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Volume XII (Parts I to III)

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	PAGES.
NOTES ON INDO-SCYTHIAN CHRONOLOGY: By Professor Sten Konow ..	1- 48
HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN: By Mr. Abdul Aziz ..	49- 78
A PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTION OF THE GOA GOVERNOR DOM JOAO DE CASTRO: By Rev. H. Heras, S.J. ..	79- 84
MAHARAJA AJIT SINGH OF MARWAR: By Pandit Bishesh-varnath Reu, Sahitacharya ..	85- 89
THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI (1736-1761): By C. S. Srinivasachari ..	90-113
VAJASANEYA YAJNAVALKYA AND HIS TIMES: By S. N. Pradhan ..	157-183
	327-348
CHERA KINGS OF THE SANGAM PERIOD: By K. G. Sesha Aiyar ..	184-214
THE GUPTA AND THE VALABHI ERAS: By M. Govind Pai ..	215-240
THE MADHAVA-VIDYARANYA THEORY: By M. A. Doraiswami Aiyangar ..	241-250
SOME LETTERS ABOUT THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR (1838-1842): By D. B. Diskalkar ..	251-268
	405-422
THE PUNDRAS OF ANCIENT BENGAL: By Dr. B. C. Law ..	349-353
THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KADAMBAS OF BANAVASI: By M. Govinda Pai ..	354-373
EARLY CAREER OF ALLAHVARDI: By Kali Kinkar Datta ..	374-379
THE APPOINTMENT OF LORD LAUDERDALE AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, 1806: By Prakash Chandra ..	380-389
AN AMERICAN ADVENTURER IN CENTRAL ASIA: By Frank E. Ross ..	390-392



EVENTS LEADING TO THE AMBELA EXPEDITION, 1863: By R. R. Sethi	.. 393-404
--	------------

REVIEWS

MOHENJODARO AND THE INDUS CIVILISATION: By the Editor	.. 114-127 .. 268-284 .. 423-442
CATALOGUE OF THE SOUTH INDIAN HINDU METAL IMAGES IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM	.. 127-130
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE—ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1929	.. 130-131
HISTORY OF SHAH JAHAN	.. 132-133
ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY IMPERIAL STUDIES—(5) COLONIAL ADMIRALTY JURISDICTION IN THE 17TH CENTURY; (7) THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN NEW ZEALAND 1852-1876: By C. S. S.	.. 134-137
HISTORY OF ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD: By C. S. S.	.. 137-140
THE MAKING OF THE STATE: By N. D. V.	.. 140-144
INDIAN PROBLEMS: By N. D. V.	.. 144-146
THE ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY— 1930-31	.. 284-288
THE SECRET LORE OF INDIA AND THE ONE PERFECT LIFE FOR ALL	.. 289-290
INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS	.. 290-292 .. 442- 45
RIG VEDA SAMHITA	.. 292- 3 .. 447- 48
NOTES FROM THE DUTCH	.. 294-296
THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA—VOL. V.—BRITISH INDIA & VOL. VI.—THE INDIAN EMPIRE: By C. S. S.	.. 297-301
HANDBOOK TO THE RECORDS IN THE ALIENATION OFFICE, POONA: By C. S. S.	.. 301-303
EARLY HISTORY OF KAMARUPA: By C. S. S.	.. 303-306
THE JESUITS AND THE GREAT MOGUL: By C. S. S.	.. 306-308
KATYAYANA SMRITI ON PROCEDURE AND LAW: By C. V. V. Sastri	.. 309-312
MANAMEYODAYA: By P. P. S.	.. 313- 15
SOME ASPECTS OF THE VAYU PURANA: By P. S. S. Sastri	.. 315- 16
ASOKA: By V. R. R.	.. 316- 17

ALEXANDER KAMPF GEGEN POROS: By V. R. R.	.. 318- 19
INDIAN SCULPTURE	.. 445- 47
THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA	.. 450- 54
SAHITYARATNAKARA	.. 455- 56
MAURYAN POLITY: By K. V. R. Aiyangar	.. 457- 65
RENASCENT INDIA FROM RAM MOHAN ROY TO MOHANDAS GANDHI: By C. S. S.	.. 466- 67
INDO-EUROPEAN FOLK TALES AND GREEK LEGENDS: By C. S. S.	.. 468- 69
LANDMARKS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT—1600-1919: By C. S. S.	.. 470- 71
ENGLAND'S QUEST OF EASTERN TRADE: By C. S. S.	.. 472- 73
HARVARD HISTORICAL MONOGRAPHS, II: By C. S. S.	.. 474- 5

MISCELLANEOUS

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS	.. 147-154
	.. 320-324
	.. 476-482

CONTENTS



	PAGE
VAJASANEYA YAJNAVALKYA AND HIS TIMES—By Mr. S. N. Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., <i>Brihaspati</i>	.. 157
CHERA KINGS OF THE SANGAM PERIOD—By Mr. K. G. Seshaiyer	.. 184
THE GUPTA AND THE VALABHI ERAS—By Mr. M. Govind Pai	.. 215
THE MADHAVA-VIDYARANYA THEORY—By Mr. M. A. Doraiswamy Iyengar, M.A., B.L.	.. 241
SOME LETTERS ABOUT THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR, 1838-1842—By Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A.	.. 251
EDITORIAL	.. 269
REVIEWS—'The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V., British India, 1497-1858, Vol. VI. The Indian Empire, 1858-1916'; 'Handbook to the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona'; 'Early History of Kāmarūpa'; 'The Jesuits and the Great Mogul'; 'Katyayana Smṛiti on Procedure and Law'; 'A Primer of Indian Logic'; 'Mānameyodaya'; 'Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa'; 'Asoka'; 'Alexander Kampf Gegen Poros'; 'History of Indian Currency and Exchange'.	.. 297
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS	.. 320
OUR EXCHANGES	.. 325

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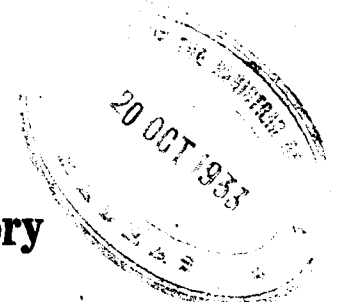
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Journal of Indian History



Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and His Times

By

MR. S. N. PRADHAN, M.Sc., Ph.D., *Brihaspati*.

PROFESSOR Vanamāli Vedāntatīrtha, M.A. (abbreviated in this article as V.) made a comparative study of some of the results obtained by me and those obtained by Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury (abbreviated in this article as H.) concerning some problems of Ancient Indian History and Chronology and upheld those of mine in preference to those of H.'s in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIII, Parts III—IV, 1932. To the arguments advanced by V. in support of my conclusions, H. has sent a reply in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, September, 1932, and I have been requested by a distinguished scholar from another province to further elucidate my views in this connection in order that the world of scholars may see on which side the truth lies.

V. showed in his essay that Vedic evidence derived from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat* (III, 3, 1) instead of supporting H. in his contention that Yājñavalkya and his friend Janaka were about 200 years later than the *Pāriṣitas*, goes against H. and proves that Yājñavalkya and his friend Janaka were contemporaries of Janamejaya *Pāriṣita*, inasmuch as the use of *lañ* in the $\sqrt{bhū}$ in the sentence 'kva *Pāriṣitā* abhavan' was like that made by Patañjali in the sentences: 'arunad Yavanah *Sāketam*' and 'arunad Yavano *Mādhyamikām*', in order to illustrate the famous *vārtika* of *Kātyāyana*: 'parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darsanaviṣaye'. This *vārtika* is added to Pāṇini's general rule: *anadyatane lañ* (III, 2, 111) which says that the affix *lañ* comes after a verbal root in order to express a past action not belonging to the current day. The *vārtika* however says that *lañ* is also added to a verbal root to denote a well-known (*lokavijñāte*) past action which took place beyond the perception of the speaker (*parokṣe*), but which was

capable of being perceived by the speaker (prayoktur darśana-
viṣaye). Patañjali supporting Kātyāyana illustrates it with the
sentences mentioned above. V. urged that this *vārtika* of Kātyā-
yana would rightly apply to this case of *lañ* affix in the $\sqrt{bhū}$ in
the sentence: 'kva Pāriṣitā abhavan' made by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani,
and hence would make him and his rival debater Yājñavalkya con-
temporary with the Pāriṣitas. V. was convinced of the contem-
poraneity between Yājñavalkya and Janamejaya Pāriṣita on other
grounds adduced by me, and hence held that this *vārtika* of
Kātyāyana rightly applies to the use of *lañ* made by Bhujyu, for
the well-known event of the passing away of the Pāriṣitas (loka-
vijñāte) happened during the life-time of Bhujyu the speaker,
and was thus capable of being seen by him (prayoktur darśana-
viṣaye) but was not actually perceived by him (parokṣe). Hence
V. pointed out that this *vārtika* would most appropriately apply
here. But as this *lañ* affix is also applied to verbal roots to denote
generally all past actions according to the general rule: anadyatane
lañ (Pān. III, 2, 111), a doubt may be brought about this gram-
matical ground. But there is no escape for H. from accepting the
contemporaneity of Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu with Janamejaya
Pāriṣita even on the ground of Sanskrit grammar only, and this
is the point which I first propose to show:—

It will be noticed that Pāṇini by framing the sūtra: praśne
cāsannakālē (III, 2, 117), says that the affixes *lañ* (Imperfect) and
liṭ (Perfect) come after a verbal root in order to express a past
action or event not belonging to the current day and unperceived
by the speaker (bhūte anadyatane parokṣe iti vartate—Kāśikā)
when the past event referred to is very proximately recent
(āsannakālē) and the sentence is interrogative (praśne).

This sūtra also qualifies the sūtras: (1) bhūtē (Pān. III, 2, 84),
(2) anadyatanē *lañ* (Pān. III, 2, 111), and (3) Parokṣē *liṭ* (Pān.
III, 2, 115). The word 'praśna' means 'what should be asked'
(praṣṭavya—Kāśikā), and 'āsannakāla' means 'past time very
proximately recent', 'past time very close at hand'. As some one
may ask his friend 'agacchad Devadatta?' or 'jagāma Devadatta?',
(‘Did Devadatta go just now?’ or ‘Has Devadatta gone just now?’).
'ayajad Devadatta?' or 'iyāja Devadatta?' (‘Did Devadatta sacri-
fice?’ or ‘Has Devadatta sacrificed?’).

Why is there the word 'praśnē' (i.e. 'in asking a question') in
this sūtra (III, 2, 117) framed by Pāṇini? Because if it is not an

asking question, i.e. if the sentence is not interrogative, then there
would be the *liṭ* affix added to the verbal root only; as, 'jagāma
Devadatta', 'Devadatta went'.

Why is there the word 'āsannakālē' (i.e. 'in a very recently
past time') in this sūtra (III, 2, 117) of Pāṇini? Because if it is not
a very recently past event, there would be Perfect tense (or the
liṭ affix added to the verbal root) only. As some one may ask
another 'Bhavantam prcchāmi,—Jaghāna Kamsam kila Vāsu-
devaḥ?', 'I ask you, did the son of Vasudeva indeed kill Kamsa in
days of yore?'

It is now abundantly clear from this explanation of the sūtra:
praśnē cāsannakālē (Pān. III, 2, 117) that in the interrogative sen-
tence: 'kva Pāriṣitā abhavan?' ('whither have the Pāriṣitas
gone?'), Bhujyu Lāhyāyani was referring to an event or action
which was only very recently past before the time of debate at the
court of Janaka. Had Bhujyu referred to an event long past be-
fore his time, he would have said: 'kva Pāriṣitā babhūvuḥ?'. It
is now undeniable that the passing away of the Pāriṣitās was very
closely recent past with reference to the time of debate at the court
of Janaka Vaideha. Let us take a very recently past event of our
time, namely, the passing away of Motilal Nehru. Some one may
ask his friend 'Kva Motilala-Nehrur abhavat?' and his friend may
reply: 'Yatra deśabāndhavā gacchanti?' It is a very recent event
(āsannakāla), and therefore the *lañ* affix must be added to the
verbal root $\sqrt{bhū}$. But the same thing cannot be said about the
passing away of Rāmendra Sundar Trivedi, because it is not a re-
cent event; it is comparatively long past before this time of writing
this essay. Hence it would be breaking Priscian's head, if one uses
a sentence like 'Kva Rāmendrasundaro bhavat?' The correct
form would be: 'Kva Rāmendrasundaro babhūva?' The question
as to how long past time would be called a proximately past time
(āsanna bhūtakāla) is answered by the Tattvabodhinī which says:
'former grammarians have said that a point of past time which is
within 5 years before the present time should be considered as a
proximately recent past time, while what is past more than 5 years,
should be considered as a long past time (pañcavarṣābhyantaram
āsannakālam; pañcavarṣātitaṁ tu vi-prakṛṣṭakālam ityāhuḥ).
Hence it may be taken to be established that the passing away of
the Pāriṣitas happened within 5 years before the time of debate
between Bhujyu and Yājñavalkya. Thus the exquisite grammar
of Sanskrit which was a spoken language at the time of the Brāh-

maṇas and Upaniṣats absolutely proves beyond all doubt that Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu were contemporary with Janamejaya and his brothers.

The same truth may also be inferred from a strong common sense. It is only when a person has passed away only recently that his death is talked about by persons who were concerned with him in his life-time. Nobody except a historian, would care to bother his head about a person who passed away 180 years ago. Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu were not historians that they would rack their brains as to whither the sons of Parikṣit had gone 180 years ago. Neither is the question, of great philosophical importance that it would be a 'subject of controversy amongst philosophers' for a period of about 200 years. After all, it was a very proximately recent event they were talking about.

Bhujyu Lāhyāyani said that they, *Carakas*, travelled about in the Madra country (Madreṣu Carakāḥ paryavrajāmaḥ—Brd. Ar. Up. III, 3, 1.). In order to understand the significance of the word '*Carakāḥ*', let us consult the works which profess to give us ancient accounts of India. The Vāyu Purāṇa which is the most ancient of all the Purāṇas, supplies the following verses explanatory to the term '*Carakāḥ*':—

Vaiśampāyana-gotro 'sau Yajurvedam vyakalpayat,
Ṣaḍaśītis tu yenoktāḥ samhitā yajuṣām śubhāḥ. 5.
Śiṣyebhyaḥ pradadau tās ca jagr̥hus te vidhānataḥ,
Ekaḥ tatra parityakto Yājñavalkyo mahātapāḥ. 6.
Ṣaḍaśītis tathā śiṣyāḥ samhitānām vikalpakāḥ,
Sarveṣām eva teṣām vai tridhā bhedāḥ prakīrtitāḥ. 7.
Tridhā bhedās tu te vedabhede 'smin navame 'subhe,
Udīcyā Madhyadeśyās ca Prācyās caiva prthagvidhāḥ. 8.
Śyāmāyanir udīcyānām pradhānaḥ sambabhūva ha,
Madhya-deśa-pratiṣṭhānām Āruṇiḥ prathamāḥ smṛtaḥ. 9.
Ālambir ādīḥ prācyānām trayo deśyādayas tu te,
Ityete Carakāḥ proktāḥ samhitāvādino dvijāḥ. 10.
R̥ṣayas tad-vacaḥ śrutvā sūtam jijñāsavo 'bruvan,
Carakādhvaryavaḥ kena, kāraṇam brūhi tattvataḥ. 11.
Kim cīrṇam kasya hetos ca Carakatvam ca bhejire,
Ityuktaḥ prāha teṣām sa Carakatvam abhud yathā. 12.

Sūta uvāca:—

Kāryam āśid r̥ṣiṇām ca kimcid brāhmaṇa-sattamāḥ.
Merupṛstham samāsādyā tais tadā tviti mantritam. 13.

Yo no 'tra saptarātreṇa nāgacched dvijasattamaḥ,
Sa kuryād brahmavadhyām vai samayo naḥ prakīrtitaḥ. 14.
Tatas te saganāḥ sarve Vaiśampāyana-varjitāḥ,
Prayayuh saptarātreṇa yatra sandhiḥ kṛto 'bhavat. 15.
Brāhmaṇānām tu vacanād brahmavadhyām cakāra saḥ,
Śiṣyān atha samāniya sa Vaiśampāyano 'bravit. 16.
Brahmavadhyām caradhvam vai matkṛte dvijasattamāḥ,
Sarve yūyam samāgamyā bruta maitaddhitam vacaḥ. 17.
Aham ekaś carīṣyāmi tiṣṭhantu munayas tvime,
Valenotthāpayiṣyāmi tapasā svena bhāvitaḥ. 18.
Evam uktas tataḥ kruddho Yājñavalkam athā 'tyajat,
Uvāca yat tvayādhitam sarvam pratyarpayasva me. 19.
Evam uktaḥ sarūpāni Yajūmṣi pradadau guroḥ,
Rudhireṇa tathāktāni charditvā brahmavittamaḥ. 20.
Tataḥ sa dhyānam āsthāya sūryam ārādhayad dvijāḥ,
Sūrye brahma yaducchinnaḥ kham gatvā pratitiṣṭhati. 21.
Tato yāni gatānyūrdhvam yajūmṣyādityamaṇḍalam,
Tāni tasmai dadau tuṣṭo Sūryo vai brahmarātaye,
Āśvarūpi tu Mārtaṇḍo Yājñavalkyāya dhimate. 22.
Yajūmṣy adhiyate tāni brāhmaṇā ye nu kena ca,
Āśvarūpeṇa dattāni tatas te vājino 'bhavan. 23.
Brahmahatyā tu yaiś cīrṇā caraṇāc Carakāḥ smṛtāḥ,
Vaiśampāyana-śiṣyās te Carakāḥ samudāhṛtāḥ. 24.

Vāyu, 61, 5—24.

The following is a free translation of the above verses:—

(5) The man whose gotra-title was Vaiśampāyana grouped the Yajurveda; eighty-six splendid Samhitās of Yajuṣes (formulas) were spoken by him.

(6) He gave them (i.e. these yajuṣes) to his pupils and they received them according to prescribed rules; but one of these pupils, namely the greatly austere Yājñavalkya, was forsaken there (by him).

(7) Thus these eighty-six pupils were the different teachers of these eighty-six Samhitās, and of them, three different classes are chiefly spoken of.

(8) In this splendid new classification of the Veda (i.e. the Yajurveda), the Northerners, those belonging to the Mid-country and the Easterners are the three different classes.

(9) Śyāmāyani became the head of the Northerners, and Āruṇi became the chief of the teachers of the Mid-country.

(10) Alambi was the leader of the Easterners, and these are the three principal teachers of the three countries, and these twice-born speakers of the Samhitās are called the *Carakas*.

(11) The Ṛṣis hearing this word (i.e. the word 'Carakas') became inquisitive and said to the Sūta: "Why are they called the Carakādhvaryus? please speak to us the reason out of the real fact;

(12) What was practised, and for whom? how did they obtain the appellation 'Carakas'?" Being asked on this special point, the Sūta narrated how their Caraka-hood originated.

The Sūta said:—

(13) 'O best of brāhmins, the Ṛṣis had some object in view, and they assembled on the mount Meru and resolved thus:—

(14) "Whoever amongst us will not attend this place within seven nights, will be guilty of brahman-slaughter; this our unanimous resolution is proclaimed."

(15) Then all the Ṛṣis with their pupils and retinue, except only Vaiśampāyana, attended within seven nights the place where the congress was held.

(16) Then on account of the proclamation of brāhmins, he, Vaiśampāyana, became guilty of brahman-slaughter, and assembling his pupils he said to them:—

(17) "O best of the twice-born, expiate the sin of brahman-slaughter on my behalf; meet, all of you and let me know your good counsel."

Yājñavalkya said:—

(18) "I alone shall expiate, let these Munis remain; strengthened by my own austerities, I shall forcibly eradicate (the sin)."

(19) Being addressed thus, he, (Vaiśampāyana) became angry and abandoned Yājñavalkya and said to him, "Return me all that has been read by you with me."

(20) Thus addressed, he (Yājñavalkya) the greatest of the knowers of the Vedas, after vomiting forth the blood-stained and embodied yajuses, returned them to his teacher Vaiśampāyana.

(21) Then, O you twice-born, he (Yājñavalkya), applying himself to meditation, prayed to the Sun-god in whom the Veda, going up to the sky, rested, after being severed.

(22) Then the Sun-god being pleased but assuming the form of a horse, gave those Yajuses which went upwards to the solar sphere, to Brahmarāti, the intelligent descendant of Yājñavalka.

(23) Then the brāhmins who read these Yajuses were called the Vājins, inasmuch as they were given by the Sun-god formed like a horse (Vājin).

(24) But those by whom the brahman-slaughter was expiated, by wandering about in holy lands (caraṇāt), were remembered as the *Carakas* (i.e. expiators or wanderers). Thus the pupils of Vaiśampāyana were reputed as the *Carakas*.

The Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa (I, 35, 8—27) gives the same account of the tension between Vaiśampāyana, the teacher, and Yājñavalkya, his pupil, and narrates how Vaiśampāyana got angry with his pupil Yājñavalkya and abandoned him; how Yājñavalkya returned the blood-stained and embodied yajuses to his teacher Vaiśampāyana; how Yājñavalkya prayed to and propitiated the Sun-god and obtained the new yajuses from that horse-shaped god-head; how the pupils of Brahmarāti Yājñavalkya were called the Vājins; how the pupils of Vaiśampāyana took upon themselves the work of teaching the Yajurveda in the northern, eastern and middle countries; and how on behalf of their teacher Vaiśampāyana, they expiated the sin of brahman-slaughter by wandering about in sacred places and were well-known as the *Carakas*.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (III, 5 ch.) gives almost the same account of the friction between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya, and narrates how Yājñavalkya vomitted forth the blood-stained and embodied yajuses and returned them to his teacher Vaiśampāyana, how these yajuses abandoned by Yājñavalkya were taken up by the tittira-shaped brāhmins who were accordingly known as the Taittirīyas,¹ and ultimately how these pupils of Vaiśampāyana, who, being commanded by their teacher, practised the vow of expiating the sin of brahman-slaughter on behalf of their teacher

1. Yajumṣy atha viṣṭāni Yājñavalkyena vai dvijāḥ, Jagrhus tittirā bhūtvā Taittirīyās tu te tataḥ. Vs. III, 5, 12.

Vaiśampāyana, by travelling about (in sacred places), were well-known as the Carakādhvaryus.²

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (XII, 6 ch.) gives the same but abridged account of the friction between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya, and declares that the pupils of Vaiśampāyana were verily the Carakādhvaryus who on behalf of their teacher Vaiśampāyana practised the vow of expiating the sin of brahman-slaughter.³ It also says that the yajuses vomitted forth and returned by Yājñavalkya to Vaiśampāyana were noticed by some sages who metamorphosed themselves into Tittira birds (part-ridges) and received them out of temptation, and hence sprang the splendid yajuṣ—branch named the Taittirīya branch.⁴

The Purāṇas thus unanimously declare that those pupils of Vaiśampāyana who on behalf of their teacher, practised the vow of expiating the sin of brahma-vadhyā, were well-known as the Carakādhvaryus, while those of his pupils who took upon themselves, the work of teaching the Yajurveda abandoned by Yājñavalkya, were well-known as the Taittirīyas. The Purāṇas thus make a distinction between the Taittirīyas and the Carakas.

One interesting point of Sanskrit grammar need be noticed in this connection. The root √car means (i) 'to practise a vow', as in 'ācaraṇa' 'duścara' etc.; (ii) 'to walk about', 'to wander about', 'to travel', as in 'caraṇa', 'calana', 'cāra', 'vicaraṇa', 'sañcaraṇa' etc., so that the word 'caraka' means (i) 'a practiser of a vow' and (ii) 'a wanderer' or 'a traveller'. Thus from the √car itself, it is clear that the word Carakāḥ means (i) 'practisers of a vow', (ii) 'wanderers' or 'travellers'. Thus the extremely interesting information of the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata that the pupils of Vaiśampāyana practised the work of expiating the sin of brahman-slaughter on behalf of their teacher and were accordingly well-known as the Caraka Adhvaryus, can be inferred from the √car itself. How did they expiate the sin? The belief in Vedic India

2. Brahma-hatyā-vratam cirṇam gurupā coditais tu yaiḥ,
Carakādhvaryavas te tu caraṇān munisattamāḥ. Vs. III, 5, 13.

3. Vaiśampāyana-śiṣyā vai Carakādhvaryavo 'bhavan,
Yac cerur brahma-hatyā mbah-kṣapaṇam svaguror vratam.

Bh. XII, 6, 6'

4. Yajurṃ tittirā bhūtvā tai lolupatayā 'daduḥ,
Taittirīyā iti yajuh-śākhā āsan supesalā. Bh. XII, 6, 65.

was that one could get rid of a great sin by wandering about in sacred places of pilgrimage. This is evident from Valadeva's travels throughout the Uttarāpatha, described in the Mahābhārata. Valadeva who flourished about the junction of the Rigvedic and Yajurvedic periods, once flew into a furious rage and killed a learned Sūta who was almost equal in honour to a brāhman, and was thus involved in the great sin of brahman-slaughter. He had to travel about in sacred places to expiate the sin. It is also evident from Rāma Jāmadagnya's wanderings in sacred places in India after his committing the deadly sin of killing his mother at the bidding of his father. This sin was finally considered to have been fully expiated when that great brāhman warrior bathed in the sacred river Lauhitya. This memory of the conduct of great Vedic figures was handed down to the times of the Smṛtis. Hemādri quotes in the Prāyaścitta section of his Caturvargacintamaṇi the following verse from the Liṅga Purāṇa:—

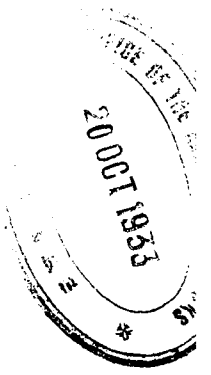
Tirthāny upavasec caiva puṇya-kṣetrāśramāṇi ca,
Yadi vanyair na jiveta grāme bhikṣām samācaret.

Almost the same verse occurs in the Skanda Purāṇa which has not escaped the notice of Hemādri. The verse in the Skanda Purāṇa is:—

Tirthāny upavasec caiva puṇya-kṣetrāśramāṇi ca
Yadi vanyair na jiveta grāme bhikṣāṇam caret.

The passage means to say that for expiating a great sin one should wander about visiting the sacred places of pilgrimage, the holy lands, and the hermitages of sages, and, if it is impossible to live on wild fruits etc., in the forest, then one may move into villages for begging alms. The same practice of paying visits to sacred places of pilgrimage and holy lands for expiating sins, prevails even in modern Hindu society. Old people even of our times, go about visiting sacred places and holy lands with the belief that all their sins will be expiated thereby.

Now let us take up an interesting point of difference between the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa on one hand, and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata on the other. The Vāyu and Brahmanḍa give the personal name of Yājñavalkya as Brahmarāti, but the Viṣṇu calls him the son of Brahmarāta (Brahmarātasuta). But the Viṣṇu Purāṇa verses quoted by Mahidāsabudha in his commentary on the Vedic work Carana-vyūha-pariśiṣṭa-sūtra means to say that Yājñavalkya's



personal name was 'Brahmarāta' (Brahmarātaḥ sutaḥ). It makes the nearest approach to the Vāyu—Brahmāṇḍa name 'Brahmarāti'. Exactly the same kind of variant readings are found for the name of the grandfather Uddālaka Aruṇi. The Taittiriya Samhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa give Aruṇa the patronymic Aupaveśi which means Aruṇa—the son of Upaveśa, but in some editions of the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣat he is called Upaveśi. Thus he is called both Upaveśa and Upaveśi. Similarly Yājñavalkya is called both 'Brahmarāti' (as in Va + Bd), and 'Brahmarāta' (as in Vs. quoted by Mahidāsabudha). The Bhāgavata has corrupted 'Brahmarāta' of the Viṣṇu into 'Devarāta' and following even the corrupt reading of the Viṣṇu has the reading 'Devarātasuta'. Thus we may accept the personal name of Yājñavalkya as 'Brahmarāti'. Again it appears as if his mother's name was 'Vājasani', [Vāja = food (anna), sani = receipt (prāpti)], so that 'Vājasani' may mean 'receipt of food' (annaprāpti), the name being somewhat parallel to the modern female name 'Annapūrpā' as he was well-known as 'Vājasaneya' this word having been formed by the sūtra: *stribhyo ḍhak* (Pān. IV, 1, 120), just like Māmateya, Gāngeya, Kaunteya, Vājineya, Aitareya, BhāGINEYA etc. But as we also have the forms 'Aruṇeya' (applied to Śvetaketu, the son of Aruṇi), 'Bhāllaveya' (applied to Indradyumna, the son of Bhallu), 'Mārgaveya' (applied to Rāma, the son of Mṛgavu), 'Kāpeya' (applied to a Śaunaka, the son of Kapi Śaunaka), 'Kauṣitakeya' applied to Kahoda, the son of Kuṣitaki or Kuṣitaka etc., it may as well be that the name of his father was 'Vājasani' [sani=gift (dāna)]. Mahidhara in his commentary on the White Yajurveda says that Yājñavalkya was the son (apatya) of a man named Vājasani (Vājasyanasya sanir dānam yasya sa Vājasanis tad apatyam Vājasaneya). The word 'sani' means 'gift' (dāna) rather than 'receipt' (prāpti) and hence Mahidhara seems to be right in considering him as the son of a man named Vājasani. Thus it follows that Yājñavalkya's full name was Brahmarāti Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya,—which means Brahmarāti, the son of Vājasani and the descendant of Yajñavalka. There are numerous words derived in the same way as the word 'Yājñavalkya.' Brhaduktha, the son of Vāmadeva, is known as Brhaduktha Vāmadevya; Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, is known as Somaka Sāhadevya; Asita the son of Vṛṣagaṇa is known as Asita Vārṣagaṇya; Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara is called Vyāsa Pārāśarya; Utkila, the son of Kata, is called Utkila Kātya; Pṛthin, the son of Vena, is called Pṛthin Vainya etc. The Vāyu Purāṇa, it will be remembered, says that those brāhman who memorized these new yajuses were called the Vājins

because the yajuses were given by the Sun-god in the form of a Vājin⁵ or horse. The same is also the opinion of the Brahmanḍa⁶ and Viṣṇu.⁷ It may be accepted then that the pupils of Yājñavalkya were known as the Vājins. Now Pāṇini in framing the sūtra: 'kaṭha-carakal luk' (IV, 3, 107) says that the affix denoting 'enounced by him' (proktapratyaya) is elided by *luk* substitution after the words 'Kaṭha' and 'Caraka.' The word 'Kaṭha' would have taken the affix 'ṇini,' as Kaṭha was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana, i.e., as 'Kaṭha' is a Vaiśampāyanāntevāsin word by the Sūtra: 'Kalāpi-Vaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyas ca' (IV, 3, 104), and the word 'Caraka' would have taken the affix 'aṇ' by Pān (IV, 2, 64; IV, 2, 59). Both are elided. Thus 'Kaṭhas' (Kaṭhāḥ) means those who study the chandases enounced by Kaṭha; 'Carakas' (Carakāḥ) means those who study the chandases enounced by Caraka. Similarly 'Vājins' (Vājinaḥ), it appears from the Purāṇas, means those who study the chandases enounced by Vājin. If there were other words like 'Kaṭha', and 'Caraka' which had not been considered by Pāṇini, and this is probable because we have words like Śvetāśvatara' ('Śvetāśvatarāḥ' means those who study the chandases enounced by the sage Śveta Āśvatara, the pupil of Caraka Vaiśampāyana), 'Addha' ('Addhāḥ' means those who study the chandases enounced by the sage Addha, the pupil of Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya), 'Kapola' ('Kapolāḥ' means those who study the chandases enounced by the sage Kapola, the pupil of Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya) etc., then it may be held from the point of view of grammar only that the name of Yājñavalkya was Vājin, by applying the usage of elision of the affix denoting 'enounced by him' in the case of the word 'Vājin' also, leaving out of consideration the mythology of the appearance of the horse-shaped Sun-god before Yājñavalkya and his gift of the white yajuses to him. The explanation of the mythology that the Sun-god in the form of a horse appeared before Yājñavalkya is to be found in the conception of the sun as a horse repeatedly hammered in the Vājasaneyin Brāhmaṇa: 'The yonder sun is verily this horse'.⁸ 'Go thou (horse), along the way of the

5. Yajumṣy adhiyate tāni brāhmaṇā ye nu Kena ca, Aśvartūpeṇa dattāni tatas te Vājino 'bhavan. Va. 61, 23.

6. Bd. I, 35, 25—6.

7. Yajumṣi yair adhitāni tāni viprair dvijottama, Vājinas te samākhyātāḥ Sūryo 'svaḥ so 'bhavad yataḥ.

Vs. III, 5, 23.

8. ta etam vajramapaśyann amum ev ādityam asau vā 'Aditya eṣo 'svaḥ. Madh. Sat. Br. VI, 3, 1, 29; VI, 3, 3, 10; VII, 3, 2, 10; etc.

Adityas',—to the Adityas he thus makes, it go,⁹ etc: These conceptions are Yājñavalkya's, as is evident from the informations of the Purāṇas. This idea is also repeatedly expressed in the Kāṇva Brāhmaṇa which belongs to the White Yajurveda, and Kaṇva, we know, was the pupil of Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya. Particularly notice in this connection the invocation of Savitr on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice as given in the Vājasaneyi Samhita.¹⁰ The original conception however of the horse as the sun is really that of the Rigvedic seer Dirghatamas Māmateya who says: 'The Vasus fabricated the horse from the sun'¹¹ (or solar sphere¹²), 'Thou horse art Aditya',¹³ 'I recognize in my mind thy form afar off, going upwards from below, by way of heaven, to the sun'.¹⁴ Dirghatamas addressed thus a horse which was going to be sacrificed in an Aśvamedha.¹⁵ The White yajuses, however, were originally compiled on the occasion of an Aśvamedha and that Aśvamedha was probably instituted by Janamejaya Pāriksita. Thus it may be inferred from the point of view of grammar that Brahmarāti Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya got the surname Vājin after his compilation of the original White Yajurveda, because his pupils were well-known as the Vājins. That 'Yājñavalkya' was the name of a family or gotra of brāhmins is made probable by the fact that a certain Yājñavalkya was the Adhvaryu priest (along with Paila, the son of Vasu, as the Hotṛ, Susāman Dhānañjaya of the Aṅgiras family as the Udgātṛ and Vyāsa Pārāśarya as the Brahman priest) in the Rājasūya sacrifice instituted by Yudhiṣṭhira Pāṇḍava (Beng. MBh. II, 33, 35), and that a certain other Yājñavalkya was the priest in the marriage ceremony of Parāśara II with Satyavatī (Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 43—47), and officiated in the ceremony of investiture with sacred thread of Vyāsa Pārāśarya himself (Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 76), and that a third Yājñavalkya was the priest of Kalki Viṣṇuśaśas, described as the 10th incarnation of Viṣṇu and as having flourished after the Imperial Guptas (Vāyu 98, 104—111; Brahmanḍa II, 73, 105—111; Matsya 47, 248). The

9. Adityānām patvānvihīti; Adityān evainam gamayati.

M. Sat. Br. XIII, 1, 6, 2.

10. Vaj. Samh. XXII, 1; 9—14; etc.

11. Sūrād aśvam Vasavo nirataṣṭa. Rv. I, 163, 2.

12. Sūra is equal to Aditya-maṇḍalam—Mahādhara.

13. asy Adityaḥ. Rv. I, 163, 3.

14. Rv. I, 163, 6.

15. Rv. I, 163, 12.

Viṣṇu (IV, 24, 26) and the Bhāgavata (I, 3, 25) however, describe Kalki as the son of Viṣṇuśaśas. Thus it appears that several members of the Yājñavalkya family made themselves known in ancient India, but of course the most famous of them all was Brahmarāti Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya, mentioned in the Vedic texts as Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya or simply as Yājñavalkya. He was the compiler-author of the White Yajurveda and the inspirer of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. By the appellation 'Yājñavalkya' ancient Indian literature generally points out only this astounding personality, the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi, Caraka Vaiśampāyana, and Hiranyanābha Kausalya. From Sanskrit grammar we may safely infer that the name of the family of brāhmins descended from Yājñavalka was Yājñavalkya. Now the Purāṇas (Vāyu 91, 98; Brahmanḍa II, 66, 70; Matsya 198, 4) say that the Yājñavalkyas and the Āghamarṣaṇas were descended from the great Rigvedic seer Viśvāmitra himself. Hence we may state that the Yājñavalkyas and the Āghamarṣaṇas were Kauśikas. We know that Āghamarṣaṇa was the son of Madhucchandas, the son of Viśvāmitra. Hence we would not be far wrong if we state that Yājñavalka, the ancestor of Brahmarāti Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya, was a near descendant of Viśvāmitra.

Now we are in a position to turn to the word 'Carakāḥ.'

Bhujyu Lāhyāyani who said that they were Carakas and were wandering about in the Madra country (Madreṣu Carakāḥ paryavrajāmaḥ—Brd. Ar. Up. III, 3, 1), studied, according to Pāṇini (Kaṭha-carakāl-luk—IV, 3, 107) the chandases enounced by the sage Caraka. Thus combining the evidences of Pāṇini and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat, we may infer that a pupil of Caraka was wandering about in the Madra country. Now the Kāśikā says as I have already shown¹⁶ that Caraka was no other than Vaiśampāyana himself and that owing to this connection with him his pupils are called the Carakas (Caraka iti Vaiśampāyanaśyākhyā; tat sambandhena sarve tad antevāsinaś Carakā ity ucyante—Kas. on Pān. IV, 3, 104). Thus from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. plus Pāṇini plus Kāśikā we arrive at the conclusion that the man's gotra-title was Vaiśampāyana, that his personal name was Caraka, that some of his pupils, the Carakas, wandered about in the Madra country. It is now clear that the Purāṇic information that the man's gotra-title was Vaiśampāyana (Vaiśampāyana-gotro śau Yajurvedam vyakalpayat

—Vāyu, 61, 5^a) and that his pupils wandered about in distant places in order to expiate the sin of brahma-vadhyā on behalf of their teacher, is based on a bed-rock of truth. We have already pointed out that the evidence of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, 8, 2, 24) absolutely establishes the contemporaneity between the adhvaryu priest Caraka and the adhvaryu priest Yājñavalkya.¹⁷ Hence any effort on the part of H. to bring Yājñavalkya down to no less than 6 generations or 180 years after Janamejaya whose court historian Caraka Vaiśampāyana was, is a manifest impossibility.

Owing to the quarrel between Caraka Adhvaryu (= Vaiśampāyana) and his pupil Yājñavalkya Adhvaryu, there was started from that time a kind of jealousy and rivalry between their pupils also i.e., between the Carakas and the Vājasaneyins. This mutual hatred towards each other was long continued, and we find in the Vājasaneyin Brāhmaṇa (IV, 1, 2, 19; VI, 2, 2, 1; VI, 2, 2, 10; VIII, 1, 3, 7; VIII, 7, 1, 14; etc.), the sacrificial prescriptions and methods of the Carakas are condemned and the Vājasaneyins are advised to do just the reverse of the sacrificial methods of the Carakas.

The later portion of the White Yajurveda (XXX, 18) so much hates a *Charaka* teacher as to send him down to perdition. From the fact of the pupils of Caraka Vaiśampāyana having expiated the great sin of brahman-slaughter on behalf of their teacher, by wandering about in sacred places of pilgrimage, the word 'Caraka' began in later times to be almost synonymous with the word 'pilgrim' (as in 'anyatīrthika-śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-caraka-paribrājakānām-Lalita Vistara II, 20). Those who in later times used to study the *Chandases* enounced by Caraka Vaiśampāyana were also known as the Cārakyas or Cārakīyas, just like the Taittirīyas who used to study the *Chandases* enounced by Tittiri. The original work which was mastered by Yājñavalkya and after the quarrel returned by him to his teacher Vaiśampāyana was somewhat like or rather less in volume than the Taittirīya Samhita we possess now. This work was increased in volume and extent by a teacher named Tittiri most probably with the addition of new sacrificial formulas and details, and was named after him. This Tittiri was most probably the elder brother of Vaiśampāyana (ādyah Kaṭhas Tittiris ca Vaiśampāyana-pūrvajah—Beng. MBh. XII, 336, 9). Tittiri's pupils Khaṇḍika and Ukha were well-known as the Titti-

17. Ibid. Sept. 1932.

ras. They memorized the Taittirīya Samhitā for teaching it to their pupils. Now a 'tittira' means the well-known game-bird partridge, and it also meant a pupil or follower of the teacher Tittiri and hence has sprung the enjoyable mythology that brāhmanas assuming the forms of tittira birds or partridges, seized the blood-stained and embodied *yajuses* vomitted forth by Yājñavalkya.

A word about the Puranic statement of the Yajurveda having been received from the Sun-god by Yājñavalkya. The Vedic literature often expresses the sentiment that it is the Sun who is the repository of all Vedic knowledge and this has not escaped the notice of Śridhara who quotes an appropriate Śruti in this connection.¹⁸ The Rigvedic seer Viśvāmitra praying to the Sun expresses the belief that the Sun sends out Vedic knowledge to his votaries.¹⁹ The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣat says that the White Yajurveda received from the Sun is being spoken by Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya.²⁰ The Mahābhārata also makes Yājñavalkya say: "O lord of Mithilā, these *yajuses* were received by me from the Sun".²¹ This is exactly the sentiment of the ancient *gāthā* preserved in the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa.²²

H. hopes very unreasonably that Pāṇini's sūtra: 'purāṇa-prokteṣu brāhmaṇa-kalpeṣu' (IV, 3, 105) will help him in bringing Yājñavalkya down in the scale of time. Let us examine it rather closely.

