴⁰

We know from Dikshita that Raghunātha Nāyaka determined to join the struggle immediately on Yāchama Nāyaka soliciting his aid. It is not too much to say, we suppose, that the Tanjore Nāyaka joined the war after the first battle between Jagga Rāya and Yāchama. This would mean that Raghunātha Nāyaka actually took the field in A.D. 1615-16. Since Dikshita describes the active preparations made by Raghunātha Nāyaka,⁴¹ his quitting the city, and has nothing to say about the battle of Trichinopoly mentioned by Barradas, it may not be too bold a venture to suggest that the *Sāhitya Ratnākara* may have been composed in A.D. 1615-16, just before the battle of Trichinopoly.

A few other points may be mentioned here before we pass on to the result of the civil war on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. Dikshita speaks only of the Karṇāṭaka king whom we have already identified with Rāṅga Rāya III. Why he does not mention him by name is difficult to say. What we may conjecture is that in a work like this written in honour of his patron Raghunātha Nāyaka, Dikshita thought it improper to include the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, or that because of the confusion in the land and the helplessness of the Emperor, the author thought it worth while to ignore his name. However that may be, the fact that on every occasion Dikshita speaks of Rāṅga Rāya III as the

39. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 230.

40. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 230, and n. (1).

41. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 14, vv. 1-29, 72-73, pp. 107-9, 112-3, Canto 15, pp. 111-119.

Karṇāṭaka king,⁴² proves beyond doubt that even in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the royal members of the well known Telugu dynasty were called by the name of the province from which the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire hailed Karṇāṭaka.

Although Dikshita does not explicitly mention the Vijayanagara Emperor, yet from the manner in which he styles Jagga Rāya—who had apparently no grievance against the Nāyaka of Tanjore—as *svāmi-drōhi*,⁴³ one may assume that it may refer to the over-lord of Ragunāth Nāyaka.

Neither Dikshita nor Barradas has anything to say on the result of the battle of Trichinopoly. But one significant detail is mentioned by Barradas. The struggle between the rival parties gave scope to foreigners to have a firmer footing in the land. San Thome or Mylapore was lost to the Hindus having fallen into the hands of the Portuguese.⁴⁴ Mylapore was no doubt lost to Vijayanagara but Yāchama Nāyaka gave a new lease of life to the Empire the rightful ruler of which he lived to uphold successfully as the King of Bisnaga.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW.

[AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT.]

Chapter II: Jewel Treasury (Continued)

OTHER DIAMONDS

THE other diamonds may be taken chronologically.

Akbar.

For this long reign, unfortunately, no notices of individual diamonds are available. We will content ourselves with Abū'l-Faḡl's brief mention of prices in the *Ā'in*. His quotation for diamonds, which is apparently suggested as a standard, is one lakh of rupees for a stone of 136 *ratīs*¹—a much lower price, as the reader will notice, than those recorded for later reigns. We are not told how prices were calculated; whether the well-known rule of the square of the number of weight units multiplied by the rate per unit being equal to the price was accepted. Nor can any such rule be deduced from the run of prices, the details of which are available.

For the rest, we will not anticipate here what Abū'l-Faḡl has to say about the classification of precious stones and pearls in the Imperial Treasury, which falls more properly under Administration of the Jewel Treasury, and will be given at length in the chapter of that name.

42. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 10, vv. 55-7, p. 71, Canto 13, vv. 74-6, 78, 80, pp. 103-4.

43. *Ibid*, Canto 13, v. 74, p. 103.

44. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, pp. 230-1.

1. *Ā'in*, Text, I, . . . (Blochmann, I, 16) has a slip here.

It may be noted that "Akbar Shah" or "Jahangir Shah" (No. 6 of 'Famous Diamonds,' p. 69 below) ought to come in here; but we find no record of this stone in the Persian histories.

Jahāngīr.

For Jahāngīr's reign the following bits of information are available:

The emperor, while relating (at the end of the 10th regnal year) the acquisition of the Khokhara diamond mines (in the Bihar and Patna province) informs us that a large diamond worth Rs. 50,000 had lately been brought from there (*Tūzuk*, 155; R. & B., I, 316).

Ibrāhīm KHān "Fath-jang," when governor of Bihar, sent to court nine diamonds, which were laid before Jahāngīr on the 15th of Tīr, 12th regnal year (1026 A.H. = 1617 A.C.). One of these weighed $14\frac{1}{2}$ *tānks* or 348 *ratīs*, and was valued at Rs. 100,000 (*Tūzuk*, 188; R. & B., I, 379). This would be the largest diamond in Mughal history, and the price ridiculously low, if it was a cut stone. But we are told in the annals of the next year that 'some of the diamonds that Ibrāhīm Fath-jang had sent to Court after the taking of the mine had been given to the Government lapidaries to cut.' Bahrām, son of Jahāngīr Qulī KHān (governor of Bihar), happening at this time to pass through Agra to join the royal court (in Gujarāt), KHwāja Jahān, governor of Agra, sent along with him some of the diamonds that were ready. 'One of them,' continues the royal diarist, 'is of a violet colour [*banafsha*], and cannot be outwardly distinguished from a sapphire. Up to this time I had not seen a diamond of this colour. It weighed several *surkh* [according to another manuscript "thirty *surkh*"], and jewellers estimated its value at Rs. 3,000, and represented that if it had been white (*safid*) and had had perfect marks, it would have been worth Rs. 20,000.' (*Tūzuk*, 244-45; R. & B., II, 38).

Whether the large diamond was or was not among the stones sent by the Governor of Agra on this date (and possibly it was not, since it is not specifically mentioned here), it is reasonable to assume that the large diamond which weighed 348 *ratīs* in the rough, was among the stones entrusted to the lapidaries. We meet with no mention of this gem-stone in later history; presumably it was so reduced in the cutting that it deserved none.

Again, in the 12th regnal year, Jahāngīr received from Ibrāhīm 'Adil SHāh II, King of Bijāpur, the so-called "chamkora" diamond,² weighing 30 *ratīs*, valued at Rs. 40,000, and another diamond (weight, 24 *ratīs*; price, Rs. 30,000) from Quṭbu'l-mulk of Golconda (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 400). Judging from the prices these two diamonds must have been of a very high quality.

Early in the 13th regnal year (1027 A.H. = 1618 A.C.) a diamond ring was presented to Prince KHurram 'as part of the offering of Quṭbu'l-mulk. It was of the value of 1,000 muhars,' says Jahāngīr, 'and on it there appeared three letters of equal size and of good form, such that they made the word Lillahi (for God). This diamond had been sent, as it was reckoned one of the marvels of the world. In fact, veins and scratches are flaws in precious stones, but it was generally thought that the marks on this one were fabricated.³ Moreover, the diamond did not come from any celebrated mine. As my son, SHāh-Jahān, wished that it should be sent to my brother, SHāh 'Abbās, as a souvenir of the conquest of the Deccan it was sent to the SHāh along with other gifts.' (*Tūzuk*, 229; R. & B., II, 8-9).

2. 'The name of Chamkora is derived from this, that there is in the Deccan a plant called *sāg-i-chamkora*. At the time when Murtazā Nizāmu-l-mulk conquered Berar he had gone one day with his ladies round to look at the garden, when one of the women found the diamond in a chamkora vegetable, and took it to Nizāmu-l-mulk. From that day it became known as the Chamkora diamond, and came into the possession of the present Ibrāhīm 'Adil KHān during the interregnum (*fatarāt*) of Ahmadnagar.' (*Tūzuk*, *ibid*).

3. So the translator. The text has:

لیکن بظاہر عام فریب بود

which means: but apparently it was such as to mislead the common people (into thinking that the marks were miraculous writing). One is reminded of the so-called 'natural gems,' i.e., gems with 'natural pictures' or figures of Jesus, Mary, etc., and of staurolite crystals or fairy-stones showing a representation of the cross—really due to twinning of two crystals. See Kunz, pp. 266-67 and 270-71. Graphic granite and other minerals present a somewhat similar phenomenon.

On the New Year's Feast of the 14th regnal year (4, *Rabī* 'II, 1028 A.H. = 10 March '1619 A.C.) *SHāh Jahān*, offered to his royal father a diamond worth Rs. 18,000 (*Tūzuk*, 265; R. & B., II, 78).

SHāh Jahān

For *SHāh Jahān*'s reign, unfortunately, mentions of individual diamonds, which would yield some information of interest, are rare. This sounds somewhat paradoxical, considering that emperor's passionate fondness for gems. The reason, presumably, is to be found in the fact that *SHāh Jahān*, unlike his father, wrote no memoirs, and his tastes and preferences are not fully reflected in the histories which were written to his order.

We have the following in the *Bādshāhnāma*: *SHāh Jahān*, returning from Kabul, crossed the Indus near Sarāi *KHāirābād* on 3 *Ramāzān*, 1057 A.H. Prince Dārā *SHukoh*, with his son, Sulaimān *SHukoh*, came from Lahore to receive him. Sa'dulla *KHān*, the Prime Minister, was ordered to go out to meet the Prince. Dārā *SHukoh*, being presented, offered 1000 *muhurs* as *nazr*, and the Emperor bestowed on him a diamond used as turban ornament (*almās-i-sarāwez*) weighing 100 *ratīs* and valued at one lakh of rupees. (B. N., III, P. U. L. MS., f. 5 a-b.).

The following passage from the third volume of *Bādshāhnāma* relates *SHāh Jahān*'s sending of a jewelled candle to Madīna. It occurs in the records of the 21st regnal year:

'Some time earlier it had reached the royal ears that a large and rare diamond had come into the possession of Quṭbu'l-Mulk from the mine in his territory. Orders were issued that it should be sent to the royal court, the price of it to be credited to him in the account of the yearly tribute (*peshkash*) of two lakhs of *hūns* due from Quṭbu'l-mulk.

Before the issue of these directions, however, Quṭbu'l-mulk had handed over the stone, which weighed uncut 180 *ratīs*, to his lapidaries. Only a little cutting had been done when the imperial demand arrived. Quṭbu'l-mulk sent it half-finished as it was to the royal court. When the Emperor's diamond cutters, under his orders, had cut away some 70 *ratīs*, an exceedingly rare piece weighing 100 *ratīs* was left. The price was fixed at Rs. 1,50,000, which yields an average of Rs. 1,500 per *ratī*. As from the beginning of this reign no jewel of such value had yet come into the

royal jewel treasury as *peshkash*, the Emperor decided to make an offering of it at the holy sepulchre of the Great Prophet at Madīna; and selecting from among the ambergris-scented pastiles [*shamā'im-i-'ambarīn*] in the royal stores, the largest weighing 700 *tolas* [say, 18½ lbs.] and priced at Rs. 10,000 (which by a lucky chance was shaped like a candle), he ordered that it should be worked in a gold lattice. The whole was to be artistically decorated, and the great diamond along with the other smaller stones was to be set in. The total cost of this unparalleled candle came to 2½ lakhs of rupees—1½ lakhs, price of the diamond, the remaining 1 lakh, the cost of jewels, gold, and ambergris.' (B. N., III, P. U. L. MS., f. 11 a). This candle was sent with cash presents through Sayyid Aḥmad Sa'id, who left Agra on 23 Muḥarram, 1058 A.H.

Aurangzeb.

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury some diamonds and diamond jewels besides the one discussed under the *Koh-i-Nūr* dispute. They are of minor importance; but first-hand evidence is always welcome. The following is in continuation of Tavernier's account of his inspection of Aurangzeb's jewels already quoted (*J. of I. H.*, XII, i, 68-69):—

After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of 'Akil *KHān*, he showed me another stone, pear-shaped, of good form and fine water, and also three other table diamonds, two clear, and the other with some little black spots. Each weighed 55 to 60 *ratīs*, and the pear 62½. Subsequently he showed me a jewel set with twelve diamonds, each stone of 15 to 16 *ratīs*, and all roses. In the middle a heart-shaped rose of good water, but with three small flaws, and this rose weighed about 35 or 40 *ratīs*. Also a jewel set with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than 7 or 8 *ratīs*, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about 16. All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and the most beautiful ever found.' (Tavernier, I, 316.).

The information so far obtained may be summed up in a tabular form for easy reference. Only important stones are included in the tables that follow:

INDIAN DIAMONDS WHICH ENTERED THE MUGHAL TREASURY
BĀBUR'S REIGN.

No.	Name or description.	Weight.		Price.	Authorities.
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	Bābur's Diamond.		589.088 grs. = 186.06 carats.	The costliest jewel in Bābur's Treasury.	B. N. E., 477.

JAHANGĪR'S REIGN.

1.	Large diamond from the Khokhara mines.			Rs. 50,000.	Tūzūk, 155; R. & B., I, 316.
2.	Diamond sent by Ibrāhīm KHān "Fath-jang," governor of Bihar.	348 ratīs.		Rs. 100,000.	" 188; R. & B., I, 379.
3.	The "chamkora" diamond.		30 ratīs.	Rs. 40,000.	" 198; R. & B., I, 400.
4.	Diamond from Quṭbu'l-Mulk.		24 ratīs.	Rs. 30,000.	" " "
5.	Diamond ring, which came from Quṭbu'l-Mulk, and was finally sent to the SHāh of Persia.			1,000 muhurs.	" 229; " , II, 8-9.
6.	Diamond of violet colour (<i>banafsha</i>).		30 (?) ratīs.	Rs. 3,000.	" 244-45, R. & B., II, 38.

7.	Diamond offered by Prince SHāh Jahān on the New Year's Day of the 14th regnal year.			Rs. 18,000.	Tūzūk, 265; R. & B., II, 78.
8.	Diamond which Hīrānand bought and presented to Jahāngīr. ¹		3 misqāls = 78 or 79½ ratīs.	Rs. 100,000.	Hawkins (Purchas, III, 41-42)
SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN.					
1.	Diamond bestowed by SHāh Jahān on Dārā SHukoh.		100 ratīs.	Rs. 100,000.	B. N., III, P.U.L. MS., f. 5 b.
2.	Diamond acquired by SHāh Jahān from Quṭbu'l-Mulk, set in a chandelier, and sent to the shrine at Madīna.	180 ratīs.	100 ratīs.	Rs. 150,000.	" " f. 11 a.
3.	Mīr Jumla's Diamond.		216 ratīs.	Rs. 216,000.	" " f. 119 a.

(1) See the story related from Hawkins in a later chapter, 'Administration of the Imperial Treasury and Rules for purchase and acquisition of gem-stones.'

We know also something about certain diamonds which never found their way into the Mughal Imperial Treasury, but were seen by merchants and others in different parts of India. These are not strictly relevant to our inquiry. The information about them, however, is condensed in the table next following under the impression that it will help in fixing the relative values of stones which are the proper subject of our study.