Pāṇini says that the affix 'ṇini' comes in the sense of 'enounced by him' after a word in the third case-ending in construction when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa work enounced by ancient sages. Kātyāyana finds exceptions in words like 'Yājña-

18. Ṛgbhiḥ pūrvāhne divi deva iyate Yajurvede tiṣṭhati madhya ahnaḥ, Sāmaveden āstamaye mahiyate Vedair aśūnyas tribhīr eti Sūryaḥ.

19. tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt. Rv. III, 62, 10.

20. ādityān imāni śuklāni yajumṣi Vājasaneyena Yājñavalkyena ākhyāyante. Brd. Ar. Up. VI, 5, 3.

21. mayādityād avāptāni yajumṣi Mithilādhipaḥ.

Beng. MBh. XII, 318, 2.

22. Sūrye brahma yad ucchinnaṁ kham gatvā pratitiṣṭhati. tāni tasmai dadau tuṣṭaḥ Sūryo vai Brahmarātaye aśvarupī tu Mārtanḍa Yājñavalkyāya dhimate.

Va. 61, 21—22; Bd. I, 35 ch.

valkya' and says that the affix 'ṇini' is debarred in that sense after words like 'Yājñavalkya' etc. for their being contemporaries (Purāṇa-prokteṣu Brāhmaṇa-kalpeṣu Yājñavalkyādibhyaḥ pratiṣedhas tulyakālatvāt). Who were contemporaries? What is the real purport of the statement of Kātyāyana? He says that those sages whose names are expressed by words like 'Yājñavalkya' etc., and such other words, were contemporaries. Patañjali becomes a little bit clearer and supporting Kātyāyana, says that the affix 'ṇini' should be debarred from words like 'Yājñavalkya', and gives the two examples: (1) Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni; (2) Saulabhāni Brāhmaṇāni. Patañjali questions—'Why is this affix "ṇini" debarred?' Patañjali answers: 'because of the contemporaneity (of these Brāhmaṇas)'. Patañjali finishes with the remark: 'these Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the Saulabha Brāhmaṇas and the Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas) were contemporaneous.'²³ Patañjali gives the interesting information that the Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas were contemporaneous with the Saulabha Brāhmaṇas. It appears that the Saulabha Brāhmaṇas existed in Patañjali's time. Now the exquisite grammar of Sanskrit helps us to catch at once that the Saulabha Brāhmaṇas, or at least the nucleus of them, were enounced by Sulabhā. Who was this Sulabhā who enounced Brāhmaṇas or theological discussions named after her? She was the famous Sulabhā Maitreyī, so well-known in ancient Indian literature.

From the Mahābhārata (Beng. Rec. XII, 320 ch.; Kumb. Rec. XII, 325 ch.) we learn that Sulabhā, a female wandering mendicant (bhikṣuki), versed in practical Yoga and descended from the same family as their contemporary, the royal seer Pradhāna, attended the court of Janaka Vaideha, known as Dharmadhvaṇa, and lectured to him on matters of Sāṅkhya, Karmayoga, salvation, etc.; and that this Dharmadhvaṇa Janaka who was a pupil of the old (vṛddhasya) wandering mendicant (bhikṣoḥ) Pāṇḍasikha, also talked with Sulabhā on matters of Sāṅkhya, stoicism, salvation, etc. This Pāṇḍasikha, the teacher of Dharmadhvaṇa Janaka, is repeatedly spoken of as a bhikṣu, well-stricken in years (vṛddha), well-versed in Sāṅkhya, Yoga, science of liberation, and philosophy of royal duties, and as belonging to the gotra of Parāśara. The Mahābhārata again informs us in a second place (Beng. MBh. XII, 218—

23. Purāṇa-prokteṣu ity atra Yājñavalkyādibhyaḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ; Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni, Saulabhāni iti; kim kāraṇam? tulya-kālatvāt; etāny api tulyakālāni.

9 chh.; Kumb. MBh. XII, 220—222 chh.) that on one occasion, Pāṇḍasikha, the first pupil of Āsuri, went to Mithilā to see the king Janadeva Janaka reigning there. He lectured to Janadeva Janaka on the kind of salvation discussed in the Sāṅkhya.²⁴ He was very eloquent (kavi) and said to Janadeva Janaka, "The king has himself said after seeing his city Mithilā burning 'nothing of mine is being burnt'." It shows that Janadeva Janaka himself was the author of the famous gāthā:

Anantam iva me vittam yasya nāsti kimcana,
Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kimcana.
Beng. MBh. XII, 178, 2.

and this is exactly the information supplied in the Madras recension of the Mahābhārata which says (XII, 223, 3—17) that the author of the famous gāthā was Janadeva Janaka. The Kumbakonam Mahābhārata however modifies the wording of the gāthā into:—

Anantam vata me vittam bhāvyam me nāsti kimcana,
Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me kimcana dahyate.
Kumb. MBh. XII, 223, 17.

The Kumbakonam Mahābhārata informs again in a third place that the verse was addressed by the king of Videha to the brāhmaṇa Māṇḍavya and modifies the wording of the gāthā again into:—

Susukham vata jīvāmi yasya me nāsti kimcana,
Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kimcana.
Kumb. MBh. XII, 282, 4.

The Mahābhārata says again in a fourth place (Beng. MBh. XII, 319, 3—4.) that the wandering mendicant (bhikṣu) Pāṇḍasikha lectured to Janaka Vaideha on the subject of liberation, stoicism, the way of avoiding worldly pains, etc. The Mahābhārata in a fifth place (Beng. Rec. XII, 318, 59—62) calls Pāṇḍasikha a wandering mendicant (bhikṣu) mentioning him along with Kapila, Āsuri, Vārṣaganya, etc., and deals with Sāṅkhya doctrines as well as the Yoga ones.

From the above references in the Mahābhārata it is clear (1) that the wandering mendicant (bhikṣu) Pāṇḍasikha was the famous Sāṅkhya teacher Pāṇḍasikha, the pupil of Āsuri; (2) that the

24. Beng. MBh. XII, 218, 20.

bhikṣu Pañcaśikha, the Sāṅkhya teacher, was very old (vr̥ddha) when his pupil Dharmadhva Janaka was approached by the female wandering mendicant Sulabhā; (3) that this famous Sāṅkhya teacher, the bhikṣu Pañcaśikha was not old when he paid a visit to Mithilā and lectured to Janadeva Janaka on matters of Sāṅkhya; (4) that Janadeva Janaka who addressed the famous gāthā to Māṇḍavya, was contemporary with Pañcaśikha whose pupil Dharmadhva Janaka was; (5) that the female wandering mendicant Sulabhā who approached old Pañcaśikha's young pupil Dharmadhva Janaka, was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Pañcaśikha. Hence it may be held that Dharmadhva Janaka was the immediate successor of Janadeva Janaka.

Now the Vedic work Atharva-veda-pariśiṣṭa (43, 4, 26—7) mentions Sulabhā along with Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila, Sumantu, Māṇḍavya (to whom Janadeva Janaka sang the famous gāthā referred to before), Gārgī Vācakanavi (who debated with Yājñavalkya), Kohoḍa Kauṣitaki (who also debated with Yājñavalkya), Suyajña Sāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana (who approached the Atharva-vedic professor Pippalāda), Śākal(y)a (who debated with Yājñavalkya in Mithilā), Bāṣkala (the pupil of Paila), Paṇḍya (the pupil of Yājñavalkya) etc., and calls her Maitreyī i.e. a female descendant of the Maitreya family. Sulabhā Maitreyī is again mentioned in the same work in a separate place (92, 6—Sans. Wort.).

Sulabhā Maitreyī is mentioned in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtras (III, 4, 4) as well as in the Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtras (IV, 10, 3) along with all the teachers mentioned in the Atharva-veda-pariśiṣṭa. After all, it may now be very well guessed that Sulabhā belonged to the times about which Yājñavalkya flourished. She belonged to the Maitreya family which was descended from king Mitrāyu, the son of the famous mediaeval R̥gvedic king Divodāsa.

The information of the Mahābhārata that Pañcaśikha, the Sāṅkhya teacher contemporary with the Bhikṣukī Sulabhā, was the pupil of Āsuri, the pupil of Kapila, is supported by the Sāṅkhya Kārikās of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa,²⁵ as well as the Māthara-vṛtti²⁶ to the

25. Etat Pavitram agryam Munir Āsuraye 'nukampayā pradadau, Āsurir api Pañcaśikhāya tena ca vahudhā kṛtam tantram.

70th Kārikā.

26. Kapilād Āsuripā prāptam idam jñānam; tataḥ Pañcaśikhena tasmād Bhārgavolūka-Vālmīki-Hārīta-Devalaprabhṛtinā gatam; tatas tebhya Īśvarakṛṣṇena prāptam.

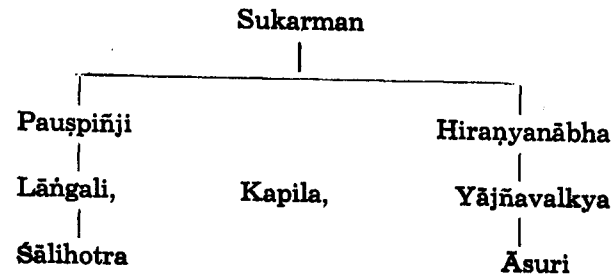
Kārikās. The Mahābhārata also (XII, 326—7 chh.) makes Āsuri the pupil of Kapila; the Bhāgavata Purāṇa also makes Āsuri the pupil of Kapila; the commentator Nilakanṭha (on Beng. MBh. XII, 218, 9; 219, 52) says that Āsuri was the pupil of Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system. Hence it is accepted that Pañcaśikha, the Sāṅkhya teacher, was the pupil of Āsuri, the pupil of the Sāṅkhya-kāra Kapila. Now Āsuri was the pupil of Yājñavalkya himself as well as of a teacher who was a Bhāradvāja (Brd. Ar. Up. VI, 5, 2—3; IV, 6, 3.). Was Kapila himself the Bhāradvāja teacher mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat? Whatever might have been the case, pupils in those days used to learn from more than one teacher as even now-a-days. Thus Yājñavalkya learnt Yoga from Hirāṇyanābha Kausalya, Mantra-work from Uddālaka Āruṇi, and Yajurveda from Caraka Vaiśampāyana. So Āsuri learnt the Veda from Yājñavalkya and the Sāṅkhya from Kapila who might or might not have been identical with the Bhāradvāja teacher mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat.

That Āsuri, the pupil of Yājñavalkya, as mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat, was identical with Āsuri, the pupil of the Sāṅkhya-kāra Kapila, is derived thus:—

The Mahābhārata in a particular place, although it brings together a few Ṛṣis belonging to different times at the sacrifice of King Uparicara Vasu, makes two specific remarks about two Ṛṣis which may be accepted. It says: "It has been remembered that Kapila, the best of Ṛṣis, was the father of Śālihotra" (Ṛṣiśreṣṭhas ca Kapilaḥ Śālihotra-pitā smṛtaḥ). This bit of information apparently emanates from truth. Now this Śālihotra is known to us. He was according to the Vāyu (61, 36; 42) and the Brahmanḍa (I, 35, 47.), the Vedic pupil of Lāṅgali, the pupil of Pauspiṇji.²⁷ Śālihotra spoke six Samhitās on the Sāma-Veda of the Udīcyā recension to six pupils who were well-known as the Lāṅgalas. We know that Pauspiṇji and Hirāṇyanābha were the pupils of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini, the pupil of Vyāsa. Hence Lāṅgali, the pupil of Pauspiṇji, was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Yājñavalkya, the pupil of Hirāṇyanābha. Hence Śālihotra, the pupil of Lāṅgali, was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Āsuri, the pupil of Yājñavalkya (vide the table). Hence

27. Lāṅgalaḥ Śālihotras ca ṣaṭ sa provāca Samhitāḥ. Vāyu, 61, 42. Lāṅgalaḥ Śālihotras ca ṣaḍ uvācātha Samhitāḥ. Bd. I, 35, 47.

Kapila, the father of Śālihotra, belonged to the same step with Yājñavalkya. Hence Āsuri, the pupil of Yājñavalkya, must have been the same Āsuri who was the pupil of Kapila. His peculiar name Āsuri also points to this.



It is now clear that Sulabhā ranks only at the 2nd step below Yājñavalkya, as is illustrated in the following table:—

Janamejaya	Uddālaka	Āruṇi,	Hiranyanābha,	Vaiśampāyana,
Kahoḍa,	Śvetaketu,	Kapilā,	Kṛti-Janaka	Yājñavalkya,
Aṣṭāvakra,		Āsuri,		
Janadeva Janaka,	Pañcasikha,	Sulabhā,	Māṇḍavya,	
Dharmadhva Janaka,				

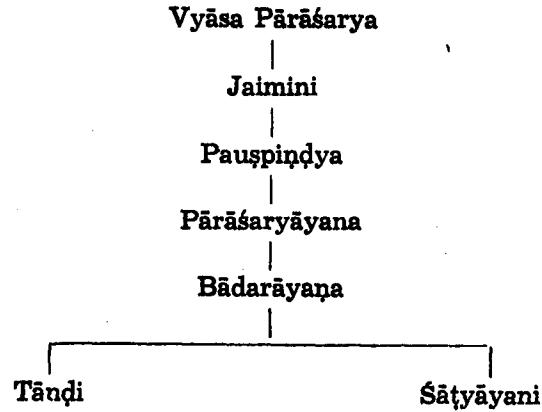
It will now be realized that Patañjali is admirably correct to a great extent in stating that the Saulabha Brāhmaṇas (which perhaps existed in his time) were contemporaneous with the Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas. It should be borne in mind here that the Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas, although the nucleus of them were the productions of Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya even before the compilation and composition of the original White Yajurveda, were, in later times, developed and added to by his pupils and followers, namely, the later Vājasaneyins. H. should not delude himself into the belief that it is not known to V. that these Brāhmaṇas are not the works of single authors. Need H. be informed that V. learnt the fact 30 years back when we were mere school boys? On consulting the Anukramaṇi of the White Yajurveda, it will be found that Yājñavalkya freely collected from the compositions of the seers of the Rgveda. This is also proved by the texts of the *yajuses* themselves. He also inserted his own compositions as well as those of his contemporaries, friends and pupils, like Buḍila Āsvataraśvi (contemporary with Janaka Vaidika and Yājñavalkya),

valkya), Kusīdi (pupil of Pauspiṇji, the fellow-student of Hiranyanābha Kausalya), Kusuruvinḍa (son of Uddālaka Āruṇi), Śākalya (pupil of Satyaśrī Mārkaṇḍeya, the fifth in the descending order of teachers from Paila, the pupil of Vyāsa), Aurnvābha (also a famous author of Nirukta now extinct), Laugākṣi (pupil of Pauspiṇji, variantly named Pauspiṇḍya in the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa), Ramyākṣi, Prādūrākṣi (probably the brothers of Laugākṣi—the famous northern Sāman-singer), Āsuri (pupil of Yājñavalkya himself as well as of Kapila), etc. The latest Vājasaneyin teacher while about finishing the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, says: "These *yajuses* received from the sun are being declared by Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya" (Ādityānimani Śuklāni yajūṃṣi Vājasaneyena Yājñavalkyenākhyāyante). Thus we see that even the latest Vājasaneyin teacher who made contributions to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa did not hesitate to ascribe all his Vedic knowledge and compositions to the original teacher of the White Yajurveda. That was the custom in those days. Even Patañjali in later times calls them 'Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni'. The knowledge of the White Yajurveda originally sprang from Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya. On opening the pages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, one will find that perhaps few sections will be found where Yājñavalkya has not been held as an authority on some specific ritualistic matter. Hence Yājñavalkya has been considered as the author of the Brāhmaṇa portion also of the White Yajurveda in a very proper sense by the latest Vājasaneyins as well as by such a modern critical Vedic scholar as the late Dr. Caland.

Now because the Vājasaneyin Brāhmaṇas have been added to from time to time by the later Vājasaneyins, certainly the original authorship of the original White Yajurveda cannot be denied to Yājñavalkya. Hence no harm has been done by V's calling Yājñavalkya the compiler-author of the White Yajurveda. No one else can more properly be called the author of the White Yajurveda. After all, the Purāṇas are perfectly justified in calling Yājñavalkya the author of the White Yajurveda.

Now let us turn to the attitude of Kaiyaṭa, son of Jaiyaṭa, towards the age of the Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas. Kaiyaṭa in his Prādīpa on the Bhāṣya of Patañjali says that the Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas were contemporaneous with those enounced by Śātyāyana, etc. (tulyakālatvād iti; Śātyāyanādi-proktair brāhmaṇair eka-kālatvād ity arthaḥ—Kyt. on Pat. on Pān. IV, 3, 105).

To find the time of Śāṭyāyana we turn to the list of teachers mentioned in the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (III, 9, 8) as represented in the sub-joined table:

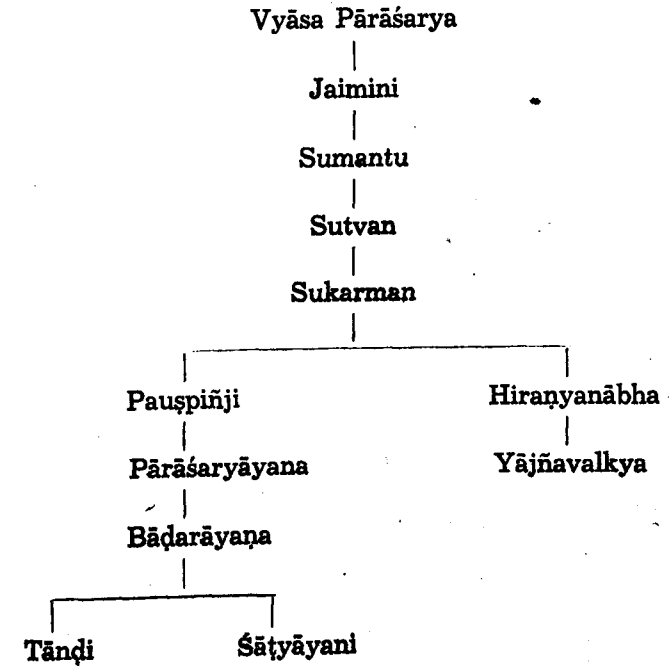


This list of teachers in the Vedic work Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa is defective and incomplete and hence cannot be accepted. The Vāyu Purāṇa (60, 11; 15; 61, 27—35) describes in detail that Vyāsa had his pupil Jaimini who listened to him (i.e. Vyāsa) speaking the Sāma-Veda. Jaimini taught his son Sumantu who again taught his son Sutvan. Sutvan's pupil was his son Sukarman who after studying a thousand Samhitās, spoke them to a thousand brilliant pupils of his. These pupils having been engaged in studying the Vedas on a certain day on which Veda-study was prohibited, were killed by Śatakratu, i.e. they were struck by lightning on a rainy day when studying is prohibited. (Studying is prohibited on special occasions even in our days in the ṭols). Then Sukarman determined to fast himself to death out of grief for the death of his beloved pupils, whereupon Śakra appeared and consoled Sukarman and informed him that he would get two very intelligent, energetic and brilliant pupils. Thus saying Vāsava disappeared. Accordingly Sukarman got two very intelligent pupils; one was the brāhmaṇ Pauspiṇḍi and the other was the king Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya. The information of the Vāyu²⁸ that a thousand pupils of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini—the pupil of Vyāsa, were killed by Śatakratu (= Indra) is supported by the Vedic work Caraka-Vyūha—Parīṣiṣṭ-sūtra attributed to a Śau-

28. Sa sahasram adhīty āsu Sukarmā 'pyatha Samhitāḥ,
Provācātha sahasrasya Sukarma Sūryavarcaṣaḥ.
Anadhīyāyeṣv adhīyānāms tām jaghāna Śatakratuḥ,
Prāyopaveśam akarot tato 'sau śīṣyakārapāt. Va. 61, 28—29.

naka²⁹ and the anticipatory legend clothed in prophetic guise that Indra appeared before Sukarman and informed him that he would get two very intelligent pupils when Sukarman was about to fast himself to death, is extremely interesting and the fact stripped off mythology is absolutely credible. It shows that Sukarman's many pupils were killed by a lightning discharge and he became overpowered with grief for their untimely death; and was prevented from fasting himself to death. Afterwards he got almost as a compensation two very intelligent pupils, namely Pauspiṇḍi and Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya. Pauspiṇḍi taught 500 Samhitās to his numerous pupils who became known as the Northern Sāman-singers, while the Kosala King Hiraṇyanābha taught 500 Samhitās to his numerous pupils who became known as the Eastern Sāman-singers.

Thus, according to this detailed account of the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa, the list of Sāmavedic teachers would be what is represented in the adjoined table:



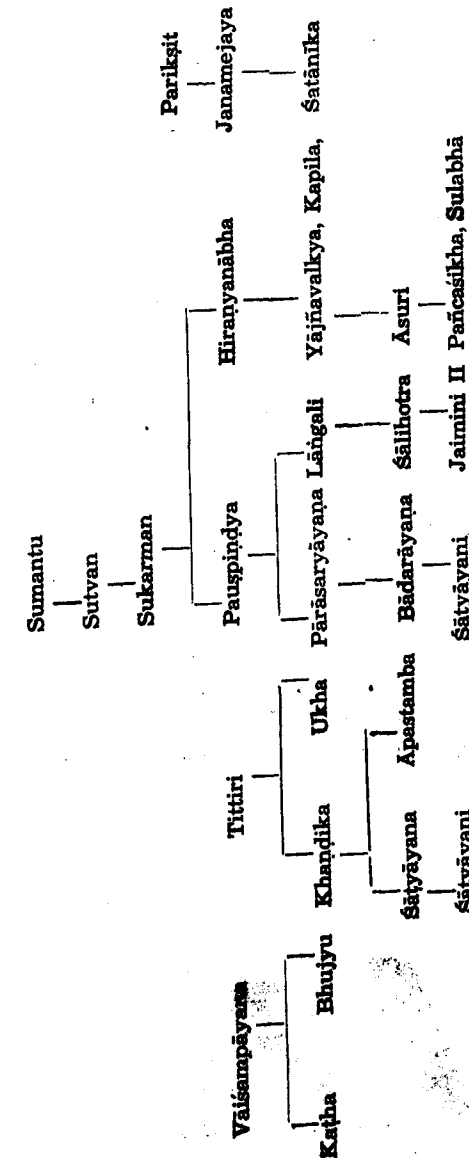
The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa has omitted Sumantu, Sutvan, and Sukarman between Jaimini and Pauspiṇḍi. The last-named Pauspiṇḍi of the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa and Viṣṇu has been named Pau-

29. Sāmavedasya kila sahasrabhedā bhavanty eṣv anadhīyāyeṣv
adhīyānās te Śatakratu-vajreṇābhīhatāḥ. C. V. P. III, 1.

piṇḍya in the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. Historians will recognize that this detailed account of the Purāṇas is based on a bed-rock of truth, as such a detailed account can only spring from a very well-informed source, and hence has a greater title to its acceptance than the defective list of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. So it appears that the Purāṇas are in some cases superior to the Vedas.

Now according to Pāṇini (IV, 3, 102) Tittiri's pupils should be called the Taittireyas, Varatantu's pupils the Vāratantaveyas, Khaṇḍika's pupils the Khaṇḍikeyas, and Ukha's pupils the Aukheyas. The Caraṇa-Vyūha-Pariśiṣṭa-Sūtra (II, 1) informs us that the Khaṇḍikeyas and the Aukheyas were the two branches of the Taittiriya (also called Taittireyas). This shows Khaṇḍika and Ukha were the two pupils of Tittiri, from whom the two branches the Khaṇḍikeyas and the Aukheyas sprang. Now the Khaṇḍikeyas, i.e. the pupils of Khaṇḍika, were divided into 5 main branches: the Kāletā branch (Kāletā śākhā), the Śātyāyana branch (Śātyāyana śākhā), the Hairanyakeśi branch (Hairanyakeśi śākhā), the Bhāradvāja branch (Bhāradvāja śākhā), and the Āpastambī branch (Āpastambī śākhā). It shows that Kāleta, Śātyāyana, Hairanyakeśin, Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba were the five pupils of Khaṇḍika, the pupil of Tittiri. We have already seen that Tittiri was the elder brother of Vaiśampāyana. Hence Śātyāyana who was a Khaṇḍikeya ranks only at the 2nd step below Vaiśampāyana, or his elder brother Tittiri. Śātyāyana is mentioned in the Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (VI, 1). Śātyāyana's son was Śātyāyana (Pān. IV, 1, 95). Śātyāyana, the son of Śātyāyana, was a Sāmavedic teacher and is mentioned in the Madh. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 1, 4, 9; X, 4, 5, 2, etc.), the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (I, 6, 2; I, 30, 1; II, 2, 8; II, 4, 3; II, 9, 10; III, 13, 6; III, 28, 5; IV, 16, 1) and ranks only at the 3rd step below Pauspiṇḍya, the fellow-student of Hiraṇyanābha. Certel thinks that Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa was contemporaneous with the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa. Thus it appears that Śātyāyana was a Black Yajurvedic teacher, while his son Śātyāyana became a Sāmavedic teacher. Śātyāyana thus ranks at the 2nd step below Hiraṇyanābha, and as Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Hiraṇyanābha, Śātyāyana ranks at the 1st step below, or was a younger contemporary of Yājñavalkya, because the age-difference between a teacher and his pupil is generally much less than a generation (which is roughly about 25 to 30 years). Thus Śātyāyana may rightly be considered as a younger contemporary of Yājñavalkya. Kaiyaṭa is thus admirably correct in stating that the Brāhmaṇas enounced by Śātyāyana

were contemporaneous with those enounced by Yājñavalkya. It is also clear from the table that Jaimini II, the pupil of Śālihotra—the son of Kapila, ranks at the same step with Śātyāyana, as both of



them were the great grand pupils of Pauspiṇḍya. Hence Certel is quite correct in supposing that the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa was contemporaneous with the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa. It is thus abundantly clear that both Patañjali and Kaiyaṭa admirably support

our adjustment of the position of Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya, and are not in favour of H. who has brought Yājñavalkya down to six generations below Janamejaya Pārikṣita. Thus according to Kātyāyana, Patañjali and Kaiyaṣa, the Saulabha, Śātyāyana and Yājñavalka Brāhmaṇas were not purāṇa-prokta (i.e. spoken by ancient sages). That is, according to Kat., Pat., and Kyt., Sulabhā, Śātyāyana and Yājñavalkya, etc., were not very ancient sages. In this they are perfectly right because the original Brāhmaṇas or theological discussions were in the custody of Vaiśampāyana and therefore preserved in the Taittirīya Samhitā, while the Brāhmaṇas enounced by Yājñavalkya, Sulabhā, Śātyāyana, Śātyāyani, Jaimini II, etc., were not Purāṇa-prokta Brāhmaṇas. They were later Brāhmaṇas in which further additions have been made from time to time.

H. thinks that because in the Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra (I, 2, 5, 4—6) Śvetaketu has been referred to as an 'avara', therefore that remark would help him to bring Śvetaketu and therefore Yājñavalkya down in the scale of time, i.e. to six generations below Janamejaya Pārikṣita. H. says, "It should be remembered by V. that Āpastamba (Dh. S. 1, 2, 5, 4—6) clearly refers to Śvetaketu as an avara, etc." I cannot but invite the attention of scholars to particularly notice here how seriously H. has been confused about the remark 'avara' made in the Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra. The passage is:

Tasmād Rṣayo 'vareṣu na jāyante niyamātikramāt. 4.

Śrutarṣayas tu bhāvanti kecit karma-phala-śeṣeṇa punaḥ sambhave. 5.

Yathā Śvetaketuḥ. 6.

Haradatta in his Ujjvalā commentary has made the passage as transparent as possible. In the light of his gloss, the passage clearly means the following:—

(4) Hence seers of Vedic Mantras are not born amongst later people (who have flourished in the Kali age), owing to transgression of discipline (being unavoidable now in this Kali age).

(5) But some Vedic seers are (sometimes born) in a re-birth after enduring the fruits of their karma.

(6) As Śvetaketu (was born).

The Dharmasūtra-kāra of the Āpastambīyas clearly says that Śvetaketu was later than the Śrutarṣis or Rigvedic seers, and in this he is perfectly right because the Rigvedic seers were people like Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja,

Dīrghatamas, Ucathya, Bṛhaspati, Atri, Śyāvāśva, Kaśyapa, Avatsāra, Kakṣivant, Viśvamanas, Devāpi, Śantanu (= Bhiṣak), Droṇa, Sārisṛkta, Stambamitra, Jaritṛ, etc. I have shown in my Chronology of Ancient India that the latest of Rigvedic seers were people like Devāpi, Śantanu, Droṇa, Sārisṛkta, Stambamitra, Jaritṛ, etc. The last four escaped from being burnt when Arjuna Pāṇḍava burnt down the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha. In fact the great Mahābhārata war marks the junction of the earlier and later epochs. It was a *Yuga-Sandhi*. That remarkable point of time marks the terminus *ad quem* of Rigvedic literature. Does it require to be told again that Rigveda is the real Śruti and the seers of Rigvedic Mantras were the Śrutarṣis? The Sāmaveda is really a collection of ṛks sung. The Yajurveda is also a collection of ṛks employed as yajuses or sacrificial formulas (with of course some new yajuses added and with theological discussions in the Black recension only). These theological discussions or Brāhmaṇas are not Mantras or Śrutis proper. Hence by 'Śrutarṣis', the Dharma-Sūtra-kāra who was an Āpastambīya and much later than the ancient figure Āpastamba, the pupil of Khāṇḍika—the pupil of Tittiri, really means the original Rigvedic seers who flourished in the earlier epoch, while Śvetaketu, Yājñavalkya, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Dṛti Aindrota, Indrota Daivāpa, etc., were all later people. They were all *avaras*. They flourished roughly about 70 to 100 years after the point of time marked by the Bhārata war. The Dharma Sūtra has stated what is a perfect truth. That remark 'avara' applied to Śvetaketu is of no help to H. It cannot bring Śvetaketu and Yājñavalkya down in the scale of time. Even we in this twentieth century A.D. can call Śvetaketu an 'avara' with respect to the Śrutarṣis. Śaṅkara was an 'avara' with respect to Patañjali who again was an 'avara' with respect to Buddha who again was an 'avara' with respect to Yājñavalkya and Śvetaketu. If H. has hoped that he would establish by this simple remark that Śvetaketu was contemporary with the author of the Dharma Sūtra, then he must be labouring under a boundless delusion. No less than 600 years elapsed between the composition of the Dharma Sūtra of the Āpastambīyas and the time of Śvetaketu and Yājñavalkya. For it should be remembered by H. that Śvetaketu having been contemporary with Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya flourished at the very beginning of the White Yajurvedic period, while the Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra cannot go earlier than the 5th century B.C.

(to be continued.)

Chēra Kings of the Śangam Period

By

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INTRODUCTION

THE only source from which the story of the old Chēra Kingdom can be constructed is the literature of the Śangam Period, for that story is unknown to epigraphy; but even Śangam literature can help us only to prepare an outline which at best can be treated only as tentative in regard to the results that it may disclose. Of the Śangam works, the most important for the present purpose are *Puṛa-nāṇūru*, *Aga-nāṇūru*, *Patirrup-pattu*, and *Narṇinai*, among the *Eṭṭuttokai*, and also *Śilappadhikāram*, the well-known epic poem by Ilankō Adigal, the brother of Śen Kuṭṭuva Chēra, who as everyone knows is one of the greatest of the ancient Chēra Kings. *Puṛa-nāṇūru* is a collection of 400 lyrics by different poets, numbering about 160; and the collection derives its name from the circumstance that all the lyrics therein relate to *puṛam*, one of the two fundamental categories of poetic material, according to the ancient rules of Tamil poetics and rhetoric. *Puṛam* or *Puṛap-porul* is concerned with the external relations of princes, which embrace war and politics. They are generally court lyrics, panegyrizing in the main a king or a chieftain of the ancient Tamil land, and most of the poems are by singers who are contemporaries of the personages sung about. One can easily see that for purposes of history, the lyrics of the *Puṛa-nāṇūru* collection must be of supreme value. Their value as literature is also very high, as among the poets who have contributed to that collection are many of the best known names in ancient Tamil literature. I have on several occasions before, and in other journals, translated for the benefit of English readers, a fair number of the *Puṛa-nāṇūru* lyrics. *Aga-nāṇūru* is a collection of 400 lyrics, which relate to *Agam* or love, the other fundamental category of Tamil poetry; and about 150 singers have contributed to this beautiful anthology of love poems. These lyrics, while they deal with the numerous situations created by the course

of love in ancient Tamil society, make frequent reference to Tamil Kings and chieftains to point the moral and adorn the tale; and as the references are mostly contemporaneous, the value of these poems cannot be exaggerated. As literature too, *Aga-nāṇūru* is among the most cherished possessions of the Tamil people. *Narṇinai* is another collection of 401 love lyrics by 175 Śangam poets. They are of great beauty; and as in *Aga-nāṇūru*, there are references to princes and others in the poems by contemporary singers. *Patirrup-pattu* is a collection of poems dealing exclusively with the wars and other achievements, including those in the art of peace, of Chēra Kings. As the name implies, there were ten poems, each consisting of a decad of lyrics; but of these, two have not till now been discovered—the first and the tenth. Each one of the existing eight poems deals with the achievements and merits of a separate Chēra King, and is by a separate poet who is a contemporary of the hero of his song. It is, therefore, obvious that for an account of the early Chēras, *Patirrup-pattu* is of incalculable value. *Śilappadhikāram* is the first regular epic in the Tamil language, and it is indispensable for a knowledge of the early Chēra Kingdom, as its real hero is a Chēra monarch, Śen Kuṭṭuvan, the contemporary of Gajabāhu of Ceylon.

From the above account of the sources, it will be seen that among the Śangam collections from which material may be obtained for our purposes, *Patirrup-pattu* and *Puṛa-nāṇūru* are the most valuable. The extant sections of *Patirrup-pattu* deal with the achievements of 8 Chēra Kings, and they are:—

Imayavaramban Neduñ Chēralātan,
Pal-yānai Cel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan,
Kaḷankāik-kaṇṇi-Nārmuḍic-Chēral,
Kaḍal-Piṛakōṭiya Śen Kuṭṭuvan,
Aḍu-kōṭpāṭṭuc-Chēralātan,
Celvāk-Kaḍunkō Vāḷiyātan,
Takaḍūr-eṛinta Perum-Chēral Irumporai, and
Kuḍakkō Ilam Chēral Irumporai.

For the names of the Chēra Kings celebrated in the *Puṛa-nāṇūru* lyrics, we have to depend on the colophon appended to each lyric of that collection. We do not know who appended the colophons and when they were appended; but in any event, there cannot reasonably be any doubt about their antiquity, and they embody the ancient tradition of the Tamil country, the correctness



of which I see no reason to doubt. From the colophons, we gather the names of 17 Chēra Kings; and they are:—

Chēramān Perum-Śōṛṛu Udiyan Chēralātan,
Chēramān Karuvūr-ēṛiya Oḷvāl Kōp-Perum-Chēral
Irumpoṛai,
Chēramān Kaḍunkō Vāḷiyātan,
Chēramān Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍunkō,
Chēramān Antuvan Chēral Irumpoṛai,
Chēramān Yānaikkaṭchēy Māntaram Chēral Irumpoṛai,
Chēramān Kōk-Kōdai Mārpan,
Chēramān Takḍūreṇṇinta Perum-Chēral Irumpoṛai,
Chēramān Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai,
Chēramān Kuḍakkō Neḍum Chēralātan,
Chēramān Perum Chēralātan,
Chēramān Kaṇaikkāl Irumpoṛai,
Chēramān Kuḍakkō Chēral Irumpoṛai,
Chēramān Kōṭṭambalattuttunchiya Māk-kōdai,
Chēramān Vanchan,
Chēramān Kaḍaloṭṭiya Vel-keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, and
Chēramān Mā-Veṇ Kō.

As we shall see later, possibly some of these names are re-duplications. It will be my attempt in this paper to arrange these Chēras in their chronological order, ascertain their approximate dates and show by what deeds or achievements their names live in literature. Perhaps in the discussion, it will be possible to relate these kings to one another and to get a glimpse of the social and political life of the people in the Chēra country in those distant days.

UDIYAN CHERALĀTAN

I feel little doubt that the earliest Chēra known to Tamil literature is Chēramān Perum Śōṛṛu Udiyan Chēralātan, who is celebrated in song by Muranchiyūr Mudināgarāyar in *Puṛam* 2. That lyric, which, if we except some references to him in *Aga-nāṇūru*, is the only poem sung in his honour, is given in translation below.

Hail, noble king! whose nature well combines
The qualities of all the elements;
Whose long, forgiving suffer'ing is a match

To mother earth's; whose judgment wise is wide
As all-pervading ether, and whose might
Like air illimitable, and like fire
Resistless, with refreshful mercy still
Is tempered, which thy glorious sway upholds,
As water cool enlivens nature's face.
Hail, warrior-king! Thy land with plenty smiles,
With untold wealth the deep sea's bosom yields,
And treasures new that ceaseless to thy ports
From foreign lands rich merchant vessels bring.
The sun, that in thy eastern sea is born,
In thy foam crested-western ocean seeks
His rest at eve. Sky bounds thy land alone!
Majestic monarch! When the ten times ten
Kauravas, crowned with golden *tumpai* wreaths,
Wrathful in battle 'gainst the heroes five—
Lords of the fiery steeds with tossing mane—
Their patrimony lusting after, fought,
Thou didst unstinted savoury food supply
To either host, till all the Kurus fell.
Illustrious king! though luscious milk may sour,
The sun his brilliance lose, and e'en the four
Vedas themselves their holy teachings change,
Mayst thou by ministers be served, whose love
For thee and wisdom in thy councils shall
Constant through all vicissitudes remain!
Mayst thou in power and glory steadfast shine
Throughout all time like Potiya's sacred mount
And golden-peaked Himalaya, where rest
The dainty headed fawn and large-eyed deer
Securely by the holy triple fire
Which for their ev'ning rites the sages raise!

In this translation, I have followed the ancient commentator of *Puṛa-nāṇūru*, who makes out that this Chēra king was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavās and the Kauravās, and in the great battle of Kurukshētra, he supplied the rival armies with food. The *Śilappadhikāram* also seems to favour this view (*Śilap. Vāḷttuk-kāḍai*). The words of the lyric need not, it seems to me, be necessarily so construed. Perhaps this King gave a memorial feast of the nature of a Śrāddha at the anniversary of the Mahabharata War, in which the heroes from whom he traced his descent, had died,

and that is what the poet refers to here. This seems to be supported by a lyric by Māmūlanār (*Agam* 233) which reads

மறப்படைக்குதிரை மாருமைந்திற்
றுறக்கமெய்திய தொய்யாரல்லிசை
முதியர்ப்பேணிய வுதியஞ்சேரல்
பெருஞ்சேரற் கொடுத்தஞான்றை.

and Pandit R. Raghava Iyengar of Ramnad also seems to hold that view (preface to *Aga-nāṇūru*). Udiyan Chēral was obviously famous for his lavish hospitality; and his kitchen has become a by-word for sumptuous feeding. Thus Kōṭṭambalattunciya Chēramān has in *Agam* 168: கொடைக்கடனேன்றகோடாநெஞ்சினுதியனட்டிப்போல. This poem is by a Chēramān who is stated to have died at Kōṭṭambalam; and perhaps he is identical with Kōṭṭambalattuntunchiya Māk-kōdai, the author of *Puṇam* 245, of whom we shall hear more later on. He tells us in this lyric that Udiyan's royal kitchen was at Kuḷumūr, perhaps Ptolemy's Kourellour, a place, so far as I can see, situated possibly in North Travancore. We cannot say whether Kuḷumūr was the original capital of the Chēras, taking for the present that Kuḷumūr is a proper noun denoting a place; we can only say that Tamil tradition does not appear to have known a time when the Chēra capital was not Vanci. We see from *Aga-nāṇūru* that Udiyan Chēral extended his kingdom by his conquests. Māmūlanār refers to him in *Agam* 65 as: நாடுகண்ணகற்றிய உதியன் சேரல் that is, Udiyan Chēral who conquered others' territories and annexed them to his own. He seems to have won a naval victory; for in *Agam* 45 Vellivītiyār refers to him as:

கடல்கால்கொரிந்த வென்றிகல்வெல்
வானவரம்பன்.

that is, Vānavaramban who with his victorious javelin overthrew his foes on the sea. Both here and in *Puṇam* 2, Udiyan Chēral is called Vānavaramban. If he was great in war, he was also great in the arts of peace. Trade and commerce flourished in the land and foreign merchantmen called at its ports. He was a munificent patron of letters, as we see from *Agam* 65, where we read:

உதியஞ்சேரல்
பாடிசென்ற பரிசிலர்போல
வுவலினிவாழி

He may be regarded as the founder of the Chēra dynasty. Having regard to the scheme or arrangement

adopted in *Patirrup-pattu*, there can be no doubt that he was the hero of the first decad of that collection, which is now unfortunately missing; for we find from the *Patigam* of II *Patirrup-pattu* that Udiyan Chēral was the father of Imayavaramban Nedum Chēralātan, the hero of that decad. From the same source we learn that Udiyan Chēral had married Nallini, the daughter of Veliyan Vēṇmān, afterwards known as Chōlan Pōrvaikkō-Perunaṇṇi, whose father Tittan was the earliest of the Chōla kings who ruled at Uṇaiyūr.

IMAYAVARAMBAN NEDUM CHĒRALATAN

We may now follow the lead of *Patirrup-pattu*. The hero of the second decad of that work is Imayavaramban Nedum Chēralātan, the son of Udiyan Chēral by Veliyan's daughter Nallini. Imayavaramban was a great warrior, and he extended his kingdom to the north. He is said to have conquered seven kings and annexed their territories to his kingdom; and he is praised as having set or imprinted his bow on the slope of the Himalayas, so that his prowess was known, in the words of his panegyrist, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Among his successful wars were those against the 'Kaḍambu' clan (p.p. 1; *Silap.*; also *Agam* 127, 347.) and the Yavanas. The territory of the 'Kaḍambu' Clan, the Clan that had the Kaḍambu (*adina cordifolia*) as its totem or guardian tree, is the territory of the Nannans, the 'gold producing Konkānam' of ancient Tamil literature (*Narṇinai* 391; *Agam* 173); and the Chēras seem to have had several wars with this tribe, which apparently was a source of harassment on the border. A view has gained ground among some scholars that the Kaḍambu Clan were pirates; (Vide Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's "*Beginnings of South Indian History*" p. 232) and Ptolemy's phrase *Ariake andron peiraton* has at least in part been responsible for it. The latter words, as was pointed out by a writer in a recent issue of *QJMS* may be regarded as a corruption of *Andrabrtya*; but I am inclined to think that the view therein expressed that the Kaḍambas were not a piratical people at all cannot, perhaps, be maintained, in view of expressions like

முக்கிரோட்டிக்கடம்பெறிந்து (*Agam* 127.)
மால்கடலோட்டிக்கடம்பறுத்து (*Agam* 347.)

that Māmūlar employs. The term Yavana has been taken to denote the Greeks; but I am not sure if it did not originally denote the Javanese or the people of Java. The punishment meted out to the Yavanas by Imayavaramban is singular. Their arms are

said to have been pinioned behind their back, and *ghi* poured on their head. Obviously the land of the Chēra was a flourishing country. Among jewels worn in the land were those made of flashing gems set in gold. (p.p. 16.) Besides rice, meat was also used as food; and drinking palm wine was prevalent (p.p. 18). There was no limit to the bounty of this great Chēra; for in the words of the poet:

மாரிபொய்க்குதாயினுஞ்
சேலாதன்பொய்யலனசையே!

'The rains may fail; but never the munificence of Chēralātan!' And indeed, the poet may well be acquitted of exaggeration, when we remember that, according to the colophon, he was, for composing the second decad of *Patirrup-pattu* in praise of the king, rewarded with the free gift of 500 villages in Umbaerkādu (literally elephant-forest) and the revenue for 38 years from the southern province of the Kingdom! He is said to have reigned for 58 years. He lost his life in a battle with a Chōla King, named Vēl-pahar-tadakkai-Peruviral-Kiḷli, who also lost his life in the same engagement (*Puṇam* 62, 63, 368); and the scene of battle is said to be Pōr, a place in Kongu-Nādu (*Puṇam* 62; 368).

PAL-YANAI SEL KEḶU KUṬṬUVAN

Next in order comes Pal-yānai Sel KeḶu Kuṭṭuvan, brother of Imayavaramban (*Patirrup-pattu* III, *Patigam*). He was also a great warrior, and made extensive conquests, (p.p. 23.) among which the conquest of Konkar-Nādu is specifically mentioned (p.p. 22). He was the lord of Pūḷi-Nādu as well as the Periyār region, and of the Aiyirai and the Śeruppu Mountains; and his kingdom was so rich and prosperous, that his unlimited liberality did not affect in any manner the wealth of the country. He never swerved from his word, but kept on straight even like the sun. (p.p. 21). He followed the law of the Brahmanas who duly performed the six-fold functions (p.p. 24.); and he helped the Brahmana poet Pālai Kautamanār who sang the third decad of *Patirrup-pattu* in his praise to perform 10 Vedic *yāgas* or sacrificial rites. He reigned for 25 years, according to the colophon to the third decad of *Patirrup-pattu*.

KARUVŪR-ĒRIYA KŌ PERUM CHĒRAL

At this stage, a digression is, perhaps, necessary. It will have been seen from the foregoing account that the work of conquest of the neighbouring territories and their annexation to the Chēra

kingdom which began with Udiyan Chēral continued in the reigns of his two sons, Imayavaramban and Pal-yānai Sel KeḶu Kuṭṭuvan. The last of these kings completed the conquest of Pūḷi-Nādu or Konkānam, the territory of the Nannans, who, as ancient Tamil literature shows, were war-like chiefs who rarely missed an opportunity to harass their neighbours. He had also annexed the land of the Kongar which in those early times was the theatre of endless warfare among the three Tamil Kings. Round about that region were numerous war-like tribes. In the circumstances, the Chēra, after the conquest of these northern regions, would, as a measure of political wisdom and necessity, have thought of strengthening his position by establishing a viceroyalty in the north; and I suggest that Pal-yānai Sel KeḶu Kuṭṭuvan, conqueror of Pūḷi-Nādu and Konga-Nādu appointed probably in the latter part of his reign the first viceroy investing him with palatine powers, and sent him to the newly acquired northern province. This consideration induces me to bring in here as contemporary Pal-yānai Sel-KeḶu Kuṭṭuvan, a Chēra king who, so far as the materials now available go, appears to stand unrelated to any other Chēra known to literature. He is Chēramān Karuvūr-ēriya Oḷvāl-Kōp-Perum-Chēral Irumporai. This name occurs in the colophon to one single poem alone (*puṇam* 5) which is by a poet, Nariverūttalaiyār, who does not appear to have sung about any other king or chieftain. It is not possible, therefore, to state from literature alone where exactly this Chēra king should be placed. We shall find presently that there was a line of Chēras who bore the name of Irumporai; and in my view, the Chēral Irumporais who figure in Tamil literature, represented, perhaps a junior branch of the Chēra dynasty and were in the position of the Chēra viceroys with palatine powers stationed probably at Tonḍi, after the Chēra Kingdom had extended northward. Oḷvāl Kōp-Perum-Chēral Irumporai may be regarded as the first of these viceroys of the north, as he is said in the colophon to have gone to reign at Karuvūr. I take this Karuvūr to be different from Vanchi for reasons which I have stated elsewhere; and I tentatively hold that Oḷvāl Kōp-Perum-Chēral Irumporai, as the first king of the Tonḍi branch, may be placed immediately before Chēramān Antuvan Chēral Irumporai, whose father probably he was and of whom we shall hear later. I am also of the strong belief that this Oḷvāl Kōp-Perum-Chēral is the same as Chēramān Perum Chēralātan, who appears from the colophon to *puṇam* 65 to have sustained a defeat in battle against Chōlan Karikāl Peruvalattān. We see from *Puṇam* 66 that the battle was fought at Veṇṇi, and mention is made of it in *Agam* 55

also. We need not stop to inquire whether Karikālvaḷavan mentioned in these poems is the well-known Karikāla the Great, the hero of *Poranar-arṇupaḍai*. Probably this was a predecessor; and I strongly suspect he was probably the father of Muḍittalai Kō-Perunarkilḷi. These poems that relate the battle of Veṇṇi are of special interest as they mention a peculiar practice among warriors in those early days. We are told that the Chēra King, while facing his foe in battle was wounded with a weapon which ran through his body, wounding also his back; and as a wound on the back was regarded as a blot on heroism, the king sat facing north and courted death by starvation.

NAR MUḌICCHĒRAL

We must now return to the main line. After Pal-yānai Śel-Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan and Karuvūr-ēriya Kōp-Perum-Chēral Irumporai, we have two parallel lines of Chēras, one ruling in Vanchi and other at Tonḍi. In the main line Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan was succeeded by Kaḷankāikkanni Nārmuḍicchēral, son of Imayavaramban Neḍum Chēralātan. Nārmuḍicchēral is the hero of the 4th decad of *Patirrup-pattu*. Though he was a great warrior, he treated his enemies with great clemency and magnanimity, a circumstance that the author of IV *Patirrup-pattu* particularly mentions with admiration:

வசையுநர்கறுத்த
பகைவர்தேளத்தாயினுஞ்
சினவாயாகுந்விழும்பூதாற்பெரிதே

We shall be able to appreciate the full significance of this praise when we remember that in those early days the victors in the field of battle are said to have pulled out the teeth of their enemies, and exposed them to public view at the gates of their capital! The most important of the expeditions of this Chēra were those against Neḍumiḍal or Anchi, (p.p. 32.) and Nannan (p.p. 40.) both of whom he defeated in battle. Anchi was the chief of a mountainous territory, known as Kutirai-malai (*Agam* 372). We cannot say whether this Anchi is the same as the friend of Auvai; possibly he is different, as Auvai's friend is known in literature as Atiyamān Nedumān Anchi. Nannan, as has already been stated, was the chief of Pūḷi and the head of the Kaḍambu clan (Vide also p.p. 40 *Patigam*). This Nannan appears to have recovered some of his lost territory, most probably some time after the death of the first Irumporai; and Nārmuḍicchēral advanced against the in-

surgent chief and won a decisive victory over him at Vāgaip-perunturai, wrested back the territory (*Agam* 199) and subjugated the clan. Nannan became thereafter a vassal or feudatory of the Chēra. Thus in *Agam* 258, Parānar refers to him as Nannan Udiyan, and in *Agam* 44 he is referred to as one of the feudatory generals of the Chēra. We may, therefore, hold that some time after the crushing defeat at Vāgaip-perunturai, Nannan became the ally and supporter of the Chēra, whom they recognised as their overlord. Nārmuḍicchēral was apparently an ideal monarch; and Kāppi-āṇṇu Kāppiyanār, who has sung the fourth decad of *Patirrup-pattu* in his honour, tells us that the King lived for the good of others; the poet's words being பிறர்க்கென வாழ்நீயாகல் (p.p. 38; 39). He freely gave away elephants as presents (p.p. 40). Among the shrines in his kingdom, prominent mention is made of the shrine of கமஞ்சூற்றுழாஅ யலங்கற்செல்வன்; and the old scholiast explains this to mean the deity in Tiruvānantapuram or Trivandrum (p.p. 31). This monarch is also called Vānavaramban (p.p. 38), possibly because in his reign had been attained the ideal of peace and safety graphically described in *Puṇam* 2, as having existed in the land in the days of Udiyan Chēral, the first to bear the title of Vānavaramban. He was, like his predecessors, a liberal patron of letters and we learn from the colophon that the author of the fourth decad of *Patirrup-pattu* was given 40 lakhs of gold coins in appreciation of his poem. Nārmuḍicchēral reigned, according to the colophon, for 25 years.

ŚEN KUṬṬUVAN, THE GREAT

The next in order in the main line is Śen Kuṭṭuvan, stated to be another son of Imayavaramban and a half-brother of Kaḷankāikkanni Nārmuḍicchēral. Śen Kuṭṭuvan's name is, perhaps the best known among the Chēra Kings to the student of general literature. He is the hero of the fifth decad of *Patirrup-pattu*, of which the author is Parānar, one of the greatest poets of the Śangam Age. He is also the real hero of *Śilappadhikāram*, the well-known Tamil epic by the Chēra prince Iḷankō Aḍikaḷ. He was a great warrior, and with his victorious army he is said to have conquered vast regions from Cape Comorin in the south to the Himālayas in the north, 'where the gods dwell':—

கடவுணியைகல்லோற்குரொடுவரை
வடநிசையெல்லேஇமயமாகத
தென்னக்குமரியொடாயிடையரசர்

முரசுடைப்பெருஞ்சமந்தையவார்ப்பெழுச்
சொல்லலாட்டைத்தொல்வினழித்த
போர்துணைப்பொலந்தார்துட்டுவ (p.p. 43).

Early in his reign, there seem to have been disturbances on the borders of his kingdom, which had to be quelled. Among the chiefs that he subjugated was Mōgūr-Mannan, a proud warrior well known in ancient Tamil literature, (p.p. 44; 49) and Paḷaiyan, whose totem was the neem tree, (p.p. 49; 50 *Patigam*, *Silap. XXVIII*, 124-6) and one of his principal allies was Arugai, an enemy of the Chief of Mōgūr (p.p. 44). He won a great naval victory (p.p. 45, 46, 48; *Agam* 212) by reason of which there came to be attached to his name the distinctive epithet Kaḍal-Pirkkōṭṭiya (p.p. 50 *Patigam*). The irrepressible Nannan again rose in revolt; but Śen Kuṭṭuvan put down the disturbance and destroyed Viyalūr, one of Nannan's strongholds (p.p. 50 *Patigam*; *Agam* 97), and Kodukūr, possibly another of Nannan's strongholds (p.p. 50 *Patigam*). According to *Silappadhikāram*, Nannan was helped in this war by the Chōḷa and the Pāndya (*Silap. XXV*, 153-5). After the destruction of Viyalūr, Śen Kuṭṭuvan turned his attention to the Chōḷa country where a war of succession had broken out after the death of Karikāla the Great. We find that nine princes contested the right of Perum Kiḷli afterwards known as Nalam Kiḷli Sēṭ-Chenni, the lawful claimant, who was the brother-in-law of Śen Kuṭṭuvan. Śen Kuṭṭuvan went to his help, defeated his rivals, and placed him securely on the throne. (p.p. 50 *Patigam*; *Silap. 28*, ll. 115-19; also 27, ll. 118 ff.) We also learn that this Chēra undertook an expedition to North India for consigning the effigy of his deceased mother to the holy waters of the Ganges (*Silap. XXV*, 160 ff.), when he met Aryan princes in battle and defeated them. Later too, he led an expedition to the Gangetic region for fetching suitable stone from that hallowed ground for the effigy of Kaṇṇaki, the apotheosised wife or Patni-Kaḍavuḷ, which he intended to consecrate in a temple that he proposed to build. He had received a request from his friend the Satakarni for assistance, and he took advantage of it. The story of this northern march is found in detail in Iḷankō Aḍigal's *Silappadhikāram*. Reading that epic and Parānar's fifth decad of *Patirrup-pattu*, we can easily see that Śen Kuṭṭuvan was preeminently a warrior, who always sought fresh conquests. We learn from *Silappadhikāram* that for 50 out of the 55 years of his reign, he was engaged in gaining the laurels of war (*Silap. XXVIII*, 1929-32). He was the most powerful monarch of his day in the South, and

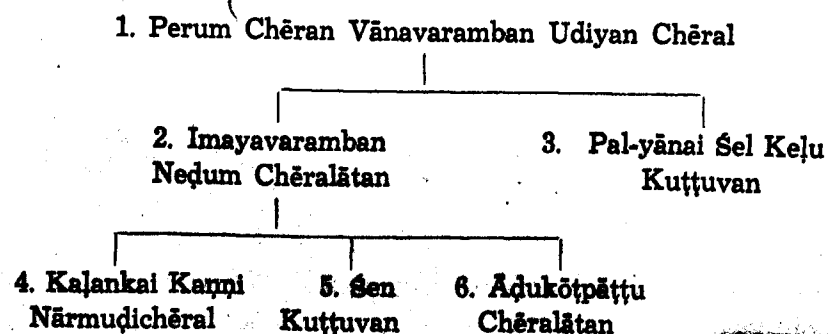
his might was such that he could domineer over the Chōḷa and the Pāndya. This will be patent from the fact that the insignia that his royal decrees bore consisted of the bow, the fish and the tiger (*Silap. XXV*, 171, 2; 87-90; *XXVI*, 168 ff). The internal administration of the country, however, left nothing to be desired. He was a great patron of arts and letters (p.p. 49). He was probably partial to *Kūttu* or dancing and the drama which he patronised very liberally (p.p. 42); and we read in *Silappadhikāram* that on his return from his eventful expedition to the North, a Chākkaiyan of Paravūr, a town in North Travancore, well versed in the art of *Kūttu* entertained him and the queen by reciting with appropriate action the story of *Tṛpura-Samhāra*. He is said to have made a free gift of the revenue derived from Umbarkāḍu to Parānar in appreciation of the fifth decad of *Patirrup-pattu*. He did much to develop trade and commerce; and at his ports, foreign merchantmen, called and carried on brisk business. We read that large and beautiful ships of the Yavanas brought gold in great quantity to the port of Musiri and went back laden with pepper, and that Kuṭṭuvan distributed as presents the rare products of the sea and the mountain (*Agam* 149; *Puṇam* 343). His was a rich country, with a never-failing supply of water. The Periyār, the principal river of the Chēra country, is described as full even in seasons of drought (p.p. 43), and the people that it attracted for bath are stated to be innumerable like the sands of the beach (p.p. 48). In luxuriance, the land was even as rich as the country watered not only by the Kāveri but by the accumulated waters of Mukkūḍal (p.p. 50.) or the confluent waters of three rivers. A detailed and informing account of Chēran Śen Kuṭṭuvan is supplied by Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar in his learned monograph on that monarch. This great Chēra King reigned for 55 years; and in his kingdom Hindus, Jains and Buddhists lived together in perfect amity. His consecration of a temple to Patni-Devi was an event of international significance; and among those who attended the function was King Gaja-Bāhu of Ceylon. Probably this event contributed much to the spread of Bhagavati worship, now so common on the Malabar coast.

ADUKOṬPATṬU CHĒRALĀTAN

Next in order to Śen Kuṭṭuvan, *Patirrup-pattu* deals with another son of Imayavaramban Neḍum Chēralātan, named Aḍukōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan, brother of Nārmuḍicchēral. He is the hero of

the sixth decad of *Patirrup-pattu*, the author of which is Kākkai-pāḍiniyār Naccheḷaiyār. The prefix Aḍukōtpāṭṭu to his name Chēralātan is apparently explained by the statements in p.p. 56 and 57 that he used in the flush of victory to dance with sword held high in the field of battle. The *Patigam* to this decad gives another explanation, namely that he recovered a flock of sheep, lifted probably as a prelude to war. We know that in early days cattle-lifting was a common method of inaugurating hostile operations in war. Naccheḷaiyār does not mention any particular battle that this Chēra fought; but her poem enables us to see that trade and commerce on a large scale flourished in the country. She mentions that valuable commodities brought into this Chēralātan's port were stored in godowns (p.p. 55 சன்கலவெறுக்கைதுஞ்சம்பந்தர்; vide also p.p. 60). There were so few needy people in his city of ancient fame situated on the sea shore, that the king used to send cars to other places to bring men that he might bestow gifts on them (p.p. 55). Music and dancing were encouraged by him (p.p. 57, 58 and 60.) and were richly rewarded. Many feudatory chiefs owed him allegiance (p.p. 59) and he rivalled Vānavaramban in fame and glory (p.p. 58, 60 *Patigam*). His kingdom extended beyond the port of Naṟavu, probably the Naoura of the Periplus or the Nitria of Pliny, which has been identified by some scholars with Mangalore at the mouth of the river Nētrāvatī. Naccheḷaiyār was for her song of praise rewarded by this king with 9 *tulams* weight of gold for jewels and with extensive lands; and he further took her to himself. He reigned for 38 years.

This finishes the list of Chēra Kings given in *Patirrup-pattu* who are commonly regarded as belonging to the main line. The succession list may be presented by a genealogical tree as follows:



We do not know how long the first of these Chēras, Vānavaramban Udiyan Chēral, reigned, but the others, if we accept the informa-

tion supplied by the colophons to the decads of *Patirrup-pattu* we have already considered, would together have reigned for 201 years. This figure undoubtedly gives a large average for each king; and that is due mainly to the fact that Imayavaramban and Śen Kuṭṭuvan are stated to have reigned for 58 years and 55 years respectively. We shall see later whether there is any reason to reject this information in the colophons as improbable, and whether any adjustment is needed.

ANTUVAN CHĒRAL

We may now pursue the other line, which I would call the Tonḍi line. The *Patigam* to the seventh decad of that work tells us that the hero of that decad was the son of Antuvan. His full name is Chēramān Antuvan Chēral Irumporai. There is a complete lack of materials about the activities of this Chēra. We can, however, say from the occurrence of Irumporai in his name that he belonged to the northern line that began with Karuvūr-ēriya Perum Chēral Irumporai of whom we have already read. I hold that Antuvan Chēral was, perhaps, the son and certainly the successor of Karuvūr-ēriya Perum Chēral. The only incident connected with him is gathered from the colophon to *Puṟam* 13, sung by Uṟaiyūr Ēpiccheri Muḍa Mōsiyār. We read that by misadventure the Chōḷa, Muḍittalai Kō Perunarkillī, whom I would place between Karikāla I and Uruva Pahṟer Iḷam-Śey-Chenni, the father of Karikāla the Great, entered the precincts of Karuvūr, which then belonged to the Chēra, on a rutted elephant; and the poet in this poem tries to dissuade Antuvan Chēral from falling into the mistake of regarding the entry as an act of hostility on the part of the Chōḷa King. *Puṟam* 203 gives the information that (Uruva Pahṟer?) Iḷam-Śey-Chenni invaded the Chēra territory and captured Pāmalūr; and possibly that event occurred in Antuvan Chēral's time.

ŚELVAK KAḌUNKŌ AḷI ATAN

The next king we read of is his son, Śelvak-Kaḍunkō Aḷi Atan, the hero of the seventh decad of *Patirrup-pattu*, which was sung by Kapilar, one of the greatest of the Śangam poets. It is recorded that this king won a victory over the combined armies of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya (p.p. 63, also p.p. 85.); and he was in such plentitude of power, that soon he had no enemy anywhere (p.p. 69). His country was very prosperous;

and there was pearl fishery in his sea ports (p.p. 67). He rivalled Pāri in munificence (p.p. 61); and his bountifulness became a bye-word (*Agam* 142). The poet exultantly exclaims: "There are many kings; but what benefit do we derive from them? If bards appear even on the outskirts of your capital city, it is your command they should be liberally rewarded, and they should not be put to the trouble of even seeing you. You shower ambrosia even more profusely than the clouds pour down rain (p.p. 64)! Whatever may happen, your word remains unshakeable. Foes who have won renown in battle with others, gladly bow to you, regarding it as a privilege and your benign love and generosity to them are unlimited." (p.p. 63). The *Patigam* tells us that he made a gift of Okantūr, a village, to Viṣṇu, the deity he worshipped, at the close of a *Yāga*. He rewarded Kapilar beyond the dreams of avarice. The colophon says the poet was given 100,000 gold pieces or coins, and all the land that one could see from the top of a hill. Apparently this gift of land is not a myth; for we find Perum Kunṛūr Kiḷār, another *Śangam* poet, exclaims in p.p. 85: கல்லிசைக்கபிலன்பெற்ற ஆரின்னும்பலவே! which means, more numerous than the villages that the renowned poet Kapilar obtained. Śelvak-Kaḍunkō Vāliyātan reigned for 25 years, and died at Chikkarp-paḷli (*Puṛam* 387).

PERUM CHĒRAL IRUMPOṚAI

He was succeeded by his son, Perum Chēral Irumpoṛai, a great warrior in whose praise Ariśil Kiḷār has sung the eighth decad of *Patirrup-pattu*. He won a great victory at Takaḍūr in Kollik-kūṛṇam against Adikamān and two great chiefs or kings (?)

கொல்லிக்கடற்றத்து
பல்வேற்றனை அதுகமாடு
புருபெருவேந்தரையுமுடனிலைவென்று

(p.p. 78; 80 *Patigam*; *Puṛam* 230.) His fame as a hero spread so rapidly that soon princes and chiefs and others bowed to him in submission (p.p. 75.); and he spared the lives of his foes when they submitted to him and paid him tribute, 'even as spirits spare their victims when sacrifice is offered to them'.

பலிகொண்டபெயரும்பாசம்போல

His sway and power extended so far that he was not only the lord

of Kolli and 'the protecting armour' of the people of Pūḷi-Nāḍu (பூழியர்மெய்மறை) but he was even regarded as the lord of Pugār

காவிரிமண்டியசெல்விரிவனப்பிற்புகாஅர்செல்வ (p.p. 73)

His ministers were men of wisdom who made the good of the people their chief concern (p.p. 72). Both inland and sea-borne trade flourished in the land; and work in hides was carried on (p.p. 74, 76). The king performed *Yāgas* in accordance with the rules laid down. (p.p. 74.); and the whole country was rich and prosperous (p.p. 71). He was a great patron of learning; and the respect and regard with which he treated bards that sought him is exemplified by a supremely lovable act of high-souled magnanimity recorded in *Puṛam* 50 by Mōśu Kīranār. The poet's art yielded him in those days high praise and rich gifts, and made him a welcome guest in every court. Mōśu Kīranār, when he arrived at the court of this great Chēra King, found the latter had gone out for a hunt; and the bard who was tired fell asleep by mistake on the king's couch. The king discovered the poet sleeping; and with a greatness and nobility of heart that was beyond all praise did not only not disturb, but kept fanning him till he awoke refreshed! King and hero as he was, Perum Chēral found light and life in the immortal song of the poet, whom he held in the greatest esteem. The colophon says that as reward he offered to Ariśil Kiḷār, the author of the eighth decad of *Patirrup-pattu*, even his very throne, and everything of value in the palace, which the poet, however, declined to accept; and the king thereupon made Ariśil-Kiḷār his minister. This king reigned for 17 years.

IḶAM CHĒRAL IRUMPOṚAI

He was succeeded by his son IḶam Chēral Irumpoṛai, the hero of the ninth decad of *Patirrup-pattu* by Perum-Kunṛūr Kiḷār. This poet had met with bitter disappointment once when he sought this Chēra's bounty (*Puṛam* 210, 211); but later the king and the poet understood each other, and the poet says: "I had thought that IḶam Chēral was a fierce prince, as all had been lauding his great prowess in war. I now see I was mistaken. Having known him personally, I see he is as sweet as the waters of the Vāni river." (p.p. 86). He sustained the glory and munificence of his illustrious ancestors like Śelvak-Kaḍunkō and the victors of Vāgai-parantalai and Viyalūr (p.p. 88, 90). His land abounded in sandal wood,

agil (*dysorylum malabarium*) and sugarcane. (p.p. 87.) He was the lord of Tonḍi, Kongar-Nāḍu, Kuṭṭuvar-Nāḍu and Pūḷi-Nāḍu (p.p. 88, 90). He defeated Perum Chōḷa, Iḷam Paḷaiyan Māran and Vicchi, and destroyed the 'Five forts' (p.p. 90 *Patigam*). He was a brave, good, just and impartial ruler; and the poet pronounces in exultation the following benediction: "As the result of thy just and impartial rule, may the clouds never fail to yield bounteous rain! May there be rich pasturage for cattle; may the joyous birds thrive in groves; may fruits and edible roots be plenteous; may grain grow in abundance; may the whole land offer thee reverent praise! May good and virtuous men fill the land! Swerve not from thy kingly duty! May thy arms be victorious; and may thou and thy consort be blessed with long life health and happiness (p.p. 89)! There can be no doubt that peace and plenty reigned over the land of this bountiful king. It is no wonder that Perum Kunṇūr Kiḷār asks his brother bards to proceed to the court of this monarch, where they would have liberal largess (p.p. 87). Perum Kunṇūr Kiḷār was most munificently rewarded with land, money and jewels for his poem by Iḷam Chēral Irumporai, who reigned, according to the colophon, for 16 years.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This finishes the list of Chēras sung about in *Patirrup-pattu*, who belonged to the Tonḍi line. Their genealogy is as follows:

Perum Chēral Irumporai of Karuvūr fame
 :
 Antuvan Chēral Irumporai
 |
 Śelvak-kaḍunkō Aḷi Ātan
 |
 Perum Chēral Irumporai of Takaḍūr fame
 |
 Iḷam Chēral Irumporai

We do not know how long the first two kings in this list reigned, but the last three together cover 56 years of rule according to the colophons.

Before we proceed to examine the remaining Chēras, let us try to examine the results we have obtained. We saw Iṃayavaram-

ban reigned for 58 years. He had a brother Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, who succeeded him and reigned for 25 years. Iṃayavaramban had also three sons, all of whom are said to have been reigning Chēras. Of these three, Nārmuḍicchēral reigned for 25 years; and on his death he was succeeded by Śen Kuṭṭuvan who reigned for 55 years, and after Śen Kuṭṭuvan came Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan with a reign of 38 years. Even supposing that Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan was but a babe in arms when Iṃayavaramban died—and that is obviously all but impossible—he must have been at least 105 years old when he became king, and thereafter reigned for 38 years. This is palpably absurd. Perhaps, the high eminence that Iṃayavaramban and Śen Kuṭṭuvan occupied as conquering heroes, who made the military prowess of their armies felt even in North India, induced the ascription of an exaggerated period to the reign of each of these two kings: but this hypothesis alone would not help us to solve the difficulty, for even if we allowed the conventional period of 25 years to each king that preceded Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan, he must have waited 75 years after his father's death to ascend the throne of the Chēra kingdom. If, however, it would be possible to hold that one of the sons of Iṃayavaramban ruled at Tonḍi, instead of regarding all the three of them as having ruled at Vanchi, the difficulty would be almost entirely obviated. *Patirrup-pattu* affords some material that would help us in this direction. The *Patigam* of sixth *Patirrup-pattu* says that the lifted cattle which Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan recovered from Tandāraṇiyam, a place in Ārya-Nāḍu, was removed by him to Tonḍi and there distributed among Brāhmanas, to whom a village in Kuḍa-Nāḍu was also given. From this we may assume that Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan was ruling in Tonḍi. This assumption receives support from the fact that he is associated with Naṇavu or Mangalore (p.p. 80). I have before postulated that Perum Chēral Irumporai of Karuvūr fame was sent by Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan as the first viceroy of the northern palatinate and that he was succeeded by Antuvān Chēral as ruler at Tonḍi. These two Chēras, about whom little is known, as only one short poem is found about each of them, ruled for apparently only a short period; and Antuvan Chēral witnessed an invasion of his dominion by the Chōḷa. I suggest that Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan was sent to Tonḍi to rule over the northern palatinate by his elder brother Kaḷankāik-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍicchēral as, perhaps, Śelvak-Kaḍunkō Aḷi Ātan was too young to succeed his father Antuvan Chēral. On this supposition, which does not seem to be violent,

the following table of contemporaneous kings in the two branches may be constructed tentatively.

Chēras of Vanchi	Chēras of Tonḍi
1. Perum-Śōṛṛu Udiyan Chēral	
2. Imayavaramban Neḍum Chēralātan	
3. Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan	Karuvūr Perum Chēral Irumpoṛai
4. Kaḷankāik-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍic-chēral	Antuvan Chēral Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan
5. Śen Kuṭṭuvan	do. Śelvak-kaḍunkō Āḷi Ātan Perum Chēral Irumpoṛai
	Ilam Chēral Irumpoṛai

KUṬṬUVAN KŌDAI ALIAS MĀ-KŌDAI

For the remaining Chēras of whom we read in Śangam literature, we have to depend mainly on the colophons appended to *Puṛa-nānūru* lyrics; and our results can only be tentative. And first as regards the main line. We see from the fifth decad of *Paṭiṛrup-pattu* that Śen Kuṭṭuvan had a son Kuṭṭuvan Chēral, who was delivered by the former to Paranar. Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar makes a happy suggestion that this probably means that the king entrusted his son for training and literary culture to the great poet. Accepting this suggestion, we may conclude that on the death of Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan, Kuṭṭuvan Chēral probably succeeded him. We find among the Chēramāns a king bearing the name Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai; and I have little doubt that he is the same as Kuṭṭuvan Chēral. Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai is eulogised in *Puṛam* 51 by a poet called Kōnāṭṭu Eṇicchalūr Māḍalan Maturaik-kumārānār. This poet has also sung of Ilavantip-paḷḷit-tunchiya

Nalam Kiḷḷi Śēṭ-Chenni (*Puṛam* 61) the Chōḷa whom in the war of succession that followed the death of Karikāla, we saw Śen Kuṭṭuvan helped to ascend the throne. This renders it probable that Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai was the next king in the main line after Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan if the latter reigned at Vanchi at all. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that the poet should have waited for at least 40 years after he had sung *Puṛam* 61, to sing *Puṛam* 54 in honour of Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Chēralātan's successor and this consideration may well make one suspect whether Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai did not come immediately after Śen Kuṭṭuvan. Possibly Kōdai's reign was not eventful and hardly counted. However it be, it is clear from *Puṛam* 54 that poets had easy access to his presence and that they were lavishly rewarded. This is not to be wondered at in a pupil of the great Paranar. It is my belief that Kuṭṭuvan Chēral *alias* Kōdai is identical with Kōṭṭambalattuttunchia Mā-Kōdai, a royal poet, who, like Hrothgar in Beowulf, 'the harp's sweet note awoke, and a song intoned both sooth and sad.' We have already referred to his poem, *Agam* 168, when dealing with Perum Śōṛṛu Udiyan Chēralātan. I give below an English adaptation of a pathetic lyric (*Puṛam* 245.) he has sung on the demise of his consort.

"What charm hath life henceforth for me?"

The King in his bereavement cried.

"My queen, how good and sweet was she!

The innocent of soul hath died.

My swelling sorrow knows no bound.

Alas! like to the common dead

I bore her to the burning ground

Where nought but spiny cactus spread.

A heap of fuel there arrayed

Stood smould'ring her remains to claim;

With cruel hands my queen I laid

Upon her couch of rising flame.

My queen hath left me. Like the sea

Though deep and surging is my grief,

It has no strength, alas! to me

From hated life to bring relief.

Would that grim death had come to me!

The fairest queen on earth is dead!

The nectar of my life was she!

Ah, wherefore hath my angel fled?"

This scholar-king died at Kōṭṭambalam.



MĀ-VENKŌ

Perhaps next in order in the main line came Chēramān Mā-Venḱō, of whom there is mention made in the colophon to *Puṇam* 367. We may gather from it that he was a friend of Ugrap-peru vaḷuti, the Pāndya, and of Rājasūyamvēṭṭa Perunaṇ-kiḷḷi, the Chōḷa. No other information is available about him. I hazard the guess that he is, perhaps, the same as Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō, of which name the name found in *Puṇa-nāṇūru* is possibly a paraphrase. As it is, Pālaipāḍiya Kaḍumkō stands unrelated to anyone. We can see from his *Pālaikkali* that he was a friend of the Pāndya; and we see from *Puṇam* 11, perhaps the only poem sung about him, that he was the ruler of Vanchi. In the scheme of succession that has been so far constructed from material supplied by ancient Tamil literature, there appears to be no room for introducing another reigning prince between Udiyan Chēral and Kuṭṭuvan Kōḍai or Mā-Kōḍai. Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō is not an imaginary figure; but he was undoubtedly one of the ancient Chēra Kings. In a previous article on this Chēra King (JIH. XI, 153 ff.) I suggested that he was anterior in date to Śen Kuṭṭuvan. On further consideration, I have come to entertain the belief that he was posterior to Śen Kuṭṭuvan; and tentatively I would identify him with Chēramān Mā-Venḱō. He must be somewhat anterior to Nal-Antuvanār, the redactor of *Kalit-tokai*. Nal-Antuvanār has been sung about by Marudan Iḷa Nākanār (*Agam* 59), who was a contemporary of the Pāndya, Ilavantikaip-paḷḷit-tunchiya Nan Māran (*Puṇam* 55) of whom another contemporary was Nakkīrar (*Puṇam* 56); and Nakkīrar, as we shall see presently, has sung of a succeeding generation of Kings. I, therefore, propose to place Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō after Kuṭṭuvan Kōḍai, and identify him with Chēramān Mā-Venḱō. It is obvious that Pālaipāḍiya Chēra cannot be placed later, as it was at the instance of the Pāndya King Ugrap-peru-vaḷuti, the *Kalit-tokai* was redacted.

About the kingly exploits of Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō, we have no record; but as I have shown elsewhere he has left an imperishable name as a Tamil poet. His poems, all of which relate to *Palai-tiṇai* in *Agam*, reveal the highest spirit of chivalry. In *Narṇinai* 9, he says that the gaining of the lady that one loves is like meeting the god one seeks. In *Agam* 185, he says that the man who leaves his love must be one with a heart of hard iron. It is pleasing to note in his poems the loyalty and tenderness of the wife, and the fidelity of the lady's companion. In *Agam* 267,

where the lady's companion tries to comfort the lady, whose husband has left in quest of riches, the wife declares that if a husband leaves his spouse, it is due entirely to the inability of the latter to detain him with her. He frankly denounces the unsympathetic minister who misleads the king into deeds of injustice and oppression (*Pālai* 7, 9). It is clear from *Narṇinai* 202 that the lighting of lamps on Kārtigai day was common in those days, as he likens a tree in blossom to the appearance of a town illuminated on Tiru-kārtigai day. In *Pālaikkali* I, he refers to the reaction of elephants to music, which has the power of soothing them. Toddy was a favourite drink in his day (*Pālai* 3.) and people believed in omens (*Pālai* 10).

ATAN AVINI AND YĀNAI-KAṬ ŚĒY

We may now turn to the northern or Tonḍi line. In that branch, the outstanding figure is Yānai-kaṭ Śēy Māntaram Chēral Irumporai, whom I would place some time after Iḷam Chēral Irumporai; for before Māntaram Chēral we must place Atan Avini, of whom Ōrampōkiyar has sung in *Ain-kuṇunūru*, a Śangam collection which was redacted at the instance of Yānai-kaṭ Śēy Māntaram Chēral (Vide *Ain*. 1-10). Nothing is known of this prince; but we may be safe in regarding him as the immediate predecessor of Yānai-kaṭ Śēy. This latter is addressed in *Puṇam* 22 as வேழநோக்கின் மிழல்வெஞ்சேனம்- the mighty Śēy with the elephant's look.

He appears to have been a great warrior, though in his wars, he does not seem to have been very successful. We read that he unsuccessfully engaged in battle the Chōḷa Rājasūyamvēṭṭa Peru Naṇkiḷḷi, (*Puṇam* 125) and he was one of the confederate princes whom the Pāndya Neḍum Śēḷiyan fought and defeated at Talai-ālamkānam (*Puṇam* 17; *Agam* 36). He won a battle at Viḷankil (*Puṇam* 53). His internal administration, however, appears to have been a blessing to his subjects. Poṇuntīl Iḷam Kīranār, who is one of the poets that have sung about him, says it requires a bard of the eminence of Kapilar to sing the praises of this king. Another poet extols him for his just rule under which his subjects enjoyed the benefits of peace, 'knowing no bow except the rainbow, and no weapon except the plough' (*Puṇam* 20), and praises the Chēra kingdom as a heaven on earth (*Puṇam* 22). He was also a great patron of learning; and it was at his instance that *Ain-kuṇunūru* was collected. *Puṇa-nāṇūru* has a touching lament on his death which one of his bards, Kūḍalūr Kiḷār had dreaded

would happen as he had witnessed the falling of a meteor at mid-night, when the planets and stars were in a particular conjunction (*Puṇam* 229). Unfortunately the astronomical details cannot help us to discover the date of his demise.

KŌ-KŌDAI MĀRPAN

The next in that line will be Kō-kōdai Mārpan. Poigaiyār, his court poet, tells us that he ruled at Tonḍi, and that his country was the sea-board region (*Puṇam* 48, 49); and though it was *Neytal* land, it also abounded in *Kurinchi* and *Marutam* land or rich forests and paddy fields. The poet Nakkirar tells us in *Agam* 346 of an invasion of Kūḍal or Madura by Kiḷḷivaḷavan (perhaps the Chōḷa of that name who died at Kurāppaḷi) who slew Paḷaiyan Māran in that campaign, to the great joy of Kōdai Mārpan. Possibly Paḷaiyan Māran, who we saw had been defeated in battle by Iḷam Chēral Irumporai, began to give trouble to the Chēra, whose power after the defeat of Yānai-kaṭṭ Sēy Māntaram Chēral by the Chōḷa and the Pāndya had begun to wane; and hence Kōdai Mārpan was rejoiced to see this troublesome chief defeated and killed by the Chōḷa. This Chōḷa seems, however, to have afterwards invaded Kōdai Mārpan's territory and captured Karuvūr (*Puṇam* 273).

KANAİKĀL IRUMPOṚAI

The next in order in that branch is Kanaikāl Irumporai. Poigaiyār was his court poet. Mūvan, a chief who had incurred this Chēra's displeasure, was punished by having his teeth pulled out and fixed on the gate at Tonḍi as warning (*Narṇinai* 18). Kanaikāl Irumporai does not stand alone in inflicting this mode of punishment; for we read of other similar instances. We do not know anything about his reign; but we have definite information about his end, which was very heroic. We gather from *Agam* 44 that Kanaian, a feudatory and general of the Chēra, along with other feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Chēra, met in battle Paḷaiyan, the Chōḷa general, who lost his life in the engagement. This infuriated Śen-Kaṇṇan, the Chōḷa King, who marched against Kanaian, killed him in battle and captured Kaḷumalam, a city of the Chēra (*Agam* 270). Kanaikāl Irumporai, the Chēra King, could not stand this, and naturally went to war with Kō Śen-Kaṇṇan. At the battle of Pōr, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Kō Śen-Kaṇṇan, and confined at Kudavāyil Kōṭṭam (*Puṇam* 74). It was on that occasion that Poigaiyār sang *Kaḷavaḷi Nārpatu* in praise of Śen-Kaṇṇan, and won the release of his patron, Kanaikāl Irumporai.

kāl Irumporai. In the meantime, Kanaikāl feeling thirsty, asked for water which was not readily supplied; and he was so much stung by the insult that he preferred to die, rather than accept the water that the warders were so tardy in supplying. Before the order for release could be carried out, the proud and heroic Chēra had breathed his last; but he left a short poem, full of true epic grandeur, explaining the circumstances of his death. There is a fine play in Tamil, bearing the title *Māna Vijayam*, written by the late Pandit V. G. Suriyanarayana Sastri, based on this incident. I give below a translation of Kanaikāl Irumporai's swan-song, *Puṇam* 74.