INDIAN DIAMONDS WHICH NEVER ENTERED THE MUGHAL TREASURY

No.	Name or description.	Weight.		Price.	Authorities.
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	A large diamond, the size of a small hen's egg, reported by Garcia da Orta (1563) as having been seen at Vijayanagar.		250 mangelins = 416 $\frac{2}{3}$ ratīs = 312½ Eng. car.		Garcia da Orta, <i>Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India</i> , trans. Sir C. Markham, London, 1913, p. 347. (Tavernier, II, 333).
2.	Also mentioned by Garcia da Orta.		140 mangelins = 233 $\frac{1}{3}$ ratīs = 175 Eng. car.		" " " "
3.	" " "		120 mangelins = 200 ratīs = 150 Eng. car.		" " " "
4.	" " "		232 43/50 Eng. car.	Rs. 450,000.	" " " "
5.	Diamond seen by Tavernier at Golconda (1642). Largest Diamond Tavernier saw in India in the possession of merchants. "The Great Table" of Streeter. Prof. Maskeyne suggests it is "Daryā-i-nūr."				Tavernier offered Rs. 400,000 on behalf of two friends, but could not purchase it. Tavernier thinks it could have been purchased for Rs. 450,000. (Tavernier, II, 98; illustr. No. 3 on pl. fac. p. 97).
6.	Streeter's "Ahmadābād Diamond." Bought by Tavernier for a friend.	178 ratīs = 150 24/25 Eng. car.	90 18/25 Eng. car.		Ibid., II, 98-99 and 348.

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 67

The standard of all stones, specially of diamonds, seems to have been so high in Mughal India that there was no room for inferior specimens. Hawkins relates how difficult it was, on one occasion, for the government lapidary to find a foul diamond wherewith to make powder for cutting and polishing other diamonds. 'There was,' he says, 'a Diamant cutter of my acquaintance, that was sent for to cut a Diamant of three Mettegals [Misqāls] and a halfe, who demanded a small foule Diamant to make powder, wherewith to cut the other Diamant. They brought him a Chest, as he said, of three spannes long, and a spanne and halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe, full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts: yet could he find never any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties [ratīs], which was not very foule neither.' (Purchas, III, 42). The reason was that there was an abundance of good diamonds.

The above passage no doubt applies primarily to the conditions in the Imperial Treasury. But when we see that the Imperial Court was the chief buyer of this commodity, we are inclined to think that diamonds of smaller size and inferior water were in cold request in the country at large; so that it was hardly worth while working mines which produced only these. The following passage may be cited in corroboration [Tavernier is relating a meeting with Mir Jumla, the Commander-in-Chief of the King of Golconda, which took place at Gandikota (Cuddapah District in the Carnatic) in September, 1652]:

'On the morning of the 10th [September, 1652] he [Mir Jumla] sent to summon us, and as soon as we were seated in his tent, close to him, the attendants brought him five small bags full of diamonds, and each bag contained about as many as one could hold in the hand. They were all lasques,⁴ but of very dark water and very small, and most of them were only 1 carat or half a carat in weight, but otherwise very clear. There were very few of them

4. 'Lasques, a term applied by jewellers to flat and oval stones, such as are used in Indian jewellery, and derived from Pers. *lashk*, "a bit, piece." The "table" was the original form in which diamonds were cut. The technical name of this is "lasque," and small slabs in this form are still used for covering miniatures, and are then called portrait stones (Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, 283).' (p. 230, f.n. 1).

which weighed 2 carats. The Nawāb, showing us these stones, asked if such goods were saleable in our country. We replied that they might be sold provided the water was white, because in Europe we do not esteem diamonds if they are not clear and white, and we make no account of other kinds of water. When he first began to contemplate the conquest of this Kingdom for the King of Golkonda, he was told that it contained diamond mines, and he sent 12,000 men to work them, but in the space of a year they found only those which he had in the five bags. The Nawāb, seeing that they found only stones of very brown water, tending much more to black than white, rightly considered that it was loss of trouble, and, forbidding further mining, sent all these poor people back to tillage.⁵ (Tavernier I, 230).

Now that the reader knows as much about diamonds in Indian history as can be known from the fragments available, perhaps he is sufficiently interested in diamonds at large to ask questions about the famous diamonds in the world. This, again, we are fully conscious, is not pertinent to the subject in hand. But a few striking facts about these, will, it is believed, give the reader his bearings in the world of diamonds; so that he will be able to judge for himself where the Mughal emperors' collection of gem-stones exactly stood as compared with similar collections in other countries and in more recent times. The information has been boiled down to facts and figures, so as to stand in proper proportion to the rest.

5. 'The exact position of these mines (or washings?) is unknown, but they were probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Penner river. The nearest of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) sites known in modern times was at Jammalamadugu, which is only 5 or 6 miles E. of Gandikota. There are a number of mines near Kadapa (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 9). In vol. ii. 67, Tavernier says there were six of them. The mine at Wajrā-Karūr, in Anantapur, was also taken by Mir Jumla.' (p. 230, f. n. 2).

SOME FAMOUS DIAMONDS

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.	
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	"Pitt" or "Regent." Measures 30 by 25 by 19 millimetres.	410 car.	(Brilliant weighing 163 $\frac{7}{8}$ car. } { Fragments.	£20,400 (in the rough). £1,35,000 (present value, £4,80,000.)	Purchased by Pitt for £20,400 in India. The cutting cost £5,000. Sold to Duc d'Orléans, Regent of France (1717) for about £1,35,000. Now exhibited in the Apollo Gallery of the Louvre (Paris).
2.	"Orloff." Forms the top of the imperial sceptre of Russia. Rose-cut.		194 $\frac{3}{4}$ car.	£7,000. First sold for £2,000; then for £12,000 in London; finally to Prince Orloff for £90,000 and an annuity of £4,000.	Stolen from a temple in Mysore (India), where it formed the eye of a statue of Brahma. Finally presented by Prince Orloff to Catherine II of Russia.
3.	"Moon of the Mountains."				Captured by Nādir SHāh at Delhi. Finally acquired by the Russian Crown for an enormous sum.
4.	"Nizam."		340 car.		Belonged to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Fractured at beginning of Indian Mutiny.
5.	"Daryā-i-Nūr." Fine diamond. Rose-cut. Is of the purest water. Now the largest diamond in the Persian collection.		186 car.		Captured by Nādir SHāh at Delhi.

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.	
		When uncut.	When cut.		
6.	"Akbar <u>SHah</u> " or " <u>Jahāngīr SHah</u> ."		116 car. Later, 71 car.	About £23,333.	Once the property of Emperor Akbar, this diamond was engraved on two faces with Arabic inscriptions by the instructions of his successor. It disappeared, but turned up again in Turkey under the name of "Shepherd's Stone," being recognized by its original inscriptions, which it still retained. Recut in 1866, being reduced from 116 to 71 carats, the inscriptions being destroyed. Stone sold to the Gaekwar of Baroda for 3½ lakhs (Smith, <i>Gem-Stones</i> , 163.).
7.	"Nassak." Originally pear-shaped. Re-cut to a triangular form, being reduced to		89¾ car.	£7,200.	
8.	"Napoleon."		78⅝ car.		
9.	"Cumberland."		32 car.	£8,000.	
10.	"Pigott." A fine Indian stone.		47½ car.	£10,000. £30,000.	
11.	"White Saxon." Square in contour, measuring 1 1/12 in.		48¾ car.	£150,000.	
12.	"Pacha of Egypt." Brilliant.		40 car.	£28,000.	Purchased by Napoleon Bonaparte. Brought to England by Lord Pigott (1775) and sold. Destroyed at 'Ali Pasha's death.

13.	"Star of the South." Largest of Brazilian diamonds. Cut as brilliant.	254½ car.	125½ car.	£40,000 (in the rough.)	Discovered 1853.
14.	"Star of South Africa."	83½ car.	46½ car.	£25,000 (when cut).	
15.	"Stewart."	288¾ car.	120 car.	£6,000; shortly afterwards, £9,000.	
16.	"Victoria," "Imperial," or "Great White."	457 car.	180 car.	£20,000.	Eventually sold to the Nizam of Hyderabad for £20,000.
17.	"Excelsior." By far the largest South African stone till 1905. From it were cut 21 brilliants of varying weights, total weight of cut stones amounting to (Smith).	969½ car.	364 3/32 car.		Found 1893. According to Dr. Bauer, this stone measures 2½ by 2 by 1 in., and is valued by different experts at amounts varying from £50,000 to £1,000,000. But that writer seems to identify this stone with No. 18 below.
18.	"Jubilee." From it was obtained a splendid, faultless brilliant weighing	634 car.	239 car.		Discovered in Jagersfontein mine (1895).
19.	"Porter Rhodes."	150 car.		£200,000.	
20.	A yellowish octahedron found at De Beers.	428½ car.	228½ or 225 car.		Found at Kimberley, Feb. 12, 1880. Surpasses all the other South African diamonds in beauty, says Dr. Bauer, who wrote before the discovery of "Cullinan."
21.	"Star of Minas." Had shape of a dome with a flat base.	174¾ car.			Found in 1911.

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.	
		When uncut.	When cut.		
22.	"Star of Africa" or "Cullinan."	3025¾ car. (about 1 1/3 lb.)			Discovered at the Premier mine near Pretoria (Transvaal), Jan. 25, 1905. More than three times the size of any known stone, it broke all previous records, and set up a new scale of size and value. What is most remarkable, its shape suggested that it was a portion of an enormous stone more than double its size. Purchased by Transvaal Government for £150,000, and presented to King Edward VII (Nov. 9, 1907). Pendeloque or drop brilliant. Has 74 facets. Placed in the sceptre. { Square brilliant. Has 66 facets. Placed in the crown. { The first two are the two largest brilliants in existence. All the stones are of the finest quality.
			516½ car.		
			309 3/16 car.		
			and 103 other smaller stones (Total weight of cut stones being 1036 5/32 car.)		

COLOURED DIAMONDS

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.	
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	"Hope" Largest of coloured diamonds.		44½ car.	£18,000 (London, 1830). £80,000 (America, 1908). £16,000 (1909). £60,000 (1911).	Possibly a portion of the drop-form stone (weighing 67 carats) brought by Tavernier from India (1642). Now privately owned in U. S. A.
2.	"Dresden."		40 car.	About £9,000 (1743)	In Green Vaults of Dresden.

The Ambaṣṭhas

By

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L.

THE Ambaṣṭhas as a tribe existed at least as early as the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa when they were probably settled in the Punjab and can be traced up to now in parts of Bengal and Bihar where they had migrated in later times. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21-23) King Ambaṣṭhya is mentioned as having been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhīṣeka along with nine other kings. According to Goldstücker, the older denomination of the tribe was, probably, Āmbaṣṭha, and not Ambaṣṭha. The name Āmbaṣṭhya of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, "alleged by Kāśikā, would, according to Pāṇini (IV. I., 171) come from Āmbaṣṭha, the latter designating a Kṣatriya, or military man of a country bearing the same name" (Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 401). The Mahābhārata mentions the Ambaṣṭhas along with the Śivis, Kṣudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes (II. 52. 14-15). In the Bhīṣma (Ch. 20, 10) and Droṇa (119, 14) Parvas they are referred to as having taken part in the Kurukṣetra war on the side of the Kauravas. Śrutāyuh, the valiant Kṣatriya, is elsewhere described in the Great Epic, as a King of the Ambaṣṭhas who was killed by Arjuna (Karna P. ch. 5, 18). The Ambaṣṭhas were also once defeated by Nakula, the fourth Pāṇḍava, along with the Śivis, the Trigarttas, and the Mālavas (Sabhā P. ch. 32, 7), and this king was among those who did homage and made presents to Yudhiṣṭhira after their defeat (Sabhā P. ch. 52, 14-15). In the Purāṇas, however, the Ambaṣṭhas are represented as Ānava Kṣatriyas, and are said to have originated from Subrata, son of Uśinara; they were thus very intimately related with the Yaudheyas and the Śivis (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 109), and were settled on the eastern border of the Punjab (Ibid. p. 264). The country of the tribe is mentioned in the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra (Ed. by F. W. Thomas, p. 21) where it is associated with Sind (Kāśmīra-Hūn-Āmbaṣṭha-Sindhavaḥ), while the tribe itself is included in the list extracted by Colonel Wilford, from the Varāha Samhitā (Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII., pp. 344 and 346).

It is difficult to ascertain to which of the four *varṇas* the Ambaṣṭhas belonged. The Purāṇas seem to represent them as Kṣatri-

yas, descended as they were from Uśinara (A. I. H. T., pp. 108, 109); the Mahābhārata also refers to their king Śrutāyuh as the best of Kṣatriyas (Karna P. Ch. 5, 18). But the evidence of Smṛti literature seems to point to their mixed origin. According to the Gautama Dharmasūtra (IV. 16), children born in the regular order of wives of the next, second or third lower castes become Sabarṇas, Ambaṣṭhas, Ugras, Niṣādhas, Dauṣyantas or Pāraśaras. The Ambaṣṭhas were thus descendants of Brāhmaṇas by Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Sudra wives. In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta (Dialogues of the Buddha, I. p. 109) an Ambaṭṭha is called a Brāhmaṇa; but according to the Jātakas (Jātaka IV., No. 363) the Ambaṭṭhas are referred to as farmers, while Manu, the Smṛti writer, describes them as a people who practised the art of healing ("Ambaṣṭhānām chikitsitām," Manu, X. 47). It is thus equally difficult to determine their profession.¹

The Ambaṣṭhas are the same as the Abastanoi (Arrian), Sambastai (Diodoros), Sabarcal (Curtius) or Sabagrae (Orosius) of Alexander's historians (McCrindle's Invasion of Alexander, p. 292 ff). The tribe in the time of Alexander was settled on the lower Akesines and had a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 60,000 cavalry and 500 chariots (Ibid. p. 252). They are also referred to by Ptolemy in his Geography as Ambautai, a tribe who is described as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai which was but 'a collective name for the tribes that were located along the southern and eastern sides of the Hindukush' (McCrindle's Ancient India—Ptolemy. Majumder's Edn. pp. 311-12). Lassen thinks (Indische Alterthumskunde) that the Ambautai might have been connected in some way with the Ambastai (Ibid. p. 161), another tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as dwelling 'along the country of the Bettigoi' and the mountain range (Southern portion of the western Ghats) of the same name (Ibid. p. 159).

The Ambaṣṭhas seem to have migrated in later times to some place near the Mēkhala hill which is the source of the Narmada

1. S. N. Mazumder thinks (C. A. G. I. Notes, p. 670) that "they were a tribe of Brahma Kṣatriyas (i.e. brahmins by descent but warriors by profession). Ray Chaudhuri thinks (P. H. A. I., pp. 157-58, 2nd Ed.) that they were "tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, viz., those of priests, farmers, and according to the Smṛti writers, physicians."

which is also called Mēkhalāsutā. In the Kūrmavibhāga of the Brhatsamhitā (XIV. 7) they are associated with the Mēkhalas who dwelt on the Mēkhala hill; and the mention of Mēkhala-muṣṭa, which is only a misreading for Mēkhalāmbaṣṭha, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVIII, 14), proves decisively that the two were neighbouring tribes.

But the tribe seems to have migrated eastwards as well. For in Bihar can be traced even to-day a class of Kāyasthas known as Ambaṣṭha Kāyasthas, while the Vaidyas of Bengal claim to be designated as Ambaṣṭhas; in fact they are described as such by Bharata Mallika in his commentary on the Bhaṭṭikāvyaṁ.