Lo! Issue born but as a lifeless child,
Or even as a shapeless mass of flesh,
Amongst the kingly class with sword is clove!
But meaner e'en than these am I, confined
Like a chained dog, condemned to live in shame!
Can he be king-born who with his own mouth,
Too weak his body's craving to resist,
Begs for a cup of water from his foe?
'Tis better far to die than thus to live!

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

We have now dwelt with all the Chēra Kings mentioned in *Patirrup-pattu* and *Pura-nāṇūru*, except one, Chēramān Vanchan who is sung about in *Puṇam* 398; but nothing is known about him. Possibly he was a subordinate chief of the Chēra country. From the foregoing account, we are in a position to continue the line of succession in the two branches, from where we have left before.

Vanchi Branch.	Tonḍi Branch.
1. Kuṭṭuvan Chēral <i>alias</i> Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai or Mā Kōdai.	1. Ātan Avani.
2. Mā-Veṅkō <i>alias</i> Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō.	2. Yānai-kaṭṭ Sēy Māntaram Chēral.
	3. Kō-kōdai Mārpan.
	4. Kanaikāl Irumporai.

Though we have no means of knowing the exact relationship in which each succeeding ruler in the above succession list stood to his predecessor, I think we may safely suppose the correctness of the above order of succession in either branch. Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai

or Mā Kōdai may be regarded as contemporaneous with Iḷam Chēral Irumporai, and to their period may be assigned Kuḷamurattuttunchiya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, the successor of Chōḷa Nalam Kiḷḷi Śēṭ-Chenni. Mā-Veṅkō *alias* Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō and Yānai-kaṭ Śēy were both contemporaries of the Chōḷa Rāja-sūyemvēṭṭa Perunaṭ Kiḷḷi; and Kō-Kōdai Mārpan was contemporaneous with Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, whom I regard as the same as the Chōḷa of that name who died at Kurāppaḷḷi (*Puṇam* 373). Lastly Kaṇaikāl Irumporai and Chōḷan Śen Kaṇṇan were contemporaries. Thus the Śāṅgam works enable us to gain a connected account of the Chēra for about ten generations from Udiyan Chēral to Kaṇaikāl Irumporai; and during all this period the Chēra dynasty had continuous social or political relation, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, with the Chōḷa line of kings from Tittan's son, Pōr-vaikkō Perunaṭ Kiḷḷi to Śen-Kaṇṇan. We must now try to find out from what date to what date this eventful period of ancient Chēra history extended.

CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the Tamil Śāṅgam has been often discussed by scholars; but unfortunately there is no uniformity of view among them. The latest attempt is by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, senior lecturer in Tamil in the University of Madras, in his recent book 'The Chronology of the Early Tamils.' The work evidences extensive study and much thought and research; and though all may not accept the learned author's postulates, (which are sometimes treated as axioms), and premises on which the thesis is built up, and in spite of the work being in places marred by biased judgment and unnecessary sourness of language, all will recognize that the book is a valuable contribution on a much-debated subject; and subsequent workers in the field will find it of real use. If it had appeared earlier, it might have helped me to avoid considerable trouble and anxiety in the construction of the succession lists of the early Chēras. As it is, it will be found that the results I have formulated in the foregoing account differ in material particulars from those of Mr. Sivaraja Pillai; but I am not convinced that my results need be altered. As regards chronology Mr. Sivaraja Pillai has scant faith in the historical sense of those who have worked on the basis of the Śen Kuṭṭuvan-Gajabāhu synchronism, because forsooth *Śilappadhikāram* and *Mahāvanso*, are likely to twist and pervert historical facts as the result of artistic and religious motives and impulses. I am, however, one of those who have always held that the Śen Kuṭṭuvan-Gajabāhu synchronism

cannot be lightly rejected, simply because these two works are not professedly works of secular history. Such rejection of relevant evidence on *a priori* ground is not sound; and the scientific inquirer must be prepared to accept light from whatever source it may proceed. The value of synchronisms in fixing dates in early Indian history is well known. In my articles entitled "A Problem of Ancient South Indian History" (IHQ. I; QJMS. XVI.), and elsewhere, I have dealt in detail with the date of Śen Kuṭṭuvan. In those articles, I have pointed out that besides the Gajabāhu synchronism, there are various other historical facts mentioned in *Śilappadhikāram* that would throw much light on Śen Kuṭṭuvan's date (IHQ. I. 646-651; QJMS. XVI. 153-156.); and I do not propose to repeat them. Let me just say that Iḷam-kō-Aḍigal, the brother of Śen Kuṭṭuvan, expressly says that he was himself present at the consecration of the temple to Patni-dēvi by Śen Kuṭṭuvan, and that several princes also attended the function, Gajabāhu of Ceylon being among them. There is absolutely no reason to attribute wilful perjury to this holy man of religion. The statement in *Śilappadhikāram* that Gajabāhu on his return to Ceylon ordered a shrine in honour of Patni-Kaḍavuḷ to be constructed and an annual festival to be celebrated in his dominion in her memory, receives confirmation from the statement in the Ceylon chronicles that Gajabāhu took with him some relics of Patni-dēvi to Ceylon, and from the fact that the tradition of Patni-dēvi has for long had a hold on the people of Ceylon, where, as Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy observes, some of the images in temples depicting the old art of that island are those of the wife-goddess (JRAS. 1909. p. 292). I cannot reject the Śen Kuṭṭuvan-Gajabāhu synchronism as fanciful. Gajabāhu is seen to have been reigning between 173 and 191 A.C.; and I have, in the articles above referred to, tried to make out that the building and consecration of the temple was about 176 A.C. As Śen Kuṭṭuvan had been on the throne for 50 years when he built the temple, he may be held to have ascended the throne about 125 A.C. In our present state of knowledge, I have no hesitation in regarding this as the 'sheet anchor' of early South Indian history; and I am strengthened in this view by the result arrived at by Mr. Sivaraja Pillai, who had conducted the inquiry along lines which he claims to be more reliable and less objectionable. I have already stated that Śen Kuṭṭuvan helped Nalam Kiḷḷi Śēṭ Chenni to gain the throne of the Chōḷa kingdom; and the synchronistic table accompanying Mr. Pillai's book assigns this Chōḷa to the period 100 to 125 A.C. Śēṭ Chenni's period may as well be 125 to 150 A.C., for Mr. Pillai's date is only conjectural,

after all. When we remember that in that table the conventional 25 years' period for each king is what is adopted, the coincidence between our results will be admitted to be remarkable. I propose to take 125 A.C. as the first year of Śen Kuṭṭuvan's reign, and with that as the starting point ascertain, with the help of the materials at our disposal, the dates of Śen Kuṭṭuvan's predecessors and successors.

According to *Patirrup-pattu*, the following kings had, before Śen Kuṭṭuvan, reigned for the period mentioned against each.

Imayavaramban Neḍum Chēralātan	58 years.
Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan	25 years.
Kaḷankāi-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍicchēral	25 years.

So, counting back from 125 A.C., the year when Śen Kuṭṭuvan's reign commenced, we see Imayavaramban Neḍum Chēralātan must have begun his reign in c. 17 A.C., Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan in c. 75 A.C. and Kaḷankāi-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍicchēral in c. 100 A.C.; and if we, for the present assign to Vānavaramban Udiyan Chēralātan the conventional 25 years, which cannot, having regard to the character of his reign, be held to be an exaggerated estimate, that king must on this basis be regarded as commencing his reign in about 8 B.C. If Imayavaramban reigned for 58 years, at what age did his brother become king after him? Again Śen Kuṭṭuvan must have, upon this calculation, passed his 50th year at least when he commenced his very long reign. I am inclined to think that the statement in the colophon to second *Patirrup-pattu* should be understood to mean, not that Imayavaramban reigned for 58 years, but he lived for 58 years; and on that supposition he may have still reigned for a long period, say 40 years. Even on this supposition Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan must be about 50 when his reign commenced; and his age must have been 75 when he passed away. Such ripe old age may be uncommon, but is certainly not impossible; and it would afford another very cogent reason for the institution of a viceroyalty in the northern province by Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan. There is another difficulty which we cannot ignore. If Śen Kuṭṭuvan was the son of Imayavaramban, he must have been, at the lowest calculation, over 50 years of age when he became sovereign of the Chēra Kingdom; and if we accept the statement that he ruled for 55 years, he must have been something more than a centenarian when he died. Nor can we construe the statement in the colophon to mean only that he lived for 55 years; for that will give to his reign not more than 5 years' duration!

The only resolution of the tangle that suggests itself to me is to take that Śen Kuṭṭuvan was not a son, but was a grandson of Imayavaramban. I venture to suggest that Neḍum Chēralātarḱu in the *Patigam* of fifth *Patirrup-pattu* is a mislection for Neḍum Chēral *maintarḱu*, the *maintan* or son being Kaḷankāi-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍicchēral. I do not forget the passage in *Silappadhikāram* which describes Śen Kuṭṭuvan as இமயத்து வானவர் மருளமலைவிற்பட்டிய வானவர் தோன்றல் ; but தோன்றல் need not necessarily mean son; it may denote a descendant. From the narration of Iḷan-kō-Aḍigal's early history, where Dēvanti praises his self-sacrifice in favour of Śen Kuṭṭuvan, by taking holy orders (*Silap.* 30. ll. 170 seq.) that the latter may become king, we can see that Śen Kuṭṭuvan's father had only two sons, Śen Kuṭṭuvan and Iḷan-kō-Aḍigal, and the setting given to the incident there related completely negatives the existence of other sons. This to my mind, is significant as making it impossible that Śen Kuṭṭuvan could be one of four sons of Imayavaramban, as is now usually believed. Two things are clear from this incident; and they are that when Śen Kuṭṭuvan's father's reign was about to close, he had only two sons, and immediately on the death of the father, one of the two sons and not the brother stood to succeed him. I propose, therefore, to regard Śen Kuṭṭuvan as the son of Nārmuḍicchēral and would amend *Ātan* into *maintan* in the *Patigam*. At any rate, the amendment I suggest will remove the insuperable difficulties we have to encounter, if we regard Śen Kuṭṭuvan as a son of Imayavaramban, as is now usually done. The *Patigam* in question is obviously corrupt, as one could see from line 3, where the word மகள் must be inserted after மணக்கிள்ளி to yield sense. If this suggestion is accepted, the duration given for Śen Kuṭṭuvan's reign may be allowed to stand. Roughly then, Udiyan Chēral's reign may be held to have begun about 10 A.C. or practically at the beginning of the 1st century, and Śen Kuṭṭuvan's to have terminated about 180 A.C. In the main or Vanchi line, we have seen there are two other kings, Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai or Mā-kōdai and Mā-Venḱō or Pālaipādiya Perum Kaḍumkō; and in the absence of any material for ascertaining how long they reigned, we may provisionally regard them as representing two generations, and thus bring the story of the kings of that line to the close of the first quarter of the third century of the Christian era. In the Tonḍi line, we read about ten kings; and of these, we see from *Patirrup-pattu* that four kings reigned for 96 years in the aggregate. For the remaining six, even if we assign four generations, their reigns may be taken to have

occupied 100 years, so that practically we have the story of the Tonḍi line for two centuries. As I have explained before, there is good reason to think that that line began in the later years of Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan's reign, that is a few years before the close of the first century A.C.; and so, we have the story of the Tonḍi Chēras up to the close of the third century A.C. During these three centuries, the Chēras were brought into relation with the Chōḷas very often; and from the *Puṇa-nāṇūru* lyrics, we can identify most of them. The following tabular statement gives the probable dates and the contemporaneity of the Chēras of the two branches, and the names of the Chōḷas, whose periods more or less synchronised with theirs. It is needless to say that this table cannot pretend to be strictly accurate; but it is the best that can be constructed from the materials, and it is tentatively offered as acceptable.

Chēras of Vanchi	Chēras of Tonḍi.	Chōḷas.
1. Udiyan Chēral c. A.C. 10-35.		Pōrvaikkō Perunaṭkiḷḷi.
2. Imayavaramban c. 35-75.		Vēlpahraḍakkai Peru Viṇal Kiḷḷi.
3. Pal-yānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan c. 75-100.	Karuvūr-ēriya Perum Chēral Irumpoṇai c. 90-100.	Karikāla I.
4. Nārmuḍic-Chēral c. 100-125.	Antuvan Chēral c. 100-105. Aḍu-kōt-pāṭṭu Chēralātan c. 105-143.	Muḍittalai Kō Peru Naṭkiḷḷi. Uruvapahrēr Iḷam Śēṭ Chenni.
5. Śen Kuṭṭuvan c. 125-180.	Do. Śelva Kaḍumkō Aḷi Ātan c. 143-168. Perum Chēral Irumpoṇai c. 168-185.	Do. Karikāla the Great.
6. Kuṭṭuvan Kōḍai <i>alias</i> Mā Kōḍai c. 180-205.	Iḷam Chēral Irumpoṇai c. 185-201. Ātan Avini c. 201-206.	Kulamurṇattut-tunchiya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan.
Mā Venkō <i>alias</i> Pālaipāḍiya Perum Kaḍumkō c. 205-230.	Yānaikaṭ Śēy Māntaram Chēral c. 206-231. Kō Kōḍai Mārpan c. 231-256. Kapaikāl Irumpoṇai c. 256-281.	Rājasūyamvēṭṭa Peru Naṭ-Kiḷḷi. Kurappaḷḷit-tunchiya Kiḷḷai Vaḷavan. Śen-Kaṇṇan.

CONCLUSION

We have now pieced together the story of the earliest Chēra Kings known to Tamil literature. The antiquity of the Chēra kingdom is beyond dispute. Leaving aside the evidence of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, we have in more recent times inscriptional evidence of the existence of an independent Chēra kingdom afforded by the Girnar inscription of Asoka of c. 250 B.C. which mentions the country of Keralaputra as one of the southern kingdoms. Tamil literature, however, does not take us to that distant period in the history of the Chēra though it is clear from *Tol-Kāppiyam* that at the date of that ancient work the Chēra kingdom had been in existence for a long time. With the beginning of the Christian era, Roman trade with the Chēra kingdom began. We have evidence that in the very dim past, the rare products of Malabar found their way to Babylon and Egypt, and later the Phoenicians controlled the spice trade of Malabar. It was with the discovery of Hippalus about the beginning of the first century of the Christian era, that by taking advantage of the monsoon winds ships could sail straight from the Red Sea and reach India in 40 days, that a new era in the commercial activity of the Chēra kingdom was inaugurated. The direction of the wind led the ships straight to Muṣuri, which Pliny described as the nearest mart in India. The *Patirrup-pattu* and *Pura-nāṇūru* poems bear eloquent testimony to the commercial activity of Muṣuri and other ports of the Chēra kingdom; and we are told that in exchange for gold that foreign vessels brought, they took home pepper and other valuable products from those ports. To what extent trade in pepper and other products was carried on with Rome will appear from the words of Pliny who says: 'In no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces, giving back her own wares which are sold among us at fully 100 times their first cost.' Large quantities of Roman gold and silver came into the Chēra kingdom, as the result of export of pepper to Rome, and thousands of Roman coins, mostly of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius, have been discovered on the Malabar coast, and in the districts of Madura and Coimbatore. The trade at the Chēra ports was so extensive, that warehouses had to be erected. We notice from Pliny that in his days (c. 50 A.C.) a safer and more convenient port than Muṣuri was Barake, to which pepper was brought down the river in boats scooped out of a single tree. Barake has been rightly identified with Porakad, south of Alleppey. By the time of the Periplus, however, (c. 60-75 A.C.) Muṣuri, modern

Cranganore, had become the gate of India, and the foremost port for foreign trade. Agriculture and industries like work in hides were pursued, and pearl fishing flourished. Poetry, music and dancing were encouraged and appreciated. Gold and diamonds were in use for jewellery. The kings were generally great equally as warriors and as rulers, and were liberal patrons of learning and art. With much that belonged to Dravidian culture in the life of the people, Aryan culture had also spread over the land. All religions were allowed to flourish side by side. Such is the ancient Chêra kingdom that we read about in the Śāṅgam classics, a kingdom richly endowed by nature, and ruled over by sympathetic monarchs who made the welfare of the people their concern.

The Gupta and the Valabhī Eras

(continued from XI. 189)

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

BEFORE passing on to the discussion of the Valabhī era, we have to say a few words with regard to Budhagupta in order to explain his position in relation, if any, to the succession as it went among the Guptas. Otherwise, in the light of the few dates we have in respect of him and the conclusions they would naturally lead to, the correctness of the result arrived at in this enquiry would necessarily be open to question. For if 272-273 A.C. is the correct and exact year of the origin of the Gupta era, then 437 A.C., when, according to the first part of Bandhuvarma's Mandasōr inscription (F. G. I. No. 18), Kumāragupta II was on the imperial throne of the Guptas, would be $437 - 272 =$ G. S. 165; whereas it is known from the Sārnāth inscription²²

गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपञ्चाशदुत्तरे ।
शते समानां पृथिवीं बुधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥

that Budhagupta was the Gupta king in G.S. 157, and in Dāmō-darapur plate (No. 3)²³ of G. S. 163 his name is coupled with such paramount titles as '*Parama Bhāṭṭāraka*' and '*Mahārājādhirāja*'. Consequently it would appear that in G. S. 165, which by the way is also the date of the Eran pillar inscription of the brothers Mātṛi-vishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu (F. G. I. No. 19) in which alike Budhagupta is said to be the king, it was Budhagupta and not Kumāragupta II, who was on the Gupta throne, and naturally therefore the correctness of our date would be called in question.

Irrespective of the correct English date corresponding to the epoch of the Gupta era, we have already established with suffi-

22. E. I. (Epigraphia Indica). XV. p. 121.

23. Ibid. pp. 135-136.

ently strong reasons that it was Kumāragupta II who was the Gupta king in 437 A. C., and not his grandfather Kumāragupta I as would appear according to Alberūnī's date. If nevertheless Alberūnī's date (319-320 A. C.) is still believed to be the correct equivalent of that epoch, then 437 A. C. would be $437 - 319 =$ G. S. 118, and Kumāragupta I, whose dates range from G. S. 96 to 130 would apparently be the then Gupta king. Likewise in the year 473 A.C., which is the date of the latter part of the same Mandasōr inscription, and which according to Alberūnī's statement would be $473 - 319 =$ G.S. 154, Kumāragupta II, for whom the Sārnāth inscription²⁴ gives G. S. 154, would be on the Gupta throne. In the Dāmōdarapur plate (No. 5)²⁵ again we are told that the Gupta king in G. S. 214, i.e. $214 + 319 = 533$ A. C. was a certain Kumāragupta.²⁶ This is plausible enough, for this last Kumāragupta would then be the third of that name i.e. Kumāragupta III of the Bhitari seal, who was the son and successor of Narasimhagupta. So far so good.

Now it is admitted on all hands that the Hūṇa conquest of that portion of Mālva accomplished by Tōramāṇa did not take place in the reign of Kumāragupta I (G. S. 96-130), nor in that of his son Skandagupta (G. S. 130-149);²⁷ and, though of course there was trouble from the Hūṇas in the latter reign, Skandagupta is also known to have successfully put them down.²⁸ Accordingly Tōramāṇa's conquests could not have begun before G. S. 150 i.e. $150 + 319-320 = 469-470$ A.C., and therefore his conquest of Mālva, which he must have achieved between the two dates 437 A. C. and 473 A. C. of the aforesaid Mandasōr inscription, will have to be located between 470 A. C. and 473 A. C.

We have already seen that the total duration of the Hūṇa occupation of the western portion of the Gupta Empire is the 52 years of Tōramāṇa's rule plus the 15 years of Mihirakula's rule, i.e. 70 years more or less, when the latter was conquered by Yaśōdharma.

24. Vide supra f.n. 15.

25. E. I. XV. pp. 142-144.

26. E. I. XVII. p. 193 f.n. 1.

27. F. G. I. (Int. p. 12).

28. F. G. I. No. 13 (l. 15); No. 14. (ll. 2-4).

If therefore Alberūnī's date (319-320 A.C.) is correct, the downfall of Mihirakula will have to be allotted to 470 to $473 + 70 = 540$ to 543 A. C., i.e. some 8 to 11 years after the date 532 A. C. of Daksha's Mandasōr inscription (F. G. I. No. 35), or yet more years later than the other Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharma himself (Ibid. No. 34) in which he claims to have *already* laid low that Hūṇa tyrant. This is simply preposterous, and therefore quite impossible. Undoubtedly therefore not only is 319-320 A.C. not the epoch of the Gupta era, but also it was Kumāragupta II and no other who was on the Gupta throne in 437 A. C.

Now according to our date 272-273 A. C. for the epoch of the Gupta era, the year 437 A.C. is G.S. 165 ($437 - 272$), when conformably to the Sārnāth inscription of G. S. 157, the Dāmōdarapur plate (No. 3) of G.S. 163, and the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of G.S. 165, Budhagupta would appear to be the Gupta king plausibly in succession to Kumāragupta II; or in other words, Kumāragupta II would appear to have died some years before G. S. 157, which is the earliest of the above dates for Budhagupta; and this would naturally throw discredit upon the correctness of our date.

If, as is believed, Budhagupta ruled as the Gupta King in succession to Kumāragupta II, and was on the imperial throne in G. S. 157, the English date corresponding to the initial year of the Gupta era is rather very easy to find out. It is done as follows.

The Gupta king who was on the throne in 437 A. C. is now decisively known to be Kumāragupta II, whose reign would fall between G. S. 150 (as in G. S. 149, his father Skandagupta is known to have been ruling) and G. S. 155 or 156 at most (as in G. S. 157 Budhagupta is believed to have succeeded him), and one of these 6 or 7 years must be 437 A.C. Now in the Ēraṇ pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 19) we are told that in G. S. 165 the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha fell on a Thursday. To find out the equivalent English date we have to deduct the 7 years G.S. 150 to 156 from 437 A.C., and add 165 to each of the 7 remainders and see in which of the resulting 7 years the specified lunar day occurred on Thursday. It is only in 450 A. C. that it so happened on Thursday the 8th June, which therefore gives us a hopeful result. The very next step, $450 - 165 = 285$, should accordingly give us the year 284-285 A.C. as the epoch of the Gupta era. This epoch further gives us correct results also with respect

to the dates of the 4 grants of the Parivrājaka princes, which are dated in the years of the Jovian 12-year cycle, as—

Reference in F. G. I.	Name of the grant.	Date details			Equivalent English date.
		G. S.	Name of the Jovian year.	Lunar date.	
No. 21	Khōh	156	Mahā	Vaiśākha Kārtika ś. 3	4 Oct. 441
No. 22	Khōh	163	Mahā	Āsvayuja Chaitra ś. 2	4 Mar. 447
No. 23	Majhagawām	191	Mahā	Chaitra Māgha B. 3	31 Dec. 475
No. 25	Khōh	209	Mahā	Āsvayuja Chaitra ś. 13	6 Mar. 494

[Ś = Śukla i.e. bright fortnight; B = Bahula i.e. dark fortnight.]

As regards the New Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II (already noticed above), according to which in G. S. 61 there was an intercalation of the lunar month of Āshāḍha, this epoch 284-285 A. C. does not give a correct result, as it was Jyēshṭha that was intercalary in $(284+61=)$ 345 A. C.²⁹ Yet for argument's sake let us take this epoch as correct in that it gives us correct result with regard to the plausibly imperial dates of Budhagupta.

Now according to the Dāmōdarapur plate (No. 5), it is one Kumāragupta who is said to be on the Gupta throne in 214 G. S. (or 224 G. S. if Mr. K. N. Dikshit's reading³⁰ is correct). This then could not be Kumāragupta II, for if it is a fact that he was succeeded by Budhagupta, as has been presumed, he must have been dead long since in about G. S. 155 or 156. This Kumāragupta would therefore be Kumāragupta III, the son and successor of Narasiṃhagupta, who would thus be the reigning king in G. S. 214 i.e., $214+284=498$ A. C. (or G. S. 224 i.e., $224+284=508$ A. C.). But this again is impossible, as his father Narasiṃhagupta, who was the contemporary of Mihirakula, was the living Gupta king in circa 515 A.C. when that Hūṇa tyrant was overthrown, and consequently his son Kumāragupta III, who could succeed him only after his death, could never be the Gupta king in 508 A.C., much less in 498 A.C.

29. By the mean system the intercalary month was Vaiśākha.

30. E. I. XVII. p. 193.

Without doubt therefore the Kumāragupta of the Dāmōdarapur (No. 5) plate can never be Kumāragupta III, but he ought to be Kumāragupta II and no other. Accordingly it would appear that Kumāragupta II had an unusually long reign of more than 60 years (or even 70, if Mr. Dikshit's reading is correct), as is indicated by the dates G. S. 154 and G. S. 214 (or 224) falling within it. The presumption that Budhagupta, whose dates range between G. S. 157 and 180 odd (on his coins)³¹ was the successor of Kumāragupta II is thus quite disposed of as untenable. The only possible explanation therefore seems to be that (1) either Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta were in all probability brothers, who divided the Gupta empire between themselves soon after the death of their father Skandagupta in G. S. 149 or 150, the Western portion containing Mandasōr etc.³² falling to the share of Kumāragupta II, and the eastern portion consisting of Ēraṇ,³³ Puṇḍravardhana etc.³⁴ falling to that of Budhagupta, on whose death again his portion also perhaps lapsed back to Kumāragupta II, as is evident from the fact that Puṇḍravardhana, which is mentioned in the Dāmōdarapur plates (nos. 3 and 4) of Budhagupta³⁵ is also mentioned in Dāmōdarapur plate (No. 5) of Kumāragupta II,³⁶ (2) or that Budhagupta as a younger brother of the reigning sovereign Kumāragupta II was appointed by him to be governor of the eastern division of the kingdom, when Budhagupta as an equal brother of the king may have naturally issued coins of his own and used the imperial titles (such as *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka*, and *Mahārājādhirāja*) without any the least idea of defiance, or insubordination, or even emulation, and this is sufficiently justified by the fact that similar use of the paramount titles was made by the Chalukya, prince Chandrāditya,³⁷ when his brother Vikramāditya I was the

31. F. G. I. (Int. p. 18).

32. F. G. I. No. 18.

33. Ibid. No. 19.

34. E. I. XV. (pp. 135-141).

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid. (pp. 141-144).

37. In his Nērūr plates (I. A. VII. p. 163) in which with his name is coupled the epithet 'Prithivallabha', and the title 'Mahārāja', which at that time had not yet come to denote exclusively feudatory rank, but still retained its original paramount meaning (as is evident from the fact that the same title is coupled with the name of his father the great Chalukya Emperor Pulikēśi II in his grant from Goa—F. K. D. p. 355); and also in his Kōchrēm plates (I. A. VIII. p. 44) in which he uses the paramount title 'Mahārājādhirāja'.

paramount sovereign, and by the western Chālukya prince Jayasimha III³⁸ when he was governing at Tardavāḍi in the reign of his father Sōmeśvara I. If again in the latter case Budhagupta has not mentioned the name of the paramount sovereign Kumāragupta II in any of his records, we would do well to remember that in the records of the Parivrājaka princes (F. G. I. Nos. 21; 22; 23; and 25), who were unquestionably the feudatories of the Guptās, no suzerain has been mentioned either. In neither case therefore Budhagupta, who had a shorter life and much shorter rule could be the successor of Kumāragupta II. At all events they were contemporaries, and the reign of Budhagupta, whether as an independent king or as the king's brother and therefore his equal though subordinate, synchronised with the first half of the reign of Kumāragupta II; but the exact status of Budhagupta will have to remain a matter of doubt until the necessary new light becomes available to clear it up. For the present, however, we believe we shall be on the safer side if we assume that he was a viceroy of the blood royal under his brother Kumāragupta II.

Accordingly the epoch 284-285 A.C. tentatively fixed upon as giving plausible results with regard to the supposed imperial dates of Budhagupta may now be disposed of, as it fails to satisfy the conditions of all the Gupta records.

THE VALABHĪ ERA.

From Daksha's Mandasōr inscription (F. G. I. No. 35) we know that Yaśōdharma alias Vishṇuvardhana was still living and ruling in the year 532 A. C.; and irrespective of the English equivalent of the origin of the Gupta era, we have shown that the imperial rule of the Guptas came to an end in about 505 A. C., and that Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśōdharma in about 515 A.C. From the Valabhi king Dhruvasēna I's plates of V. S. 207,³⁹ as also from the several other records of his successors,⁴⁰ we further know that it was Yaśōdharma himself who anointed Drōṇasimha, the elder brother and predecessor of Dhruvasēna I, on the Valabhi throne, and it goes without saying that the said installation must have taken place in a year or two on either side of the downfall of Mihirakula (as we shall see later on), and at any rate some years

after the termination of the rule of the imperial Guptas. If therefore the Gupta era and the Valabhi era were identical, or in other words if they started from the selfsame epoch and ran concurrently, the Bhamodra Mohota plate of the Valabhi King Drōṇasimha⁴¹ dated V. S. 183 would be nearly 3 years later than G. S. 180 odd found on the coin of Budhagupta;⁴² and likewise Dhruvasēna I's plates of V. S. 207 would be 7 years earlier than the Damodarapur (No. 5) plate of Kumāragupta (II) dated G. S. 214⁴³ (or 17 years earlier if the date of the later record be G. S. 224),⁴⁴ both of which are simply impossible, in that it would be putting the cart before the horse, if it is to be believed that Drōṇasimha had already been installed on the Valabhi throne, and Dhruvasēna I had even succeeded him, when the rule of the imperial Guptas had not yet come to an end. In one word therefore the Gupta era and the Valabhi era could never be identical; there ought to be a sufficiently long interval between their respective starting points.

If however Alberūni's statement would hold good at least for the starting point of the Valabhi era, V. S. 183 of Drōṇasimha's Bhamodra Mohota plate would be $183 + 319-320 = 502-503$ A.C., when, as we have seen, Mihirakula was still ravaging in the Gupta empire and had not yet been subjugated by Yaśōdharma, wherefore the installation of Drōṇasimha on the Valabhi throne had yet to take place and his Bhamodra Mohota plate could not yet have been issued. Here again Alberūni fails; but we, however, obtain a more or less definite clue to look for the starting joint of the Valabhi era about or at least a dozen years after the date 319-320 A.C. which he has allotted to it; or in other words it will have to be sought for some 60 or more years from our epoch 272-273 A.C., of the Gupta era.

Now the Bhamodra Mohota plate of the first Valabhi king Drōṇasimha is dated V. S. 183 without any indication of the number of his regnal years. Let us say it was issued in his 4th regnal year, and that he was installed in about 520 A. C., when V. S. 180 and 520 A. C. would be provisionally identical; or in other words

38. F. K. D. (Fleet's 'Kanarese Dynasties')—p. 367.

39. I. A. V.

40. e.g. II. 5-6 of No. 38 (F. G. I.); Vide supra f.n. 11.

41. E. I. XVI. pp. 18-19.

42. F. G. I. (Int. p. 18).

43. E. I. XV. pp. 142-144.

44. E. I. XVII. p. 193.

the initial year of the Valabhī era will have to be sought for within a few years on either side of $520-180=340$ A. C.

To find out the exact year, the handiest test comes in from the Bhaṭṭakapātra grant of the Valabhī king Dharasēna II,⁴⁵ in which a solar eclipse is said to have occurred on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in V. S. 257. It need hardly be repeated here that the scheme of the months in the Valabhī year (just as in the Gupta year too) was *Pūrṇimānta* (i.e., the dark fortnight preceding the bright), wherefore in the *Amānta* system (i.e., the bright fortnight preceding the dark), this lunar day would be known as the new moon day of Chaitra. Now adding 257 to everyone of the years, say from 330 to 350 A. C. we find that it was only in the year 592 A. C. that there was a total solar eclipse visible in India on the specified day corresponding to the 18th March 592 A.C. Deducting 257 from 592 A.C. we get 335, whence it follows that the Valabhī era must have been started in 335-336 A. C.

Let us now see if this result holds good with regard to the only 2 other test cases we have in the Valabhī chronology.

(1) The Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV of Valabhī⁴⁶ is dated the year 330; the *second* month of *Mārgaśīra*; the 2nd day of the bright fortnight.

At the outset it must be remarked that in the true system in all the years from 1 A. C. down to 2000 A. C. the month of *Mārgaśīra* is never intercalary, save in one and the only one year 1296 A.C., whereas according to the system of mean intercalations, however, there are frequent intercalations of *Mārgaśīra*, no less frequent than those of the other lunar months. Evidently therefore it is the mean system that seems to have been adopted in the date of this grant.

Now neither in the year $330 + 335-336 = 665-666$ A.C., nor in the subsequent year 666-667 A.C. was there any intercalation; but in the very next year 667-668 A.C., the month of *Kārtika* was intercalary by the true system i.e., in accordance with the regulations of the intercalations by the actual place of the sun. By the mean system however, the intercalated month was *Pauṣa* ac-

45. Mysore Arch. Report 1927 (p. 27).

46. I. A. XV. p. 339; F. G. I. (Int. p. 93).

ording to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* and *Ārya-siddhānta*.⁴⁷ It is well-known that in the matter of the nomenclature and intercalation of the lunar months, fixed rules of general applicability are 'wanting in many respects, and therefore rules had to be framed to meet the emergency. But different rules were framed by different teachers, and so arose difference in practice'.⁴⁸ Accordingly the same month which in the mean system would be *Pauṣa* according to the *Sūrya* and the *Ārya Siddhāntas* on the basis of such a rule as—

मीनादिस्थो रविर्येषामारम्भप्रथमे क्षणे ।

भवेत्तेन्द्रे चान्द्रमासाश्चैत्राद्या द्वादश स्मृताः ॥⁴⁹

—'The twelve lunar months at whose first moment the sun stands in (the sign of) *Mina* (*Pisces*) and the following (signs) are called *Chaitra* and the others (in succession)'—would according to the same system and from the same calculation be named *Mārgaśīra* on the authority of the much more ancient rule—

मेघादिस्थे सवितरि यो यो मासः प्रपूर्यते चान्द्रः ।

चैत्राद्यः स द्वेयः पूर्तिद्वित्वेधिमासोऽन्यः ॥⁵⁰

—'Whichever lunar month is completed when the sun is in the sign of *Mēsha* (*Aries*) and the subsequent signs, is to be known as *Chaitra* etc., (and) when there are two completions, the latter of them is an intercalated month.'—as will be clear at once from the calculation as follows:—

	Day	hours
Mean <i>Mēsha</i> Saṅkrānti in 667 A. C. ⁵¹ March ..	22	17
Collective duration from Mean <i>Mēsha</i> Saṅkrānti to Mean <i>Dhanus</i> Saṅkrānti ⁵² ..	243	12
Total number of days from March 1— ..	266	5

i.e., the Mean *Dhanus* Saṅkrānti occurred on the 21st November 667 A. C. at 5 hours after mean sunrise.

47. Indian Calendar (I.C.): Table I. pp. XXIV-XXV; E. I. XVII—Table LXXVI. pp. 38-39. According to the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, the intercalary month in 667-668 A.C. was *Māgha*. (E. I. XVII—Table XC. pp. 220-221).

48. I. C. (art. 46; p. 26).

49. I. C. (art. 46; p. 27).

50. Ibid; F. G. I. (Int. p. 88; f.n. 5).

51. E. I. XVII (Table LXXVI; pp. 38-39).

52. Indian Chronography: Tables XIX. A.—B. (p. 134).

The ending moment of the newmoon day on the 21st November 667 A. C. was 56⁵⁸ i.e., 13 hours (and odd) after sunrise; wherefore this moment was later by 8 hours than the moment of the Mean Dhanus Saṅkrānti. (a)

	Day	hours
Mean Mēsha Saṅkrānti in 667 A. C. March ..	22	17
Collective duration from Mean Saṅkrānti to Mean Makara Saṅkrānti ⁵⁴ ..	273	22
Total number of days from March 1 ..	296	15

i.e., the Mean Makara Saṅkrānti occurred on the 21st December 667 A.C. at 15 hours after mean Sunrise.

The ending moment of the new-moon day on the 21st December 667 A.C. was 09⁵⁵ i.e., 2 hours (and odd) after sunrise; wherefore this moment was earlier by 13 hours than the moment of the Mean Makara Saṅkrānti (b)

Thus it is apparent that when the Sun was in the sign of Dhanus (Sagittarius), there occurred two newmoon days within the course of that Solar month, one on the 21st of November, the ending moment of which was 8 hours later than the Sun's entrance into that sign (a), and the other on the 21st of December, the ending moment of which preceded the Sun's entrance into the next sign of Makara (Capricorn) by 13 hours (b). Manifestly therefore the Amānta lunar month that lay between the 21st of November and the 21st of December 667 A. C. was intercalary, and as it clearly corresponds to the Solar month of Dhanus, which is the 9th from that of Mēsha (both inclusive), it necessarily follows from the aforesaid 'Mēshādi' rule that it should take the name of that lunar month, which is likewise the 9th from the lunar month of Chaitra (both inclusive), and which is therefore Mārgaśira and no other. The whole thing will be clear from the following comparative table in which the different fortnights of the lunar months ending from the 23rd September 667 A. C. to the 19th January 668 A. C. have been specified by the different names they obtain under the different systems.

53. Indian Chronology: Table X. (p. 59).

54. Indian Chronography: Tables XIX. A.—B. (p. 134).

55. Indian Chronology: Table X. (p. 59).

True system. Intercalary—Kārtika.	Mean system without the Mēshādi rule. Intercalary—Pausa.		Mean system with the Mēshādi rule. Intercalary—Mārgaśira.		English equivalent date of the ending day of the fortnight.
Amānta.	Amānta	Pūrṇimānta.	Amānta.	Pūrṇimānta.	
Āsvayuja B	Āsvayuja B	Āsvayuja B	Āsvayuja B	Kārtika B	23 Sept.
I. Kārtika Ś	Kārtika Ś	Kārtika Ś	Kārtika Ś	Kārtika Ś	8 Oct.
I. Kārtika B	Kārtika B	Mārgaśira B	Kārtika B	N. Mārgaśira B	23 Oct.
N. Kārtika Ś	Mārgaśira Ś	Mārgaśira Ś	I. Mārgaśira Ś	N. Mārgaśira Ś	6 Nov.
N. Kārtika B	Mārgaśira B	Mārgaśira B	I. Mārgaśira B	I. Mārgaśira B	21 Nov.
Mārgaśira B	I. Pausa Ś	I. Pausa Ś	N. Mārgaśira Ś	I. Mārgaśira Ś	6 Dec.
Mārgaśira B	I. Pausa B	I. Pausa B	N. Mārgaśira B	Pausa B	21 Dec.
Pausa Ś	N. Pausa Ś	N. Pausa Ś	Pausa Ś	Pausa Ś	4 Jan.
Pausa B	N. Pausa B	N. Pausa B	Pausa B.	Māgha B	19 Jan.

Ś = bright fortnight; B = dark fortnight; I = Intercalary; N = Natural.



Thus it will be seen that in the Amānta system, the intercalary month precedes the natural month, wherefore the intercalary month is the first and the natural month the second of the two; but in the Pūrṇimānta system without the 'Mēshādi' rule, the intercalary month interposes itself between the dark and the bright halves of the natural month, wherefore of the four fortnights having the name of the same lunar month, the first two (the former of which really belongs to the natural and the latter to the intercalary month) form the first month, and the next two (the former of which really belongs to the intercalary and the latter to the natural month) make up the second month; whereas in the Pūrṇimānta system with the 'Mēshādi' rule we find quite a different order in that of the four fortnights going by the name of the same month, the first two belong to the natural month, while the next two belong to the intercalated month, whence the natural month precedes the intercalary, and therefore the first month is the natural and the second is the intercalary month. The date of this Kaira Grant, which is the 2nd day of the bright half of the second month of Mārgaśira, would therefore be the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the intercalary Mārgaśira, and it then correctly corresponds to the 23rd November 667 A.C., as the new-moon day which ended the preceding dark fortnight of the same intercalary Mārgaśira occurred on the 21st of November. Thus then it would seem that the Valabhī era was started in 667—330=337 A.C., which is about a year or two later than 335-336 A.C. which we got in the former instance.

Before we pass on to the next record, we must say a few words as regards the date details of this Kaira Grant. For there is another grant of the same Valabhī king Dharasēna IV, (I. A. VII, pp. 73-75) in which the date runs—the year 330; the month of Mārgaśira; the 3rd day of the bright fortnight—without any reference to the intercalation of Mārgaśira. Evidently therefore this other grant was also made in the same year and apparently the same month of it as the Kaira grant; and it is really surprising that whereas in the Kaira grant the month of Mārgaśira is said to be intercalary, in this other grant that fact is so conspicuous by absence, and much more so if we would remember that the *Dūtaka*⁵⁶ in both the cases was the same

56. This is a technical title of the officer employed in connection with the royal charters, whose duty it was perhaps to carry the royal order to the local officials by whom those charters would then be drawn up and delivered to the grantees. (Vide F. G. I. p. 100. f.n. 3).

princess Bhūpā who was the daughter of the king, and the drafter of both the grants was the chief secretary Skandabhāṭa. If therefore there was an intercalation of Mārgaśira in the year 667 A. C. i.e. to say, if it was the mean system with the Mēshādi rule that was followed in dating the Kaira grant, the word 'प्रथम,' (first) or 'द्वि' (second) would surely have been prefixed to the name of that month in also the other grant, according as it was made in the first or the second month of Mārgaśira. But there is neither indication in the latter grant, whence it would follow that either the omission of the aforesaid ordinals is due to the oversight of the engraver, or, what is perhaps more probable that the intercalary month was in fact Kārtika, and not Mārgaśira, and when the mistake which the engraver had committed in incising the wrong name of the month as 'द्विमार्गशिर,' instead of 'द्विकार्तिक,' if the grant was made in the second month of Kārtika, or in putting in the ordinal 'द्वि' where it was not required, if the grant was made in the ordinary month of Mārgaśira, had been once noticed, perhaps care was taken to see that it was not repeated in the dating of the latter grant. At any rate, this sort of glaring inconsistency in the dates of the two grants made in the same year and in apparently the same month of it and presumably on two consecutive days is not unlikely to raise the question whether it was the month of Mārgaśira and no other that was intercalated in the year 667 A. C., or in other words whether it was the mean system of intercalations with the 'Mēshādi' rule, and not the true system that was followed in dating the Kaira grant.

(2) The Mōrbi grant of king Jāiṅka,⁵⁷ dated the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the year 585, mentions a solar eclipse. Naturally enough that eclipse must have occurred on the *new-moon day nearest before the actual date of grant*, i.e. on the new-moon day of Amānta Māgha, or that of Pūrṇimānta Phālguna, both of which are but the two different names of one and the same new-moon day. Adding 585 to the 4 successive years from 334 A. C. to 337 A. C., it will be seen that in the resulting years from 919 to 922 A. C., it was only in the year 919-920 A. C. there was an annular eclipse of the sun on the specified new-moon day which corresponds to the 23rd January 920 A. C. It would therefore

57. F. G. I. (Int. p. 97). The year in this record has been defined as गोप्ते, (Gōptē), which seems to have been rightly read as गोप्ते, (Gaupṭē) by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and interpreted as 'in the Gupta (era)'.

appear that the Valabhī era was started in 919-920 — 585 = 334-335 A. C.

[There is another grant of this very king, his Dhiniki grant,⁵⁸ in which he has been called Jāikadēva, king of Surāshṭra, and in which the date runs—Vikrama Saṃvat 974 (*in figures*); the new-moon day of the month of Kārtika; Sunday; under the asterism of Jyēshthā; on the occasion of the solar eclipse. In Vikrama Saṃvat 973 expired i.e. 974 current, which is equivalent to 916 A. C., there was an annular eclipse of the sun, when there was Jyēshthā *nakshatra* on Sunday the 29th September, which was the Kārtika new-moon day by the Pūrṇimānta system; and every detail mentioned in this grant will thus be seen to be accurately fulfilled.]

Comparing these results it looks as if the starting point of the Valabhī era could have no fixed epoch, but would range from 334 to 337 A. C.; and this apparent discrepancy has to be explained.

Now in the Śvētāmbara Jaina work called the 'Prabhāvaka Charita',⁵⁹ which was completed on the 12th March 1277 A.C.,⁶⁰ we are told that when 845 years had elapsed from the year of (the *Nirvāṇa* of) Lord Vardhamāna or Mahāvira, the city of Valabhī was sacked by the Turushkas (which of course is a much later writer's name for the Hūṇas), and when thereupon they were advancing to destroy Bhṛigupura (Broach?), they were restrained or repulsed thence by the goddess Sudarśanā—

श्री वर्धमान संवत्सरतो वत्सर शताष्टकेतिगते ।
पञ्चाधिक चत्वारिंशदधिके समजनि बलभ्याः ॥
मङ्गस्तुरुष्कविहितस्तस्मात्ते भृगुपुरं विनाशयितुम् ।
आगच्छन्तो देव्या निवारिताः श्री सुदर्शनया ॥⁶¹

The date of Mahāvira's *Nirvāṇa* is 527-526 B.C., and the Hūṇas therefore must have captured Valabhī in 318-319 A.C. We know from the New Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II (already noticed above) that his father Samudragupta died in G.S. 60 or 61 i.e. (60-61 + 272) = 332 or 333 A.C., and the year 318-319 A.C. which

is G.S. 46 (318—272 = G.S. 46) would naturally fall in the reign of Samudragupta. It is quite likely therefore that Valabhī was soon taken back by Samudragupta in about 319-320 A.C., perhaps in the course of his northern campaign; and the repulse or the set-back, which the Hūṇas had, came undoubtedly from that mighty monarch, and if however the Jaina hagiologist has not said so, it was perhaps because it was beside the purpose of his story, or because in his time the fact had been forgotten, and the event had long come to be looked upon as a miracle wrought by the goddess. However it be, we know for certain that his son Chandragupta II conquered and annexed Surāshṭra of which Valabhī was the capital.⁶² We further know from Skandagupta's Girnar inscription (F. G. I. No. 14) that he was anxious as to whom to appoint to govern Surāshṭra (vv. 8—11), whence it naturally follows that there was some trouble in that part of the empire presumably due to the frequent risings of the Hūṇas, which however he had succeeded in putting down once for all, and he was then thinking of the right man that could be placed at the helm of such an unstable vessel. Thus then the Surāshṭra country was subject to and included in the empire of the Guptas from at least the time of Chandragupta II, if not from that of Samudragupta himself, and naturally enough it would be the Gupta era that would be followed since then in that country. This is further clinched by that Girnar inscription itself, which contains three consecutive dates in the Gupta era—G.S. 136, 137, and 138 i.e. 408 A.C., 409 A.C. and 410 A.C.—which conclusively argue that it was the Gupta era and no other that was in vogue in Surāshṭra at that time. Now these years 408 A.C., etc., are more or less 75 years later than the years 334-337 A.C. within which limits the starting point of the Valabhī era would seem to lie, as has been shown above. *A fortiori* therefore no new era could have been started in any of the years between 334 and 337 A.C., nor could any era else have been current in Valabhī than the Gupta era so far at least as 410 A.C.; or in other words, in none of the years from 334 A.C. to 337 A.C. could a new era have been founded.

The only explanation of this seeming incongruity seems to be that the Valabhī country must have been occupied by the Hūṇas

58. F. G. I. (Int. p. 62. f.n. 1).

59. 'Nirṇayasāgara' Press, Bombay.

60. p. 349; v. 22.

61. p. 74; vv. 81-82.

62. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri: 'Political History of Ancient India' (p. 346); Vincent Smith: 'Early History of India' (p. 276).

for as many years as there are between 272-273 A.C. which is the epoch of the Gupta era and 334 to 337 A.C. i.e. for about 62 to 65 years, and these 62 to 65 years during which Valabhī was under foreign yoke must have been looked upon as an interregnum, and the said period must on that account have been expunged from the regular and continuous course of the Gupta era which, as we have seen, was followed in that country, either as if to tear off as many dark and inglorious leaves from its history, or because the new regnal years of the Hūṇa conquerors⁶³ which, as is but natural, had been introduced there in abolition of the local Gupta era during the foreign occupation would, after the re-conquest, be quite meaningless, and consequently be rescinded, as is equally natural, by the subsequent native rulers i.e. the Maitraka kings. Accordingly the year in which Yaśōdharma, after conquering Mihirakula and taking back the Valabhī country from the Hūṇas, installed Drōṇasimha on its throne, would be reckoned as the very next to that other good old year of nearly 62 to 65 years ago, when Tōramāna wrested it from the Gupta empire and consequently the Gupta era which was in operation there until then was suddenly suspended or discontinued.

We have seen that Tōramāna conquered eastern Mālva in circa 445 A.C., and western Mālva between circa 445 and 450 A.C. His conquest of Surāshtra may therefore be approximately allotted to 448-449 A.C. by which time a larger part of his western conquests must have been over. In that case the Hūṇa occupation of the Valabhī country would be from 448-449 A.C. to $448-449 + 62$ to 65 years i.e. 510 to 513 A.C. As might be expected, Yaśōdharma would install Drōṇasimha on the Valabhī throne and entrust that country to his care, as soon as he had once driven out Mihirakula or his representative from Surāshtra, without waiting until the Hūṇa tyrant had been entirely subdued, lest in the interval, when he would be busy in subjugating Mihirakula in the east, the Hūṇas should re-capture Valabhī. Accordingly the installation of Drōṇasimha must have taken place in one of the years from 510 to 513 A.C. As soon as he was placed on the throne, it is but natural that he would revive the old Gupta era, which had all along been current in those parts before the country fell under foreign domination, and which, it is equally natural, would no longer be called

63. As is evident from Tōramāna's first regnal year (in F. G. I. No. 36), and Mihirakula's 15th regnal year (in F. G. I. No. 37), as well as the date 52 found on the coins of the former.

the Gupta Saṁvat in that the Gupta rule itself had already become extinct by that time (and that is why in none of the records of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī is the era called Gupta Saṁvat, but is designated simply as Saṁvat) and naturally too when all the intermediate 62 to 65 years would be expunged from that renovated era, the year of Drōṇasimha's installation, which is obviously his first regnal year and for the same reason the first year of the true Valabhī era, would as a matter of course be numbered as the very next to that long bygone year of the true Gupta era, in which Valabhī was lost to the Hūṇas.

Now one of the statements of Alberūnī is that the Gupta era as well as the Valabhī era are later than the Śaka era by 241 years, or as he picturesquely puts it, they are later than the Śaka era by as many years as there are in the sum of the cube of 6 and the square of 5 ($6^3 + 5^2 = 241$). We have already proved that this entirely fails in respect of the Gupta era, in that the said difference is $272 - 78 = 194$ years, nor can it in any way hold good with regard to the Valabhī era, the starting point of which has been definitely shown to lie between 334 and 337 A.C. i.e. from 256 to 259 years later than the Śaka era. The question therefore would naturally arise—could it be that this period of 241 years denotes the actual difference between the epoch of the original Gupta era (i.e. 272-273 A.C.) and the year of the same era in which Drōṇasimha revived it? Or in other words, could it be that the installation of Drōṇasimha took place in the 241st year of the true Gupta era? For as is quite evident the years 510 to 513 A.C. in one of which he must have been installed are G. S. 238 to G. S. 241; and the presumption therefore would not be unnatural that his installation took place in 513 A.C., which is G. S. 241, and is consequently 241 years later than the epoch of the Gupta era. And as the year 448-449 A.C. when, as we have seen, Tōramāna conquered the Valabhī country, is $448-449 - 272 =$ G.S. 176-177, the year 513 A.C., when all the intermediate 64 or 65 years of Hūṇa occupation were expunged, would be the 177th or the 178th year of the renovated Gupta era (which is for convenience' sake designated the Valabhī era), though in fact it is the 241st year of the original Gupta era. It was thus in V. S. 177 or 178 that Drōṇasimha was installed on the Valabhī throne, and his Bhamodra Mohota plate⁶⁴ of V.S. 183 was therefore issued in the 5th or 6th year of his reign i.e. $513 + 5 = 518-519$ A.C. or $513 + 6 = 519-520$ A.C. It is dated the full-moon

64. E. I. XVI. pp. 18-19.

day of Śrāvaṇa without any further particulars; but as some specially auspicious occasion would be naturally selected to make a grant,⁶⁵ we would assign it to the 15th July 520 A.C., on which night there was a lunar eclipse on the specified full-moon day. In that case $519-520 - 183 = 336$ A.C. would appear to be the correct year of the starting point of the Valabhī era.

From these arguments it would follow that the Valabhī era was neither any new era nor any specific era. It is neither distinct nor different from the Gupta era, but is quite identical with it; nay it is the Gupta era itself (as it is conclusively established by the fact that in no record of the Valabhī kings it is mentioned by any specific name and in the Mōrbi grant it is called the Gupta era), except that some 64 or 65 years were prescinded from it, when it was thus revived by Drōṇasimha. Thus it could have no fixed epoch other than that of the Gupta era, but that epoch would no longer fit in with its system of enumeration, as the regular continuity of the Gupta era was seriously interrupted by the aforesaid expunction. It is for these reasons and also because the exact number of the years, during which the Gupta era was in abeyance in the Valabhī country had been lost sight of, (as is natural when for more than 60 years it had gone out of use) the apparent starting point of the Valabhī era is seen to range from 334 A.C. to 337 A.C. In one word therefore none of these years would give us the epoch or the initial year of the Valabhī era, but every one of them is merely a number which has to be added, as the case may be, to the given number of the years of V. S. in order to convert it into the corresponding year of the Christian era. Thus in fact 334 to 337 are simply additive quantities.

ALBERŪNĪ AGAIN

If now we re-construe the statements of Alberūnī in the light of the results we have independently arrived at, we shall find:

(1) that the Gupta era and the Valabhī era are fundamentally the same, just as he said, except that there was an expunction of

65. Cf. Bijayagaḍha pillar inscription of Varika Viashṇuvardhana (F. G. I. No. 59; pp. 253-254) dated the year 428 (i.e. 427th year expired and 428th current) apparently of the Vikrama era, on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. In the corresponding year 370-371 A.C. there was an annular eclipse of the sun visible in all India, though not mentioned in this record, on the 1st February 371 A.C. which was Phālguna new moon day by the Pūrnimānta system.

some 64 or 65 years from the regular course of the Gupta era before it came to be characterized as the Valabhī era;

(2) that the Valabhī era, or which is the same as the Gupta era with the aforesaid modification, commenced, just as he said, after the imperial Guptas had ceased to exist;

(3) and also that a fairly plausible difference of 241 years exists, not however, as he said, between the Śaka era and the Gupta era (nor between the Śaka era and the modified Gupta era known as the Valabhī era), but between the initial year of the true or regular Gupta era founded in 272-273 A.C. and that of the same modified and re-started in about 513-514 A.C. (as Valabhī era); but this difference of 241 years, however, is not a running difference.

2 VERĀWAL INSCRIPTIONS

There are yet 2 more inscriptions which are also dated in the Valabhī era, as is so conspicuously mentioned in them (though, as has been already remarked, it has no such or other specific name in any of the several records of the Valabhī kings themselves), and they are (1) the Verāwal inscription of V. S. 927,⁶⁶ and (2) the Verāwal inscription of V. S. 945.⁶⁷

The former is dated— *वलभी 927 वर्षे फाल्गुन शु दि २ सोमे*. The name of the week day is spelt here as *सोमे* (Saumē), and consequently that point of such importance is rendered liable to serious doubt. For the real word for 'on Wednesday' is *सोम्ये* (Saumyē) and not *सोमे* (Saumē); and if Monday was meant, it should be *सोमे* (Sōmē), or if Tuesday was meant, it should be *भौमे* (Bhaumē). So we are quite at a loss to settle the name of the exact week-day that was intended in this record, when there is so free a choice between three different week-days. But we are neither prepared to alter or correct it, nor would we say that the record gives a correct date as according to the additive quantities we have found out for the conversion of the dates of the

66. F. G. I. (Int. pp. 90-93).

67. Ibid. (pp. 84-90).

Valabhī Saṁvat into the corresponding dates of the Christian era, it readily gives us *Wednesday* the 22nd of February 1262 A.C. (V. S. 927 + 334-335 = 1261-1262 A.C.), nor even to easily dismiss it as spurious only because the name of the week-day is so clumsily engraved or is so severally legible.

The other record of V. S. 945, which seems to have been set up by some Muhammadan sailors in the reign of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, is dated first in the Muhammadan Hijra Saṁ, then in the Vikrama Saṁvat, then in the Valabhī Saṁvat and again also in the Śiṁha Saṁvat as follows:—Hijra 622; Vikrama Saṁvat 1320; Valabhī Saṁvat 945; Śiṁha Saṁvat 151; the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha; Sunday. These so many details would certainly seem to furnish a very crucial test which should suffice to determine the starting points of any one or more of the eras mentioned in this record, provided at least one of them is correctly known; and as two of them at least, the Hijra era as well as the Vikrama era, are quite well-known, the determination of the Valabhī era would seem to be the simplest matter of a single step of subtraction. But these details, however, do not give a correct result with respect to the additive quantities we have found out, and it is but natural.

For it is well-known that, V. S. 447 of the grant of the Valabhī king Śilāditya VII⁶⁹ is almost the last date we have in the history of the Valabhī kings of the Maitraka dynasty; and it is certain that whether V. S. 447 is 767 A.C. according to Alberūnī's statement, or 781 to 784 A.C. (447 + 334 to 337) according to the result of our investigation, it falls at the end of the 8th century A.C., when soon afterwards that dynasty became extinct. It is not unreasonable therefore that the Valabhī era, which was brought into being as such by the first king Drōṇasimha of that dynasty and was continued by his descendants down to the last of them, should have terminated simultaneously with that dynasty; or if it did not, it may have lingered on for at most a century or two, when it must have died a natural death. As a case in point, we have the two records of king Jāiṅka or Jāikadēva of Surāshṭra (both of which have been noticed above), which are dated each in a different era: the Dhiniki grant in Vikrama Saṁvat 974, and the Mōrbi grant

68. I. A. VI. pp. 81-86.

in the Gupta Saṁvat⁶⁹ (which is of course the modified Gupta era, or in other words the Valabhī era) 585; and we have seen that the correct date of the former is the 29th September 916 A.C., and that of the latter the 23rd January 920 A.C. Had the Valabhī era been yet in active operation in that earlier half of the 10th century when the said king issued these grants, as it was during the nearly 300 years from a few years before V. S. 183 (of Drōṇasimha's Bhamodra Mohota grant) to some years after V.S. 447 (of the grant of Śilāditya VII), both the grants of Jāiṅka or Jāikadēva would certainly have been dated in that era, which was native to his country, and had been long followed there until as late as but a century ago, whereas the Vikrama era, which originated in Mālva, was thus an exotic era. The fact therefore that both of the grants of Jāiṅka are not dated in the Valabhī era is sufficient proof that already in the earlier part of the 10th century the Valabhī era had fallen into disuse in Surāshṭra (i.e. the Valabhī country), and that the Vikrama era had taken its place and already become current in practice. Consequently it was perhaps mere curiosity, or perhaps patriotic zeal more than anything else that must have actuated that king to date one of those charters in the Valabhī era. The dates on the other hand of these 2 Verāwal inscriptions, viz. V. S. 927, and V. S. 945 fall at the end of the 13th century i.e. five centuries after the Valabhī dynasty of the Maitraka kings had ceased to exist, and some two centuries after Alberūnī had visited that country. We cannot therefore bring ourselves to believe that the Valabhī Saṁvat could be still current as a living era among the people at so remote a time. Furthermore Alberūnī, who as we know, visited that part of India in the 11th century, speaks of that era as already a dead era—no longer in use in his time. Its origin therefore must have been long since lost in oblivion, and all that remained of it would be no more than the distinctive name it newly and recently⁷⁰ acquired on account of its association with Valabhī.

69. The word as it stands in the text is गोप्ते (Gōptē). Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar held it to be the engraver's mistake for गाप्ते (Gaupṭē) and interpreted it 'in the Gupta (era)'; and he seems to be undoubtedly correct. Dr. Fleet would have us believe that it refers to the name of the village 'Gōp', but as the whole passage in question contains only details of date, there seems to be scarcely any room in it to contain also the details of the grant or even the name of the locality of it. (F. G. I. Int. pp. 97-98).

70. i.e. sometime after the Mōrbi grant of 920 A.C. in which the era is spoken of as the Gupta era.

Neither, of these Verāwal inscriptions can therefore furnish any clue to the determination of the Valabhī era; and the date of the Valabhī era as found in either of them cannot be relied upon as correct. On this score however we would not account them spurious, nor because in both of them this era has been specifically spoken of as the 'Valabhī saṁvat', whereas in all the records of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī, who were responsible for its revival and continuation, it is called simply 'saṁvat', and even in the Mōrbi grant it is called the 'Gupta (era)'; but we would rather say that those persons who were responsible for drafting and dating these records in the 13th century were themselves as misinformed with respect to the origin of that era as those others from whom Alberūnī derived the information with regard to the same, which he later on incorporated in his work in 1030 A.C. These inscriptions will have therefore to be disposed of as quite unreliable and of no avail for an independent enquiry into the origin and the character of the Valabhī era.

These records however seem to offer a more or less plausible clue as to why the Śaka year 241, i.e. 319-320 A.C. came to be fixed upon, though of course wrongly, as the year of the origin of the Gupta and of the Valabhī eras. For from the verses quoted above from the Jaina work 'Prabhāvaka Charita', we have seen that Valabhī was sacked by the Hūṇas in 318-319 A.C., who are said to have been repulsed from further advance by the goddess Sudarśanā. Reading between the lines we have shown that it was in all probability Samudragupta who forthwith conquered the Hūṇas and took it back in 319-320 A.C. This sack of Valabhī would thus appear to be an outstanding event in its history, as is evidenced by the fact that the author of the 'Prabhāvaka Charita' refers to it in 1277 A.C. i.e. some 40 years less than a full thousand years after that event. It is also an admitted fact that when Alberūnī visited Valabhī, the Hindus who furnished him with the information with regard to the Valabhī era, knew nothing certain about that era, save only that it had come down to them through the Gupta kings, for which reason they spoke of it as the 'Gupta-kāla', i.e. the Gupta era.⁷¹ Now the fact of the sack of Valabhī in 318-319 A.C. with the necessary sequel of its recapture in 319-320 A.C., coupled with the other fact that even in the 11th century the local people believed that the era which was long followed in their country

71. F. G. I. (Int. p. 19).

(though of course it was no longer in use in their own times, as Alberūnī speaks of it as an already dead era) came from the Guptas, both of which facts thus seem to have been still fresh in the memory of the people then living, sufficed, when all the intermediate history had been lost in oblivion, to establish the tradition that the era in question came to them from the Guptas, it must therefore be the Gupta era (Gupta-kāla), and as the only vivid and yet remembered connection between the Guptas and their country was that of 319-320 A.C., the said era must have had its origin in that year, as is but natural under such predisposing influence of the ignorance of real history. It is the persons grounded in such a tradition, who furnished Alberūnī with the information which he has given us; and it is again their descendants of yet two centuries later, who drafted and dated the two Verāwal inscriptions, in which furthermore the era in question is so glaringly specified as the 'Valabhī Saṁvat', though in all the several records of the Valabhī kings themselves it is spoken of by no name else than mere 'Saṁvat'. It is no wonder that Alberūnī has told us that these eras were started in 319-320 A.C., nor that these two Verāwal inscriptions have been dated accordingly.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

I

I regret that unfortunately because at the very outset the Dāmōdarapur plates were not regarded with as much attention as they really deserve, some mistakes have naturally crept into the earlier part of this article, which are now corrected as follows:—

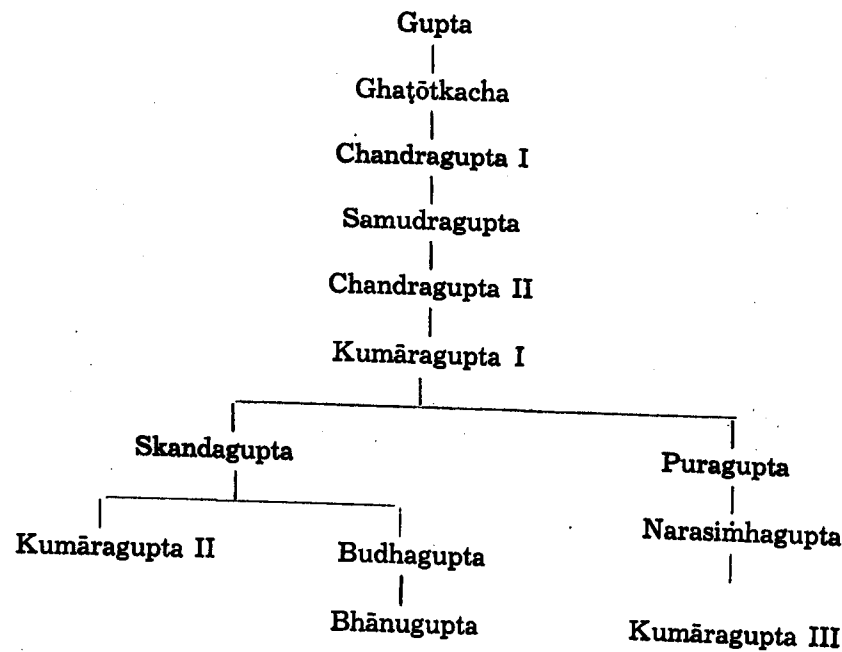
(1) P. 180 (ll. 10 to 5 from the bottom).—Instead of 'Assuredly therefore . . . known as Bālāditya', please read, 'Kumāragupta II perhaps died issueless, and if, as is believed, his uncle Pura-gupta (son of Kumāragupta I and brother of Skandagupta) did at all rule as king (*vide note II 2 infra*), it must be that he succeeded his nephew Kumāragupta II, and after a very brief reign he in his turn was succeeded by his son Narasimhagupta, otherwise also known as Bālāditya'.

(2) P. 180 (line 2 from the bottom).—Instead of 'the reign of Puragupta was very short', please read, 'the reign of Puragupta was very short, if he ruled at all'.

(3) P. 181 (ll. 2-5).—Instead of 'the intermediate reign . . . to about G.S. 200', please read, 'the intermediate reign of Kumāra-

gupta II must be an unusually long reign of 60 or even more years'.

(4) Pp. 181-2.—The Gupta Genealogy given on those pages will have to be replaced by the following:—



(5) P. 185 (l 10).—Please delete 'probably'.

II

(1) In the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja dated G.S. 191 (F. G. I. No. 20), we are told that the said Gōparāja followed Bhānugupta and fought a very famous battle in which the former died when his wife accompanied him on to the funeral pyre. As this is a lithic record, and as such is not liable to any change of place, it follows that the battle in question was fought at or about the place where this epigraph stands perhaps marking the very spot where Gōparāja fell and his wife mounted the funeral pyre. Now from one of the two other Ēraṇ inscriptions (F. G. I. No. 19) we know that in G.S. 165 the brothers Mātṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu were ruling over eastern Mālva (the capital of which was at Ēraṇ) as Gupta feudatories, and from the other Ēraṇ Boar inscription (F. G. I. No. 36) we further know that, in the 1st

year of Tōramāṇa, Dhanyavishṇu was ruling over the same province as a feudatory of that Hūṇa conqueror. Gōparāja, who was undoubtedly a Gupta feudatory, cannot therefore have been a ruler of eastern Mālva—never, however, between G.S. 165 and the 1st year of Tōramāṇa. Nor does the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja say that he was a ruler of eastern Mālva, but it simply leads us to infer that the battle in which he fell, was fought at Ēraṇ. It therefore follows: (1) that Gōparāja was never a ruler of eastern Mālva; (2) that the battle which Bhānugupta and himself fought at Ēraṇ, was therefore an expedition which they led thither from elsewhere for the conquest of eastern Mālva, or in other words it was they who took the offensive; and (3) that eastern Mālva therefore had been already conquered by the Huns sometime before G.S. 191, and the battle in question was accordingly an attempt made by Bhānugupta and Gōparāja for the expulsion of the Huns and the re-conquest of that lost province. If this posthumous inscription of Gōparāja is dated in the Gupta era, it does not mean that eastern Mālva was still a Gupta province in G.S. 191, nor that Gōparāja was ruling over it as a Gupta feudatory, but it is simply due to the fact that it was the relations of Gōparāja (who was unquestionably a Gupta feudatory) that were responsible for setting it up. Now according to our date for the epoch of the Gupta era, G.S. 191 is $191 + 272 = 463$ A.C., which, as we have shown, falls within the long reign of Kumāragupta II. We have also seen that eastern Mālva, in which this posthumous pillar inscription stands, must have been conquered by Tōramāṇa in 444-45 A.C. Accordingly it would seem that in G.S. 191 i.e. 463 A.C. a vigorous attempt was made by Bhānugupta to drive out the Huns from eastern Mālva, which, however, if we can judge from the tone of this inscription, does not seem to have brought any success to the Gupta arms. We have also said that Budhagupta, who is mentioned in the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of G.S. 165 (F. G. I. No. 19), was in all probability a younger brother of Kumāragupta II, and was appointed viceroy of the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, which included eastern Mālva. It was therefore during his time or that of his successor that eastern Mālva was conquered by Tōramāṇa, and the fact that it was Bhānugupta who led the expedition into that province points to the conclusion that Bhānugupta was in all probability the son of Budhagupta and his successor in that viceroyalty.

(2) If, as we have shown, the Dāmōdarapur plate No. 5 is of Kumāragupta II, it is highly improbable that Puragupta, who

was his paternal uncle, could have succeeded him on the Gupta throne; for even though he be believed to have been born in, say G.S. 130, i.e. towards the end of the reign of his father Kumāragupta I, he would be 84 years of age in G.S. 214, which is the date of that plate (or would be 94 years of age, if its date is G.S. 224, as read by Mr. K. N. Dikshit). It is therefore more or less certain that he did not succeed his nephew Kumāragupta II, nor ever sat on the Gupta throne. If however his name has been mentioned in the genealogy given in the Bhitari seal of his grandson Kumāragupta III, it is because it is a necessary step in the pedigree of his own lineal descendant, and much more so because it stands at the head of that collateral branch from which Kumāragupta III was descended, and consequently it cannot mean that Puragupta did rule as king. Puragupta also was perhaps viceroy of the blood royal under his nephew Kumāragupta II, when he may also have issued the coins ascribed to him, just as his other nephew Budhagupta did.

(3) P. 186 (between ll. 18 and 19).—Re. the Khōh grant of G.S. 156 (F. G. I. No. 21): The date 16th October 429 A.C. is obtained by the system of equal spaces; but by the Garga as well as the Brahma Siddhānta systems the corresponding English date is 28th September 428 A.C., which I believe to be the correct equivalent date of this Khōh Grant.

The Mādhava-Vidyāranya Theory

By

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THE revival of Hindu political power in South India in the fourteenth century by the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagar was accompanied by an unparalleled Renaissance of Hindu Religious literature. Two figures—Mādhava and Sāyaṇa—take the lead in this Renaissance. But unlike most of the religious and literary heroes of our country both these were eminent political figures who were intimately connected with the foundation as well as the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. Vēdānta Dēśika, the student-mate of Mādhava, was no whit inferior to him in point of literary eminence or achievement, but he positively declined Mādhava's invitation to enter politics. The eminent contemporary divines of the Dvaita sect—Akṣobhya and Jayatīrtha were also similarly out of all political influence. Besides literature and politics Mādhava looms still greater in religion. The Advaitins hail him as being only next to Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya in spiritual realisation and religious apostleship. He is stated to be the *avatar* of Śaṅkarāchārya (who was an *avatar* of God Śiva). He was the disciple of Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkarānanda—two of the most illustrious names in Advaita religion. Finally Mādhava and his younger brother Bhoganātha are said to have become the Pontiffs of Śringeri Maṭh as Vidyāranya and Bharati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha respectively.

The greatness of Mādhava-Vidyāranya is perhaps unparalleled in world's history. He is hailed in literature as the greatest and the most encyclopaedic scholar of India, in politics as the founder and Minister of the last greatest Hindu Empire, and in religion as an incarnation of God himself and as the supreme apostle of the largest sect of Hinduism.

The legend of Vidyāranya is growing century by century. It has now appropriated to him the literary and political achieve-

ments of Vidyātīrtha, Bharatīrtha, Bukka, Mādhava, Sāyaṇa, Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, Mādhava-mantrin, Kriyāśakti, Vidyā-Mādhava and of many others who flourished in the same century. The Karṇāṭakas have recently chosen Vidyāraṇya as their national hero and are adding fresh elements to the legend. One writer has made him a patron of the founder of the Bhāmani Kingdom also.¹ Another makes him a patron and friend of Lingayats. One story makes Vidyāraṇya to be born in 1267 A. D. and live down to the close of the fifteenth century. Many Advaitins are anxious to cherish the belief that Tātparyadīpika the famous commentary on Sūtasamhita as well as Veda Bhāṣya are the works of Vidyāraṇya the Pontiff of Śringeri. When Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar differentiated Mādhava-mantrin the author of Tātparyadīpika from Vidyāraṇya, a devout Advaitin, Mr. V. Subramania Iyer (the retired Registrar of Mysore University) tired to defend the tradition. Mr. Markandeya Sarma has recently tried in the I. H. Q. for Sept. 1932 (pp. 611-614) to defend Vidyāraṇya's authorship of the Veda Bhāṣya. The story that Vidyāraṇya is an *avatar* of Śiva and of Śankarāchārya—has now received a new development in the Śringeri circles where a belief is now being assiduously fostered that the previous Svāmi of Śringeri, Narasimha Bhārati (1868-1912) was an incarnation of Vidyāraṇya. A recent Kannaḍa writer declares that the said *Svāmi* appeared to him in a vision and revealed that he was the incarnation of Vidyāraṇya while the present Maharaja and Yuvaraja were respectively the *avatars* of Harihara I and Bukka!² A temple was erected for this *Svāmi* at Śringeri immediately after his death³ and a very fine temple has been built in Mysore City on the site of his birth where his image receives divine worship daily. The almanaks proclaim his birth-day which is being celebrated with increasing devotion year by year. A standard biography has come into existence explaining his countless miracles and *yogic* feats.

In modern times Burnell suggested that Mādhava and Sāyaṇa were identical. Dr. Venkatasubbiah of Mysore identified Vidyāraṇya with Kriyāśakti the guru of Mādhava-mantrin. Dr. Sati-

1. Rao Bahadur C. Hanumanta Gowd—Vidyāraṇya Nāṭka (Kannaḍa) 1927.

2. Y. Subbaraya Sarma—Srimad Rāmāyaṇa Antarārtha 1931, preface, pages 6, 16.

3. Mysore Arch. Rep. 1918, p. 11.

schandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa confused Mādhava with Madhva the founder of the Dvaita school. Mr. R. Narasimhacharya distinguished Mādhava from Sāyaṇa, Sāyaṇa-Mādhava (author of Sarva Darśana Samgraha), Mādhava-mantrin and Kriyāśakti, but retained the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya. Rev. Heras tried to identify Mādhava-mantrin with prince Mallappa Voḍeyar. Mr. R. Rama Rao of Mysore has effectively destroyed this identity. He has also tried to differentiate Mādhava from Vidyāraṇya in the Indian Historical Quarterly for Dec. 1930 and March 1931.

This last view would prove in its results almost revolutionary. It would completely dissipate the Vidyāraṇya Legend and reduce Vidyāraṇya from the position of a world-figure to that of an insignificant ascetic who presided over the Śringeri Maṭh from c. 1377 to 1386 A.D. It is but natural that many especially among the Advaitins should try to defend the theory of identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya.

This Identity Theory is not a recent creation but is a few centuries old. Mitra Miśra in his Viramitrodaya has more than once called the author of Parāśara-Madhaviyā, Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda. Ahobala has also identified Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya. The whole of the available evidence for and against this theory has been carefully scrutinised by Mr. R. Rama Rao in the I. H. Q. and his plea for the separation of the two persons is in my opinion irrefutable.

That there are references to this Identity Theory is an admitted fact. To dig out such references is not to prove the said theory. Unless we examine the evidentiary value of such references, the sufficiency of the evidence for the Theory, the force of the hostile evidence and the possible alternative explanations of the favourable evidence, we will not be in a position to arrive at a conclusion about the matter. We must also be on our guard against the influence of bias engendered by sectarian sentiment and habitual conservatism. The problem before the modern scholar is which hypothesis explains the largest number of facts. Judged by these tests we can conclude that the Theory of Non-Identity becomes much more acceptable than that of Identity.

Take for instance the positive evidence available for the Identity Theory. It is two-fold: (1) evidence from colophons of works attributed to Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya and to others, and (2) evidence from references to such identity by other writers. As

an instance of the former Mr. Markandeya Sarma points out that the colophons of two manuscripts of *Jivamukti-vivēka*, an undoubted work of Mādhava, attribute it to Vidyāranya. As an instance of the latter he states that not only Ahobala and Mitra Miśra but also Chaundapa and Narasimha who are both contemporaries of Vidyāranya indicate his identity with Mādhava.

We may apply our tests to this evidence. Let us first examine the *reality* or *genuineness* of it. The argument from the colophons can never be conclusive. Many of them are later insertions and by other hands. Manuscripts which have come into existence after the legend of Identity had become established would be liable to be tampered. If for instance *Jivamukti-vivēka* contained an original colophon directly from the hand of Mādhava alias Vidyāranya we fail to understand why and how there could come to exist even one single manuscript of it which failed to refer to Vidyāranya. When there is absence of identity of colophons in the manuscripts of a work, the burden of proof lies wholly and heavily on those who claim for any one form that it is the original one. Such a proof is lacking in the case of this evidence. Further they will have to explain the reason for the variation of the original form. In this case such an explanation is hardly possible. There can be a motive for a later identification of Vidyāranya with Mādhava but there is no motive for a later differentiation if they were originally identical.

The reference for the Identity Theory in Mitra Miśra and Ahobala is no doubt unambiguous but not so the reference in Narasimha and Chaundapa. There is no conclusive evidence to show that they are the younger contemporaries of Vidyāranya. Chaundapa does not really throw any light on the problem before us. His reference to Vidyāranya as Vedārtha Viśadikartā does not prove that Vidyāranya is the author of Veda Bhāṣya. Such attributes are commonly applied to heads of Maṭhs and eminent Brahmin scholars. Narasimha's quotation from Vidyāranya's *Kālanirṇaya* does not also prove the Identity Theory, since Vidyāranya himself, as suggested by Mr. R. Rama Rao,⁴ might have written a work of that name based on that of Mādhava. Or Mādhava's work being required for daily use might have been revised by Vidyāranya and thereby passed off under his name as well.

4. I. H. Q. for March 1931, pp. 89-90.

References to Vidyāranya's authorship of the Veda Bhāṣya are not real evidence for the Identity Theory unless we can prove that Mādhava composed that work. I think Mr. Rama Rao has irrefutably shown that the Veda Bhāṣya is the work of Sāyaṇa only. Mr. Markandeya Sarma in his criticism makes a frantic effort to defend Mādhava's authorship, but ends by modifying the tradition and suggesting that both the brothers must have been its joint authors. Otherwise he thinks that the term Mādhaviya found in the body of the work cannot be accounted for. But if both the brothers were the joint authors, why does not tradition support it, why does not the colophon mention Mādhava's name along with that of Sāyaṇa, and why does not the term Sāyaṇiya appear along with that of Mādhaviya in the body of the commentary? The words 'vedārtham vaktum' in reference to Mādhava are strongly relied upon by Mr. Sarma. But they do not necessarily indicate the writing of a Bhāṣya on the Veda. Mr. Macdonell and Mr. Rama Rao have suggested a satisfactory explanation for the term Mādhaviya. It is obvious that the term has a special meaning and does not indicate authorship. In fact Sāyaṇa himself has elsewhere explained the special meaning of the term. In his *Dhātu Vṛtti* Sāyaṇa uses the term Mādhaviya for the first part and expressly states that he himself wrote it under that name.⁵ But later the author of *Manorama* takes the term to mean that Mādhava was the author of that work. The same thing has happened in the case of the Veda Bhāṣya also.

The real evidence, then for the Identity Theory, dwindles into a mere trifle. Now the *weight* of that evidence is also not great. The most striking feature of it is its extreme belatedness. Ahobala whom tradition made a contemporary really lived in c. 1700 (A.D.) Mitra Miśra cannot be placed in the 16th century. He must have flourished between 1625 and 1675 as he mentions the great grandson of his patron Virasimha who ruled at Orcha from 1605 to 1627.⁶ It is true that Mitra Miśra's is the earliest reference to the Identity Theory. But the legend of Vidyāranya was a century old, as Nuniz refers to some parts of it, though not to Vidyāranya's identity with Mādhava. It is however strange that, as against this reference from a man of Northern India, the evidence from the neighbour-

5. I. H. Q. for Dec. 1930, p. 707.

6. P. V. Kane—*History of Dharma Sastra*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 446.

hood of the place where Vidyāranya flourished should be decisively against the Identity Theory almost down to the nineteenth century. After the fall of Vijayanagar, the Keḷadi rulers were the chief patrons of Śṛṅgeri and they of all persons cannot be said to be ignorant of this identity if it were true. But Śivatatvaratnākara, the encyclopaedic work composed with such careful labour by a ruler of Keḷadi in 1709 A.D. in the neighbourhood of Śṛṅgeri, as also the Guruvamśa composed at the instance of the Śṛṅgeri Maṭh in c. 1800 A.D., both positively and unequivocally distinguish Mādhava from Vidyāranya.

The sufficiency of this evidence cannot be defended even by the most rabid partizan. There is not a single piece of authentic evidence forthcoming which expressly states that Mādhava became Vidyāranya. It would be quite unsafe to establish a theory on the basis of such inadequate and imperfect evidence.

The negative aspect of this insufficiency of evidence is still more striking. If Mādhava and Vidyāranya were really identical it is inexplicable why there is not more evidence available and why there exists hostile evidence even from interested quarters. Mādhava and his illustrious contemporaries are voluminous writers who are not reluctant to furnish copious details about themselves and their times. If Mādhava and Vidyāranya were really identical why should none furnish information about it categorically and unequivocally? Sāyana alludes to both his brothers in every one of his works but strangely refuses to allude to Vidyāranya. Considering all the circumstances the argument from silence seems to me to be conclusive in this case.

The defenders of the Identity Theory try to meet this argument from silence by an argument based on an alleged etiquette which prevents Vidyāranya or any one of his contemporaries from mentioning his *pūrvāśrama* name. This counter argument will not solve the difficulty. All the great Āchāryas of India from Śankara down to Vivekananda are *Sannyāsins* and all without a single exception possess authoritative biographies of their *pūrvāśrama* life. Many of these biographical accounts are contemporaneous. If this alleged reluctance had been kept up really and for all time the world would not have come to know that Vidyāranya was the great Mādhava in his previous *āśrama*. A self or a mutual or a contemporaneous reference to this identity could be made in so many ways without involving the mention of a Yati's *pūrvāśrama*

name. The reference of Mitra Miśra is of that character. Our complaint is why there is such a dearth of similar references even in later times. We want to know why Sāyana and his son eulogise Mādhava as an eminent *grhastha* in the works they wrote during the reign of Harihara II when Vidyāranya was reigning at Śṛṅgeri (cf. Sāyana's Yagñatantra Sudhānidhi). They at least, then, were not reluctant to allude to the *pūrvāśrama* name and life of a living *Sannyāsi* if the Theory of Identity were true. The reluctance if any to openly allude to such identity cannot in any event survive the life-time of Vidyāranya. But still Mādhava's nephew Lakshmidhara refers to his uncle as Mādarasa only and refuses to mention that he became Vidyāranya.