Editorial

MĀNASĀRA—A TREATISE ON ARCHITECTURE OF THE HINDUS

*Volume I text, Volume II translation in English, and Volume III,
157 plates in line and colours*

WE welcome the publication of this monumental work on the architecture of the Hindus by Professor Prasanna Kumar Acharya of the Allahabad University. Professor Acharya has been engaged in the study of this subject ever since he obtained the Government of India scholarship to proceed to Europe, and has produced, as a result of his twenty years' study, five voluminous works on Hindu architecture. The first of these volumes is a Dictionary of Hindu Architecture and the second is a general account of architecture according to the *Silpa Sastras* of the Hindus and cognate treatises. The remaining three volumes relate to the *Mānasāra*, and constitute the latest instalment of his work. Professor Acharya deserves to be congratulated upon having brought his labour of twenty years to such fruition as these five volumes together would indicate.

It seems to be quite an accidental coincidence that this magnificent work on the *Mānasāra* should have been brought out almost at the centenary of its first notice in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland * by Rama Raz, the talented pioneer in this field of work. Rama Raz was a typical product of the nineteenth century, and his work, practically the last one, as he died before the work was actually out, had to be brought out, such as it was, under disadvantages and difficulties that he had to overcome, quite comparable to those that Professor Acharya had actually to surmount. Rama Raz' notice was based upon the few scattered chapters, and from a few manuscripts collected from here,

* Professor Acharya refers to Rama Raz as having published his work in 1838 on page 1 of his preface giving the history of the publication. The edition of Rama Raz's work with me is dated 1834, and a notice of the publication was made in the tenth annual report of the Royal Asiatic Society which should have been the report of the year 1833.

and there, and put together not by any successful effort at translation, but by what could more or less be guessed at by references to living workmen and extant buildings with such assistance as could be got from Pandits whose knowledge of the science was by no means profound. Having regard to the disadvantage under which this first work was published, it must be regarded as a very creditable performance, even from the vantage point of our possession of the whole text and the far superior equipment that we have for understanding and appreciating the work as a whole.

The work *Mānasāra* is regarded, even among architectural works, as one of high authority. At the outset we are confronted with the difficulty whether the name *Mānasāra*, is the name of the author, or of the work. It is quoted, wherever it is quoted, as the *Mānasāra*, and does not give us a hint as to the significance of the term, whether the word *Mānasāra* is the name of the author or of the work. Professor Acharya seems inclined, on this particular authority, to take it as the name of an author, it may be even a mythical author. It seems, however, to be the name of the treatise, the term meaning the essence of measurements; in other words, it is a work treating of the essentials of measurement, proportion, etc., which constitute the actual substance of the subject as a whole. As such, it would imply a comprehensive treatise bearing upon the whole subject of architecture and iconography, resting, as it does, upon the proper proportion and measurement, which is of the essence of these two, namely, structures or structural buildings, and images. Let us hope we may yet discover authority for such an interpretation.

Among architectural works so far available, this is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and consists of 70 chapters, of which the first eight are devoted to preliminaries. The next 42 deal with buildings as such, the remaining chapters being devoted to sculpture and iconography. The introductory matter consists really of the invocation to the gods and *Rishis* who seem to be called by the name *Mānasāra*, which again would mean only *Rishis* expert in architecture. The next one has to deal with measurements, qualifications of the architects and so on. The third has reference to the divisions of the subject. The next two chapters deal with characteristics of the soil and the selection of suitable sites for various classes of buildings. In these chapters, the soil test and the quality required for particular buildings are treated with sufficient elaboration for various kinds of buildings. Chapter VI deals with

the orientation of buildings, in the course of which the principles of mechanics and gnomon, that is dial, etc., are described. The following chapter VII, deals with site plans. Thirty-two schemes of these are given, divided into squares for various purposes of structure. The section concludes in the VIII chapter with the ceremonies necessary to propitiate the deities of the sites, etc.

In the section actually dealing with buildings, the first two chapters are devoted to town-planning, which towns, of course are divided into the two principal divisions, *grāma* and *nagara*, village and city. The latter are subdivided into town and fort. Then follows the usual classification of villages, and eight such classes are given. Similarly the towns are also divided into eight classes and so are the forts. The well-known classification of forts, or fortification generally into hill fort, water fort, etc., also figures in this group, the divisions being six instead of the usual four. But two more may be regarded as being added to, to make the number eight here also by dividing forts into three kinds, those on the top of the hill, those on the slope of the hill and those at the foot of the hill. The next chapter, chapter XI, deals with classes of buildings and their proportions, relative to length, breadth and height. They also fall into five classes, according to form, namely, square, rectangular, octagonal, round and oval. Apart from these, another division is also adopted, the buildings in general being divided into four different classes, *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, *Vikalpa* and *Ābhāsa*. This four-fold classification applies to all kinds of buildings, whether they be religious, military or residential. Buildings one to three stories are ascribed to the chief feudatories of the kingdom and to the heir-apparent. Buildings from five to twelve stories constitute the palaces, and are marked off for the residence of monarchs of high-standing, such as Emperors. Chapter XII devotes itself to the description of foundations for various kinds of buildings, for the layout of villages and even for tanks. The general prescription is to carry the excavation deep enough to cover the height of a man standing with uplifted arms. It may have to be carried even deeper if the sand or rock necessary for providing a suitable basis should not be reached. The material with which the excavation should be filled up are then described. In this particular case there is very considerable similarity between the description of the *Mānasāra*, in fact of all architectural works, and the description of Vitruvius. Chapters XIII-XVI deal with the column and its component parts. What applies to the column in Indian architecture applies generally also to the basement and the

wall up to the roof. The parts of the columns are taken to be four main divisions, the pedestal, the base, the shaft and the entablature. As a matter of fact, these four divisions include the well-known eight of other books of architecture. Twelve kinds of pedestals are mentioned, their measurements and ornaments being also described. The bases of them are divided into 64 kinds. The entablatures are described in eight varieties, including the capital, architrave, freizes and cornices. In regard to these Professor Acharya notes that the Graco-Roman orders are regulated by fixed and immutable rules, both in regard to the base and in regard to the pedestal, while in the Indian orders there is much more freedom so long as the variety subserves the ends of beauty of appearance. In regard to the entablatures, the Indian variety is massive as compared with the light structure of the Greeks. As in the Graco-Roman buildings, columns are divided into five orders, but the Indian names given are rather fanciful, such as the *Brahmakānta*, *Vishnukānta*, which by themselves could mean nothing except being mere names, whereas the Puranic names seem to be more significant, where they speak of, say for instance, *dvivajra* and *Vṛitta*. The total number of mouldings which constitute a column is forty-seven according to the *Mānasāra*, the divisions of the shaft alone being five. According to the *Purāṇas*, the divisions are given as eight. The same number is prescribed for the Graco-Roman mouldings. The *Kāmika Āgama* also gives eight. Chapter XVII deals with joinery work, wood-joining being the principal subject. Wood is divided into those that ought to be rejected and those that are to be regarded desirable in structures, and the forms in which they could be joined are also described, among them the well-known forms *Svastika*, *Sarvatobhadra* and *Nandyāvarta*. Chapter XVIII opens with a description of the general features of buildings and the following twelve chapters deal with buildings in general. Buildings are classified under several headings, first according to the number of stories, say from 1 to 12, then according to style, the three well-known ones, *Nāgara*, *Vēsara* and *Drāviḍa*, which seem to be distinguishable from one another by the shapes of the top portion only; whereas in the *Kāmika Āgama* and other works, it is not merely the top, but the whole structure seems to contribute to the difference of style. Incidentally building materials come in for description and classification. The next section opens with the classification of buildings, *Jāti*, etc., as recited above, based on the unit of measure, such as the cubic. There is another classification followed, also based on the relative propor-

tion of height, width and length, and seem more or less intended to distinguish the posture of the idol to be placed within the temple. The divisions seem to take their principle from that feature, the general classification being *sthānaka*, *Āsana*, which means sitting, and *Śayana*, which means lying or recumbent, the first one probably meaning standing, the alternative names for these being *Samchita*, *Asamchita* and *Apasamchita*. Then there is another division, masculine, feminine and neuter, according as buildings are square, rectangular or circular. Plans and measurements of buildings are described at great length. The general principle that is followed in the settlement of proportion is that the whole height of the building is taken as the standard, and is divided into a certain number of parts. A number of these parts constitutes the length as well as breadth, the whole being governed by the considerations of symmetry and beauty. In regard to the division of portions, a similar proportion is also observed; the divisions ought to be parts or fractions of the whole length of the structure. The description given of the water channels both on the ground floor and on the upper floor is noticeable, and reminds one of what has been seen in the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro. Incidentally the various deities, whose images may be made use of for decorating doors and walls of buildings, are also mentioned in the course of that description.

Buildings are generally divided into eight types, and this division applies to buildings of from a single story to five stories. Buildings of six stories fall into thirteen types; and those of seven and eight stories also into eight types. Buildings of nine stories also fall into eight types, of ten and eleven stories into six types and buildings of twelve stories into ten types. These ten types are distinguished by geographical names which seem clearly to refer to different localities of India such as *Pāṇchāla*, *Drāviḍa*, etc. Chapter XXXI deals with the compounds of big houses, temples and palaces. The divisions fall into five courts, and the fourth court is called the *Prākāra*, and falls into five classes beginning with *Jāti*. They are also divided into *Sudhha*, of a single material, *Miśra* of two kinds of material and *Sankīrṇa*, more than two kinds of material. These buildings with *prākāras* fall into five classes, and are defined with reference to *Bali* or offerings, *Parivāra*, attendant deities, *Śoba* or beauty of appearance and *Rakshana* or defence. These perhaps refer to buildings with *prākāras* enclosing within them the *balipīṭas* and shrines for *parivāra devatas*. At the same time, they should subserve the ends of beauty

by having a good appearance, and capable of being defended. The location of the attendant deities is described in a following chapter, of which a certain number have to be within the *prākāra*. They ought to be generally at the eight cardinal points of the first court. If there are more attendant deities, they are to be located in the second and third courts. Beyond the third court, the *Mānasāra* places a special pavilion. Then the shrines of the deities are described grouping them into three according to the nature of the deity, among the well-known trinity of the Hindus, Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva. We find an elaborate description of gate-houses of various kinds both in connection with temples and palaces. They naturally fall into five classes, because of the five *prākāras*.

The next following chapter, chapter XXXII, deals with the attendant deities and temples to them built within the *prākāra* or enclosure. They are divided into groups of eight, sixteen, thirty-two, etc., and are usually located in the innermost of the enclosures next round and so on. Chapter XXXIII is devoted to the building of houses near the gate for various purposes. They are of three different sizes, small, medium and large, and are of five different classes at the five enclosures, each one of which is given a different name, perhaps indicating a different purpose for which these buildings are erected. The chapter concludes with an interesting description of windows both for the gate-houses and for buildings both residential and religious. Windows are usually named after the particular patterns, and are decorated with florals and foliated ornaments. There is no effort at laying down rules for dimensions, which seem to be left entirely to the discretion of the architect. Chapter XXXIV is devoted to a description of pavilions and may include buildings within the compound walls, outside. Detailed description is given of walls, roofs, floors, verandahs, etc., of these buildings. Large pavilions are named after the seven mountains typical of large buildings and other pavilions intended for various uses and for other various purposes. The next chapter contains a description of buildings which are divided into six classes:—(1) a single row called (*Donḍaka*); (2) cruciform (*Svastika*); (3) rectangular with one side open (*Maulika*); (4) square (*Chaturmukha*); (5) round, (called *Sarvatobhadra*); and (6) (*Vardhamāna*), the last two according as they contain seven rows or ten rows of buildings. The description includes their layout and the various architectural principles forming it, ornaments, etc. Chapter XXXVI deals with residential houses and gives a description of their constituent dimensions, etc. Chapter XXXVII des-

cribes the ceremonies in connection with the completion and entry into house. The two following chapters, XXXVIII and XXXIX are devoted to a description of doors of various kinds including dormer-windows, other windows having been dealt with already.

The three following chapters XL-XLII deal with the palaces of Kings, and contain incidentally descriptions of royal orders, insignia and entourage including the army, revenues, etc. Royalty is here divided into nine classes beginning with a *chakravartin* as the highest and coming down to rulers of small divisions and feudatories, perhaps rendering military service. A minute description of palaces of these separate classes of rulers is also given. Other buildings of monarchs, such as pavilions for gardens, audience halls, arsenals, treasury, etc., are also described along with the residence of the crown prince, the priests, ministers, etc. Stables ought to be built near the main gate. Prisons ought to be built in an out of the way place, and the palace enclosure is to contain also gardens, groves, tanks, etc., Chapter XLIII is devoted to a description of cars and chariots, and these are classified and described almost in the same terms as the buildings themselves, perhaps because they are regarded as miniature copies of these. Similarly the following chapter XLIV is devoted to couches and swings. One whole chapter, that is, chapter XLV is devoted to a description of thrones. These are of four varieties, the first intended for the coronation ceremony, the second used on more frequent auspicious occasions, the third intended for special coronation as hero on occasions of signal warlike achievements and the fourth for celebrating the victorious monarch. This kind of a division is also followed in regard to the thrones of gods and goddesses for various similar purposes. These fall into ten divisions more or less according to the shape and the purpose perhaps for which they are used. Chapter XLVI deals with arches. This establishes beyond a doubt that arches were known to the ancient Hindus, and the various shapes given happen to be such as the triangular, circular, rose-shaped, bow-shaped and of other shapes as well. Their rules of construction are given in detail. The ornaments of those arches are called *torāṇas* and are of four types generally, either leaves, or flowers, or jewel patterns, or painted patterns. These arches are sometimes supported by leographs at the sides as we find these in the case of pillars.

Chapter XLVII is devoted to the theatre and the yard surrounding it attaching to big temples and palaces. The details of

construction, dimensions and ornaments are given in full. The material used are said to be wood, stone, brick, iron, etc. Chapter XLVIII is devoted to a description of the wish-giving tree called *kalpavṛksha* which forms an ornament of thrones, the theatres, pavilions and arches. Chapter XLIX is devoted to a description of crowns of gods and goddesses, kings, queens, etc. Twelve kinds of crowns are described in detail. Chapter L describes the ornaments of wear and articles of house furniture. The jewellery worn by gods and monarchs are described, and are divided into a certain number of classes, according to the patterns of their make. Similarly articles of furniture are divided into seven groups consisting of face mirrors, wardrobes, etc. The portion relating to architecture ends with this chapter XLIX.