As against such unsatisfactory evidence favourable to the Identity Theory there is a good deal of *hostile evidence* which is much more copious, genuine, unequivocal and credible. It is unnecessary to repeat what Mr. R. Rama Rao has already discussed. Suffice it to say that Śivatatvaratnākara of the Keḷadi Chief as well as the literary accounts of Śṛṅgeri alike make both Mādhava and Sāyana the devotees of Vidyāranya. A more decisive evidence than this cannot be had on the matter.

Now both Hampe and Śṛṅgeri boast of a tomb of Vidyāranya. Epigraphy shows that Vidyāranya died at Śṛṅgeri and a temple was erected over his tomb there. But a *kaḍita* of Śṛṅgeri⁷ as well as oral tradition make out that the tomb at Hampe is equally genuine. It is obvious that these two tombs must represent two distinct individuals who have been confused with one another in later times. The tomb at Hampe must represent that of Mādhava.

According to tradition all the Pontiffs of Śṛṅgeri were bachelors without an exception. This tradition would be violated if Vidyāranya were identified with Mādhava who was a strict householder.

Almost all the legends state that Vidyāranya was a *Sannyāsi* prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire whose capital is said to have been named Vidyānagar after him. According to Śṛṅgeri tradition Vidyāranya is said to have taken *Sannyāsa* in 1331. A Śṛṅgeri record alludes to the existence of Vidyāranya at

7. Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916, p. 59.

Benares in 1356. Modern scholars who defend the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya do not oppose these traditions. But these traditions if accepted as true would cut to the very root the Identity Theory. For one thing it is opposed to all traditional practice and religious belief that a Sannyāsi like Vidyāraṇya would for ever serve at the capital as minister and court Pandit. Mādhava who served as minister and scholar must then be a different figure. All the available evidence shows that Mādhava never left Vijayanagar nor went to any other place. But Vidyāraṇya is said to have resided at Kasi and Śṛṅgeri. Mādhava wrote work after work during the reigns of Harihara I and Bukka. He throughout calls himself as Mādhava only. Every available reference to him either by his brothers or by others during those two reigns as well as during the reign of Harihara II alludes to him as the householder Mādhava only. If he had been then a Sannyāsi the etiquette relied upon by the defenders of the Identity Theory would have effectively prevented them from doing so. It follows from that very argument that Mādhava must have been different from Vidyāraṇya.

In order to get over this difficulty some may be inclined to postpone the entry of Mādhava into *sannyāsa* to 1374 or 1377. But there is no evidence for doing so. The consecration of the trusted minister and the greatest scholar of the Empire as the Pontiff of Śṛṅgeri Math held in veneration by the Emperors would surely have been celebrated in some epigraphic record or attracted the attention of some writer. The Identity Theory is one essentially based on tradition. To postpone the consecration of Vidyāraṇya would mean the open violation of all known tradition. The name Vidyānagari would cease to be connected with Vidyāraṇya. The Śṛṅgeri records alluding to the existence of Vidyāraṇya prior to 1377 would have to be discarded for which no defender of the Identity Theory is prepared.

Vidyāraṇya was the Pontiff of Śṛṅgeri Math from 1377 to 1386.⁸ No authentic information is available about him for the period prior to 1377. The traditions and references that purport to do so are hopelessly conflicting. According to Śṛṅgeri tradition Bhāratitīrtha was installed in 1328 and reigned till 1380.⁹ But a *kaṭita*

of Śṛṅgeri states that he died in 1374.¹⁰ According to the succession list of Śṛṅgeri Matha, Vidyātīrtha died in 1333,¹¹ while according to another tradition he died in 1338. But epigraphical evidence shows that he lived at least till 1356 and was succeeded by his junior Bhāratitīrtha.¹² The ascetic connected with the name and foundation of the Empire, if any, is Vidyātīrtha and not Vidyāraṇya. Mādhava as well as his father were family ministers and teachers of the dynasty of Sangama. Mādhava's teacher was Vidyātīrtha, the Pontiff of the Kāñchī Kāmakoṭi Matha. When Sangama's son founded a new Empire with Mādhava as the chief minister, the latter would naturally have sent for his teacher for the occasion. Vidyātīrtha must have come from Kāñchī and taken his seat at Śṛṅgeri and received great honour from Harihara and Mādhava. He is the real founder of the greatness of the Śṛṅgeri Matha. But all his glory has in later times been appropriated by Vidyāraṇya without any justification. Another record refers to the existence of Vidyāraṇya in 1356. It is a *kaṭita* copy of a copper plate grant of 1380¹³ in favour of Vidyāraṇya which, while purporting to recount a series of past grants to the Matha states that in 1346 Vidyāraṇya was sent for from Benares to Śṛṅgeri. It is extremely doubtful if this grant and its recitals are genuine. The original copper plate is not available and we do not know when it was copied. Its recitals are unverifiable. There is no other proof that the past grants to Vidyāraṇya stated therein were really made. Confirmation of a series of past grants is rather unusual and highly suspicious. It curiously distinguishes the Matha of Vidyāraṇya from that of Bhāratitīrtha. It states that the grants made by Harihara I in 1346 and by Bukka in 1356 respectively on the occasion of their visit to Vidyātīrtha at Śṛṅgeri were utilised by Bhāratitīrtha at the time of the consecration of the god Vidyāsankara. The date of this consecration is not available. It must have been after the death of Vidyātīrtha who was alive in 1356. There is nothing to warrant our assuming that the consecration of this temple must have been in 1356 or immediately thereafter. It may have taken place at any time between 1356 and 1380. The *kaṭita* states that it is only subsequent to this consecration (and therefore to the death of Vidyātīrtha) that Bukka sent for Vidyāraṇya

8. Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916, p. 59.

9. Ib. 57.

10. Ib. 18.

11. Ib. 56.

12. Ib. 56.

13. Ib. 56-7.

from Benares by enclosing an order from the senior Śrīpāda. If this senior *swāmi* was Vidyātīrtha as Mr. R. Narasimhachar states¹⁴ Bukka's letter to Vidyāranya could not have been dispatched subsequent to the consecration of the temple in honour of Vidyātīrtha. The matter appears to be shrouded in suspicious mystery.

Thus taking everything into consideration, the rejection of the identity of Vidyāranya with Mādhava explains, in my opinion, the largest number of facts otherwise irreconcilable.

14. *Ib.* 57.

Some Letters about the First Afghan War 1838-1842.

By

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THE seven letters published below form one of the most interesting and instructive historical records ever published about the first Afghan War. A number of books have been written giving an account of the war, the best of them¹ being "*History of the War in Afghanistan*" by John William Kaye". Kaye wrote the history, in 1851 very soon after the war had taken place and had utilized several unpublished letters and journals of political and military officers employed in Afghanistan at the time. But the letters published here do not seem to have been seen by him. They supply important details which were hitherto unknown. They also refer to a number of other letters, which, if discovered, would add considerably to the material bearing on this important subject. In fact in the light of all the documents that have become accessible since Kaye wrote, a new detailed history of the war requires to be written.

These letters were acquired by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis from Messrs. Maggs Brothers of London and have been now preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara in the Bombay Presidency. Six out of the seven letters are written by Lt.-Col. R. Macdonald to Col. Egerton, C.B. They extend to 63 pp. octavo and quarto very closely but clearly written. The seventh letter is of Sir William H. Macnaghten written to Mr. W. B. Bayley and extends to 3 pages quarto.

It is well known that the First Afghan War was undertaken by the Governor-General, Lord Auckland (1836-1842), for fear of Russian invasion of India through Persia and Afghanistan, but with the apparent object of removing Dost Mahomed, the usurper on the throne of Kabul, and reinstating Shah Shuja with British aid. On the 10th of September 1838, Lord Auckland proclaimed his intention of employing force against Afghanistan and issued

1. Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Oxford History of India*, 4th ed. p. 688, has given the several authorities on the subject. To these may be added *Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir William Nott* by J. H. Stocqueler.

orders to the army accordingly. All preparations being complete the British army left for Afghanistan in two sections—the Bengal section consisting of 18,000 troops under Sir Henry Fane accompanied by the refugee Shah Shuja and the Bombay section consisting of 5,000 troops under Sir John Keane. The former left Delhi by the end of October for Ferozepore where the Governor-General, Sir Henry Fane and Runjit Singh met on November 29. The Bengal army moved from Ferozepore on December 10 and from Bhawalpur on January 1 and crossed the Indus at Sukkur on a bridge of boats built by the Engineers Thomas, Durand and others in the first week of February. The Bombay section left their headquarters by the middle of October, landed at Karachi by the end of November and proceeded to Shikarpur in Sindh on the right bank of the Indus. Here both the sections met by the end of February 1839, and the combined army proceeded through the Bolan Pass to Quetta under the supreme command of Sir John Keane. The army reached Kandahar on April 25 and captured the place without any resistance. On the 8th of May Shah Shuja was formally enthroned there. The army left Kandahar on June 28, and arrived at Ghazni on July 21. By the ingenuity of Thomas and Durand of the Engineering branch² the British army succeeded in storming and capturing the fort on July 23. They moved on July 30 from Ghazni to Kabul. The unexpected fall of the fort of Ghazni which was supposed to be impregnable compelled Dost Mahomed to leave his capital and escape northwards. The British army therefore occupied Kabul on August 7 without any opposition. Shah Shuja was duly proclaimed king of Afghanistan. But as it was found that he had no following among his countrymen a portion of the British army consisting of 10,000 troops was left in Afghanistan under Sir Willoughby Cotton as an army of occupation, and the remaining army left Kabul in September 1839 for India via the Khaibar Pass.

The British Government delighted at the success, showered honours and rewards upon Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, who designed the invasion, Sir John Keane, who commanded the army and William Macnaghten who was the political director of the campaign and upon several other officers.³ The success considerably enhanced British prestige in the eyes of the neighbouring states.

2. *Life of Sir Henry Marion Durand* by H. M. Durand, Vol. I; p. 52.

3. *History of the War in Afghanistan* by John William Kaye, Vol. I, p. 495.

After a few months Dost Mahomed, who had fled from Kabul on the approach of the British army and had taken refuge in Bokhara, managed to advance towards Kabul and got a considerable following. But on the 18th of September 1840 he was defeated at Bamian by the British army and had to fly to Kohistan. In a short time, he collected another army and moved down from the Nijrow country to Kabul, when on October 29 intelligence of his movement reached the British camp at Bhagalum, the army marched out to intercept the enemy. Both the armies met in the valley of Purwandurrat on November. Although Dost Mahomed gained a victory over the British, he thought it prudent to surrender. He was therefore sent down to Calcutta where he was well treated and assigned a liberal pension.

General tranquillity now prevailed in Afghanistan. The British army which was left there, not knowing that they were in a condition of false security, began to settle down to a life of ease. The climate of Kabul was specially suitable to the Europeans, and the officers were even allowed to bring their wives and families from India. All reasonable precautions were neglected. By the end of 1841 insurrections broke out all over the country. On November 2 Sir Alexander Burnes, the British Resident at Kabul, was killed, and an appeal was circulated among the Afghans of all factions to destroy the British army and take back Ghazni and Kandahar.⁴ The position of the British at Kabul soon became more and more perilous. On December 23 Sir William Macnaghten was treacherously slain by Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed. "The events of November and December, 1841 and of January 1842 were of so fearful a nature as scarcely to be paralleled in some of their incidents by the disasters of the Mutiny of 1857."⁵ At last on the 6th January 1842 the British army consisting of 4500 troops in the cantonment and 600 in the Bala Hissar, the ancient citadel of Kabul and about 12,000 followers found no other course open but to evacuate Kabul and march towards Jallalabad which had been held in possession by General Sale since the 13th of November 1839. But the army suffered considerable hardships on the way and almost the whole of it was annihilated either by cold and hunger or by Afghan knives. Only one Dr. Brydon and a Serjeant Major⁶ escaped the destruction and reached Jallalabad to relate the sad story.

4. *Memoirs of Sir William Nott* by Stockqueler.

5. *Historians' History of the World* Vol. XXII, p. 140.

6. See the letter No. 7 published below.

Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, who had followed close on the fugitives lost no time in besieging Jallalabad. General Sale defended it against severe odds, till General Pollock arrived in time for help. The enemy had therefore to retire.

There were similar insurrections in other parts of Afghanistan. On the 16th of December 1841 Col. Palmer was forced to surrender Ghazni which had been skilfully captured by the British in the previous year. Kandahar was besieged in February; but General Nott,⁷ who was in charge of it, did not yield and heroically maintained his position in the fortress. Similarly Capt. Craigie defended Khelat-i-Ghilzai. There was however a small reverse near Quetta.⁸ Shah Shuja managed to maintain himself for sometime in Kabul but finally perished by assassination.

The fall of strong places like Kabul and Ghazni, and the loss of a considerable army in a helpless condition was no doubt a great shock to the British, but thanks to the extraordinary courage of the British Generals they managed to retrieve the British name. General Nott started from Kandahar for Kabul with 5,000 fine soldiers in high spirits on the 7th of August 1842. He recaptured Ghazni on September 6th and advanced to Kabul. General Pollock advanced from Jallalabad and joined him. The combined armies recaptured Kabul on the 15th of September, and the British flag flew again on the Bala Hissar.

The disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of the recent misfortune the British Government decided on the policy of complete withdrawal from Afghan affairs. The army consequently began its march to India on the 12th of October and encamped at Peshawar early in November 1842.

Thus ended the First Afghan War. "Nothing in the annals of Great Britain had ever exhibited so disastrous an issue to a war undertaken in the confidence that it would avert the possibility of an impending danger."⁹

MacDonald, the author of the letters published below, was a Deputy Adjutant General in the Bombay Division of the British army,¹⁰ and, as such, accompanied that army in its march to Afghanistan. He was one of the army that left Afghanistan as soon as the object of the campaign was served. Consequently

7. *Memoirs of Sir William Nott* p. 452.

8. V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India* p. 682.

9. *Historians History of the World*, Vol. XXII, p. 144.

10. Cf. letter No. 1 published below.

he gives an account only of the earlier events of the memorable war, and does not record anything of the army that was left in Afghanistan. From his letters, MacDonald seems to have been a man of keen observation and to have possessed good power of description. He seems to have been on intimate terms with Col. Egerton to whom all his letters are addressed. He gives free expression to his views on various important points even outside his sphere, and criticises and praises many of the highly placed officers including the Governor-General.

In his first letter, dated, Poona the 3rd October 1838, he gives an account of the causes of and the British preparations for the war. His second letter written from Ghazni on the 23rd July on the very day of its fall describes the capture of the impregnable fort. It shows how overjoyed the British had been at the success which was calculated to have far-reaching results. He writes thus:—"It will be most acceptable news throughout all India—that is to all those well disposed to the British Rule; it will have a great effect on Burmah and Nepal, and I may add Persia both showing the strongest symptoms of a desire to break with us." "The moral effect of what we have done in Afghanistan is not confined to that country, but extends to the many discontented spirits in India and to the neighbouring states, who were eagerly looking forward to our arms meeting with disaster in this country, which would have been the signal for them to have raised their rebellious forces and to have struck a blow at our power."¹¹

In the third letter, MacDonald gives an idea of the oversanguine nature of Macnaghten, which was partly responsible for the British loss in the War, and describes the unfavourable surroundings in which the British army was placed in Afghanistan. It was found that Shah Shuja whom the British had supported to the throne of Kabul had no following. "Our friend Shah Shooja" he writes, "is not popular and to maintain him on the throne it was absolutely necessary to have left some of our troops in support of him. He will be to the Indian Government a very expensive bird to keep on his perch." A Division of the Bombay Troops began their return march from Kabul on September 17, under General Willshire and MacDonald left Kabul on October 15th with another division under the command of Sir John Keane.

11. Letter No. 3 published below.

In the fourth letter written from the camp at Attock on the Indus, the 27th November 1839, the very day the British army crossed the Indus, MacDonald gives a very graphic description of the places on his way back to India through the Khaibar Pass. He shows the superiority of the Khaibar Pass to the Bolan Pass for a strong defence from a military point of view, and how they had wisely decided to enter Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass, which had less power to resist the British arms. He writes thus:—"With the extraordinary natural difficulties which the whole line between Peshawar and Kabul presents and with an enemy so enterprising and determined as Dost Mahomed to dispute the ground with us, I think it next to an impossibility that our Troops could have made their way to Kabul."¹² He then gives an account of the disorder of the Sikh Court after the death of Runjit Singh. In the postscript of this letter MacDonald gives us the valuable information of the capture of Khalat by General Willshire at which the Chief of Khalat himself was slain.

The fifth letter shows what moral effect the British success in Afghanistan had on the Sikh power in the Punjab, who thereupon were anxious to keep on good terms with the British, and how it was in the interest of the British also to keep on good terms with the Sikhs. Sir John Keane and his army when they reached the Sikh capital were given a good reception by the Sikh King. MacDonald gives a glowing tribute to the high efficiency of the Sikh army, trained by the French officers of Napoleon's school, and gives his impression of the grandeur of the Sikh court thus—"There must be great riches at this court. The appearance of the Palace and Gardens was something far more magnificent than I had pictured in my own mind; we were to see the 'Cloth of Gold' I had heard of, but never until then saw. We walked upon it as a carpet. The dresses are splendid and in good taste. Their diamonds and their pearls are the largest in the world. It was wholly different from the courts in India, where slovenliness and bad taste are alike conspicuous."

12. This shows that the following statement of Mr. V. A. Smith (Oxford History of India, p. 678) is wrong—"In order not to offend Ranjit Singh the Bengal army was sent round through the Bolon Pass, and so had to traverse a distance of more than a thousand miles between Ferozpur and Kabul. The plan violated all the conditions of sound strategy, and was that of a lunatic rather than of a sane statesman."

The army returned to Ferozpoore, the first Bengal station, on the 2nd of January 1840 and left it on the 7th. MacDonald gives some interesting account of his voyage down the river Indus by means of boats. The army reached Sukkur on January 30th and met General Willshire there. On February 10th they reached Hyderabad where the Sind Ameer met Sir John Keane and paid him homage.

No letter of MacDonald has been discovered between the date February 10, 1840 and June 17, 1842, and consequently we know nothing of the events of the Afghan War of the time from him.

His letter of June 17, 1842 written from his headquarters at Poona contains some account of the War but it could not of course be based on his own experience. He however supplies the very valuable information that besides Dr. Brydon there was one Serjeant Major of the 37th Native Infantry who escaped destruction at the hands of the Afghans and whose account of the later incidents of the war was far better than that of Dr. Brydon. MacDonald thus writes of him:—"The *"Times"* summary which I have ordered to be sent to you will contain two papers of interest—one is Sir Robert Sales' account of the siege of Jellalabad and the other the Journal of the Serjeant Major of the 37th Native Infantry, containing his account, as an eye-witness, of the occurrences from the date of Genl. Elphinstone's force quitting Kabul, until its final destruction, and his (the narrator's) making his escape to Jellalabad. It is a far better account than Doctor Brydon's, who seems scarcely yet to have recovered his reason, which in his fright he certainly lost for the time."

There is in the Museum collection only one letter of Sir W. Macnaghten (No. 6 below) which bears on the subject of the Afghan War. It is dated Kabul, the 20th August 1840, and is addressed to Mr. W. B. Bayley, who was once acting Governor-General of India from March 8, 1828 to July 1828, and at this time the Secretary of State for India. We know from this letter that Macnaghten was appointed to officiate as a member of the Governor-General's Council,¹³ evidently as a reward for his successful work in the capture of Ghazni and Kabul. But unfortunately he did not live to enjoy that honour as he was assassinated on December 23, 1841 as stated above.

13. Kaye states on p. 609 of his History of the War that Macnaghten had been appointed Governor of Bombay, but this seems to be wrong in the light of Macdonald's own statement contained in this letter.

THE LETTERS

NO. 1.

Poona, 3rd Oct., 1838.

My Dear Colonel Egerton,

Since I wrote to you last month preparations for active work have been going on more rapidly, and Sir John Keane will probably embark at Bombay with a force of 5,000, about the end of next month to land in Sindé at the mouth of the Indus. We shall probably have to fight their Highnesses the Ameers for possession of that country in the first place, as they have refused a passage through their country to Shah Shoojah with his force¹ of 5,000 men supported by Sir Henry Fane's² of 13,000, on their way to Candahar, to establish him (Shah Shoojah) on that Throne. The Ameers of Sindé pay tribute to the sovereign in Affghanistan,³ and they have, whilst pretending to be our friends, been found out, by intercepted correspondence, to have been doing all they can to thwart our views in every way and to have entered into close friendship with our enemies, the Rulers of Candahar and Cabool, Dost Mahomed and the Shah of Persia, and to have placed their reliance on the power of Russia to aid them against us. In the meantime however, we shall be before hand with Russia, and take possession of their country (Sindé) making the Indus our frontier. We would of course much rather they *gave us fight*, than that they should submit tamely. Col. Pottinger,

1. According to Macdonald altogether 23000 troops were put in the field for the Afghan War—18000 in the Bengal section and 5000 in the Bombay section. But Sir Henry Durand (H. M. Durand's Life of Sir Henry Durand p. 40) gives the total to be 19000, 5000 of them being in the Bombay section and 14000 in the Bengal section of which 6000 were Shah Shuja's contingent, John William Kaye in his History of the War in Afghanistan, p. 379 gives the Shah's contingent to be 6,000.

2. Sir Henry Fane for ill-health and some other reasons resigned his command, and Sir Willoughby Cotton succeeded him in the command of the Bengal section.

3. A letter of Sir Evan Napier, Governor of Bombay, dated Bombay 10th April 1814 preserved in the Satara Museum contains the following statement which may be of interest in this connection—"The Vakeel of Scind, who is now here has promised to procure for me the vines of Cabool on his return in the autumn. There is a direct intercourse between that place and Hyderabad and grapes are sent to the Ameers during the season twice a week, though the distance is not less than five or six hundred miles."

the Agent of the Governor-General, is now on his way from Cutch, on a mission to the Ameers, to *hold a high tone* to them. I send you the part of his last letter to me, which bears on the subject. Since that letter was written, we have got *our orders* from the Governor-General, so far, that 5,000 of our Troops from this Presidency go to Sindé, to form a junction with Sir Henry Fane's army from Upper Bengal, about Shikarpore on the right bank of the Indus, and to be employed on the advance to Candahar if necessary. We may or may not have to fight our way through Sindé, and to clear a passage for His Majesty Shah Shoojah with his raw levies (under British officers) of 5,000 men, that are to *precede* Sir Henry Fane's force down the left Bank of the Rivers, from Ferozpoor on the Sutlej, where Sir Henry's Troops are to be assembled by the 28th Nov., and at which time the Governor-General, Sir Henry Fane and Runjeet Singh will all three meet there.⁴ Sir Henry's columns will immediately after be put in motion, and he expects them to reach Bukkur⁵ (a place of importance belonging to the Ameers of Sindé) in 42 marches from Ferozpoor. At this place Sir Henry proposes to cross the Indus with his Troops, and he will soon after form a junction with us. This will be, well on in January. All this, I imagine, Sir Henry has himself made Lord Hill acquainted with, but there can be no harm in my mentioning it to you. Shah Shoojah is the legitimate sovereign of Candahar and Cabool, the Throne being now filled by a *clever* usurper⁶ Dost Mahomed, who has thrown us off, and has allied himself to Russia and Persia, and gone with his Troops to join the Shah and the army of the latter Power now besieging Herat, which place still holds out, after a gallant defence of about a year and a half against the King of Persia, assisted by Russian advice and Russian science in the direction of the siege. A young officer of the Bombay Artillery, a nephew of my friend Col. Pottinger (and of the same name) has been shut up in Herat all the time, and has done an infinity of good in showing the gallant Shah Kamran (who has made a bosom friend of him) how to construct his defences after *our fashion*. We get letters from this young man occasionally, and Lord Auckland is delighted

4. For an account of the meeting see Kaye's History, p. 373 ff. of the War.

5. It is an island fortress in the Indus lying between Sukkur and Rohri.

6. See *Historians History of the World* Vol. XXII, p. 206.

with him, both on account of the public letters he has written and the descretion and ability with which he has conducted himself.

If the people of Affghanistan are willing to receive Shah Shoojah as their sovereign, we may have easy work of it, but if the reverse, we may have a tough job. Things must then come to a crisis, and England will have to demand explicitly from Russia what her intentions are. If Russia declares that she is determined to assist Persia and Dost Mahomed the present Chief of Affghanistan against us, and sends 10,000 or more troops *via* Tiflis, or by the Caspian *via* Astrabad, to meet us at Herat, should we have to advance beyond Candahar, then our force of Europeans will scarcely be sufficient to meet such a contingency. Sir Henry takes with him the 16th Lancers, 13th Foot, and 3rd Buffs, with the Bengal European Regiment. We shall take from here half of the 4th Dragoons (300 men and horses), the 2nd Queens and 17th Regiments of Foot—The Artillery (Horse and Foot) both of Bengal and Bombay are Europeans. If we are to fight the Russians *you must send us 10,000 Troops from England*, and raise the militia. I scarcely think, however that Russia is prepared to declare war against England just at this time. Sir Henry Fane says that Lord Auckland has guaranteed to him, that he is not to be superseded until this service is over, even if a successor to him as Commander-in-Chief in India should arrive while he is absent. He adds, that he hopes Sir John Keane and himself will be able to go home together *from Bombay* in about twelve months from this time, he (Sir Henry) coming down from the mouth of the Indus to Bombay and his Troops returning *covered with laurels* to Upper Bengal. You will, I dare say, *if you get so far*, be very tired of my dissertation. Poor Churchill is in perfect despair, at being refused permission to accompany Sir Henry to the Field, as I know, Lord Hill will be informed publicly and privately of. I have not taken upon myself my *new office* of Deputy Adjutant General as yet, the official Gazette or notification not having come from England.

Warburton left Bombay immediately after I last wrote to you for the Neilgherry Hills, on his matrimonial trip, and I have not learned any thing of him since but he wrote to me in *high glee* just before he started.

SOME LETTERS ABOUT THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR 261

My General is quite well and I am happy to say, I see he has written to you himself.

Believe me to be,
My Dear Col. Egerton,
Yours very sincerely
R. MACDONALD.

P. S.—I ought to have mentioned that in addition to the 5,000 men now going to Sinde from here, Lord Auckland has written to say, that he will expect us to hold in readiness 6,000 men more to be sent by the Gulf as a Demonstration into Persia.

R. M.

NO. 2.

Ghuznee 23rd July 1839.

My Dear Col. Egerton,

I will give you a very few lines to tell of our great success to-day, in having taken this place by storm, it being, I believe, next to Herat, the strongest Fortification in Affghanistan and supposed by the natives of this part of it, to be impregnable. The Governor,¹ a son of Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabool, an immense quantity of ordnance and ammunition, Provisions, etc., have fallen into our hands with a Garrison of 3,000 men. This will finish the campaign, as Cabool will fall as a matter of course, and Dost Mahomed Khan surrender to us on the Pension offered to him, or make a precipitate retreat, towards Bokara or Cashmere, as he will be shut out from Persia.

We only came before the place the day before yesterday. We were all astounded at its strength, compared to the accounts received of it, a regular Fortification with a very high and strong Citadel. Sir John Keane did not hesitate a moment how he was to act. Instead of Breaching, he ordered Bags of Gun Powder to be prepared and the attempt to be made of blowing up one of the

1. i.e., Hyder Khan, See *Kay's History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 450.

gates.² It surrendered admirably a little before day light, and made a passage for the Troops. The storming of so strong a place and with so strong a garrison was an arduous business to undertake, and Sir John did not like to trust it to others than Europeans, which, as it turns out, is a happy circumstance, for the Affghans made a desperate resistance after our Troops got inside, but Town and Citadel was taken in less than two hours. Brigadier Sale³ of the 13th Light Infantry commanded the storming party and took the lead through the gate with the 2nd or Queens followed by the Bengal European Regt.—next Her Majesty's 17th and then the 13th Light Infantry (the latter very weak in numbers) the Native Regiments did all that was required of them, and well. The Artillery (the men are Europeans) behaved as well as could be wished and the Engineers did their part admirably.

A good many officers are wounded and some of them badly, but strange to say, none killed dead in the place. The casualties in men killed and wounded will perhaps amount to 200 Europeans. I write in the greatest hurry to accompany a short dispatch to the Governor-General. Lord Auckland will be overjoyed when he learns the triumphant way in which we have done this. It insures the success of his Policy and it will be most acceptable news throughout all India, that is, to all those well disposed to the British Rule. It will have a great effect on Burmah and Nepaul, (and I may add Persia) both showing the strongest symptoms of a desire to break with us.

Brigadier Sale is wounded. He behaved with great gallantry in this storming.⁴ He declares that none but British soldiers would have taken the places against such resistance as they met with; swordsmen in particular. My last letter⁵ to you was a very long one from Candahar, on the 26th June, the day before we left it on the march to this. Sir John Keane will leave a garrison here, and go on to Cabool forthwith.⁶ Sir John Keane is occupied in

2. i.e., the Kabul gate. For a print of the gate made from a sketch made on the spot by Sir Henry Durand of the Engineering branch of the army see p. 51 of his life.

3. I. W. Kaye, however states (I. 447) that Col. Dennie of the 13th Light Infantry led the advance and Sale led the main column after him.

4. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 448.

5. Unfortunately their letter is not found.

6. The army halted at Kandahar from 25th April to 27th June and went to Ghuznee on 21st July. They moved from Ghuznee on the 30th of July. See Kaye I, 455.

writing to Lord Auckland, and I am very sure would like to write to Lord Hill, but I fear cannot to-day. You may suppose what his anxiety must have been, and how many arrangements he has to make to day, even after the Place is taken.

His majesty Shah Shoojah, as you may suppose, is delighted. He told Sir John Keane *to-day that Alexander the great*⁷ was not so good a General as him. His said Majesty is perfectly astonished at European prowess.

With kind regards to my friends at the Horse Guards. Believe me.

Sincerely yours.

R. MACDONALD.

(Recd. 3rd Decr. 1839).

NO. 3.

Cabool 14th October, 1839.

My Dear Colonel Egerton.

I have allowed a longer interval than usual to pass without writing to you. The few lines I sent from Ghuznee on the 23rd July, after our nice exploit of that morning, were in fact the last I have written to you. The official dispatches to Lord Hill and to Lord Fitz Roy Somerset and the private letters of Sir John Keane to His Lordship the General Commanding in Chief, I thought quite enough to keep you alive to our doings in this country. I believe we have done the work to the full Extent of what was wished and expected. Lord Auckland expresses the utmost gratitude to Sir John Keane, and "his unfeigned admiration of the manner in which

7. The British generals must have frequently referred in their talk to this episode on the ancient Indian history and compared it with their recent successful march. It deserves to be marked that Sir John Can Hobhouse in his speech in the House of Commons in Feb. 1840 referred to this march of the Indian army into Afghanistan in the following words.—"For the first time since the days of Alexander the Great, a civilized army had penetrated the mighty barrier of deserts and mountains which separates Persia from Hindustan." See *Historians History of the World*, Vol. XXXI, p. 139.

the whole campaign has been managed by him."—There was much at stake certainly, and if a failure of any kind had taken place, the world, as at present constituted, would not be slow to blame both Lord Auckland and Sir John Keane without taking much time or trouble to enquire whether both or either were in fault. Happily however, nothing failed from the first to the last, and the moral effect of what we have done in Affghanistan is not confined to that country, but extends to the many discontented spirits in India and to the neighbouring states, who were eagerly looking forward to our arms, meeting with disaster in this country, which would have been the signal for them to have raised their rebellious forces and to have struck a blow at our power. I never meddle in Politics, but in this case it was impossible to have shut one's eyes to all the danger and the clouds that were gathering around the Indian Governments before we started on this service—Lord Auckland has certainly proved himself a bold man, which perhaps few gave him credit for, saving and except those who know him well. At one time and after we were *well in for it*, I believe His Lordship did feel nervous—The principal cause probably was, that not only he but all his Political associates in India, who had anything to do with the expedition, found themselves totally deceived in the Estimate they had formed of the love borne towards Shah Shoojah by his Affghan subjects, and instead of the numbers they thought would have flocked to his standard as we advanced, they found he had hardly any friends in the country, and we received not the slightest assistance from his Affghan subjects as auxiliaries—Mr. Macnaghten our minister with the king estimable in every way and gentlemanlike and withal clever was slow and most unwilling to believe, or at all events to admit, that the people showed no warmth to their sovereign. In short up to the moment when the Guns of Ghuznee opened upon us, he would not allow that we should be faced by an enemy from one end of the country to the other, and urged most strenuously upon Sir John Keane, before we left Candahar, to leave half his Troops¹ there, as being unnecessary for the advance. The Governor-General too in his letters to Sir John speculated upon the same thing; Sir John however, told the Envoy and Minister in the same tone of good feeling which has never once changed between them during this campaign,

1. Macnaghten had proposed to leave behind the whole of the Bombay Division. Keane at first allowed himself to be persuaded, but the Chief Engineer gave the right counsel and Keane changed his mind. See *Life of Durand* Vol. I, 49.

that he would, on this occasion judge for himself, and incur all the responsibility of bringing on his whole army (about 7,000 fighting men) except a Garrison for Candahar. When the Cannonade from Ghuznee commenced upon our Troops, Mr. Macnaghten, in the most handsome terms said, to Sir John, that it was most fortunate his (Mr. Macnaghten's) advice to leave half the Troops behind had not been taken. That Politics and Political officers were from that moment at a discount, and he should place himself with all the interests confided to him wholly in the hands and under the guidance of Sir John. It was, I assure you a critical moment, and Sir John Keane displayed much nerve and cool sound judgement—The place before us looked most formidable. Dost Mahomed had calculated upon our not attempting to take it in any other way than by regular siege. His chiefs, and some even of his own family, have since told us, his plan was, and all the orders had been given that whilst we were engaged in the siege, the whole population of the country (they are all well armed) should assemble and surround us—That done, he himself with his 13,000 Regular Troops was to march from his Capital and attack us furiously before Ghuznee, and by that time he expected that little less than one Hundred Thousand men would have surrounded Ghuznee, and that Shah Shoojah and all of us would be annihilated, and not a man left to tell the tale. No one had joined the Shah's standard from the time of our leaving Candahar, and even those who had previously done so, had either deserted or kept out of the way, and were ready to Pounce upon us at any moment they thought favorable, or upon the first reverse. Hajee Khan Kakur the only man of influence who had joined the Shah acted in this way with 3,000 Cavalry. He kept at the distance of a day's march from the Shah, having a party of spies in His Majesty's Camp to give him constant and correct information. All the peremptory orders to join, which the Shah sent him, were wholly disregarded and had not the least effect, and his double Traitor only came in on the afternoon of the day we had taken Ghuznee, with professions of devotedness and eternal friendship to Shah Shoojah in his mouth whereas he was looking on, ready if we failed in our attempt upon the place with his 3,000 Cavalry to have joined our other enemies and make a dash to have cut us to pieces—He is now condemned on the clearest evidence to a state Prison for life. I merely mention this villian's case to show the plans laid for our destruction, and that if Sir John Keane had not acted with the great decision and energy he did, there is no knowing what the consequences of even a week's delay before the place would have been. One of

the ministers or head office men of Dost Mahomed, has since told myself, that he had been sent from Cabool towards Ghuznee to make reports. He met fellows on the road running for their lives, and nearly naked, who told him all was lost, as we had taken the place in two hours—He galloped back to tell this dismal news to his master, who on hearing it was enraged and said it was totally impossible, had him tied to a gun and said that if the story was not confirmed before evening he would have him blown from the mouth of it—confirmation "strong as death" however came before it was the poor man's time to be blown from the Gun, and he escaped. Thus, all Dost Mahomed's plans and hopes in a few minutes vanished into air. The warriors surrounding Ghuznee scampered off in all directions. The population of Cabool were in a state of the greatest excitement and showed symptoms of openly declaring for Shah Shoojah. His army were crest fallen and no longer boasted of what they were to do against the Infidels (their common term for us)—Dost Mahomed is personally a brave man and would have stood a fair fight against us, I do believe, if his army had stood by him. They however have no chivalrous feelings, and they did not, but dastard like came over to his opponent.

We have been here upwards of two months, but take our departure to-morrow for India—Lord Auckland has expressed much anxiety that Sir John Keane would meet him at Agra or some other convenient place on his way from Simla to Calcutta. This I fear, cannot be, as Sir John will not be in time for His Lordship, who leaves Simla next month and we have a long journey before us to Ferozepore—Sir John goes back by a new route, and accompanies the Bengal returning Troops, through the Khyber Pass and the Punjab. The Siekh Government have given their sanction but not very willingly, to our passing through their country—I expect that we shall reach Peshawar about the 7th Nov.—Attock (there cross the Indus) about the 15th of that month, and Lahore probably about the 6th or 7th December—Ferozepore 13th or 14th December. There we shall separate from the Bengal Troops, and take Boat to drop down the Rivers to Sinde, and on to Bombay. I shall guess that we may reach Bombay in the first week of February, but I can make no right calculation of the time. The going down the Indus is tedious work. I fancy Sir John Keane, on arrival at Bombay will make his preparations for England, for he is anxious to get home. Now that the excitement is over, his health is becoming indifferent, and he suffers much from Rheumatic headaches. This climate is quite European, and we that are in

good health, enjoy it much. We are close to the Hindoo Khoosh range of mountains, the continuation of the Himalayas, and the Hills on each side of us are covered with snow even in this month. Cabool is infinitely superior to Candahar in every respect. In addition to the Shah's troops, we leave the whole of Sir Willoughby Cotton's Division of Infantry in Affghanistan this season; with one Bengal Cavalry Regt. a Troop of Horse Artillery and Two Companies of Foot Artillery. The only part of Her Majesty's army to be left here is the 13th Light Infantry. They have been sickly in the hot climate and the winter here will do them good. Sir Willoughby Cotton was at first (with his own consent) to have been left here in command, but he has now begged off, because he expects the command of the Bengal Army from the departure of General John Ramsay (in Nov. supposed) until the arrival of a Commander-in-Chief which he thinks may not take place for a long time. Sir John Keane immediately assented to his coming on with us through the Punjaub, which he is to do.

Our friend Shah Shoojah, I am sorry to say, is not popular and to maintain him on the throne it was absolutely necessary to have left some of our Troops in support of him. It is to be hoped that it will be otherwise by and by and that we shall be able to leave him to "the holy keeping" of his own subjects and Troops—I fear even this temporary occupation of Affghanistan by our Troops, may create jealousy among the European Powers—Lord Auckland however does not seem to apprehend it.

The Bombay Troops began their return march from Cabool on the 17th September² under General Willshire of the 2nd Queens. None of them are to remain in Affghanistan, but a subsidiary force of Bombay Troops is to be left in Upper and Lower Sinde, and I doubt much if their Highnesses the Ameers will ever get rid of our protection again, the navigation of the Indus being a point that we shall be anxious to attend to, and to keep open.

Lord Auckland seems to think our operations here will satisfy the Burmese and Nepaulese, and that there will be no war in these countries. His Lordship says, he is to undertake none this season, at all events.

2. Kabul was occupied in 7th August.

3. Kaye gives 18th September in his *History of the War*, p. 478.

I shall write to you as we get along our march through the Siekh territories, but the Post in these disturbed wilds, is so tedious and uncertain, that what is written is generally stale and unsatisfactory by the time it reaches you, as very often that which is first sent off arrives last. Warburton is an acting Asst. Adj. Genl. I see which I am glad of. I hope our good Lord Hill continues well. Long may he become Chief is my prayer. I am getting our Quarter Master Genl. to prepare a correct map of this country for Lord Hill which will show all our routes and be an improvement upon all maps yet published of this hitherto little known land.

With kind regards to my friends at the House.

always very sincerely yours.

R. MACDONALD.

I am delighted to find that Sir James Kempt has returned to England, although not quite well yet very much recovered. If you have an opportunity, offer him my best remembrances.

D. M.

(From Lt.-Colonel R. Macdonald Recd. 9th Jan. 1840).

Editorial

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION *

III

WE now come to the religious aspect of the Indus Valley Civilization, as far as the materials that have come down to us would permit of our describing it. We have to remember at the outset that, among the buildings unearthed in such number, there is none that has shown itself to be a place of worship; nor have articles or memorials devoted to worship or other religious practice of a clear character, been discovered so far. The only materials upon which we shall have to form our own ideas of the religious practices of the Indus people in this remote age, are from the engraved seals, which are found in abundance in the ruins along with a few clay sealings and copper tablets. The number and variety of the small figurines of terra-cotta and other material throw a certain amount of light upon this subject as well. It is a well-known fact that there has been conflicting views in regard to the pre-Aryan elements in the religion of the Hindus of India. There has been so far no successful and systematic attempt at the separation of the Aryan and the pre-Aryan elements in the rather complex Hindu religion. If the remains of the Hindu civilisation throw any light upon the pre-Aryan religious condition, such light would be really welcome indeed.

Among the figurines of terra-cotta, etc., we find a number of female figurines. These are found in both the sites, Mohenjo-Daro and in Harapa, and similar examples are found in considerable number also in the neighbouring country of Baluchistan. Among these a certain number can readily be laid aside, these being generally expressive of occupations connected with domestic life. Others representations of women carrying children in their arms, or of pregnant women, and such like could be regarded as *ex voto* offerings; that is, offerings made, and actually presented at places of worship in fulfilment of vows. These vows usually are prayer for offspring or for the cure of diseases, or relief from other ills that

*We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Arthur Probsthain for the illustrations published here as before. Ed.

afflict humanity. But there is a class of figurines which is distinct from either of these varieties. These latter portray a distinctive, but uniform type of standing female figures almost nude, wearing a band or a girdle about the loins, and with elaborate head-dress and collar, also occasionally with cheek cones and long necklaces.¹ Some of these show ear ornaments of shell like cups suspended by bands on either side of the head. The top of the head-dress is often crescent-shaped, though it sometimes ends in bands.

Similar figurines found in Baluchistan are of a different type, though they fall into two classes among themselves. One special feature of these images is that they consist only of the head and body on a flat base, the part below the hip not being shown at all. In this particular they resemble images found in Minos and Mycenae. In the first type the face is pinched in like that of a bird and the image is made to wear long and elaborate necklaces with shell or other pendants attached. In this last particular they resemble the Indus figurines. But the hands are generally shown as resting either on the waist or on the breasts, which last, as a rule, are not prominent. These have been found by Sir Aurel Stein in two places Mulli and Mehi. At Mehi these are found associated with pottery which differs in style from the common red and black painted ware of Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa, though they happen to be found in layers of the Chalcolithic age. They are found with similar association in other sites in northern Baluchistan as well; but whether these are contemporary or later has yet to be determined. The other type comes from the sites like Kaudani, Mughal-ghundai and Periāno-ghundai in Zhob. They also belong to the Chalcolithic age, but the pottery associated with these prove to be decidedly later. Another peculiar feature of this type is that the figurines wear a sort of hood over the head, and a series of necklaces or torques treated very formally and sometimes appearing like a tippet or like the pectoral of the three-faced god found at Mohenjo-Daro. The face is flat and horribly grotesque, and not appearing like that in the former type.² The forehead is high, eyes cavernous, mouth distorted. These also are legless as the former type; the common feature of both the types, namely, the absence of the lower parts of the body seems to exhibit the underlying idea of earth goddess which is emerging from the earth. While the first type is not repulsive in aspect, the second seems intended to inspire horror. Such feminine statutes found both in

1. Pl. XII. 1, 4 and 6.

2. See No. 6 above.

the Indus Valley and Baluchistan have been found over a wide area extending westwards to Aegean. They are found in Elam, Mesopotamia, Transcaspia, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. In some of these countries they are found later than in others. But they seem to have been the products of a common idea prevailing over the vast area, if as yet we are in no position to trace them directly to a common origin. It is however widely accepted that these in various forms represent the Great Mother or nature goddess whose cult is believed to have originated in Anatolia (probably in Phrygia) and spread thence throughout Western Asia. This view is far from meeting with general acceptance, and the discovery of these in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan would give the Mother Goddess a wider provenance, and possibly a greater antiquity than even the Chalcolithic times. The correspondence is close enough for us to justify our assuming that the Indus and Baluchistan figurines also represent a mother or nature goddess and served a purpose similar to that in the more western countries.

These figurines were probably intended as cult images for household shrines. We do find similar objects, but of a larger size, made and offered, and very largely preserved, in village shrines, or even round wayside trees, in the whole of South India. But they are usually figures of a larger size, and not the figurines that are actually under discussion here. That they were effigies of Mother-worship may be taken for granted, as this Mother-worship is widely prevalent and deep rooted all over India. The rural deities in village shrines, or under wayside trees, referred to above are a widely prevalent feature of the country, and all of them go by the name, in very many variant forms, of mother. That they originated in a matriarchal stage may perhaps be accepted as generally true, as worship of this is widely prevalent among the non-Aryan tribes. The worship of the Mother-Goddess is peculiarly strong among the pre-Aryan tribes in India when they had not yet come into the fold of Hinduism. This view found support in the fact that the goddesses that figured among the Vedic Aryans are all of the deities whose elevation to divinity and the respective dignity seem to be due more to their masculine counterparts, rather than as due to themselves in their own right.

That view is probably the correct one is borne in upon us by a remarkable discovery in Harapa, an oblong sealing representing on the obverse a female figure upside down with a plant issuing

from the womb.³ This figure is on the extreme right with some six characters following it; and at the other end, we find an animal or what looks really a pair of animals standing on their hind quarters. On the reverse side, the same characters are repeated, but beginning from the right end, and a female figure is shown sitting on the ground with hands raised. Another figure standing opposite holding what seems a sickle in the right hand and a something in the left, which may be a small shield or garland. The peculiar feature of this seal is the representation of the goddess with a plant growing from the womb. A similar representation has been found belonging to the Gupta age, at Bhita in the United Provinces with this difference that the plant in the latter place is taken to be a lotus. It seems therefore not unnatural that such a representation should have been found, and this could only be the consequence of a prevalent Mother-worship. The information seems to be carried in one of the names of the goddess *Mahādevi-Sākambarī* in *Śākta* literature.

Side by side with this prevalent form of worship of the Mother-Goddess, there is also the evidence of a male god, who, from the material available, may be regarded as the prototype of the Śiva of the historic period. A number of objects relating to this have been unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro. One of them is figured as seated on a bench, which served ordinarily as a throne in Indian pictorial art, sitting cross-legged with at least one hand resting on the knee, and the other one presented frontwards in the posture of a *Yogi*.⁴ The whole arm almost up to the shoulder is covered with bangles, of which those at the shoulder, at the elbow, and at the wrist are larger in size. There is a triangular pectoral resembling a series of necklaces round the neck and covering the shoulder. There is a double band round his waist. Sir John Marshall considers the lower limbs bare, and the object in front and right below the band above referred to is the phallus turned upwards and called in Sanskrit *Ūrdhvamedhra*. It seems, however, as though the figure is clothed and that what appears in front is merely the tied up end or ends of the band, which alternative is not accepted by Sir John Marshall. There are only two hands. The head is taken to be three-faced by Sir John. In the plate as published, it is not clear, but Sir John must be writing from a direct inspection of the object. The head is surmounted by a pair of horns projecting out of a tall head-dress on either side. Apart

3. Pl. XII. 12.

4. Pl. XII. 17.



I. Goddess: fig. Pl. XII. 1.



II. Goddess with necklaces. Pl. XII. 4.



III. Hooded fig. of Goddess. Pl. XIII. 6.



IV. Tree God. Pl. XII. 13.



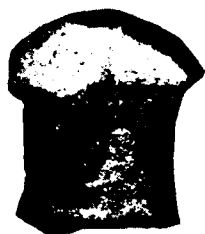
V. Goddess of Vegetation. Pl. XII. 12.



VI. Three headed Siva. Pl. XII. 17.



VII. Unicorn and incense bearer. Pl. XIII. 22.



1. Linga. Pl. XIII. 1.

2. Yoni.
Pl. XIII. 7.3. Linga and Yoni.
Pl. XIII. 8.4. Therianthrope Deity.
Pl. XIII. 17.5. Three headed animal.
Pl. XIII. 24.6. Svastika with a unicorn limb.
Pl. XIII. 25.7. Tree worship. Pipal
tree, etc.

from a certain number of letters which are figured in a line on the top, one of them at the left and being set down in the middle of the plate for lack of space on the top, the other features are a number of animals all grouped round the figure. On the right side of the figure are two, an elephant above the head, looking outwards a tiger below just about the level of the shoulder with its head coming up to the head of the figure, standing on its hind legs. On the left side, corresponding, there is a buffalo looking towards the figure, and on the top corresponding to the elephant a rhinoceros both of them looking towards the figure. Below, right in front of the seat stand two horned deer looking up to the figure. These are clear indications of association with forest life, and the figure probably is a representation of a three-faced Śiva. A three-faced Śiva is very common among representations of Śiva. As it is ordinarily one of the *Āgamāic* principles that Śiva in his aspect of *Mahēśvara* or *Sadāśiva* can be represented with one, three, four or five faces, but not with two. But whether the idea underlying this method of representation could have prevailed in the Chalcolithic age is problematic, and, till we know a little more definitely about the matter, we may not be in a position to postulate that the idea underlying the representation is the same as the later notion either of *Trimūrti*, which would be difficult to postulate unless the three faces are different and give evidence of a conception peculiar to each, or even of the three-faced Śiva in one of his many aspects. But the fact is there, the image represented with three faces and the other associations are clearly *Śivaic* in character. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be thoroughly justified that it is the figure of Śiva that is represented on this. This would only be confirmed by the *Yogic* posture as Śiva in one aspect is represented as *Mahāyogi*, but sometimes called *Yoga-Dakṣhaṇāmūrti*. As such his associations are naturally with the forest and the surrounding elements indicated in this picture are undoubtedly a representation of sylvan life. There are other similar representations as well, among them one where Śiva is shown with two Nāga worshippers shaded by two hooded cobras (pt. CXVI. 29 and CXVII. II). We cannot be certain that they are three-faced, but it looks as though it is a single face in this case, which however is no bar to the identification of the figure with Śiva.

The representation of the *trīśūla*, the three pronged spear is another indication perhaps of this character of Śiva in primitive times. Representations of human figures are found in numbers in Mohenjo-Daro. They seem generally to be representations of

super-human figures, usually gods. This general aspect is common in objects found in Sumer and Babylonia of this period. This pre-Aryan feature does not appear to have been adopted in this form for Vedic Śiva, but the trident *triśūla* is associated with Śiva as a weapon, and among the Buddhists is usually a representation of *Triratna*, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. The two deer or ibexes found at the foot of the throne is a feature associated with figures of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* representing forest life. The pair of deer here are probably intended to give the same idea, and this feature again is carried down in Buddhist iconography, as it is often seen with the throne of the Buddha in the *Dharmachakra* scene, that is where the Buddha is represented as preaching his new-found religion. We may therefore state it with confidence that the god represented on this seal and others similar is Śiva—the prototype of the historic Śiva, according to Sir John Marshall. This may be accepted perhaps in a way, but not absolutely as he has stated it. Śiva of Aryan times comes out to be of two varieties. One may for the sake of convenience be named Vedic Śiva, and the other *Śāktāik*. A careful consideration of the whole position seems to indicate that, while this may be regarded as the prototype of the Śiva of the Śāktas, we cannot with equal confidence affiliate the Vedic Śiva with this figure. It looks as though the Śiva of the Vedic pantheon is an entirely different conception from the Śiva of the Śāktas. While this Mohenjo-Daro figure may be a prototype of the Śākta Śiva, whether as much could be said of the Vedic Śiva is a matter which seems almost impossible on the face of it. The basal notion seems so fundamentally different that it would be nothing short of rashness to assert any connection between the one and the other without a thorough investigation of the site. As far as our present study of the subject goes, the justification for affiliating Vedic Śiva with the Mohenjo Daro figure may be said to have no foundation so far.

This naturally leads us on to the consideration of Śāktism the essential feature of which is the erecting of a feminine deity into the position of the Supreme Being. The fundamental difference between Vedic Śaivism and Śāktāism is that Durga, the Goddess, sometimes also called Mahādevī, is the only Goddess consort of Śiva, and, although she is given attributes which in comparison may seem greater than those of the attributes of goddesses of similar rank, still she is second after Śiva, and takes rank and gains her dignity only therefrom. It is only in

purely *Śāktāik* literature that she is elevated to the position of the Supreme, which, in the other orthodox forms of literature, is given only to the Supreme Being, Vāsudēva or Māhēśvara, according as the actual work concerned is *Vaiṣṇavāic Pāñcharātraic* or *Śivāik Pāsupata*, 'Understand Māya to be Prakṛiti, and Māyin to be Mahēśvara.'

Māyāntu Prakṛtim Vidyāt Māyīnantu Mahēśvaram, is a notion which expressed the highest reached by the goddess in Vedic Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism alike. But in purely Śākta literature, the goddess is described as the *Primordial One*, the great gods themselves of the triad (*Tirumurti*) taking their origin from her. While therefore it would be quite right to affiliate the supreme goddess of the Śāktas with the Mother-Goddess, our way is not quite so clear with respect to the Vedic Śiva and the goddess corresponding. One other difficulty in the way is where, in the near Eastern countries, the Mother-Goddess is the mother of her spouse in the next stage of evolution. We can hardly remember anything corresponding to that idea even among the Śāktas in *Śāktāik* literature. But in the *Āgamāic* and *Paurāṇic* forms of Śiva or Viṣṇu as Supreme God, the question of sex does not arise, and creation is not based upon any kind of co-operation of the sexes in the earliest stages. The goddesses, or the *Śāktis* corresponding to the gods, do come in later and they seem to be more or less personified qualities or actions of the First Being.

In regard to the question of iconic and uniconic worship, uniconic worship is undoubtedly pre-Aryan. The iconic form is the result of the actual, but purposeful imaging of the picture, first of all mentally, and subsequently translated into iconic forms. That is openly declared to be the principle in *Āgamāic* text books, and a similar evolution is traceable in *Paurāṇic* literature connected with it. What is really to the point here is that the notion of the *Linga* and the *Yoni* as it is called, being associated with the symbol of creation, seems absent in connection with the later form of Śaiva iconic worship.

Among the articles unearthed in these excavations, we come not only upon *Yoni* and the *Linga*, but upon a certain number of other emblems which have considerable similarity to the *Linga*,

but may not be so intended. Sir John Marshall refers to three classes of such :—(1) phallic emblems of the *linga* and the *yonī*;⁶ (2) the second class which have some considerable resemblance to these is what he regards as *baetylic* stones, and (3) ring stones. Of these there are clear illustrations of the first as was stated already, and they are found not only in Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa belonging to the Chalcolithic age, but also in the neighbouring parts of Baluchistan referable to of about the same age. In respect of this particular class of objects, we may almost regard them as the phallic emblems so far as this civilization is concerned, whatever may be our views in regard to their affiliation with *Saiva* worship. Coming to the second class, a certain number of objects are not clearly and unmistakably to be referred to as *Lingas*, notwithstanding the close resemblance to the *Lingas* that some of these objects exhibit. While they may be phallic in character, there is nothing to lead us to be positive about it. Apart from the phallic symbols we have come upon other representations of a similar character in Western Asia, such as the *Maṣṣebhāh* of the Semites, which, as far as we could judge, have no association whatever with anything of a phallic character. These seem to be articles of worship associated with stone worship, as symbolical of gods and goddesses irrespectively, such as boundary stones, stones fixed in public squares and so on, which are supposed to be either tenanted, or are actual representations of particular gods and goddesses. This is nothing unusual as many of the primitive gods and goddesses of people are nothing more than small pieces of stone either as found in nature, or as shaped and put in place by human agency. There is one class of stone of a widely prevalent character, at least in South India, which is generally recognised in later history as *Hero*-stones and *Sati*-stones. Of course from their nature, they are both classes of them animistic in character. But the *Hero*-stone seems to be an institution reaching back to far earlier times, as the earliest pieces of Tamil literature refer to them, and the particular form of worship associated with them. This last is described as the worshipping of a mere stone planted (*Nad-Kal*) with a peacock feather stuck or tied on the top of it, the worship being offered with meat and flesh of sorts with a rice-brew, and celebrated with a dance round it to the accompaniment of country drum and music. There is a specific reference to this kind of a thing as representing warriors in one of the verses of the

6. Pl. XIII. 8 and 9.

Kuṣaḷ. Stones also figure as guardian deities of the boundaries as well as other deities, benevolent as well as the opposite. But the peculiarities of shape, which make them look like *Linga* stones may not be with any underlying phallic notion, and may perhaps be, in some cases at any rate, even utilitarian. We sometimes come upon such boundary stones shaped in such a way at the outer gates of fortified places, or places that were once upon a time fortified, standing on either side of the road and worshipped as boundary stones, but shaped so as to admit of a rope or a chain being thrown across the gate to make a barricade. Of course the miniature stones may have been intended for gamesmen if we can find evidence for presuming such games. But they may be more likely to be talismanic amulets or agalmata more probably. In regard to the third class, what are called ring-stones, they are of a similar variety as the other ring-stones of a big size, and miniature ring-stones. Taking them as a whole, it is not possible to state that they were all intended for use as parts of buildings, nor do they readily admit of the explanation that they might have been money. While coinage of a certain class (such as Chinese coins) are provided with holes in the middle for stringing them together for convenience, it would be difficult to imagine that the bigger ones and the smaller ones were intended for money, though examples of such use are found in some of the Islands of the Pacific. That they may have been stones intended to represent the female principle with magic properties seems to receive confirmation from later examples. Such examples are the *Śrīgundī* stone at the Malabar Point near Bombay, and the *Śatrunjaya* specimens known as *Muktādvāra*, door of absolution. In these cases, one that passes through them is regarded as having a new birth, and therefore purified of all sin. That such notions are not altogether absent could be inferred from even perhaps such a *Vaidic* ceremony as the *Svarṇādēnu* associated with the *Tulābhāra* ceremony. Other such instances could be given also, as, in several of the temples in South India, there are narrow passages through which people do pass, with the greatest difficulty and considerable risk, performing the circumambulation of the deity. This is associated with the hill shrines. One such is in the *Narasimha* shrine on the top of the rock at *Mēlkote* in *Mysore*, the path round being called *Pulī-Svarga* (Tam.), or *Hulī-Svarga* (Kan).

We may therefore conclude that there was perhaps prevalent among the Indus people of the Chalcolithic times a religion which,

in some forms, may even be assimilable to stone worship prevalent among the more primitive folk of India. Some of these stones may even represent phallic worship seems equally possible. But any affiliation of these with the *linga* and the pedestal of Śaiva worship seems hardly possible till a connecting link turns up as the latter seems to represent altogether a different principle.

Coming next to the worship of trees as such, we have undoubted evidence of such in the Indus Valley. Such representations as have come down to us seem to stand for tree gods and goddesses but not gods and goddesses inhabiting trees as ghosts are supposed to be, in modern times. We have survivals of tree worship pure and simple in the well-known example of pipal (*aśvatta*) and the Indian basil (*tulsi*).⁷ There is no suggestion in this of any external spirit taking possessions of, or haunting, the tree. The latter idea is commonly prevalent now and almost any avenue tree provided it is old and weird looking is good enough for the purpose. This latter is frankly associated with spirit-worship, and the animistic worship of the dead. Nothing in the Indus Valley finds seems capable of association with this latter.

In regard to Zoolatry or animal worship, we have evidence in abundance in the Indus Valley, on seals and in sealings, and in a variety of figurines in terra-cotta, faience and stone. A few stone idols of a larger kind have also been found. The animals represented are: (1) of a mythical character entirely (2) of an ambiguous character between the mythical and natural; and (3) of an undoubtedly natural character. Of the first group, the most common are part man and part animal either goat or ram or a bull.⁸ In one instance Sir John Marshall seems to find the three forming a whole. There are other composite figures—part ram or goat, part bull and part elephant with human countenance. Stone images of this kind may be cult objects; but the seals may have been amulets. Other three-headed chimeras and svastikas have also been found.⁹ These may subserve a cult motive while others may be merely fanciful ornamentation in which Indian artistic genius revelled. One of these therianthrope creatures is semi-human and semi-bovine, peculiarly interesting in that it lends undeniable resemblance to the Sumerian Eabani or Enkidu, a

7. Pl. XII. 18.
8. Pl. XIII. 17.

9. Pl. XIII. 24 and 25.

half-bull, half-man figure, created by the goddess *Aruru* to combat Gilgamesh. This figure afterwards became familiar as the ally of Gilgamesh in the destruction of wild-beasts—one of the earliest motives of Mesopotamian glyptic art reaching back to the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C. This, as well as another early feature, the use of horns to indicate divinity, are so widespread that one would be tempted to ascribe a common origin to these. Its origin in primitive animal worship and the wide prevalence of the custom ought alike to be a bar to any such hasty general conclusion without further actual evidence to support it. A similar inference drawn from the use of the horns of the bison, that the custom must have been borrowed from Elam by the Sumerians would be equally unsound for two reasons. The first is that the bison is quite familiar in the Indus Valley and the feature may have been borrowed therefrom; and secondly the Euro-Asiatic bison may have had a wider habitat in Chalcolithic times than later as they flourished in the Indus Valley and in the submontane tracts in India.

Another familiar form of animal worship is the half-human half *nāga* form. It is only one doubtful specimen that has so far come out of the Indus Valley excavations. More clear examples are familiar in Elam in the Chalcolithic age. The general wide prevalence of the human-*nāga* motive in historical times in India, and the absence of any reference to it in the *Rig-Veda* would argue alike for the prevalence of *Nāga* worship in the Indus period.

Among animals whose mythic character is questionable is the unicorn figured in a number of seals. Some of these are representations really of the two horned animals in profile. Even admitting this, there are still a number of clear examples left for regarding the unicorn as one of the objects represented. The unicorn is familiar in Indian folk tales and the *Varāha* form of *Vishṇu*—the primeval boar is described as *Ēkaśringa*, though distinctly named *Varāha*. Whether it be a pre-historic animal of that kind or the rhinoceros that gave rise to it, we have the figure on a number of objects used for cult worship or as a magic talisman. Two peculiar features are noticeable in regard to this: one is a sort of covering over the withers resembling a saddle; and the other is an object placed beneath its head resembling an incense-carrier in two tiers.¹⁰ The undermost part of

10. Pl. XIII. 22.

this seems intended for the fire and the upper to contain the incense itself. The incense-bearer may be symbolical of the worship of a deity, or a victim intended for sacrifice. Perhaps the character of the animal would preclude the latter alternative. It is hardly necessary to imagine that the incense-bearers themselves became objects of work. According to the accepted practice of the Śaiva Āgamas any object connected with the *pūja* or worship of Śiva can be regarded as the *linga* or mark of Śaiva-worship. An incense-bearer would be one such; and an incense-bearer surmounted by a bull and mounted on a staff, or provided with a long handle like a spatula is usually carried in front of a funeral procession of the Śaivas. In the latter there is a bell hanging by a chain which the carrier rings at intervals.

There are other unknown animals represented on seals. These need not be dismissed as creatures of fancy. There are a pair of animals on one of the Harapa seals¹¹ which seem to represent some officient genii long familiar in the Aegean area, recent discoveries in Ur bringing into view interesting parallels. Whether the idea underlying these representations had an independent origin in each of the regions seems too much to postulate; but whether it took its rise in the East or West is not determinable on the evidence available.

Coming to the third variety of living animals, we come upon representations of the water buffalo (*Bos bubalus*), the gaur or Indian bison (*Bos gaurus*), the Indian humped bull or zebu (*Bos Indicus*), the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornus*), a short horned humpless bull, the tiger (*Felis tigris*), and the Indian elephant (*Elephas maximus*). The representations of these are so lifelike that we must regard that these animals were familiar beasts in the Punjab and Sind in the Chalcolithic age. Of course an object resembling a food trough is invariably found associated with the Indian bison, rhinoceros and the tiger; it is sometimes found, and sometimes not, in front of the elephant and the buffalo; while in the case of the zebu and the short-horned humpless bull, it is not found. This feature cannot be regarded as evidence of domestication having regard to the character of the animals with which the manger has been usually found. It may be symbolical of worship like the incense bearer in front of the unicorn we have already noticed. If this be the case these objects may be regarded

11. Pl. XII. 12. See above.

as of a talismanic character. There are a number of other common familiar animals and birds represented either on seals, or made in the round in faience and other such material but not on seals. These may be regarded as toys for children. Some of these, however, are found on copper plates and seals. These must be regarded as having a magical value, as the number of sealings found are out of all proportion small in comparison with the number of seals, thus debarring secular use for these. These may be cult-objects without actually becoming objects of worship, as many instances can be given of the reverential regard for animals without their being actually worshipped among modern peoples. Several of these animals are now vehicles of various gods and goddesses, and have become holy in consequence. Some of these are even actually worshipped. This however is no proof that they were so treated thousands of years ago. Having regard to the fact that India is very conservative generally, and the more so in matters of religion, it is not unlikely that these features which mark the pre-historic religion of the Indus valley are perpetuated in survivals. Much of the zoology which characterises modern Hinduism, and which is demonstrably non-Aryan in origin, is also traceable to the pre-historic age. A number of other animals represented among finds in the Indus Valley do not seem to have had any religious association whatsoever, the familiar dog, goat, pig, etc.; but the monkey the worship of which in the half man, half monkey form is so popular, finds no representation at all among objects having a religious significance. The worship of Hanuman in modern times is not because it is an animal. It is worshipped in that form because a superior being appeared in that form, as in the case of the Man-Lion form of Vishnu. In these cases the underlying idea and the association are different, and origin in zoology is almost impossible.

Why some of the animals have come to be regarded as sacred, and why others are metamorphosed into deities we cannot answer definitely. This may be due to some uncanny feature or character of certain animals or other creatures, or to their association with man, or because of their totemistic character. Our concern at present is that even at this remote period, we see evidence of anthropomorphism and theriomorphism go hand in hand. Nāgas do appear partially human; bulls appear with human heads and even bodies; bull-horns have become a symbol of divinity. There are also certain syncretic chimerical creatures with human faces. It is not necessary to infer from this that theriomorphism preceded

anthropomorphism in India, though that may have actually been the case. What is clear is that some of these animals are as some trees have been, conceived as personal deities. Other animals may have been regarded as sacred or taboo, or were possessed of magical powers of some kind, and have for this reason been used as amulets. It would thus appear that theriolatry as it appears to us was not very different five thousand years ago from what it is now.

WATER-WORSHIP.

Water was regarded with a certain amount of sanctity for its cleansing character generally as necessary for bathing and ablutions of various kinds. That water was held in the same regard for holiness in the Chalcolithic age at Mohenjo-Daro, as in modern times, may be inferred from the public baths and even the bathing arrangement in private houses. Apart from this general character for holiness of water, there is the fact of the deification of rivers. We find it to be a common feature in modern Hinduism. While it is possible that this may have had its origin in pre-historic times, we have to bear in mind that the deification of rivers is a special feature of Vedic religion. We may therefore have to regard it as an Aryan contribution to Hinduism. At the same time, we shall have to remember that the worship of rivers is so world-wide that it may have had its origin among the Aryans as well as among the pre-Aryan people independently. The worship of the water-spirit takes in along with it the worship of the Nāgas, which in some prominent cases is regarded as representing the water-spirit generally. Buddhist tradition particularly provides prominent examples of such. But that does not exhaust all snake-worship as there are various forms of it in Hinduism. Snakes come in for worship in Hinduism. The veneration for them may have been due in the first instance to the fear due to their poisonous character. Their living underground generally probably was the origin of their being regarded as the representatives of the dead. Their frequenting houses was the reason perhaps for their association with ancestor worship. In some cases, they are also associated with storm clouds as producing beneficent rains or destructive hails. There are two varieties of worship in South India peculiarly where they are regarded as somehow associated with productivity. Nāgas are worshipped in various shapes. Offerings of milk are made even to cobras in their holes for this purpose by women on particular seasons and particular days in the year. In certain places on the West Coast these

are regarded as creatures sacred to Skanda or Subhramanya, and worship is offered as such.

Certain figures found on the seals at Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa call to mind Sumerian representation of Eabani or Enkidu, the half-human and half-bovine Satyr, which became companion of Gilgamesh. That these figures on the Indus seals have some connection with the Mesopotamian heroes seems to admit of little doubt. The really difficult question is which of the two regions is the borrower. Possibly the Indus Valley borrowed; while still the possibility remains that they may be really Indus discoveries subsequently adapted to Sumerian legends. This possibility is perhaps enhanced by the character of the seals of Indian style found at Ur and examined by Mr. C. J. Gadd, of which he has given an account in an article in the *British Academy*, volume XVIII. On a careful examination of the seals he finds that many of these are of Indian material, but differ in essential particulars from the Indus seals generally. The first is they are generally round instead of rectangular. A large number of them happen to be cylinders rather than stamps. The characters on the seals have been found to be closer in script to the Indus seals also. These are of an epoch before 2,000 B. C. They may be of the Sargonic or even pre-Sargonic period, 2400 B.C. and before. While therefore intercourse between the two regions is thus very probable, reciprocal influence is certainly to be taken as established. Notwithstanding this possibility we may say generally that the material which may be regarded as religious in character found at these Indus sites appears to be characteristically Indian. The worship of the Mother-Goddess still continues as an important item. There is the representation of the worship of Siva along with that of the Mother-Goddess. There is evidence of the worship of animals, trees and even of inanimate objects. The worship of the *Linga* and *Yoni* form part of their religious scheme. The large number of amulets and charms is reminiscent of the propitiation of demons or evil spirits. There are also elements in this evidence which would indicate the practice of the Yoga as part of their religious equipment.

However inadequate the evidence, there is enough to justify the conclusion that, so far as it was possible of being expressed in concrete forms, the religion of the Indus people in several respects was the progenitor of modern Hinduism as a religion, and as distinct from the philosophical side of it. The features common are the cults of Siva and the Mother-Goddess, of the Nāgas and the Yakshis, the worship of animals, trees, stones, phallism, Yoga, Śāk-

tism and the doctrines of *Samsāra* (Metempsychosis) and *Bhakti* (devotion to a personal god). These seem traceable to the Indus religion, although we are not yet in a position definitely to trace these elements to their source, and indicate the time when they were actually incorporated into Hinduism. Current notions of pre-Aryan Indian civilization has to be materially revised. We shall have to redraw the picture of Indian civilisation afresh, and revise current notions regarding pre-Aryan religion and pre-Aryan material culture. We have to give up the idea that the modern jungle tribes are the representatives of the pre-Aryan civilization of India. These existed 5,000 years ago, as they do now. It would be unreasonable to assume that they represent the culture and civilization of the pre-Aryan Indians.

THE ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, 1930-31.

Kern Institute, Leyden.

This eminently valuable publication, it is gratifying to note, has reached the fourth number, and has survived successfully the financial depression that threatened its existence. Thanks, to the exertions of Professor Vogel and the enthusiastic and self-sacrificing support of his co-adjutors, a new feature has been introduced in the shape of a summarised introduction, which gives the salient features of work done during the year over the whole range of Eastern culture. This is indeed a valuable feature of the above publication, and certainly does enhance its great value as a work of reference. Altogether the work supplies a really felt want and is indispensable to those who wish to gain a real idea of what is being done to recover lost knowledge of Indian studies on a wider scale than ordinarily the term connotes. The financial deficit, caused by the reduction of the grant of the Government of Netherlands India, which threatened its existence it is very gratifying to note, has been made up by the beneficent interest of Princess Julieana, and the authorities of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The important introduction discusses Sir Aurel Stein's identification of the site of Alexander's battle on the Jhelum. It is summarised by Dr. C. L. Fabre of the Kern Institute, and the field of battle is identified with a site one march lower down

where Jalalpur now is situate, Jalalpur itself being identified with Boukephalia. The next item taken up for discussion is the Śiva Sculpture unearthed in the village of Parel, near Bombay. There is an interesting discussion of this by Dr. Alexander Zieseniss. The identity of the sculpture is described with some elaboration, and the learned scholar comes to the conclusion that it represents Mahēśvaramūrti, as suggested by Father Heras, and offers the suggestion, far-reaching in its effects, that the statue "marks a stage in the development of Śaivism that is somewhat advanced as compared to that of Paurāṇic Śaivism, although it is manifestly anterior to the later development of the creed." We shall not take up space here to discuss the position taken, as we propose so doing it elsewhere. But we may here point out that, if it is an attempt at representing Mahēśvaramūrti, it lacks the feature that is prominent in the Mahēśvaramūrti at Elephanta, namely that each of the three out of four or five faces, has a distinct characteristic of its own answering to the distinction prescribed for the Panchamūrti, of which the learned doctor is quite aware. There is nothing in this figure to mark that distinction. Secondly, excepting the topmost figure, all other figures are only two-handed, which is a peculiarity requiring explanation, either as Panchamūrti or as Tṛimūrti. There is no authority as far as we know, either Paurāṇic or Āgamāic, for only two hands in these representations. The description given generally begins with four hands, even in the Paurāṇic texts quoted as authority. The explanation offered by the learned editor "the absence of the usual attributes which characterize the four manifestations mentioned above, can easily be explained by the strongly marked tendency towards unification which has already been referred to as an outstanding trait of the sculpture. Its subject would thus be a combination of the Panchamūrti and Mahēśvara aspects of Śiva that is somewhat reminiscent of the later conception of Sadāśiva (-tattva) and Mahēśvara (-tattva) as successive stages in the Descent of the Divine, found already in the Kailāśasamhita of the Śivapurāṇa and well known to the Śaivasiddhānta and the Kashmirian Trika." Another point that the note raises requires investigation, namely, whether we can assume the wide division and distinction noted in chronology between the Paurāṇic and the Āgamāic literature on the subject.

This is followed by an interesting note on numismatics by Sir Richard Burn. There is an interesting reference to the work

of Prof. Chakraborty's "Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics." It is a very interesting manual on the subject. The next important publication in this line is Professor Herzfeld's Monograph of Kushano-Sassanian Coins. The investigation suggests definitely that they were coins issued by Sassanian governors with the title Kushānshāh in the province of Balkh and Marwa, with their inscriptions in modified Greek alone in the former province and with the Sassanian pahlavi in the latter. He has also pointed it out that the same kind of Greek script is used in the later coins of the Ephthalites. Malva coinage has received an exhaustive treatment in an article by Mr. Nelson Wright published in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1931, which explains the mint marks on the coins as also the later coinage. About the specific gravity test as a sufficient practical guide suggested by him, it is not considered quite so sure a guide as an assay test according to Mr. Stapleton, as shown by his article in the J. A. S. B., 1929. Mr. Hodiwala has succeeded in identifying the hitherto unknown Jalal Shah coins of A. 841. He identifies Jalal Shah as one of the three rulers who established their independence round Khalfi early in the fifteenth century. Mughal coins have received the usual attention, and Mr. R. G. Whitehead's studies of these are found in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1930-31. The first deals with the rare coins in the Christ Church Library, Oxford, and in the cabinets at Vienna and Gotha. The second article deals with the zodiacal coins of Jahangir. Mr. Hodiwala's coins of Nur Jahan in the J. A. S. B., 1929 show that the mints from which they were issued were controlled at the time by the partisans of Nur Jahan.

Then follows an interesting note on the progress of archaeological work in the Hyderabad Dakhan supplied by Mr. Yazdani. It is an interesting account, the salient features of which are a discovery of temples, in the style of the one described at Palampet, at a place called Ghanpur, about ten miles north of Palampet itself. In the Department of Conservation, work has been going on in the Ajanta Caves from which five new paintings have been discovered, and arrangements made to preserve them. The Government of H. E. H. the Nizam spent over Rs. 30,000 in the work of conservation. In the field of excavation, the one noteworthy feature is the discovery of two pre-historic stone circles, each surrounding a grave at Raigir on the Hyderabad-Bezwada line. The skulls discovered in the graves are being studied in the British Museum. The Asoka inscriptions were

edited and published as No. 10 of the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, and a monograph, on the inscription of Shitab Khan finds published as No. 9 in another monograph of the same series. Shitab Khan was the governor of Warangal under the Bahmani dynasty about the close of the fifteenth century, his actual name being Sitapati. The Hyderabad Museum acquired during the year two beautiful images, one of Parvati and the other of Surya. They also acquired 959 coins from Suryapet Taluk of the Nalgonda district, three of which are Roman coins. One of these is of the Roman Emperor Claudius, A. D. 41-54, and another of Antonius Pius, 138 to 161 A.D. The writing on the third is illegible.

There is an interesting note by Professor Vogel on the sculptures from Nāgārjunikonda. Among the excavations two minor stupas were unearthed, which show a feature, Ceylonese in character. These stupas show on the four sides a rectangular projection. The suggestion is made that these are perhaps the features designed by the term *Āyaka*, the corresponding Sinhalese name being *Valhalkada*. The suggestion is based on the discovery of a row of pillars constituting five in each side called *Āyaka-kamba* in some of the inscriptions of Jagayapettah. Instead of the railings that are usually associated with other monuments, the sculptural decoration in Nāgārjunikonda are all lavished in slabs fixed in a prominent part of the monument itself. These are called Chaitya-slabs, of which there is a specimen in the Madras Museum. The long slabs carved with a horizontal row of panels separated by groups of amatory couples form perhaps some of these Chaitya-slabs. These constitute broad beams, on the front-face of the *Āyaka* platforms. A number of panels of a similar character are also illustrated in the work. The discovery of frescoes in South Indian temples constituted a feature of the year, and comes in for an elaborate note. The discovery was made by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil in the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. These paintings were of the style of the frescoes at Ajanta. Similar fresco paintings were found at Malaiyāḍipatti by the Pudukottah archaeologist, and some in the great temple at Tanjore by Mr. Govindasami of the Annamalai University. Excavations carried on in Ceylon brought to light large buildings of the days of Parākramabāhu known as *Rājavēśībhujanga Maṇṭapa*, constructed probably in the thirteenth century. The next section deals with archaeological work in Indo-China. The important discovery was made that the southern portion of what is now Annam must

have been colonised as early as the first century A.D. Near the coast is the important city Po-Nagar with its marvellous group of ancient temples. The building work in the locality seems to have extended from the middle of the eighth century down to the middle of the thirteenth. The vicissitudes that befell the place tell their own tale. There has been considerable effort at the conservation of these monuments with success.

The next important point in this field is the discovery near Palembang, the site of the capital of Śailendra dynasty. What has been discovered by way of antiquities so far is comparatively meagre, but there is promise of more. The connection between Java and Sumatra comes up prominently from a study of antiquities. There is considerable evidence of the Śailendra art in this centre of the Śailendra empire. While it is undoubtedly Śailendra art, there is evidence of clear local influence. In the midst of the Buddhist remains of Śrī Vijaya, we come upon remains of Śaiva art also. Apart from this Śailendra art and Javanese influence, other antiquities indicate something entirely different. The earliest art of Śrī Vijaya seems to have been Indian in the earlier part, before the connection of Java brought in Śailendra art. This view gets confirmed by the presence of records in the locality in the Pallava script of the seventh century. Such influence as we find seem traceable to Amrāvati and possibly the Indian influence has perhaps to be traced back to that region. The bronze objects discovered seem to confirm this. The great monument in Java, Borobudur, has received attention and the long-expected work of Van Erp completes the great and important monograph on Borobudur, giving architectural description of the details of the monument with other matters of interest to archaeologists.

The last item of great interest brought to notice in this is the classified list of the Achaemenian inscriptions by Professor Herzfeld. It gives an interesting list of the inscriptions of the Achaemenian period with their finds spots and a summary. This introduction is followed by about 150 pages of a classified index of publications during the year with a carefully compiled index of 10 pages. There is an appendix containing a dozen important plates in illustration. Altogether the work is of great value and is quite a welcome addition to the library of the students of archaeology as well as those engaged in archaeological work.

THE SECRET LORE OF INDIA AND THE ONE PERFECT LIFE FOR ALL

By

W. M. TEAPE.

Messrs. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge.

This is a study of the greatest importance at the time and the publication of this by one who has devoted many years of his life to this study is quite opportune. As the author himself puts it "this book is the first-fruits of a life-long study of the Foundations of Eastern and Western Religious Thought." What the author attempts to do here is that he chooses a number of typical selections from the Upanishads, of which he gives as many as 24 passages, an unconscious agreement with perhaps a number regarded for many reasons sacred among the Hindus. He interprets these passages following the best authority, and, not satisfied with the versions in English given by them, he gives his own version so as to give to the translation a flavour, as far as it is possible of the original. There is an introductory thesis, in which the general question of the origin, where the Vedas and Vedic thought originated and grew, and next a chronological order even of its evolution. While he follows authority mostly in regard to this, he does interperse with it matter which comes out of his own study. Then follow the passages with valuable notes accompanying and a vocabulary of Sanskrit words. Then he takes up in the concluding part his synthetic study of the teaching of the Upanishadic fathers, forest-fathers as he calls them, in comparison with the Christian teaching as a whole basing it upon Old Testament and the New, Jewish as well as Christian. He finds the current of thought running through the whole on both sides to be similar, sometimes closely similar, except that he finds that in the final development, the Christian teaching lays the proper emphasis upon the personality of God in His Descent as Man in the person of Jesus, and a closer identity of the Universally pervading Spirit with the individual man. According to him this idea is not adequately emphasised in the Upanishadic teaching. The closeness is certainly remarkable, and the want of emphasis that he finds, would have been found supplied, had he carried his studies a little further among the texts of the essentially Bhakti schools of the *Pāncharātra* and possibly even of the *Pāsupata* schools of thought. There are points, however, in the introductory thesis and the concluding part which

would need further thought, perhaps for the possibility, of the revision of the conclusions. He traces the Aryan movement like Professor Giles from its European home in the Hungarian regions eastwards to India, and in the course of that development, he would indicate the origin of Varuna as the God of righteousness as having been evolved in the Pamir region. If that idea was absent in Aryan thought before and had just been originated here, there must have been a western Aryan trend to carry this idea, which apparently was prominent in early Persian religion. What is perhaps more, there is a specific reference to this Varuna in the reference to the Aryan deities contained in the Boghazkeui inscription for the discovery of which Winckler was responsible. He does not discuss that matter, as he might usefully have done so and thrown some little light on it. Similarly there are points in his concluding thesis as well, which would be all the clearer for a little more light. We welcome the work, however, as a serious and substantial contribution to a much needed synthetic study in these days when the very foundations of religion are being sapped, and religion in general seems to be in danger of destruction.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS

By

L. S. S. O'MALLEY,

Cambridge University Press.