The following twenty chapters are devoted to iconography and sculpture, and the section begins with the material of which images are made divided into nine classes, gold, silver, copper, stone, wood, stucco, grit, glass and terra-cotta, and then follows a description of the various kinds of the images, their shape and forms, this chapter devoting itself to the Hindu triad or Trimurti, Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva. Chapter XLII is devoted similarly to the *phallus* and the *pīṭa* representative of Śiva. They form several types more or less according to the sects in one way, according to the general architectural classification in another, and then according to the methods of worship or the character of worship. The following chapter is devoted entirely to a description of the *pīṭa*. Chapter LIV deals with the female deities, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, etc. Chapter LV is devoted to Jain images and contains not merely details of measurement, but even classification of these images and the attendant deities. Images of the sages are described in chapter LVII and there is a description of images of the seven well-known sages and others of that kind. Chapter LVIII is devoted to a description of the semi-divine beings, good and evil. Chapter LIX is similarly concerned with the description of the human followers who had attained to salvation. The *vāhanas* (vehicles of these gods and goddesses, are described in chapter LX. Chapter LXI is devoted to discussions on the rules in regard to dimensions, etc., of these vehicles, the ornaments that they should wear and so on. Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu comes in for elaborate description. Chapter LXII is similarly devoted to a description of Nandi, and chapter LXIII deals with the lion, the mount of Pārvatī. Chapter LXIV describes images of attendant deities in Viṣṇu temples. Incidentally it supplies a general *resumé* of all

kinds of architectural and sculptural measures, their verification, etc., The next two chapters, LXV and LXVI expound the *Tāla* system and the *Tāla* measure. They give also a general description of the features of these lengths. Chapter LXVII deals with plumb lines and their use in the construction of images. The casting of images is described in chapter LXVIII, while the defects of limbs, etc., of these images is described in chapter LXIX. The concluding chapter LXX is devoted entirely to the description of the chiseling of the eyes of an image. This is the final function and with this the work of the architect and others associated with him is over, to be followed by the ceremony of purification and consecration.

This brief summary is enough to indicate that the *Mānasāra* is a complete work of architecture and sculpture as applied to the construction of temples and images, and all work of building connected therewith. Though we know of something like 300 works on these subjects, most of which exist only in manuscripts, none of them attains to the voluminous and the detailed treatment of the *Mānasāra*. A certain number have been published since, such as the *Mayamata*, *Silparatna*, and *Manushyālayachandrikā* in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and a few others elsewhere; but none of them comes up to the comprehensiveness or complete details of the *Mānasāra*. The Āgamāic works, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, have to deal with these very topics, as one of the main sections of these works, both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva, have reference to temple-worship. Some of them do give detailed description of these, the best among them being the *Kāmika Āgama*. This is a vast work of 160 chapters of which a fairly large number are devoted to these subjects. There again architecture is generally regarded as subsidiary to town-planning. The building of temples of course forms a part of town-planning. When we get to a description of temples, naturally it takes us on to the description of the making of images, being connected intimately with each other. Mr. Acharya draws attention incidentally to the fact that even Vedic Indians were not ignorant of stone forts or walled cities, stone houses, carved stones and even brick edifices, although they are generally regarded as being ignorant of these. A certain amount of information on these subjects could be collected from Buddhist literature as Mr. Acharya points out, not to speak of the description of palaces and towns, such as we find in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and works of that kind. The *Purāṇas* like the *Āgamas* contain elaborate chapters upon these subjects, as again they have to deal with the connected subject of temple worship.

A co-ordinated study of these gives a detailed idea of architectural notions of the Hindus, and these theoretical principles could be verified from even existing buildings where they do exist in some number.

Coming to the question of the age of the author of this work, Mānasāra, Professor Acharya, goes into the investigation whether the name Mānasāra is not that of the author. As we have already remarked, it probably is the name of the work itself, and consequently the name of the author of the work by a figure of speech. We would not have referred to it again here but for the fact that Prof. Acharya makes an effort to find out a connection between the name Mānasāra and the name of the victorious king of Malva by name Mānasāra referred to in the Daśakumāra-charitra of Daṇḍin. We very much fear that the possibility of a connection between the two is remote indeed, and there is nothing to indicate that the work has had anything to do with a ruler of a kingdom. As Mr. Acharya himself points out, Malva does not figure among the ten regional divisions of India* architecturally speaking. Prof. Acharya is inclined to regard the work as that of the age of Guptas more or less. The work may possibly have belonged to that particular age on the ground of its similarity to the Matsya Purāṇa chapters on architecture. But whatever the date of the present redaction, the Matsya Purāṇa is perhaps datable to a considerably earlier period, and the question would then have to be whether the architectural chapters do actually belong to the earlier epoch of the work Matsya Purāṇa. We do not consider, as Prof. Acharya does, that there should have been a united empire, and an orderly administration, which he considers elaborately, to build his conclusion thereon. Neither of them seems to us necessary for a mere student of architecture to study, and individual scholars or students do not appear to have found travelling so difficult in those early times from what we know of others, both in the age of the Guptas and even in periods anterior to that. People seem to have been able to move about from place to place with the freedom, which, having regard to the imperfect conditions of communication, seems to us really remarkable. We may conclude by congratulating Professor

* We may incidentally point out here that one of the ten which Prof. Acharya reads as Virāṭa strikes us as a wrong variant reading of Varāṭa, where perhaps there is room for a distinct architectural style, at least that is the form in which the name occurs in the other works Maymata and Śilparatna.

Acharya upon the monumental work that he has produced, and brought to a term the labours of twenty years of devoted study. Though, accidental, so far as Professor Acharya is concerned, the publication of this work, the preface to which is dated February 6, 1933 seems to be almost exactly the centenary of the completion of the first work on this subject by Rama Raz, as we have already noted. There could be no more appropriate celebration of the centenary of the publication for such an important work as the Mānasāra than this careful, complete and an admirably adequate edition of the great work. Let us hope that this publication will lead to a scientific study of Hindu architecture with a view to the practical applications which Prof. Acharya wants. We commend the work to those concerned with all our heart, and say amen to the wish of the learned editor and translator.

NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : A REPORT

By

OTTO STEIN.

1. UNDER the titles "The earliest philosophy of the Karma-mīmāṃsā" and "Udgīthavidyā" ¹ Prof. Otto Strauss of the Breslau University (Germany) has recently made two contributions to the Pūrva- and Uttaramīmāṃsā. The purpose of the former paper is to show the connection between these two aspects, exemplified by Śabaraśvāmin's commentary on Mīmāṃsāsūtra I, 1, 5, where he quotes his predecessor, the Vṛttikāra who relies on Upavarṣa again. The discussion in Mīmāṃsābhāṣya I, 1, 5 is concerned with the means of knowledge, the enumeration and description of which appear in a pūrvapakṣa-form. Among other points the ātman-theory has to be defended against Buddhist antagonists of the Vijñānavāda-School; and the whole discussion is relevant for the problem of sambandha, i.e. the eternal connection between the word and its object. The sūtra I, 13 is explained by Śabara as an introduction to sūtra 4, while the latter shows a slightly different

1. Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1932, 66 pp., resp. 1931, 70 pp. The chronological order of the publications has been inverted here from a historical-symmetrical point of view.

reading in Śabara's text and in that of the *Vṛttikāra*; the difference, however, of interpretation is still greater. Śabara takes the *sūtra* as one single sentence, as *Siddhānta*, denying the possibility that a perception (*pratyakṣa*) can serve as a means of knowledge of dharma. The *Vṛttikāra* sees the *Siddhānta* in s. 5, whereas s. 4 is for him the *Pūrvapakṣa*, to be divided into two assertions: the cause of dharma-knowledge must not be investigated, as *pratyakṣa* etc. means of knowledge are known; further, also the *śāstra* belongs to them, therefore it must not be investigated too. Kumārila ascribes the doctrine of the six *pramāṇas* to Śabara (Śloka v., *Abhāvapariccheda* 57); the *Vṛttikāra* acknowledges only two means of knowledge, namely: *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, while the other four (*śāstra*, *upamāna*, *arthāpatti*, *abhāva*) are for him nothing but sub-species of *anumāna*. It is interesting that the treatment of *anumāna* (inference) shows connections with Praśastapāda's Vaiśeṣikabhāṣya; in discussing the later *svataḥpramāṇya*-doctrine of the later Mimāṃsā he seems to attack the Vijñānavādins. In the *Siddhānta*-portion of s. 5 first the latter part of s. 4 is refuted, then many problems are to be solved: the relation between word and the object, designated by the former, whether the *sambandha* is due to human origin, the nature of the word, explained to be sounds, not *sphoṭa*, the nature of the object. The kernel of that *sūtra* is the proof that the relation between word and its object is eternal, unproduced, as there is no author (*sambandhī*) of the connection. The remaining part of the *sūtra*-discussion has to be attributed to Śabara only, no more to the *Vṛttikāra*; its contents are concerned with the *ātman*. The fictive opponent is a Buddhist, while the arguments contra are taken from the Vaiśeṣika again. The Buddhist remarks he cannot see any difference between the body and the *ātman*, his *ātman*-defendant tries to convince him by the *prāṇa*. That, however, declares the Buddhist, is merely a function of the body, which argument leads the Mimāṃsaka to explain the difference existing between *prāṇa* and the qualities of the body. Again the Buddhist objects the inference from qualities to a holder of qualities, as there are only *dharma*s, and the question: to whom belongs this or that, would involve a *regressus ad infinitum*. The Mimāṃsaka says that *vijñāna* requires a subject, belonging to the verb *jānāti*; and this subject can be nothing else but *ātman*. The next argument of the Buddhist militates against the view the *ātman* being the bearer of the *smṛti*, as the *ātman*-defendant argues, because the desire (*icchā*) for an object, perceived some time before, is impossible without the existence of a constant subject, which

is able to remember that once perceived object. The Buddhist denies that by the reference to the (*leṣanīkavāda*-) doctrine of the non-identity of a Devadatta of to-day with that of yesterday, or, that Devadatta can remember things seen by Yajñadatta. Finally, the *Siddhānta* of the *ātmanist*, the *ātman*-existence is proved by the consciousness of the I, and also the *śruti* is a proof of the existence of the eternal in man.

This analysis is followed by the German translations of the Mimāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya I, 1, 1-5 and I, 3, 30-35, because Śabaraśvāmin refers to that portion himself in the former passage.

2. In Chāndogya-Up. I, 2 and Bṛhadār.-Up. I, 3 the *Prāṇa* is celebrated as the Absolute in connection with the *Sāman* called *Udgītha*; these passages have the same *Udgīthavidyā*. The question which of the two Up.-passages, parallels to which are to be found in Jaim. Up. Br. I, 60; II, 1; 3; 10, is the earlier has, from a historico-critical point of view, to be answered in that direction that there is no difference between them, while Deussen believed the passage in Chānd.-Up. to be later than that in Bṛhadār.-Up. Rather these are merely variants of diction; but the idea, the speculation on the absolute One, identified with the *Prāṇa* in man and connected with the *Sāman* *Udgītha*, is the same. From a systematical-orthodox point of view, as expressed by Śaṅkara, the question has to be put whether there are meant two *upāsanas* of two different *vidyās*, or only one. The *pūrvapakṣa* defends—in accordance with modern view—that merely one *upāsana* is necessary, while Śaṅkara declares them to be two *vidyās*. Remarkable and interesting are, besides the material explanation, the connections of interpretation between the Brahmasūtra and Śaṅkara on the one hand, the Mimāṃsāsūtra and Śabarabhāṣya on the other. In spite of the difference between Pūrva- and Uttaramimāṃsā, or Vedānta, the latter relies on the method of the former.

Prof. Strauss whose two papers represent preparatory studies to his contribution on Mimāṃsā and Vedānta in the "Grundriss," started by the late Prof. Bühler, give not only illuminating expositions, but offer also German translations of the respective texts with copious notes. In the paper on *Udgīthavidyā* he translated Brahmasūtra III, 3, 1-9 with Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya and offers for the first time—a German rendering of Vācaspatimiśra's Bhāmatī.

3. Without going to investigate the background, the fact has to be stated that—apart from later Buddhist philosophy—no other system of Indian philosophy gets so much attention now, in Europe

at least, as Yoga. English reading Indologists are aware of the book "The Yoga-System of Patañjali", published by Prof. J. H. Woods (Cambridge, Mass. 1914). One year before, in 1913, the French scholar, P. Masson-Oursel, wrote a paper "Sur la signification du mot 'Yoga'" (On the meaning of the word Yoga) in the *Revue d'histoire des Religions* 68, 1913, pp. 18-31; in books, dealing with the philosophy or cultural history of India, that theme had been touched at least. Heinrich Zimmer is the author of an article on "The position of Yoga in the spiritual world of India" *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 4, 1926, pp. 21-56). From an aesthetical and religious point of view he discussed the problem of the *yantra* in its relation to the art in his book "Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild" (Artistic form and Yoga in the Indian cult-picture, 1926). In October 1931 the public was surprised by the issue of the first number of newly started Journal, published under the title "Yoga," by Dr. Helmuth Palmié, M.D.

The main representative of Yoga-studies in Germany is Prof. J. W. Hauer of the University at Tübingen. Already his first book, as the title indicates: "Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis" (1922), brought an "investigation into the roots of Indian Mysticism according to the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*." In a paper, "Der Indische Yoga im Lichte der Psychotherapie" (The Indian Yoga in the light of therapeutics, 1930), the same author gives a succinct theory of the Yoga-system. He lays stress on the psychological part of *dhyanā* and *samādhi* which tries to eliminate the sub-consciousness, to make the man conscious of all his thoughts. Hauer sees in Haṭhayoga a psychotechnical method of Yoga without leading to the final goal of *mukti*.

The contents of the journal, "Yoga. International Journal for the Scientific Investigation of Yoga," are as rich as the languages used by the contributors, German, French, English and Italian. The Number opens with introductions by Prof. Hauer, taken from his book "Der Yoga als Heilweg," by Mrs. Rhys Davids, by Mr. P. Masson-Oursel and F. Belloni-Filippi, welcoming the publication of the new organ, from which they expect a progress of the knowledge, and a clearing up of the problems, of Yoga. The first scientific paper comes from the pen of Prof. Hauer, bringing a German "Translation of the Yoga aphorisms by Patañjali with Vyāsa's commentary." This translation, reaching from I, 1-4 only, is preceded by an exhaustive introduction, dealing with the texts, their

composition and history, with the commentaries, and the hitherto existing translations by Deussen, Rama Prasad, and Woods, and finally with the difficulty of an adequate translation into an European language. All that forms again—with some exceptions of formal nature—parts of the book, mentioned above, and will find its due report, when dealing with the latter. While Prof. Hauer has some contempt for Haṭhayoga, Prof. H. Zimmer defends it. In his paper "Teachings of the Haṭhayoga, didactical texts, part I" (pp. 45-62), he expounds the different aspects and the practice of that Yoga-form according to the Haṭha-yogapadipikā by Svātmārāma, the Gheraṇḍasamhitā, and the Śivasamhitā, with extensive translated quotations from these sources.

This first part, covering the pages 25-62 called, owing to the international character of the journal, "translationes" in Latin, is followed by papers, called "disputationes originales" and opened by Sir John Woodroffe's contribution on "Kuṇḍalinī Śakti" (pp. 65-73). According to the Śākta doctrine with which the author is concerned "Yoga is that process by which the identity of the two (*jīvātman* and *paramātman*),—which identity ever in fact exists—is realized by the Yogin or practitioner of Yoga." Out of the four forms of Yoga: *mantra-*, *haṭha-*, *laya-*, and *rājayoga*, *kuṇḍaliyoga* is *layayoga*, that means the arousing of *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*, treated in the author's "Serpent-Power." As the fundamental principle of Tantrasāstra, man is described as a microcosm "*ksudra-brahmāṇḍa*," the outer world being within him, man being the all-pervading Spirit, vehicled by Śakti in the form of mind and matter the centres of which are the six *chakras*, viz. of the mind the *ājñā-chakra*, the other five *chakras* or centres of matter or *bhūtas* being: *viśuddha* of *ākāśa*, *anāhata* of *vāyu*, *maṇipūra* of *agni*, *svādhiṣṭhāna* of *āpaḥ*, *mūlādhāra* of *pṛthivī*. The author tries to identify and localize the seat of these *chakras* with the plexus of the body according to Western anatomy. The *Mērudanda* as the spinal cord of man, is the axis of the body supporting the trunk. Western anatomy divides the cerebral column into five regions and these correspond to the regions in which the five *chakras* are situated. Beyond those five in the trunk and the sixth in the lower cerebral centre, there is a seventh in the upper brain or *satyaloka*, the abode of the Supreme Śiva-Śakti. As the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti is a *śakti*, power of Kuṇḍalī, coiled like a serpent in the *Mūlādhāra*, situated at the base of the spinal cord in a position midway in the perinaeum between the root of the genitals and the anus (cf. Zimmer in the same journal p. 54 on Śivas. II, 21-28; and "Serpent Power"). While

in Rāja- and Haṭha-yoga which belong to *dhyāna*- or *bhāvanayoga*, ecstasy (*samādhi*) is attained by intellectual processes (*kriyājñāna*). Kuṇḍaliyoga, another kind of Haṭhayoga, does not neglect intellectual processes, but has that aim: the creative and sustaining Śakti, i.e. Kuṇḍalinī Śakti, is actually and truly united with the Lord Consciousness; that means: Kuṇḍalinī Śakti is to rouse from Kuṇḍali through the cerebral cord to unite with the Supreme Śiva Śakti, to enjoy the bliss of Śiva and Śakti through her and to gain the accompanying powers, *siddhis*. Liberation, *mukti*, may be obtained by pure *jñānayoga* through detachment, exercise, stilling of the mind, and also by *bhakti*, devotion; but the Śākta Tantra gives enjoyment, *bhukti*, and liberation, *mukti*. It is impossible to reproduce here the extensive remarks of the author on philosophical, biological, cosmical, and psychological aspects of the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti. It may be merely added that this kind of Yoga is believed to be superior to Rājayoga and to Haṭhayoga of the *dhyānayoga*-colour.

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids wants in her paper, "The Fellowman in Yoga" (pp. 75-78), to answer the questions: "To what extent does Yoga 'cover' early Buddhism? Or, to what extent did early Buddhism make its own contribution to Yoga?" In Buddhism, or, as the authoress prefers to say, in Śākya or Shakya (cf. her book: *Śākya, or Origins of Buddhism*) two equivalent terms for Yoga are found: *samādhi* and *jhāna* (= *dhyāna*). The former does not occur in the Upaniṣads earlier than the relatively late Maitri-Up.; *dhyāna* is met once in the Taitt. Ār. in just a passing mention. Attention, however, is paid to the term in Chāndogya-Up. and the Śvetāśvatara-Up., much nearer to the days of Śākya's beginning; attempts to distinguish between the divine all-containing Self and the human self, *dhyāna* is here a mode of linking and illuminating. In the Suttapiṭaka there can be seen a distinction between *jhāna* and rational thought; *samādhi* is given a wider denotation, including the four stages of *jhāna*, "and also various forms of zealous heedfulness in the study of blameless living." But a transformation of the original *dhyāna* into Śākya shows the meaning of readiness to be impressed, the *jhāyin* was listening, watching; the positive contribution by Śākya to Yoga was to facilitate in the *aṅga* called *jhāna*, intercourse with, sodality with, the fellowman as not on earth only, but with all *sattas*, also of other worlds. Thus Yoga in the term *dharmayoga* means Yoga of the immanently divine "worshipped in Śākya, not as *ātman*, but as *dharmma*, or inward monition (of the ideal, the Ought-to-be)."

In the year 1925 the Professor of Philosophy of the University at Vienna (Austria), Dr. Heinrich Gomperz, published a big volume: "The Indian Theosophy," containing a history of thought of ancient India on the Divine; among the chapters of that book one was devoted to Yoga. Now he raises the question, how one should understand utterances in the Yogasūtra like that in III, 24: a practitioner of Yoga gets the vires of an elephant ("Psychological interpretation of the doctrine of magic power?", pp. 79-82). There are four possibilities to understand such a sentence: (1.) the magical, by concentration one gets really the power of an elephant by means of witchcraft; (2.) the realistic, one gets in nature a great power, though not that of an elephant, e.g. by strong muscles; (3.) the psychological, the Yogin believes himself to possess the power; (4.) the mythic, the utterance is without any real base, it is a superstition only. The author decides himself for the psychological explanation: the Yogin is convinced of his feelings as being real, for instance of going through the air, or, entering another person's body.

Mr. B. Bhattacharyya (Baroda) informs the reader in his paper "Sādhana or God-Realisation" (pp. 83-86) on the *sādhana*s or processes prescribed for attaining the different *siddhis*, perfections, in the Tantric literature of the Buddhists and Hindus. The Buddhist literature of *sādhana*s was always written in Sanskrit, by most of the well-known Tantric authors and by the *mahāsiddhas*, these being the best and middle class of *siddhas*, flourishing during the Pāla-Period (8-12th cent. A.D.). Some collections of *sādhana*s are still to be found in the Durbar Library and in Buddhist monasteries of Nepal, Mss. of which have migrated to Bombay, Calcutta, Cambridge and Paris. These collections are called *Sādhana-mālā* or *Sādhanasamucchaya*. Nine Mss., obtained from different libraries, were collated together and critically edited by Mr. Bhattacharyya as Nos. 26 and 41 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. For giving a general idea of the contents of the *sādhana* or the detailed process through which spiritual eminence or *siddhi* is obtained, the author of this paper describes the daily routine of a *siddha*, as found in the *sādhana* for the goddess Tārā, No. 98 in the *Sādhana-mālā* composed by the Sthavira Anupama Rakṣita who was a well-known Tantric author. About half a dozen of his works are preserved in Tibetan translations, forming part of the Tangyur.

Mr. Richard Rösler, author of a treatise "The psychological foundations of the Yoga-practice" (1928), discusses, in his contri-

bution "Yoga and kindred systems in the occultism of to-day" (pp. 87-92), such western movements which made use—or misuse—of elements of the Yoga or other Indian thoughts. Among these movements are the Theosophical, founded by Mrs. H. P. Blavatsky, the Anthroposophy of the late Rudolph Steiner, the "Correspondence-lessons" by Karl Brandler-Pracht who goes back perhaps to Rāma Prasād's work "The Nature's Finer Forces." In the "Neugeist" (New Spirit-) movement teachings and practices of the Yoga are to be found, specially in the writings by W. Adelman-Huttula who freely borrows from Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*. The Japanese Omoto-movement made its way into European fields; magic spells are used freely in the publications by Peryt Shou. The "Aryan-Zaratushtrian art of living," allied to the Mazdaznan-teaching, belongs to that progress of thought in Europe too.

"On the ocular concentration in the Yoga," writes the French scholar, Mr. J. Filliozat, who is the author (with Mr. Cantonnet) of a book, entitled: *Le strabisme. Physiologie et pathologie de la vision binoculaire* (The strabism. Physiology and Pathology of the binocular vision, Paris, 1932). He is opposed to the view which explains concentration in Yoga as a hypnotic state, as auto-hypnosis. Rather a prolonged fixation of the eyes on some object of little interest, as on the tip of the nose, evokes the appearance of the vague mist, within which gradually pictures are to be seen; the interpretation of those pictures is for some people the key to the future. In the moment the confusion by the mist appears, the visual field of consciousness is free, and that moment is favourable for the return of a great number of reminiscences in the form of visions. These reminiscences have the force of revelations, and the sub-conscious elements, either absurd or logical, may be interpreted as visions of future events, while they are nothing but new combinations of forgotten reminiscences. The author calls that a particular state of psychological dissolution ("désagrégation" pp. 93-102).

The last paper (pp. 103f.) by Mr. H. Vorwahl alludes, under the title "The ecstasy in modern literature," to some works of modern German fiction, esp. to Hermann Hesse's novels "Demian" and "The Steppe-Wolf" in which the man, free from sub-conscious thoughts, is able to see and to feel whatever he likes. This method of liberation from the subconsciousness is treated to-day in medicine (cf. O. A. H. Schmitz, *Psychoanalyse und Yoga*, Darmstadt 1924, and the forthcoming book by J. H. Schultz, *Autogenes Training*).

For completeness, though it does pertain to Indian philosophy, it may be mentioned that this Number of the "Yoga" contains Reviews on Hauer's paper "Der indische Yoga im Lichte der Psychotherapie" (by Schäfer, pp. 131-3), the author's report of the book: *Autogenes Training*, (p. 134) besides reviews on the work of V. G. Rele. *The Vedic gods as figures of Biology* (by W. Wüst, pp. 125-130) and on books by W. Schubring: *Worte Mahāvīras*, 1927; *Die Jainas*, 1927, (by H. v. Glasenapp) as well as on Wendell Thomas: *Hinduism invades America* (by the same). The first number of the *Journal* is dedicated to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and to Sir John Woodroffe; it contains biographies and bibliographies of both these scholars. Finally there is a *Report of the Pali Text Society for 1930* and a *Bibliography of important and relevant books and Journals*.

4. As mentioned above, Prof. Hauer is the author of a new book on Yoga of which the first part was published in Stuttgart 1932 under the title: "Der Yoga als Heilweg" (The Yoga as the path of salvation) XVII, 159 pp. In the Preface the author gives a historical review of previous publications on Yoga, and, in an introductory (reprinted in the *Journal*, alluded to above), he attempts to show the relation and importance of Yoga to the spiritual state of the West. He believes that Yoga is a way for those who, unprotected by their faith and institutions of bygone days, want to have recourse to their own Interior. For the Yoga appreciates conscious experience, rational working, and tradition, but prepares the man also to know the Ultimate, world-preserving powers. The presupposition, however, is a critical study of the best sources of the Yoga. The allied movement of psychoanalysis suffers under the exaggeration of the importance of sexual complexes, but its refinement, as found in the works of Prof. C. G. Jung, may represent an able collaboration for the guidance of the souls of the West. For the East again the renaissance of Yoga, though too little known in India of to-day, may mean the re-discovering of its spiritual counterpoise, the spiritual remedy against the shocks by the invasion of the West with its science, technics, industrialism and parliamentarism.

In the first four chapters the author offers an exhaustive history of the Yoga-elements in the Vedic literature. Though he does not frighten away from the assertion that the beginnings of Yoga may go back to the ur-Indo-European times, he finds traces of the murmur-meditation (*japa*) in the *Śatarudriya*, the earliest version

of which is to be seen in the Taitt. S. IV, 5 (Vājas. S. 16; Kāṭhaka 17; one may add now Kapiṣṭhala-Kāṭha S. 27), a text recommended still in Vāchaspatimiśra's Commentary on Yogasūtra II, 1 among those for the *svādhyāya* of the Yoga-practitioners. Further, it is remarkable that from the beginnings the Yoga is closely related to worship of Rudra-Śiva. In connection with the humming of the syllable *om* the practices of breathing led to the supposition of their metaphysical powers. All that found its favourable soil among the circles of those non-brahmanical "Consecrated devotees," the Vratyas, to whom the origin of the XVth Book of the Atharvaveda has to be attributed, a view that Prof. Hauer has expressed in his books on "The Beginnings of the Yoga-practice" (1922) and "The Vratya" (1927) already. The ur-elements of the Yoga in the Vedic Period are contained in the brahmanical sacrifice, holy ceremonies and observances of heretical character, in customs and experiences of frenetic ecstasies. Though the Yoga was known in the times of the earlier Upaniṣads, the brahmanical speculations on the sacrifice and the struggle against the offenders of the ceremonials absorbed all their mental efforts; in the Upaniṣads of the Rudra-Śiva-faith the Yoga is evident. The first place is taken by the Śvetāśvatara-Up. (cf. Hauer's "The Svetāśvatara-Up., a monotheistic tract of a Rudra-Śiva-community" ZDMG 9, 1930, pp. *97* ff. and "A monotheistic tract of Ancient India," Gotha 1931); here all the important teachings of the later Sāṃkhya and Yoga are apparent already. In the Mahānārāyaṇa-Up. occur terms which belong to the Tantric Yoga of later times, though the metaphysics are quite different. Like the Maitrāyaṇas also the Kāṭhakas, as the author concludes from the Yoga-passages in Kāṭhaka-Up., were members of the Rudra-community, the former being adherents of the Vratya-movement. Other Yoga-Upaniṣads, like the Brahmapindū, Amṛtanāḍabindū, Chūlikā, Yogaśikhā, Hamsa, may be dated into the time between Buddhism and the later parts of the Mahābhārata, though the tradition goes back to the end of the Vedic period, i.e., circa. 700 B.C. From the point of view of psychotechnics the Kṣurikā-Up. is interesting, as her contents are instructions for practices of breathing and concentration. The brahmanical Tejobindū-Up. lays stress on the *dhyāna*. Neither in the Sannyāsa-Up. the elements of Yoga are missing, as in the Brahma-Up., nor in the Viṣṇuṭic-Up., as in the Yogatattva-and Dhyānabindū-Up.

A close connection exists between Yoga, Buddhism and Jainism; Yoga and Yoga-elements in Jainism must have their common Vedic antecedents, especially in the Atharvaveda; and Bud-

dhism got some hints from Yoga, but developed them in its own congenial way. In the Epic, in the Mahābhārata, Yoga finds its place in the XIIth Book, in the *mokṣadharma*, through the Viṣṇu-ism, and still more through the Sivaism, of Videha in the company of which Sāṃkhya and Yoga appear. Both these systems were once a common movement of India, but separated their ways in metaphysics, and metapsychics in that time to which the Yogasūtra may belong. The Sāṃkhya becomes atheistic, the Yoga is theistic; the former is based on initiative speculation and on tradition, whereas the latter relies upon immediate experience and conscious introspection.

With the 5th chapter the inquisition reaches the main source of the Rājayoga, the Yogasūtra of Patañjali; he has been identified with the author of the Mahābhāṣya, while recent researches by Woods, Jacobi and Hauer himself tried to show the 4th till the 6th cent. A. D. as the probable time of the origin of the Yogasūtra. Prof. Hauer, who has published some part of his date-theory in the *Studia Indo-Iranica* (pp. 122ff.), is of opinion that the present text is a composition of texts, differing in views as well as in age. The four books of the Yogasūtra, the result of a redaction with the aim to get four books of nearly the same length without taking into consideration the contents, the redactor being the author of the first part, are to be divided according to Prof. Hauer in that way: I, 1-22; *nirodha-text*; I, 23-51, *īśvarapraṇidhāna-text* both parts showing Buddhist influences. Book IV *nirmāṇacitta-text* belongs to the time of Buddhist philosophy after Vasubandhu, to the 4th and 5th cent. A. D. (see the paper in *Studia Indo-Iranica*). II, 28-III, 55 is the complete systematical sūtra of the Yoga, *yogāṅga-text* the earliest of the whole Yogasūtra, which has been divided midway (in Book II and III) only for the purpose of having two books of the same number of sūtras, viz., 55. II, 1-27, remarkable through the systematical treatment of the *kleśas*, is the *kriyāyoga-text*. Book I and IV belong to the time of the later Buddhist philosophy, whereas there is nothing of that connection in the *yogāṅga-text* which must be earlier, perhaps the 2nd cent. B. C., if its author is to be identified with the grammarian Patañjali.

The chapter 6 brings the transcribed Sanskrit text with its German translation and extensive notes in the order, as Prof. Hauer reproduced its historical development; I, 1; II, 28-III, 55 (*yogāṅga-text*); II, 1-27 (*kriyāṅga-text*); I, 23-51 (*īśvarapraṇi-*

dhāna-text); IV (*nirmānacitta*-text); I, 1-22 (exactly 2-22, *nirodha*-text). The seventh chapter of the book sketches the development of the Yoga after the time of the redacted Yogasūtra. In the 4th cent. A. D. the idealistic *viññānavāda* of Asanga's *Yogācāra*-school influenced the Yoga; the *dhya*na-phases, e.g., were united with the *bhūmis*, that evolution of the *dhya*na-system can be seen also in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. The tendency goes to unite the metaphysical knowledge with the practice and experience of meditation, ending in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* by the dissolution of consciousness in the *śūnyatā*. The other way of Mahāyāna was the *bhakti*, in which Buddha becomes the highest deity, an instance being the *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* in which the meditation leads to the adoration of the Buddha. The *dhāraṇī* (cf. Hauer's paper "The *Dhāraṇī* in Northern Buddhism and its parallels in the so-called Mithras-liturgy", 1927) gets its place as a base for meditation and brings occultism and magic into religion. In the second half of the first millenary in which Śivaism and Buddhism are melted together, the Buddha turns into the *Adibuddha*, the *Adinātha*, no more to be separated from Śiva, the lord of the world, and obtains his female consort, like Śiva, in the goddess-mother *Tārā*. By the work of Bodhidharma who saved, about 520, Buddhism to China, from its complete decay, being himself a great Yogin, Yoga revives in the Far East through the *dhya*na-schools, as represented by the Zen-movement of Japan. In Śivaism the polarity between the male and female principle introduces erotic-religious thoughts in which the Yoga submerges, finding expression in the *Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra*. In the Viṣṇuitic *Bhakti*-religion, as shown in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the date of which is probably the time after the redaction of the Yogasūtra, Yoga is treated in amalgamation with *bhakti*, and the commentator of the Yogasūtra, Vāchaspatimiśra, quotes frequently the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

Nevertheless, the Yoga kept its own literature. Not only the *Yogasāstra* by Hemachandra, but also an extensive literature of commentaries are the proofs. The earliest classical commentary is the *Bhāṣya* of Vyāsa to whom all the later commentaries are more or less indebted. As the *Bhāṣya* cites in III, 53 (end) and IV, 13 the *Sāṃkhya*-teacher Vārṣaganya, a contemporary of Vasubandhu, it must belong to a time later than both these thinkers; but not later than 650 A. D. A feature of the *Yogabhāṣya* is the theism of the earlier Yoga, the tenor of which is circumscribed by the *Svetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*; the *īśvara* is Śiva. That indicates a turning of the Yoga to theism, quite in accordance with the general theistic ten-

dency of the 2nd millenary, expressed in the *Bhakti* movement and in the Śivaism of Northern as well as of Southern India. Vyāsa himself shows influences of the *Bhakti* movement, e.g., in his explanation of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* by *bhakti* (I, 23), or by similarities between his *Bhāṣya* and the *Bhagavadgītā* (in II, 1 and II, 23) and in the introduction to his commentary he pays reverence to Śiva.

The important commentary *Rājamārtanḍa* by Bhojarāja is influenced by Śivaitic theism; to the 9th cent. A. D. has to be attributed the *Tattvavaiśārādī* of Vāchaspatimiśra who underlines the philosophical aspect of Yoga and intermingles *Sāṃkhya* and Yoga again. The last phase of the development of yoga represents the *Hathayoga*; its founder seems to be Gorakṣanātha, 13th cent. A. D. to whom are ascribed the Sanskrit works *Hathayoga* and *Gorakṣaśataka*. From them the classical treatises on *Hathayoga* took their origin: the *Hathayogapradīpikā* and the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā*. The technics of *Hathayoga* became known in the West in the 19th cent. by the Yogin Haridās and by the reports of J. Braid in his "Observations on trance or human Hybernation" (1850). The Yoga-literature, however, was never dead; in the 16th cent. wrote *Vijñāna-bhikṣu*, though his *Yogavārttika* shows tendencies of the *Vedānta*. A short manual by the same author is the *Yogasārasaṃgraha*. New apostles for Yoga arose in the 19th cent. in the impressive personalities of Rāmakṛṣṇa and Svāmī Vivekānanda.

In a second part Prof. Hauer proposes to deal with the metaphysics, the theory of knowledge, the aim of the Yoga, its practices and the fruits thereof.

THE HISTORY OF THE RASHṬRAKŪṬAS

By

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THE RASHṬRAKŪṬAS AND THEIR TIMES

By

PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR,
(Poona Oriental Series, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.)

The *Rāshṭrakūṭas* were a dynasty of rulers whose sway extended over the whole of the Dakhan and reached farther out northwards into Hindustan extensively over mid-India, and south-

wards beyond the Mysore plateau and even the territory of the Cholas at various periods of Rāshtrakūṭa History. The dynasty was one of great importance and lasted the usual term of very near two centuries and a half, and happened to be among the most influential of the Hindu kingdoms known to the first Muhammadan historians. The centuries of Rāshtrakūṭ rule constitute an important period in medieval Indian History, and have been dealt with so far only in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Gazetteer*. A number of inscriptions have since been published relating to this dynasty and our knowledge of the subject has widened in other directions as well making a revision of Fleet's work almost a necessity. It is none too soon therefore that the two scholars whose names are associated with the books under review should have found it necessary to treat the subject afresh.

The first work under review is obviously on the plan of the late Dr. Fleet, and deals with the subject only to the extent of settling the dynastic details and dynastic synchronisms and no more. The origin of the Rāshtrakūṭas is traced with reference to the contemporary dynasties with a wealth of new material gathered from inscriptions as well as from other sources, such as literature, etc. When he comes to deal with the important dynasty itself, each ruler is taken and the inscriptions bearing upon his reign is collected, and the main incidents of their history also are given in summary with illuminating comments here and there from even sources not tapped by Dr. Fleet. Within the limited purpose, the book makes an important contribution to the study of the complicated history of this dynasty.

There are a number of minor blemishes which detract from the value of the publication, but we have no doubt they would all be corrected in a new edition; but there are one or two of a more serious character to which we must draw attention. On page 61, the *śloka* from the *Harivamṣa Purāṇa* which gives the date Śaka 705 for a certain number of rules, is interpreted in a way that the ruler of the north at the time was Indrāyudha, of the south Krishna's son Śrī Vallabha and of the east Vatsa Raja of Avanti and of the west Varāha. It is, however, open to doubt whether this interpretation would be acceptable either historically or even otherwise. Varāha, or more properly perhaps Jaya Varāha, was the ruler of the Adimaṇḍala of the Sauryas, with the variant Sauras, that is Gujarat. Being thus fixed specifically, the four other rulers would be required and the equation of Māḷava ruler with Vatsa Raja is more than open to doubt. On page 36 occurs

a statement that all the rock-cut temples before the days of the Rāshtrakūṭas were meant either for the Buddhists or the Jains, which again could be hardly true, as there are Chālukya cave-temples dedicated to Brahmanical gods in the very same area, not to speak of temples to these in the neighbouring territory of the Pallavas, etc. On page 65, there is the sentence Govinda Raja liberated king Ganga of Coimbatore. What is meant seems to be that Govinda Raja liberated the Ganga king, whose territory might have included part of Coimbatore, but certainly did not constitute the Chera kingdom, for which about this period we shall have to go farther west. We need go no farther, but conclude that the publication is of great value as presenting a complete conspectus of the material bearing upon the history of this important dynasty.

We turn to the other work, which is larger in plan and much more comprehensive in the treatment of the subject. It goes beyond the history of the dynasty into an attempt to give a history of the times when the dynasty held the prominent position. The first six chapters deal with the history proper of the dynasty and covers the ground taken up by the other work. The next six chapters, chapters VII to XII are devoted to the Rāshtrakūṭa administration. The following chapters XIII to XVII give the religious, social, literary, etc., condition of the Dakhan under the Rāshtrakūṭas. As the prefatory note says, this is work accepted for the thesis for the D. Litt. Degree of the Benares Hindu University and does credit to the author who occupies the Manindra Chandra Nandi Chair in that University. The book is an exhaustive effort exploiting almost all the available sources with a view to a more or less complete history of the period and the dynasty. We might almost say that the work is based entirely upon inscriptional material available; but a vast amount of literary and other sources are also brought to bear upon the information collected from the inscriptions. These sources include the Smṛiti literature so far as it bears upon the subjects and ranges along through the literature of Sanskrit and Kanarese, and includes the early Muhammadan historians, among those whose works have been brought to bear upon the subject. It is a work of importance and perhaps is by far the most comprehensive publication on the subject so far available. The work needed doing, and Professor Altekar has done the work on the whole satisfactorily and with sufficient comprehensiveness.

While we have nothing but admiration for the range of the author's information, we must still point out that there are places where as much care is not exhibited as would normally

be expected from such a careful scholar. On page 33, foot-note 33, Prabhāvakacharita is quoted to support the identification of Nagbhaṭa with Nāgavalōka. But we have pointed it out long ago that the work referred to does not support this identification, and there is no reference to the Bappabāṭṭicharita which was published in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where this subject is discussed. In the chapter on administration, there is much that is open to criticism. Apart from small blemishes which we pass over, as being too minor and would get corrected in the usual course, there are more serious errors to which we should draw attention. Here is a general statement: "Village assemblies or councils in Tamil country consisted neither of the whole adult population, as was the case in Karnataka, nor of a few select gentlemen, as was the case in Maharashtra and Gujarat, but of about 20 to 30 individuals elected by a kind of selection by ballot." This is stated on the authority of the A. S. R. for 1904-5. This is very wide of the mark as a careful perusal of the record would show. This record lays down the franchise at $\frac{1}{4}$ vēli of land (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres) or a house built on one's own site. The 30 referred to are men for constituting committees of administration of which there were as many as 8 or 10.

Of a perhaps less important character, the terms *mēlvāram* and *kuḍivāram* are written *mēla-vāram* and *Chuḍi-vāram*. Numbers of administrative terms are investigated, but the result of the investigation cannot be said to be very satisfactory in very many cases. Sometimes the very terms are misunderstood for lack of knowledge of the language, such as for instance, the Kannada word *Arasa*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit word *Raja*, is written *rasa*, on page 264. On page 266 there is a reference to a *Kumāra Pāla* of Assam. This is apparently a reference to *Kumāra Rāja* or *Kumāra Bhaskaravarman* in full style. There is no warrant apparently for the Assam ruler being called *Kumāra Pāla*. While the work exhibits painstaking research and is praiseworthy in its effort to treat comprehensively of an important period of Indian History, it still leaves something to be desired to make it a thoroughly reliable work on the subject, which it would become if it is carefully revised before another edition of it is published.

Reviews

LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL SOUTH INDIA :
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA
EMPIRE (A. D. 1346—A. D. 1646)

In Two Volumes

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., PH. D.,
Alexander von Humboldt, Shifting Scholar, Berlin

WITH A FOREWORD BY

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH. D., MADRAS.
(Messrs. B. G. Paul and Co., Publishers; 1934—8 Vols. Vol. I
pp. III and 470; Vol. II. pp. 525. Price Rs. 12)

This book is a voluminous and detailed study of the political and social institutions of the Empire of Vijayanagara during the three centuries that formed the duration of its life. It rightly points out that the rulers of Vijayanagara were burdened with the double task of stemming the tide of Muhammadan aggression from the Deccan and of creating a strong government which would preserve the integrity of Hindu society, its traditions and its ancient Dharma. The empire was not an expression of mere force, but served as the visible embodiment of the spirit of the nation and its culture. The author discusses at length the origin of the founders of the empire and lays stress on their continuing the Hoysala tradition. He points out how the tutelary god of the first three dynasties of the empire was always a Karnataka deity, though at the end a great Telugu dynasty took upon itself "the much-worn mantle of Vijayanagara authority". He is at some pains to indicate the many points of analogy between the structure of Vijayanagara administration and the maxims of the mediæval work, *Sukraniti*. Perhaps it might have been possible for him to have identified, or attempted to identify, pretty accurately the list of towns that lined the Coromandel coast, according to Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*. Places like Manapar, Vaipur, Calicare

Manancort are easily identified as sites associated with the activities of great missionaries like Beschi and Nobili, and the account of San Thomé and Mylapore might well have been rendered more accurate and up-to-date and not made to depend mainly on the traditions contained in the Mackenzie collection and on the accounts of travellers like Duarte Barbosa. The detailed examination of the different capitals of the empire involves a close scrutiny into the questions of who the founder was and what the date was of the foundations, of the city of Vijayanagar. Dr. Saletore rejects the theory of the foundation of the city by Harihara I with the help of Vidyāranya and concludes that there was no city of Vijayanagara till July 17th, 1368, that it was founded by Bukka I, some time before November of that year, and that the memory of its foundation by that monarch survived till the day of Couto and Faria y Sousa. He traces the connection between the founders of the empire and the pontificate of the *Mutt of Śringeri*; and shows by epigraphic and literary evidence, that Kriyāśakti Āchārya was the first *Rājguru* of the rulers, and he could not be identified with the Vidyāranya of tradition. He also suggests that it was Harihara II who might have built the famous diamond throne and that Vidyāranya might have visited the capital about the time when its construction was completed under the aegis of that monarch. Pursuing the history of the fortunes of the capital city, he tries to show that Rama Raya was not deserted on the field of battle by the Hindus and the tide was turned only through the treachery of two Muhammadan captains in the Vijayanagara army. He further shows that the city was not destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders, nor plundered immediately after the battle by hordes of wandering gipsies.

Coming to the instructive chapters dealing with the administrative system of the empire, one finds the continuation of the meticulous care, elaboration and definiteness in all matters regarding the registration and survey of land and the assessment and collection of revenue that marked the Chola Government. We find, however, a distinct rise in the rule of assessment which, in the time of Achyuta Raya, resulted in a recourse to oppressive means. But it should be pointed out that the heavy taxation was counter-balanced by liberal remissions of dues to all kinds of people and by the prompt measures that the monarchs took to remedy the evils of the actions of officials and nobles. Evidence also points to the existence of a centralised treasury at the capital, but it is not clear enough to support the view that the provincial rulers had dis-

tinct treasuries of their own. Taxes were generally farmed out on the contract system; but the provincial officers were different as a class, from the revenue-farmers, the *guttēdars* as they were called. The system of contracts was extended to all sources that were markedly productive. We learn, from the inscriptions of the time, that the Brahmans, temples and *mutts* were not exempt from taxation, and that remissions were frequently granted for religious, political and social considerations. Royal benevolence freed the barbers from the payment of the profession-tax in the epoch of the rule of Rama Raya and his successors. One of the leaders of this class, Kandoja, wielded considerable influence at the court of Sadasiva Raya and he was eulogised in a poem of the Telugu poet, Rudrayya.

The author sets the classical and mediæval theories of the king's duties with the maxims of Krishnadeva Raya, as embodied in the work, *Āmuktamālyada*, wherein can be seen the idea of responsibility for good government being shared between the king and his great officers. We came across instances of the king consulting the council of ministers and nobles, from among whom the *mahapradhāna* and the *rājaguru* towered prominently. Besides secretaries and executive agents we have different grades of army officers and composers and engravers of the royal records, at whose head was the *Sāsanāchārya*.

The difficulty of guarding the northern frontier against Muslim aggressions, of preventing provincial revolts and *coups d'état* like usurpations, of all of which we have only numerous instances, was worsened in the epoch of the Āraviḍu dynasty, when dismemberment of the provinces became a regular feature. Nor did Vijayanagara foster a system of sustained commercial enterprise and present an efficient competition against foreign traders. Dr. Saletore holds that the rule of the provincial *nāyaks*, while having its own merits, was, to a certain extent, responsible for the confusion that prevailed in South India in the 17th and 18th centuries and that the poligar system, extended into the extreme south by Visvanatha Nayak and his *dalavāi*, was the most potent factor of internal disorder. This judgment is perhaps too harsh an estimate and goes farther than Dr. Caldwell, who perceived some good features in the *poligars* in the latter half of the 18th century, when they had fully deteriorated.

Krishnadeva Raya is said to have made an advance on the classical theory of punishment when he declared in his book that

the criminals, except traitors plotting against the State, should be given the chance of appealing thrice to the king. In all social questions, popular arbitration was resorted to; and legal proceedings were conducted in the presence of a royal officer. Official oppression was sometimes successfully resisted by the united opposition of corporate bodies. Law was embodied in the precepts of the classical law-givers and strengthened by constitutional usage which received the status of law and was termed *pūrvada mār्याde*.

The book goes into the details of the army and its organisation and of the important part that the cavalry played. It was the desire of these monarchs to control a monopoly of horses for their State that induced them to help the Portuguese settlement on the West Coast. We also read of a comparison of the Hindu and Muhammadan methods of maintaining soldiers and of the importance of the annual review of troops. Again, it is interesting to read of a description of the battle-array of the Hindu army and of the manner in which rewards were distributed after a victory.

The second volume is devoted to social institutions of the centuries during which the empire flourished. The rulers took upon themselves the duty of protecting all the castes, of promoting *sakala-varnāśrama dharmas*; but they had no hesitation in putting down the turbulent kurumbars who thus disappeared as a political factor from the Tamil country. They, however, protected the rank of these tribes whose leaders alone were crushed. We come across several factors that struggled against the rigidity of the caste-system, like the Vipravinodins, of the wrangles of the Right and Left Hand castes and of the colonisation of the Tamil country by Telugu tribes, collectively called the Badagas. The author goes very minutely into the prevalence of sati which Karnataka and Tamil tradition had sanctified long before Vijayanagara period. There is no explanation to offer as to what the raised hand on a sati stone commemorates. Detailed information is given about the guild of the Vira-Banajigas and its officers and also of some of the features of slavery as it prevailed in South India. Notice has been taken of the status of the Brahmans about whom Nuniz has recorded much information. Woman played a prominent part in the political, social and literary life of the people, as evidenced by the learned Gangadevi, who wrote the *Mathurāvijayam* and the *Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi* queens, who accompanied Krishnadeva Raya when he conducted the siege of Konḍaviḍu. Courtesans occupy a prominent place in the notices of foreign travellers.

The significance of a useful measure of social legislation, against *Kanyāśulka* (bridegrooms price) is pointed out as a definite provision for State interference in purely social matters, embodied in an inscription dated Saka 1347. Social legislation sometimes took a strange turn and helped the dismemberment of castes instead of unifying conflicting elements. Social sins were sometimes punished by the State, as legal offences would have been.

We have a large amount of matter regarding court etiquette, the coronation ceremony of kings, the methods of making gifts, the titles and *birudas* of officials and the houses, food and dress of the people. Attention is drawn by the learned author to the abundance of corporate life in social matters and to the harmony that normally existed between the different religious creeds. The last chapter is devoted to a descriptive account of festivals, games and amusements: A lengthy and exhaustive bibliography of sources carefully divided into sections, an elaborate glossary of technical terms with explanations and an exhaustive index are further testimony to the care that has supplemented the comprehensive erudition and preparation of the author.

C. S. S.

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

By

MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S.

Second edition—With 4 maps and 58 plates.

Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 1011.

This is the second edition in the compass of a single bulky volume of Major Basu's *magnum opus* originally brought out in five volumes of smaller size. Major Basu has endeavoured to evaluate the records of the Company's rule in India, the private correspondence of its Directors and servants and other contemporary records which, unfortunately, are not abundant. He does not place much faith upon the language of the treaty engagements and looks on the whole development of the British power in India in the light of the growth of European Christian dominance in the land. He deplores that the Company's officials dared not present a true history of the country and the exceptions to this were few, like Captain Cunningham and Major Evans Bell, both of whom were disgraced and punished for opinions and views expressed in

their works. He justifies the title, 'Rise of the Christian Power in India,' which he has given to the book as a very appropriate one, on grounds with which it may not be possible for every one to agree. Of course there has been and will continue to be a great deal of criticism of the book as 'biased' and 'rabid' history; but the view-points presented in the treatment and put in summary form by N. Kasturi in his *British Occupation of India* require the careful consideration of the serious student. The presentation belongs to the class of ideas embodied in the works of authors like Henry Torrens (*Empire in Asia*), J. Dickenson (*Government of India under a Bureaucracy*), Evans Bell (*Empire in India*), R. U. Bird (*Dacoitee in Excelsis*) and others. It is needless to review in detail the various features of the book in its second edition which is the same as the first except for a few minor alterations and corrections and for the omission of the chapter on the colonisation of India by the Europeans. The illustrations and maps constitute a welcome and attractive addition.

C. S. S.

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

By

MAJOR B. D. BASU,

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

PHANINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

AND

NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH, M.A., L.T.

Illustrated, First Edition.

R. Chatterjee, Publisher, Calcutta, April 1933, pp. vii & 570.

This book is the posthumous work of Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., which continues the narrative contained in his well-known *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, down to the end of Lord Reading's Viceroyalty. The Publisher informs the readers that Major Basu had outlined the plan and prepared elaborate notes and sources of information; and the two collaborators helped him in preparing a complete manuscript of the book in its finished form. The narrative begins with the outbreak of the Mutiny, which the author attributes, in a large measure, to the annexation policy

pursued and to the unemployment of the aristocracy and the disbandment of the sepoy of the annexed States. He points out how, immediately after the Queen's Proclamation, men began to lose faith in its sincerity, and even persons like the Duke of Argyle began to doubt its expediency and wisdom. Likewise the partial character of the report of the Indigo Commission the excitement caused by the 'Nil Darpan' case (1861), the perception by Lord Elgin, as early as 1862, of the 'extreme difficulty of administering equal justice between natives and Europeans' and Sir John Lawrence's-Dalhousie-ite policy towards Mysore and Bhutan are vigorously and forcefully demonstrated. Lawrence tried to make out that the Maharaja of Mysore was "not a sovereign prince, having no rights whatever beyond those conferred upon him by the Subsidiary Treaty; and he further maintained that the Nizam, at the time of his co-operation in the conquest of Mysore in 1799, was "in the condition of a purely dependent ruler, and in a state of subordinate alliance with the British Government"; and this was in reply to the Mysore Ruler's plea that if his territories should lapse, they would not lapse to the British Government alone, but to the Allies (i.e., the British power and the Nizam) who shared in the conquests and arranged the partitions of 1799. It is too much on the part of Major Basu to conclude that one of the motives which prompted the Company to pursue an anti-missionary spirit in the measure in which it did, was the fear of criticism and exposure to the English and European public of their own misrule in India. He effectively contrasts this attitude with the extreme partisanship of the post-Mutiny Government which harmed rather than helped the cause of Christianity.

The inefficient famine-relief measures undertaken to combat the great Orissa famine of 1866 helped to promote the failure of Lawrence's Viceroyalty which was not sympathetic to the employment of Indians in the higher services, at least, in the Regulation Provinces. Lord Mayo, the ideal of rulers, according to Sir William Hunter, was against perpetual meddling in the affairs of Indian States, but strove to further consolidate British hold over them and preferred to diminish the number of Indian troops to the reduction of the quota of British soldiers in the country. The vetoing of the Mufassil Municipal Bill of 1872 by Lord Northbrook is shown to have been prompted by, among other motives, an unwillingness to make elementary education obligatory upon the big towns of Bengal. Again, Northbrook's refusal to prohibit, on grounds of free-trade, export of rice, while arranging for special

imports, during famines, was, to say the least, illogical and sacrificed millions of money to an idea, in the words of Sir George Campbell.

Criticising Lord Lytton's administration, Major Basu, demonstrates, repeating the dissents expressed by the members of the Viceroy's Council, the oversensitiveness of the Government to attack, the illogicality of distinguishing between the English and the vernacular press and absence of necessity in the circumstances for any repressive legislation. His treatment of the Afghan blunder of Lytton is not very illuminating, but effectively pieces together the fragments of the Viceroy's own point of view. Ripon's stand over the payment of the cost of the Indian contingent sent to Egypt in 1882 and his views on the Russo-Afghan boundary question and conflict with Major Evelyn Baring over the budget of 1882-83 are overshadowed by his memorandum on Local Self-Government, his Education Commission and his part in the Ilbert Bill controversy. Over the last question the Viceroy felt that it was not of sufficient importance or urgency to encounter the storm of Anglo-Indian opposition. Under Lord Dufferin we are given his comments on the inevitable risks and responsibilities created in the Afghanistan buffer-state policy. Major Basu does not obviously approve of Lord Randolph Churchill's encomium on Lord Dufferin for his solution of the Afghan question; and he also maintains that much of his views on the question of Indian constitutional reform should be really set down to the long-standing habit of "marking time by the utterance of pious platitudes and pompous magnifications of the difficulty of letting India have self-rule," Lansdowne's speech on the anti-cow-killing movement is regarded as a clear-cut policy on the part of the authorities and as possibly "useful to the Hindu and Moslem leaders even at the present day". His approval of University teachers and students participating in political discussions is contrasted with Lord Curzon's banishing politics from the field of education. It is interesting to note that Lord Elgin interpreted the existing constitution of India "to confer on the Secretary of State no power of initiative in Indian legislation" and "no power to command the votes of members of the Legislature on either the Secretary of State or the Government of India" in spite of his declaration that the Viceroy had to carry out the mandate of the Secretary of State in matters of administrative policy. According to Major Basu failure was writ large on most of the schemes of Lord Curzon whose high-handed policy retarded, among other things, the possible intimacy, between India and Tibet.

We read glimpses of the controversy of the Hobhouse Commission with Lord Minto and also of the intriguing Minto-Fuller episode. The rule of later Viceroys has been treated in a less ample measure; and, in truth, historical estimates about them have not had time to crystallise into definite shape. The Rowlatt Act, the Third Afghan War, the Amritsar Tragedy and the Civil Disobedience campaign of Gandhiji have all been portrayed, as well as the chief stages of constitutional progress down to 1925. The documentation is not on the exhaustive scale that has marked Major Basu's *magnum opus*, *The Rise of the Christian Power*; but the narrative is a critical and searching commentary on the post-Mutiny period of Indian History, refreshingly free from platitudes.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By

S. K. BELVALKAR AND R. D. RANADE.

Vol. XII—Indian Mysticism, Mysticism in Maharashtra
by R. D. Ranade.

Poona, 1933 ; pp. (46) 494 ; Price Rs. 10.

MYSTICISM EAST AND WEST

By

PROFESSOR RUDOLF OTTO,

Macmillan, London, 1932 ; pp. xvii, 262 ; Price 16/- net.

It is the aim of the editors of the Encyclopaedic History of Indian Philosophy to give a full and comprehensive account of the subject in all its phases. A look at the outline scheme at the end of the present volume will show the extent and variety of the topics to be covered. The volume under review is the first of two projected parts treating of mysticism and deals with that phase of thought as it developed in Maharashtra. The work, wisely entrusted to Prof. Ranade, has been accomplished with the scholarship, care and devotion that may at all times be expected of him.

The book is divided into twenty chapters ; the first treats of the development of Maharashtra mysticism up to the age of Jñāna-deva ; the last is a general review and reply to critics. The inter-

vening chapters deal with Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Ekanātha, Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa, not to mention a host of minor mystics. The treatment is sympathetic and very detailed. The accounts of all these—brahmin, barber, cobbler, potter, servant-maid, minister—makes very fascinating reading; it is not possible to rise from a study of the volume without a strong sense of a spiritual reality deeply interfused in the world.

One cannot help wishing, however, that the account had been made a little more critical. Though the present book is professedly historico-analytical (p. 425), some critical light should have been thrown on the psychology and philosophy of mysticism; else we are left in considerable doubt as to the worth of the teaching expounded. We are told that "Even though thus for practical purposes Personal Being is proved to be superior to the Impersonal, for logical purposes, Jñāneśvara very often sets up the conception of the Absolute as an intellectual ideal." (p. 69) This divergence between the logical and the practical may not be indefensible; but surely it requires some elaboration and justification. How again are we to reconcile the absolutism of Jñānadeva with his conception of approximation to the good as asymptotic (p. 127)? It may well be that attainment as empirically understood can be but asymptotic, while from the transcendental view-point the identity of the jīva with the Absolute is eternally attained. But no reconciliation is offered on these or any other lines by the mystic or his expositor. The learned preface brings out several interesting analogies between the mystics of the East and the West. One has to note here again that Prof. Ranade is not as alert as one might wish. Surely there is a notable difference between Jñāneśvara, according to whom in realisation the image (the jīva) gets back to its proto-type, and Tauler, who says that if the mystic could see himself "he would fancy himself God" (p. 6 of the preface; italics ours). To compare God and the self to two mirrors each reflecting itself infinitely in the other is surely different from saying with St. John of the Cross that "though in essence different, yet in glory and appearance the soul seems God and God the soul" (p. 7 of the preface). Mystic experience is not the monopoly of any nation or any part of the globe; but in spite of the general resemblance of form, the relevant details vary considerably. The aspects of experience that are stressed are different; and because of this, they exercise divergent appeals and provoke divergent reactions.

This feature of difference in the midst of apparent well-marked identity is brought out by Prof. Otto in the other book under re-

view. Prof. Otto with his conception of the "numinous" is a figure of some note in the field of the philosophy of religion. Some years back he made a short study of the religion of grace in India and Europe, and exhibited the divergences present in the midst of great similarities. The same task he has pursued in the present volume in relation to the mysticism of Śaṅkarācārya and Meister Eckhart. The book is roughly divided into three parts treating of the resemblance, the differences, and the transition from the former to the latter. The conformity is very striking indeed. Both the mystics seek to expound not a system of metaphysics but a doctrine of salvation; and yet what they teach is a way of knowledge, not an emotional mysticism. Neither has any truckle with occultism, miracles or visions or "illumination" as Otto calls it. Nor does either of them profess nature-mysticism consisting in the experience of unity with all things "being immersed in the unity of nature"; for Śaṅkara as for Eckhart, Nature is the not-self, and the mysticism they present is that of the self or spirit. The finite and limited jīva, the work of māyā, is analogous to Eckhart's "creature in itself." In essence, however, the soul is not a creature; it is Godhead itself. But, short of the final exaltation, the soul has to recognise a God; and the teachings and injunctions of theism have a very definite place in the mystic doctrine. These resemblances, however, go with differences which are equally striking, and which Otto accounts for on the ground of geographical difference. Śaṅkara's teaching grew on the soil of India, not of Palestine. The principal differences are Eckhart's recognition of an independent value for the soul, and the dynamic nature of his mysticism, with its insistence on continuous striving. "Just as the slender columns and responds of the Gothic building do not finish in the repose of a semi-circle, but by an urge after the infinite, throw up in the incompleteness of the pointed arch, so Eckhart demands 'the climbing spirit'" (pp. 185-186); whereas for Śaṅkara "as a mystic and from the point of view of his true ideal, all activity and all deeds disappear completely" (p. 207). Humility is a virtue according to Eckhart; but his soul is no meek and passive participant in the absorption in the Absolute; rather does it demand to be identified with the Godhead, rebelling against the withholding of some part of perfection from itself; this demand Eckhart calls "the rage of the soul." "Almost every type of mystical experience demands surrender of the will"; but, according to Eckhart, this is not "simply the submissive resignation of self-will"; it is the unifying of the will with the will of the Highest

for fresh action." "Into the eternal, active and unified will the created, individual and sundered will is merged, but in such a way that in the renewed will of the unified subject there now lies the eternal, holy and almighty will" (p. 208).

The difference of terrain is repeatedly stressed by Otto, though he makes little attempt to elaborate or justify it. His suggestion is not without value. Granted that reality is one, the modes of realisation and the values attached to whatever is short of that reality are yet bound to differ. And it is in the nature of things plausible that such differences are linked with differences of race, place, culture and history. The detailed exposition of the association is, however, yet to be attempted. In the meantime it should not be forgotten that the differences may be over-stressed or falsely presented. Otto does not appear to have steered clear of this danger; and the failure is due, one fears, to unfamiliarity with some of the finer shades of Indian thought. Thus, it is not true that, according to Śaṅkara, "all activity and all deeds disappear completely on realisation. Realisation is possible even while embodied; for one thus released activity does not cease; it continues, being motivated by the welfare of the world, though not by one's private desires, since these have ceased to be. Nor should Śaṅkara's negation of activity be interpreted too narrowly; for, most of the time he has in mind ritualistic activity, not activity in general, when he speaks of "karma." Again, it is not true that the independent value of the soul is distinctive of a teaching that grew on the soil of Palestine. The Śaiva Siddhānta, while viewing the soul as subordinate to the Lord, would not make it a mere subsidiary, an amśa of the Lord. It does not meekly surrender itself in release; rather does it see and know all things through the Lord; that is true "pati-jñānam," not the Lord knowing or enjoying through the soul. The assignment of such a central position to the soul goes, however, with a great degree of abasement and a realisation of its unworthiness and sinfulness. There would seem to be no analogue to the "rage of the soul." This difference, however, is compatible with a great deal of similarity in fundamental concepts; and there is legitimate ground for the suspicion that our author, while rightly sensible of the existence of difference, has failed to locate it or define it adequately. But the book undoubtedly supplies a necessary corrective to the views of those who tend to see an identity in all mysticism.

S. S. SURYANARAYANAN.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1934.

Qadi an-Nu'man, the Fatimid Jurist and Author, by Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

The victory of Bhūti Vikramakēśari over the Pallavas by Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

(This suggests an earlier date than that usually assigned to the Kodumbālūr chief, Bhūtikramakēśari and endeavours to synchronise the reigns of Paradurgamardana and Samarābhīrama, the predecessors of this chief with the times of Narasimhavarman Mahamalla and Mahendravarman II. It also tries to show that the territory south of the Kaveri had come under the Chola kings, by a Chola-Kodumbālūr alliance against the Pallavas, in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I and that the Kodumbālūr temples may be classified as 'an archæological puzzle' rather than as belonging to the Chola style.)

Babylonian and Hebrew Demonology with reference to the supposed borrowing of Persian Dualism in Judaism and Christianity by S. Langdon.

Archaic Sons and Grandsons. A study of a Chinese Complication Complex by L. C. Hopkins.

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. (VII); Government and Social Conditions by F. W. Thomas.

Some Notes on the Saundarananda Kāvya (of Aśvaghoṣa) by Jarl Charpentier.

Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XXI. Part II April 1931).

No. 9. Two Paramāra Inscriptions by K. R. Halder (concluded.)

The Arthuna Inscriptions of the time of Vijayarāja, Vikramasamvat 1166, enables the construction of the genealogy of this branch down to Vijayarāja V, the 10th ruler of the line.

No. 10. Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the year 28 by Sten Konow.

This record is dated the 1st day of the Macedonian month of Gurppiya of the year 28—the only known example of the

use of a Macedonian month in an Indian Brahmi inscription ; and the corresponding date, according to the writer, is 19th August, 156 A.D. It adds to the knowledge about the chronology of Kanishka's successors, as it reduces the interval between Vasishka and Huvishka to a few months.

No. 11. Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa by Prof. J. K. Vogel. These would enable the drawing up, of a chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the reigns of Mātharīputta Siri-Virapurisadatta and Vāseṭhiputta Siri Ehuvula-Chātumūla.

No. 12. The Clay Seals of Nālanda by Hirananda Sastri.

This treats specially of the seals of Sarvavarman Maukhari and of Harsha of Thānēsar ; and the collection has led to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings and others besides, bringing out points of historical interest.

No. 13. The Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription of the Gupta year 128 by R. G. Basak.

This is the 8th of the series of valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti). We learn that the term rūpaka, occurring in this charter, refers to silver coins, though it may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety and also of several phases of the Gupta administrative system referring to the administration of the *vishaya* and the *bhukti*.

No. 14. Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahāsthān by D. R. Bhandarkar.

The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Asokan records and the language is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts. The record is fragmentary and appears to show that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had stationed at Puṇḍranagara with a view to relieve distress caused by famine to the people called *Samvaṁgiyas* in and about the town.

No. 15. The Jubbulpore Kotwali Plates of King Jayasimha-deva Kalachuri year 918 by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal.

This record, of 1167 A.D. gives a glimpse of the revenue administration in the 12th century and mentions some peculiar offices and taxes.

Journal of the American Oriental Society—Vol. 53—No. 4. Dec. 1933.

New Testament Times and Now by A. T. Olmstead.

This is a plea for the study of the history of the times of the New Testament as part of 'classical history'; it is the presidential address delivered at the meeting of the Society in April 1933.

The Indic God Aja—Ēkapād, the One-Legged Goat by P. E. Dumont. This paper supports the view that the god seems to be the sun and props up this hypothesis with a number of supports.

The death of Seunacherib by Emil J. Kraeling.

A Perplexing Passage in the Confucian Analects by Derk Bodde.

The So-called Seua Medium in the Light of the Christian Palestinian Idiom by H. L. Ginsberg.

The Indian Historical Quarterly—Vol. IX, No. 4.

Kalidāsa in China by Prof. Louis Finot. (Showing references to the legendary life of Kalidasa, with quotations from his poems, in a *ms.* preserved in a Buddhist monastery of the Che-Kiang provinces).

Vāmana's Theory of Rīti and Guṇa by P. C. Lahiri (showing how Vāmana develops logically and systematically the crude teachings of Daṇḍin and emphasizes the importance of diction in poetry).

Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha II. by S. L. Khatre (showing that in the narration of the Jarāsandha episode, the Mahābhārata presents Kṛṣṇa in essentially human colours ; and the Purāṇas present him in pure divine colours).

The Rise of Najib-ud-daula by Sir J. N. Sarkar. (An account of the rise of the adventurer, Najib-ud-daula, in association with Mir Bakshi Imad-ul-Mulk, in the years 1753-56 ; taken from a unique *ms.* of his Persian life, written a year after his death by Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan Khan ; British Museum Persian Ms. 24, 410.)

The Architecture of the Taj and its Architect by S. C. Kherjee (showing the untenability of the Italian theory of the origin of the Taj and supporting the assignment of work to Ustād Isā).

The Purāṇic Traditions (about earlier homes and migrations of the Indian Āryas) II. Satya yuga or The Age of Instinct (Serial) by N. Tripathi.

The Origin of the Malpaharias of the Rajmahal Hills (showing the final process in the transformation of the Malers, on the basis of an examination of the existing documents) by Śaśānka Sarkar.

Some Sanskrit Texts on Paintings by V. Raghavan (discussing *varṇaka hastalēkha* and *chitra*).

Two Types of Subjectivism in Monistic Vedānta by M. Mukherji.

The Date of Karkācarya by G. B. Makoday (presenting in English one of the works of Vidyābhūṣana Pandit Dinanath Sastri of Indore, on the date of Karkācharya, a commentator on Kātyāyana's *Śrauta-sūtras*) on the basis of his description of the astronomical positions concerned, existing in his own time).

Literary Reference to Samudragupta by R. C. Majumdar (noticing the name of Samudragupta, as still a living tradition in India when the original Sanskrit text of the *Pañchatantra* was composed; and maintaining that a version of the *Pañchatantra* served as the basis of the Arabian *One Thousand and Nights* and the reality of the tradition of the descent of the Pāla kings from Samudragupta, that had already grown up in the 11th century).

An Almost Contemporary Account of Mahmud's Invasions of India by Sri Ram Sharma (a brief rendering of the *Zainul Akhbar* of Girdizi giving an account of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions of India and written, at the latest, in 1052 A.D.). The writer promises to give a comparative estimate of the accounts of Utbi and Girdizi, two contemporary historians of the Ghazni invader.

Daspalla Copper-Plate Agreement by Binayak Misra (definitely connecting the present ruling family of Baud with the Bhañja rulers of old epigraphic records).

King Narasimha of Ganda and the Study of the Mahābhāṣya in Bengal by J. C. Ghosh.

Early History of the Gāhadavāla Dynasty by D. C. Ganguly (maintaining that Chandradeva, a military adventurer, got the sovereignty of Kanauj through the favour of Prince

Mahmud of Ghazni between 1086 and 1094 A.D., on condition of paying an annual tribute to the Sultan of Ghazni (the *Turushka-danda*) who launched a number of expeditions in the 12th century on the kingdom of the Gāhadavālas to force the successors of Chandra to be regular in their tribute).

Epigraphic Notes II (III Chronology of the Vishnukundins; order of succession, dates, etc.) by D. C. Sarkar.

The Art of Pantomime in Kerala (describing the features of the Kathākālī) by C. S. Srinivasachari.

The Dāsas of the Karnāṭaka country (14th to 19th century A.D.), dealing with the Dāsakūṭa, followers of Sri Madhva, who were particularly prominent in the 16th century and included Purandara Dāsa, Kanaka Dāsa and Vādirāja, by S. Hanumantha Rao.

Āryadēva by Vidhushēkhara Bhaṭṭāchārya (fixing the birth-place of Āryadēva as Simhaḷadvīpa).

Varāhamihira and Buzūrmehr by A. N. Upadhye [trying to prove the identity of the Indian astronomer with Buzūrmehr (Bṛhanmitra) patronised by Khushru Nūshirwān].

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—Vol. XIX, Part IV.

Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1796, by D. B. Diskalkar.

This article describes, on the evidence of some letters, found among the Macartney Papers in the Parasnis Museum. Satara and of other letters preserved in the records of the Government of India, Calcutta and in the India Office, London, the war that was engaged between Nepal and Tibet from 1788 to 1793, about which very little has been so far known. The 18 letters published here show that both Nepal and Tibet represented their case to the British power in India without success.

Malava in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D. by D. C. Ganguli.

(This article tries to show that Mahāsenagupta's predecessors were also the rulers of Mālava and not Magadha; and the Kalachūri Buddharaja followed his father in the lordship of Mālava which was not taken away from him by the triumph of Rājyavardhana. Hiuen Tsang's Molapo represents Cen-

tral Mālava whose capital was Ujjain. The history of Mālava from 641 A.D. till the rise of the Pratihāras, in the early years of the eighth century is almost blank).

Appendix. Sanskrit Restoration of Yuan Chwang's *Vijnapti-mātratāsiddhi-Sāstra* by Tripiṭakācārya Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana.

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution—*Vol. VII, Part 2, 1934.

*L'Ērān-vēz et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens—*E. Benveniste. *Iranian Studies*, III.—H. W. Bailey.

A Letter from James I to the Sultan Ahmad by E. Denison Ross.

(In 1605, the Earl of Salisbury put the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, imprisoned by the Ottoman Sultan, before King James I, who wrote several letters to the Sultan, demanding the release of his subject. Sir Thomas was the brother of Antony Shirley and Robert Shirley.

The Letters of Al-Mustansir bi'blāh by Husain F. Al-Hamdāni. [A synopsis of the historical matter contained in the letters issued by the Fātimid Khalifa, al-Mustansir bi'blāh (d—A.D. 1094) to the Sulahids of the Yemen.] The ms. containing the collection is a modern copy which belonged to an Ismā'ili priest in India.

The Nature of the Persian Language written and spoken in India during the 13th and 14th Centuries by M. J. Borah (showing from an account of Amir Khusrau of Dihli that the Persian speech prevalent in India was everywhere the same and the standard style of Persian adopted in India was that of Transoxiana).

Isophones of the Orthographic gh-, bh-, dh-, etc., and of h- in the Ambala District by Banarsi Das Jain.

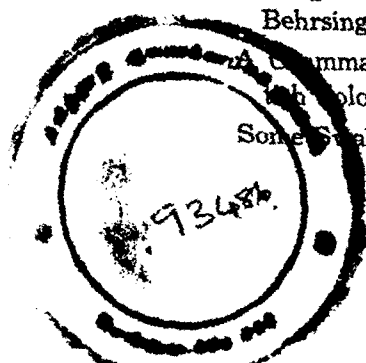
Beiträge Zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie—Von Siegfried Behrsing.

A Grammar of the Language of Vaturanga, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands, by W. G. Ivens.

Some Swahili Nautical Terms by B. D. Copland.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Myslapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U. S. A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.



198)

OUR EXCHANGES

23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2, Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young men of India*, 5, Russell St., Calcutta.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. *The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *The Federated India*, Madras.
36. 'Tarikh' *Kotlah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. *The Superintendent of Archaeology*, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
190, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
39. *The Indian Literary Review*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.,
40. Triveni, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
41. *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
42. *Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.
43. *Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.
44. *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Tirupati Sri Mahan't Press, 21, Anderson Street, G. T., Madras.
45. *The Karnatak Historical Research Society*, Dharwar.
46. *The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
47. *The U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.

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