This is a neat little study of the caste system as it exists in India in a general way. The author, an Indian civilian, already well-known as the writer of a geographical work on Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and Sikkim, was connected with the Census operations of 1911, and has studied the census reports to purpose. The work is divided into nine chapters, each one of which is concerned with an important topic, constituting a salient feature of the system. Speaking of the system itself, he makes the remark "that what is described in the Code of Manu is more the Brahmanical ideal than the system, as it existed," and it would not be safe therefore to postulate that the different communities had any sub-division or castes in the modern sense of the word." He regards Hinduism elastic in regard to its belief, and exacting in regard to practice. Each caste has its own innate right to lay down its own canons of

conduct so long as these are in conformity with the basic principles of Hinduism. In regard to the notion of the domination of the Brahman in Hindu society, he finds that that authority "does not supersede or overrule that of the caste" and "they cannot compel, all castes to follow their advice, or take any particular course of action." Then he discusses the control of castes both from inside and from outside, and points out the prevalence of the real authority of the caste government.

Next follows a chapter on penalties arising out of the previous section. He considers that the marriage system as it prevails in India has the result of insuring a high standard of feminine virtue, finding similarity to this in the Irish peasantry, quoting Lecky "the nearly universal custom of early marriages among the Irish peasantry has alone rendered possible that high standard of female chastity, that intense and jealous sensitiveness respecting female honour, for which, among many failings and some vices, the Irish poor have long been pre-eminent in Europe." The actual ceremony of marriage varies from the highest sacrament as among the Brahmans down to the simplest form, the simplest known to us being the taking of their daily wages together by a Paniyan and his bride-elect on the evening of the day on which they agreed to marry.

In regard to the topic of current interest, the Untouchables, he has some very sensible remarks to offer. While giving a lively description of the disabilities under which these classes labour, he is not oblivious of the other side. He has the remark "it is not difficult to understand why some castes should be held in contempt. Their manner of life, their promiscuous food, their intemperate habits and drunkenness, render them repulsive to abstemious and clean-living Hindus," while there are others in regard to whom there may not be the same kind of justification. While pointing out that the charity of the charitable Hindu is even closed against an Untouchable in suffering, he takes care to point out "that the lot of the Untouchables is not as hard as might appear at first sight. They have the fellowship and friendship of men of their own caste, they have their own festivities as well as the fun of the local fairs." "Notwithstanding their poverty, it is noticeable that many of them, especially those who have an admixture of aboriginal blood, seem to be much more cheerful and light-hearted than their somewhat sombre caste superiors." He next considers the question of the uplift of the Untouchables and shows himself quite

alive to the difficulties. He recognises that "it is a different thing to translate it into present practice."

There is an interesting chapter on Modern Tendencies. He takes note of the difference that exists between town life and village life, and the great gulf of difference that exists in social matters between the two. He points out that the lower castes are abandoning the objectionable custom, and thereby raising themselves gradually. Another feature is the formation of caste associations, holding annual conferences and organising themselves as European associations or societies. Summarising, he finds "while there is no general revolt against caste system as such, there is a clear tendency among the educated people to break through the barriers of the caste system." The little book is a very interesting and careful study, and is well worth the attention of those who are interested in the subject.

AJANTA

By

G. YAZDANI

We acknowledge gratefully the receipt of the first two parts of this magnificent work on the Ajanta Caves. These caves are so unique even among Indian architectural and archaeological monuments that anybody interested ought to welcome an adequately illustrated publication. We are indebted to the liberality of the Government of His Exalted Highness for this important and excellently well got-up publication quite worthy of the unique character of the monument. We hope to make a longer notice of it in a future number of the journal, as the August journal is already too far advanced in printing for publishing a notice of it.

RIG VEDA SAMHITA.

We are in receipt alike of the first fascicule of the Rig Veda Samhita published by the newly formed Indian Research Institute in Calcutta. The Institute is constituted under the very best auspices, and the names included in the Committee give promise not only of its permanence but even of the fulfilment of the noble objects placed before themselves in ample measure. The fascicule is

the first fruits of the projected work in various branches, of which this is one. It is the first number of the Rig Veda with Sāyana's commentary. Max Muller's magnificent work has become rare, and even the Indian Bombay publication has been out of print for some time, and, notwithstanding the great importance of the work, it has so far remained unavailable. It is a great handicap to scholarship generally, and particularly to those who may be engaged in research work on ancient Indian culture. The work is to be published in parts and is expected to be completed in the course of five years, if not earlier. It contains the text with the *Pada pāṭha*, the commentary of Sāyanā-Chārya and an English translation following the commentary as also a version in Hindi and Bengali. It will be seen that the plan is to make it reach as wide a public as may be interested in this study. We wish the enterprise all success, and hope such a well-thought out scheme will receive ample support to make it a successful venture, and thus fulfil the noble objects of the organisers of the scheme.

VAIDIC SHAMSHODAN MANḌAL, POONA

Simultaneously with this, we also receive prospectus of a similar publication from Poona by a society called Vaidic Shamsodan Manḍal, the immediate object of which, among other things, is the publication of an edition of the Rig-Veda, almost on plans similar to that of the former. It is proposed to publish the whole work in five volumes of 1,200 pages each. The publication will contain the text with the Bhāshya of Sāyana with the necessary critical apparatus, without a translation either in English or in the vernaculars, as in the other case. The Manḍal have also other objects in connection with this work, such as the provision of facilities for higher studies in Vedic literature, the collection of manuscripts concerning Vedic literature, the publication of such literature bearing on Vedic studies and intended to elucidate the study of the Vedas. They have also the idea of carrying on research work in Vedic studies and altogether their objects are as laudable as those of the Research Society above mentioned. While it is a pity that the two should be launched almost simultaneously, we wish the enterprise success none the less, although we would recommend the exploration of the possible ways perhaps of combining the two in some way to facilitate the possibility of a complete achievement of the object undertaken by both alike.

NOTES FROM THE DUTCH

By

DR. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS

Dutch orientalists when writing on subjects concerning Indian history usually publish their books or articles in a language which is intelligible to a far wider public than the Dutch. If they write in their native tongue the books such as are mentioned in this rubric, are either destined for the general (Dutch) public, or they relate to problems which are of special interest to the Indian Archipelago. The first category comprises two books which have been published not long ago:¹ *De Buddhistische Kunst van Voor-Indië* by Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel² and *Leerboek der Indische Cultureschiedenis* by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. The *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, vol. III (1933) contains a detailed catalogue of the publications of Professor Vogel on Buddhism and Buddhist art, from which how extensive a part of his work has been devoted to these subjects will be clear. The booklet mentioned above is an excellent, though very concise, survey of Buddhist art in India. The other book discusses an even more extensive subject in a few more than 100 pages; it is a text-book of Indian history and culture for the secondary schools of Java. The author intends to propagate knowledge among the Javanese pupils concerning the culture of their 'spiritual ancestors.' The first volume contains chapters on the history, society, religions, literature and art of Ancient India. No doubt a manual of this kind was needed, but so much the more is the pity that the book of Dr. Stutterheim is disfigured by a large number of mistakes. The second volume deals with Hindu-Javanese culture, whilst the subject of the third, which has not yet appeared, is Islam and its arrival in the Indian Archipelago. For the sake of completeness we may here mention an article by the present author on *"Gandhāra en de Graeco-Boeddhistische Kunst"* which, without bringing new data, procures a survey of Graeco-Buddhist art.³

In an article in *"Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië"*, vol. 90, published in 1933 (pp. 167-71),

1. H. J. Paris, Amsterdam, 1932, 96 pages, 42 ill.

2. J. B. Wolters' Uitgeversmaatschappij n.v., Groningen-Den Haag-Batavia, 1932.

3. In *"Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift"*, May 1933, pp. 303-15, 15 ill.

Dr. J. Gonda, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Utrecht, discusses two non-aryan tribes of Ancient India: the Tumuras or Tumburas and the Śavaras.⁴ The latter may be considered to be a conglomerate of different tribes and at a very early period already occupied a large region in Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Western Bengal, Madras and the Central Provinces. The Tumuras, on the other hand, are known from different Sanskrit texts as living on the slopes of the Vindhya. Dr. Gonda mentions a passage in the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in which the well-known story of the origin of Niṣāda is told. "This Niṣāda," the text continues, "had a son (or a posterity) who (which) was called Śavara and lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vindhya, e.g. in the country of the Tumuras. In the course of time the name became the name of the *gaṇa*." It seems to be probable, therefore, that the Tumuras formed part of the Śavara tribes, whilst, according to Dr. Gonda, it is possible that they were a Muṇḍā people.

A later period of Indian history is brought up for discussion in the paper read before the Royal Academy of Amsterdam by Professor Vogel: *"Nederlandsche documenten betreffende de geschiedenis van Voor-Indië in de 17e en 18e eeuw"* (Dutch Sources for Indian History in the 17th and 18th cent.).⁵ The author mentions with great esteem the works of Mr. W. H. Moreland and discusses the *"Remonstranties"* of Francisco Pelsaert and W. Geleynsen de Jongh, and especially the *"Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company, etc."* a translation of which by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed, has been published in the *"Journal of the Punjab Historical Society."* Professor Vogel's intention was to draw the attention of Dutch historians to these works, for in his opinion an edition of the Dutch original of Ketelaar's account would be very valuable, not to speak of the desirability of an extensive study concerning the Dutch in the India of the Mogul period.

With regard to the Dutch publications on Hindu-Javanese art we may here restrict ourselves to those which are important for the relation of India and Indonesia. It is, in the first place, worthy of notice that for the first time an Indian coin has been found in

4. Dr. Gonda is the second successor of Professor W. Caland and took up his duties with an inaugural speech *"Austriisch en Arisch"* on the importance of the study of Austric languages, on May 30, 1932. His predecessor, Dr. J. Rahder, is now Professor of Japanese in the University of Leyden.

5. In *"Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde"*, deel 74, series B, No. 4, pp. 41-62.

Java; it is discussed in an article by Professor Dr. N. J. Krom in "*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*," vol. 89 (1932), pp. 121 f., entitled "*De eerste Javaansche Hindoe-munt*." The coin in question appears to be a gold dināra of the Gupta king Chandragupta II. It is not impossible that it was imported into Java during the reign of this ruler, c. 380-415, for we know from the account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsian that in those days there existed relations between India and the Archipelago. There is, however, more reason to suppose that it was introduced in later centuries in consequence of the close contact between Bengal and Java. In that case the coin must have been an old object of great value already at the time of its introduction. The find-place is the Northern slope of the mountains of the Pram-banam region (Central Java).

In an article on the images of Chaṇḍi Jago and their Indian prototype the present author has discussed a problem of the later relations between Bengal and the Indian Archipelago⁶. Up to the present day it has not been decided whether the art of Eastern Java either was exclusively the continuation of the Central Javanese school, or has been influenced by Indian art. Now one of the most important monuments of Eastern Java, Chaṇḍi Jago, erected in the middle of the 13th century A.D., exhibits an essential stylistic difference between the relievos which decorate its walls and the images within it. The well-known archaeologist Dr. J. Brandes, therefore, ascribed the former to Indonesian, the latter to Indian artists. His view was accepted by some other scholars whereas others declined Indian influence. The group of images consists of the Bodhisattva Amoghapāṣa and four satellites, viz. Cyāmā Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhrikūṭi. The same personages, very similar to the Eastern Javanese images, as Dr. Brandes has pointed out, are pictured in a Tibetan painting. This agreement apparently must be explained by assuming that there must have existed a prototype, presumably in Magadha, from which both the Tibetan and the Jago representations have been derived. After the excavations at Nālandā this prototype need not be regarded as a mysterious missing link, since it may be recognised in a fragmentary stone image, discovered at this site. This fact seems to vindicate the view of Dr. Brandes that in the 13th century a new influx of Indian elements had reached the Archipelago, presumably in consequence of the arrival of Islām.

6. "*De beelden van tjaṇḍi Djago en hun Voor-Indisch prototype*," *Maandblad voor beeldende kunsten*, Vol. X, 1933, pp. 173-79, 4 Ill.

Reviews

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

VOL. V.—BRITISH INDIA, 1497-1858

VOL. VI.—THE INDIAN EMPIRE, 1858-1916

EDITED BY

H. H. DODWELL—1929-32.

Cambridge University Press—pp. xxiii & 683; xxiv & 660.

(Also forming Vols. IV & V of the Cambridge History of the British Empire.)

These are the fifth and sixth volumes published in the Cambridge Indian History Series; and the name of their Editor, Professor H. H. Dodwell is sufficient guarantee of their accuracy and authoritative character. The scope of the first of these volumes comprehends the Portuguese enterprise in the Indian Ocean in the 16th century and traces the progress of European competition and the final triumph of the English power, resulting in the establishment of the British Indian Empire. Detailed attention is devoted to the progress of the revenue and district administrative systems in the three Presidencies, during the period; but the survey of the western Presidency in this respect, in the post-Maratha period and of the provincial administrations created in the decades preceding the Mutiny have been relegated to the second volume. We find throughout the two volumes a stress, perhaps more than proportionate to the limits of the volumes, laid on administrative and allied problems and topics. This is indeed valuable and a certain corrective to the even more markedly disproportionate attention paid to purely political and military topics in earlier works like those of Trotter, Keene, Beveridge and others. We have a chapter on the development of sovereignty in British India, in which Professor Dodwell traces the steps in the British assertion of sovereignty, with particular reference to the status of the phantom Mughal Emperor at Delhi, where the peculiar operating factor was "not the separation of right and power, but the fact that the East India Company was not a purely Indian body, that

it represented the sovereign of Great Britain and brought with it a European impatience of pretensions that had ceased to have a basis in fact."

The work of administrative and judicial reform, pioneered effectively by Cornwallis is shown in the chapter on the Bengal Administrative System (1786-1818) to have been followed by no comprehensive reform, but only by further changes and experiments, which, in the writers' sad reflection, did not wholly restore the Collector to his old pre-eminence. Mr. J. T. Gwynn, in tracing the Madras District and Land Revenue System, praises very correctly the work of early administrators like Place, Read and Munro, and awards praise perhaps somewhat exaggerated, to the principles of *ryotwar* settlement which were strengthened in their application by notions of the depreciated or lost vitality of the village organisation and of the corruption and slackness of the traditional tax-collecting agencies. *The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons* was impressed by the doctrine and achievements of Munro and his school, and paved the way for the remodelling of the Madras administrative system in accordance with his own ideas. Mr. Gwynn indicates the ruin that overtook the cloth-weavers of the Presidency and regrets that, as yet, adequate measures were not taken for dealing with famines and for conserving the irrigation works.

Turning to the political chapters of the first volume, we find that adequate attention has been paid to events in Ceylon and Burma connected with European enterprise. Dutch rule in Ceylon, though controlled from above, is shown to have been lacking in healthy public opinion to restrain corruption and loose living among officials. The Dutch Company failed as a colonial ruler though it had been great as empire-builder and very successful as trader. Professor Geyl endeavours to show that it was the Dutch example of naval and military power as the solid basis of stable dominion that was copied by the English and the French in the eighteenth century. In several places we are asked by the writers to judge of men and their actions more from the point of view of the morality of the age than with reference to their own moral obligations. Thus we read, concerning the deception of Omichand and connected incidents, that Clive and his companions were only following the example of Dupleix and Bussy, and were doing only what any of their contemporaries would have done in their place. Regarding the controversy over the reality of the Black Hole tra-

gedy, the conclusion of Professor Dodwell is that Holwell's story was not the imposture that it was supposed to have been, and the principal arguments on the other side are merely negative and do not seem to be capable of bearing the weight that is attempted to be put upon them. Lord Curzon, in his *British Government in India* (Vol. I; p. 176), maintains that it is impossible (1) to show that the Black Hole incident never occurred; and (2) that Holwell never commemorated it in the manner described. Even Mr. Dodwell is constrained to accept that it was not possible to decide the exact number of Britishers remaining after the capitulation of Calcutta, and to maintain that the Calcutta Council naturally avoided mentioning the Black Hole which threw such lurid light over the circumstances of their desertion of the place; he also adds the rather thin argument that Holwell's contemporaries were exceedingly critical and would have torn his statements to pieces had they not been founded on fact.

Again, in the war against Mir Kasim the attempt is made to throw the blame on the Nawab who sinned in fancying himself an independent ruler, while the Council who forced him into hostilities is condoned with the reflection that Vansittart had failed to realise what a difficulty the English claims offered. Clive's principal defect, it is admitted, was "a certain bluntness of moral feeling which enabled him to perform and defend actions which did not commend themselves even to his own age." This euphemistic admission of this defect is certainly an attempt to pierce through the thick veil of special pleading for deficiencies that had developed into a cult with a section of Anglo-Indian historians.

The Hastings cult is given its place in the volume; and we are asked to conclude that his impeachment was a calamitous mistake when it was launched, and soon developed into a cruel wrong. It was "an anachronism, a cumbrous method of inflicting most unmerited suffering on one of the greatest Englishmen of his time, something very like a travesty of justice." The Rev. W. H. Hutton who writes the chapter on Tipu Sultan gives a higher place, in the re-establishment of Mysore as a Hindu State, to Arthur Wellesley, than he would accord to the other actors in the scene, viz., Baird, Harris, Close and even the Governor-General himself. Ellenborough is vindicated by Archbold, in almost everyone of his military transactions, even including the direction to have the Gates of Somnath brought back from Ghazni; and we read that the Governor-General's conduct throughout a most difficult time had the generously expressed approval of the Duke of Wellington him-

self; while the iniquity of the conquest of Sind "cannot be said to be the fault of any one man;" and "the whole transaction has been thought to bear a colour of injustice which may rightly be ascribed to some of its parts." Similar in character are the views generally outlined with reference to the annexation policy that was so vigorously pursued in the pre-Mutiny epoch.

In the second of the volumes under review, which puts forth the entirely unjustified prefatory remark that the Mutiny "in its ultimate analysis was a Brahman reaction against influences, which, given free play, would revolutionise the mental, moral and social conditions of the country," we are taught equally prefatorily, that the third generation following the Mutiny is actively continuing the efforts to transform into an organic state the inorganic despotism which the Crown had inherited from the Company, and the Company from the former Indian Governments. Edward Thompson has well remarked, in his *The Other Side of the Medal*, that no other episode of first-class importance like the Mutiny has been treated in histories "so uncritically or upon such one-sided evidence and prejudiced evidence," without analysing, much less understanding the Indian point of view.

After the first eight chapters dealing with administrative and educational progress, including social reform, in the pre-Mutiny epoch, we come to the history of the Company's army organisation from the pen of Sir Wolseley Haig who summarises the causes that led to the demoralisation of the Bengal Army. Mr. Rice Holmes, the author of the chapter on the Mutiny, rightly says that it is more important to learn how the civil population acted than to analyse the phenomena of the Mutiny itself. He naturally describes a picture of anarchy that set in immediately in the mutinous areas, but concludes that there is no evidence that any of the rebels, except the Nana, conspired and raised rebellions before the Mutiny began. Allowing for the excesses that were committed on both sides during the Mutiny and its suppression, it is refreshing to notice that the British Army was rescued from utter demoralisation by its inherent sterling qualities; and according to Sir George Otto Trevelyan, "no other soldiers in the world could have preserved their self-respect amidst so fearful an ordeal." Mr. Holmes tries to free Dalhousie from all responsibility and blame for the Mutiny and gives him credit for contributing much to the power by which it was quelled.

The system and frame-work of district administration, the progress of agrarian legislation, the diverse activities of the district

officials,—these are reviewed with reference to all the major provinces; while special chapters are devoted to the review of the currency and educational policies and the like. The fortunes of the Services come in for separate treatment by Sir Henry Lovett who categorically tells us that the Statutory Civil Service has proved a failure and warns us that the British spirit must continue to animate the services, even if the personnel were to be largely changed. Law Reform, Local Self-government, the development of the Congress and of the Extremist element in politics, and the Reforms of 1909 and 1919 are all treated, with great fulness, tinged however with a bias that may well be interpreted as anti-Indian in certain places. We read that Indian politicians as a body have failed to show the restraints that characterise successful democracy and to forget the history of their own country in "their eagerness to grasp at the share in the administration offered under a milder personal rule." The views adumbrated by Sir Verney Lovett and by Sir Richard Burn can be regarded by the dispassionate reader as being more anxious to present a particular point of view than to afford an impartial picture equally just to all the parties concerned and interested. The absence of Indian collaborators in the list of contributors and the comparative thinness of the bibliographical lists for some chapters, relative to their size, importance and interest, are minor points for criticism, in a huge work that, notwithstanding the defects arising more from temperamental bias than from wilful interpretation, should prove a very valuable addition to the library of every earnest student of modern Indian and Imperial Histories.

C. S. S.

HANDBOOK TO THE RECORDS IN THE ALIENATION OFFICE, POONA

COMPILED BY

G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.,

by authority of the Government of Bombay.
(Government Central Press, Bombay, 1933.)

The Records of the Peishwas' Government, both historical and administrative, were first rescued and collected by Mount Stuart Elphinstone from the Peishwas' archives at Poona. They were, after a time, entrusted to the keeping of the Inam Commission

and, subsequent to its dissolution in 1863, to the care of the Alienation Office. The Poona Daftar (or the Peishwas' Daftar) now contains nearly 35,000 *rumals*, including a large mass of district and village revenue accounts subsequently collected by British Officers and, generally, of all old papers which extend roughly down to the period of the Mutiny. The existing arrangement of the Daftar was first introduced by Messrs. Cowper and Gordon, Inam Commissioners, between 1852 and 1860; and each head or sub-head has its Marathi printed *Ferist* (or hand-list of the contents) which is useful for reference for administrative purposes only.

The investigation of the Daftar for historical purposes was first urged by Ranade, Telang and Bhandarkar and Rao Bahadur G. C. Vad transcribed and translated 32 volumes of extracts from the Peishwas' *Diaries* and from the Satara and Poona Daftars, which appeared in 13 volumes, and in the shape of Selections in Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis's *Journal*. Mr. A. M. T. Jackson put forward a plea for the complete publication of the records by means of calendars of all documents prior to 1818. As a result of recommendations made by the Indian Historical Records Commission, the Bombay Government deputed Mr. G. S. Sardesai and a co-adjutor to undertake a thorough examination of the Daftar and to determine what exactly was to be done with papers of historical interest that were selected. Hand-listing and calendaring were both found impracticable for such an enormous mass of papers; and it was decided to prepare small-sized selections dealing with single topics and to edit them with short foot-notes in English, so as to serve the purpose of a calendar for non-Marathi readers; and each selection was provided with an introductory note, to help the student to grasp its contents.

Mr. Sardesai shows in this book (1) that there are many gaps in the Daftar, but these do not relate exclusively to the seven years 1757-63 as imagined by Mr. Macleod who was under the impression that most of these records were burnt when Poona was invaded by the Nizam; and (2) that not a single paper, since the Daftar passed into English custody has decayed or been destroyed except by the natural process of time. He gives a detailed description of the various divisions of the records, viz., (1) the Shahu Daftar, which, though small in volume, is valuable, for historical purposes; (2) the Peishwas' *Diaries*, containing daily receipts and expenditure and extending for 98 years from 1719 to 1817, the *Prant Ajmas*, the *Pagas* and *Pathakes* and the *Chitnis* section, containing letters from officers about political affairs and being of

the highest importance; (3) the Angria Daftar; (4) the Satara Maharaja's Daftar, covering the period 1818-1848; (5) the *Jamav* section, containing papers collected for the Inam Commission's purposes of inquiry, and also several smaller sections, including records of the Inam Commission and of the British regime.

About 30,000 selected papers taken from the *Chitnisi rumals* were minutely scrutinised; and those remaining after this sifting were incorporated in the 45 Selections now being published by the Bombay Government. There is still much material which can be utilised for history, particularly in the Peishwas' *Diaries* and *Ghadnis*, the Satara Maharaja's Daftar and the *Diaries* of Pratap Sinha of Satara and the English files relating to the Poona and Satara Residencies. These last are very useful for the period after 1780, as the bulk of Maratha state papers that reached Poona after that year were in the possession of Nana Phadnavis and placed in his house. Mr. Sardesai gives a note on the Persian papers and farmans and manuscripts and copper-plates in the Daftar which would greatly enrich the histories of several Indian states and rulers, and of those Maratha families who made Maratha history.

C. S. S.

EARLY HISTORY OF KĀMARŪPA

(From the earliest times to the end of the 16th century.)

By

RAI K. L. BARUA BAHADUR, B.L.

(Published by the author, Shillong, 1933—pp. XVI & 342 & plates.)

Assam, spoken of in Mughal accounts as "a land of mystery and witch-craft", possesses an interest that prompted Blochmann, Prinsep, Gait and others in the past to investigate its history and antiquities; and, more recently, Indian scholars like N. N. Basu, S. K. Bhuyan, P. B. Vidyavinod and the author have come forward and utilised the accumulated mass of new material in the shape of the *buranjis*, epigraphs and other archaeological and literary data. The early history of Kāmarūpa, known in ancient times as Pragjyotisha, is associated with Narakāsura and goes back to the epoch of the Mahābhārata war; and the view is put forward that the Aryan name extended to the region directly

from Videha and Magadha, long before central or lower Bengal became either habitable or Aryanised. Pragjyotisha was the name given to the region east of Videha at a time when the names, Pundravardhana, Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa were unknown. A difference has been recently maintained between the Pundras who are located to the south of Magadha, and the Pundravardhana of the Gupta period. The author denies any connection, as was surmised by Gait, between Pragjyotishpur and the reputation of Kāmarūpa as the supposed original centre of Tantrik Hinduism. He also rejects the theory that the Koches were the descendants of the Vedic Panis, and that among them the Mongoloid type predominated. He maintains that Pragjyotisha was originally a Dravidian kingdom which was swamped by Mongolian hordes and subsequently revived by Naraka whose protection of the Kāmākhyā shrine proves that great antiquity of the *yonī* cult, and, as was likely, its pre-Aryan origin.

After a long period of darkness, following the heroic epoch of Naraka and Bhagadatta, we come into light in the middle of the fourth century A.D. from which it becomes possible, with the help of epigraphic records, to trace an almost continuous line of rulers down to the twelfth century. In the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman Deva, the genealogy, though traced from Naraka, becomes clear from Pushyavarman and Samudravarman about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; and the names of the rulers have been confirmed by the clay-seal of Bhaskaravarman discovered at Nalanda and by the enumeration of Bhaskaravarman's predecessors in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*. Mr. Barua conjectures that the *pratyanta nripati* of Kāmarūpa who submitted to Samudragupta was none other than Pushyavarman. He holds that the rulers of Kāmarūpa extended their sway over northern and central Bengal after the decline of the Gupta power, that Mahāsēna Gupta defeated Susthitavarman and made Śaśanka the *Mahāsāmanta* of northern and central Bengal; and that the latter soon attained to greatness and extended his rule to Orissa and Chota Nagpur, invading Magadha, and as a consequence becoming the natural enemy of Kāmarūpa. Śaśanka could not have belonged to the Gupta family as was concluded by R. D. Banerji, from his alliance with Deva Gupta of Malva against Rājyavardhana of Thanēśvara and Grihavarman Maukhari of Kanauj. Again an attempt is made to establish that Bhaskaravarman occupied Karnaśvarṇa, the capital of Śaśanka who was probably attacked by Bhaṇḍi, the general of Śrī Harsha, on the west; and this took place long before the

death of Śrī Harsha, and possibly before his coronation as well. Certain conflicting statements regarding Hiuen-Tsiang's visit as given in the *Si-yu-ki* are examined; and the *Nidhanpur* grant is interpreted to bear a Guardian origin, and attention is drawn to certain Guardian expressions and official terms which do not recur in subsequent Kāmarūpa inscriptions. The Nalanda seal of Bhaskaravarman is regarded as having been left by him when he visited the University, probably in company with Śrī Harsha on their way to Kanauj.

The achievements of Śrī Harsha Deva of the dynasty of Śālastambha are exaggerated by Mr. Barua who discusses the *Gauḍavāho* of Vākpatirāja which describes the death of the ruler of Gauḍa at the hands of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. He concludes that Śrī Harsha Deva was the lord of Gauḍa who was overthrown by Yaśovarman, and whose defeat was the occasion for glorification. He also maintains that, on the basis of the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla and the record of Harjaravarman, the line of Śālastambha did not end with Śrī Harsha Deva, as maintained by Gait; and that a new dynasty began only with Brahmapala towards the close of the tenth century and continued into the twelfth century. The accounts of the conquest of Assam by the Pālas and the later Sēnas are discussed; and the several Muslim invasions of the land till the end of the fifteenth century are outlined with the remark that after the defeat sustained by Malik Uzbeg in 1255, Kāmarūpa enjoyed freedom from serious aggressions for two centuries.

The rulers of Kamata who contrived to rule over the western part of the old kingdom of Kāmarūpa, while the Kacharis became powerful in the east, and the Bhuyan chiefs were practically independent in their several fiefs. The development of the Koch kingdom which reached its zenith during Naranarayana's reign was followed by the partition of the kingdom between the Mughals and the Ahoms advancing in opposite directions. Thus the narrative of the fortunes of Assam has been traced, mainly with the aid of published inscriptions down to the sixteenth century; and more than adequate treatment has been accorded to the Koch kingdom which was glorified by the celebrated reformer, Śankara Dēva and by the brilliant crop of literature that attended the religious revival brought about by him. Attention is also drawn to the removal of the worst features of Tantrikism by Śankara Dēva, the cult itself falling into comparative disrepute after his time. A vein of exaggeration is noticeable in the chapter dealing with

the cultural and material progress of Kāmarūpa between the fourth and twelfth centuries; and we find the author, Minister to the Assam Government, vigorously challenging the statement that "Assam is the only province of India, the history of the architecture and sculpture of which is still practically unknown". He quotes at length from the reports of the ruins of Tezpur to disprove this statement of R. D. Banerji, and contends that the architectural and sculptural skill of the people degenerated during the Ahom period. He claims the dramatist, Viśākadatta for his Kāmarūpa and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Abhinava Gupta as well. His notices of the origin of Tantrikism, the Sahijia cult and the Kāmākhyā worship are all interesting.

C. S. S.

THE JESUITS AND THE GREAT MOGUL

By

SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN,

(Burnes, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., London, 1932

—pp. XXI & 434.)

Among the original sources for the history of the Mughal Emperors from Akbar onwards, the testimony of Jesuit Missionaries who visited India from about 1580, is very important. The works of Jesuit writers were highly popular and printed in most of the principal languages in the seventeenth century. They were overlooked or forgotten by most English writers during the eighteenth century and the greater part of the succeeding century. Almost the first modern writer to make use of Jesuit testimony was Count von Noer whose German biography of Akbar was published in 1880 and was subsequently translated into English by Annette Beveridge. A fairly full bibliography of Jesuit accounts is available in the works of Sommervogel and other modern Jesuit writers. The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., and Sir Edward MacLagan have contributed largely to our information; and the *Commentarius* of Father A. Monserrate, which is the basis for all the narratives of the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court, was re-discovered by Father Hosten in 1906 and edited by him in the original Latin; and it has been subsequently translated into English by Messrs. J. S. Hoyal and Banerjee. The observations of Peruschi, Du Jarric and

others; the historical accounts of the Jesuit Missions compiled by Guzman, Guerreiro and others, and the annual reports (*Litterae Annuae*) sent by the Provincial missions of the Jesuits to their General at Rome and other supplementary letters and reports are now being made available to the student and the researcher.

Sir Edward MacLagan furnishes us with an elaborate and detailed notice of the sources of information that he has utilised; and he estimates their historical value at a high level of accuracy and truthfulness, and maintains that "the letters from Mogor, though they may at times be coloured by enthusiasm, are not open to any charge of intentional falsehood"; and that "tested by such information as we possess from independent sources, Indian and European, they emerge from the examination with the greatest credit and may for historical purposes be looked on as authorities of a very high order". He first details the activities of the three Jesuit Missions to Akbar and notices at some length the influence that Padre Radalf (Rudolf Aquaviva) had on Akbar's mind. He admits frankly and readily that Akbar did not die in the Christian faith, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Jesuits; he also rejects the tale of Jahangir's secret baptism and denies that there was any evidence to show that that Emperor seriously contemplated at any time—at any rate during his later years—conversion to Christianity. Under Shah Jahan, there took place an internment of the Hughli Christians in Agra and a general persecution of Christians throughout the provinces; and the Jesuits had to be content with the patronage of courtiers, not being able to approach the throne itself. The influence of Father Busi with Prince Dara Shikoh revived the old hopes of the missionaries, but how far he was able to incline the Prince to an acceptance of the Christian faith, it is hard to determine; and our author does not give much credence to the statements of Manucci in this respect, explicit though they are. Dara's apostasy which was the technical plea under the colour of which he was put to death, seems to have been justified by his Sufistic tendencies and, possibly, his recognition of the Vedas as the word of God, and not of the Bible.

Aurangzib's rigid fanaticism led to an almost complete cessation of the proselytizing activities of the missionaries, who began to seek new fields of activity like Nepal, Kafirstan, Patna and Nagpur. The Jesuits contrived to have some influence at the court of Bahadur Shah, through the influence of a court lady, Donna Juliana Diaz da Costa, with whose death in 1734 all

intimate connection of the missionaries with the Mughal Court disappeared. Sir Edward gives an interesting and uniform account of the literary activities of Father Joseph Tieffenthaler who survived the official extinction of the Mogor Mission and was an astronomer, mathematician, geographer, historian and linguist, and who incidentally helped Anquetil Duperron, the weird European pioneer of Oriental scholarship, and was largely useful to Bernoulli, astronomer and mathematician, through his *Descriptio Indiae*.

In Chapter VIII, we are treated to an estimate of the works of Father Monserrate, forming, as they do, a useful check and supplement to contemporary narrations, like the *Akbar Nama* of Abul Fazl. Succeeding chapters examine the credibility of the existence of a Christian wife to Akbar, the tradition of a Bourbon, who is alleged to have come to the Mughal court and left descendants, and the life of Mirza Zu'l Garnain, a Christian official of the Mughal government under Shah Jahan and his father, of whom we get some glimpses in the *Autobiography* of Jahangir and in other contemporary works. Donna Julianna's life forms the subject of another chapter.

Interesting glimpses are afforded by our author of the secular activities of the Fathers, their interest in the study of Arabic and Persian, their acquaintance with Sanskrit, Father Xavier's writings in Persian,—copies of which are still extant—their influence and the Mughal school of painting and the different classes of Christians in the empire together with the character of the congregations. Not only were European paintings copied, but European art is said to have been deemed equal, if not superior to Indian art. Mughal painters became familiar with Christian subjects and frequently made use of the nimbus and the Renaissance Cherub. The influence exerted by the missionaries on the congregations and the description of their churches and cemeteries are followed by an account of missions planted in Tibet, at Isaparang and elsewhere, and maintained under the greatest difficulties. An appendix gives tentative lists of Jesuit letters and reports from (a) Mogor; (b) Bengal 1677-1685; and (c) Isaparang; another deals with the chronology of the chief events connected with the history of the Jesuit mission in Mogor. The documentation and quotation of authorities are on a very elaborate scale. The book has the *imprimatur* of the Vicar-General of Westminster.

C. S. S.

KATYAYANA SMRITI ON PROCEDURE AND LAW

By

P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M.,

Advocate, Bombay

"The effect of modern Procedure is to make Law Triumphant and Justice Prostrate." This was the opinion expressed by Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar when the first draft Bill to consolidate and amend the Civil Procedure Code of 1882, was circulated for opinion. It is said of him that he advised his clients to try as much as possible to avoid going to court as plaintiff and always to try to be dragged in as Defendant. There is also the well known remark of the London cabman who, when asked to drive to the Courts of Justice, expressed surprise, and understood his destination on being told that he was to drive to the Law Courts. Rules of Procedure are only handmaids of Justice, and once you allow them to block the paths leading to Justice, they lay Justice prostrate.

With a view to maintain the purity of Justice our ancient law givers, exalted it by saying that the universe was ruled and sustained by it; that the King who failed to dispense Justice went to Hell; and that Courts of Justice were like Temples into which nothing impure in thought, word or deed should enter. And what is more, the guilt of an unjust decision was divided between the Judge, the assessors, and the party, all of whom went to hell for longer or shorter periods. A religious halo was always sought to be attached to Courts, and at every stage of the trial, this was impressed on all concerned. To minds permeated by such ideas, the dictum laid down by the Privy Council that a Judge has as much right to decide wrongly as rightly, appears startling.

Students of Adjective Law will always find it interesting to study the Procedure laid down by our ancient Law givers, and to such students the work of Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., Advocate, Bombay, will prove very useful. Of all ancient Law givers, Katyayana has been the most elaborate in propounding his rules of procedure, and Mr. Kane has collected all of them and appended thereto a literal English translation together with elaborate foot notes.

Katyayana is so elaborate in his rules that, according to him, the Court room should have a pleasing appearance (*sumukham*);

and the King who should himself dispense justice should enter it in the morning after honouring the deities and dressed in a simple manner. The best time for administering justice is said to be the 4½ hours preceeding noon. Where the task of administering justice is delegated to a judge, he should appoint persons learned in the *Shastras*, who are impartial; who are incorruptible; who are afraid of the next world, and who do not cause disgust to the people. They should also be sweet tempered and energetic. The Judge is to be aided by *Sabhyas* (assessors); and the members of the Court should not connive at the King when he begins to act unjustly. A case takes root when a plaintiff appears before the Court and complains. His evidence is taken down by a scribe, and after the details are ascertained and settled and the cause is judicially entertainable, the Judge is to deliver the seal (summons) to the plaintiff for calling the defendant. When the defendant appears the plaint is to be read to him, and if for proper reason he wants time to reply, it should be given. Either plaintiff or defendant can engage representatives to carry on the dispute. The defendant can be arrested in certain cases, and can release himself by giving a surety. When no surety is forthcoming, the defendant is to be placed in the charge of a messenger who is paid by the plaintiff. The defendant is to state his defence, and there are elaborate rules as to what constitutes a good defence, and what defence should not be allowed to be pleaded. There are similar rules as to what alone can afford proper ground for an action; and for amending the plaint and statement. Young women, ladies of good family, and a woman recently delivered, should not be summoned to appear in person, and a husbandman should not be arrested at the time of sowing and harvesting season, nor a soldier at the time of marching with the army.

Documents, witnesses, and possession are the recognised means of proof. Characteristics which cannot be explained otherwise are to be brought out by reasoning; and when these means are not available ordeal is to be resorted to. A litigant who employs divine means of proof when witnesses are available, becomes a losing party; and when one party offers divine means of proof and the other human means of proof the human means of proof should be accepted. In disputes about land, ordeals should not be prescribed.

Documents are divided into two kinds, those written by the party himself, and those written by a scribe. The former are

valid though not attested. Documents executed by a person in distress, or under fear, by women, by children, and documents got about by fraud are not valid. A person who does not repudiate a transaction which is invalid, when it is brought to his notice, is estopped from disputing its validity. When the scribe and attesting witnesses are dead, the genuineness of a document can be proved by comparison of the signature with an admitted signature. A document over 30 years old, which has not been seen by anybody, nor read out to anybody, by the creditor is invalid though the witnesses be living.

Possession is divided into two classes. (1) with title, and (2) without title; and possession for 3 generations is proof of ownership without proof of title.

Witnesses are to be bound strongly with oaths and questioned separately, and a distinction is made between direct evidence and hearsay evidence. Witnesses who are in a different country and who cannot be brought to give evidence, are to be examined on Commission. Weight should be attached to the demeanour of a witness; and his mental state should be ascertained from his outward manifestations such as sweat, dryness of lips, scratching the ground with the toes, looking sideways, etc. They should be examined inside the hall of justice except in the case of suits relating to immoveable property; and the examination should take place in the presence of the parties, and never behind the back of the parties. In suits relating to property the evidence is to be taken near the site. The evidence of witnesses is to be taken down as narrated by them, and questions should not be repeated when once answered.

After the evidence is heard a document of victory (*jayapatra*) is to be given to the successful party; and the losing party can have a wrong decision re-considered.

It will appear from the above summary of the rules of procedure laid down by Katyayana what elaborate pains were taken by our ancients to see that Justice was properly dispensed. One rigid ideal permeates the whole trial from start to finish; and that is, that the Court of Justice is a sacred temple; that the Officers presiding in it are, though men, yet humble instruments in the hands of the Deity, and that anyone that enters it with unworthy thoughts or desecrates it with unworthy actions deserves punishment when alive, and suffers in hell after death. Stringent pains

and penalties awaited the party or witness that attempted to hood-wink the Court.

Katyayana does not lay down any elaborate rules for the execution of decrees and it may be assumed that this was because they were not necessary.

C. V. VISVANATHA SASTRI

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC

(According to Annambhaṭṭa's Tarakasaṅgraha)

By

Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI,
M.A., I.E.S.,

(P. Varadachary & Co., Madras, pp. liv. 364, Price, Rs. 4.)

Of the *Tarakasaṅgraha*, which has for long been used in this country as an introduction to the study of Logic, there are a large number of commentaries, besides the author's own *Dīpikā*; there are also modern annotated translations. In addition to a very accurate and reliable translation, the present edition contains a learned introduction and very elaborate discussions of all important topics. They present the editor's erudition in all branches of Indian Philosophy in a form which is remarkably clear considering the nature of the subject. The book will thus be useful to students not merely of the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika but of other systems as well. Similarities to Western Logic are kept in mind and brought out here and there, though a little more attention may well be paid to this topic in a future edition. Some obscurities of expression may also be cleared up with benefit; see for example the sentence beginning with "If the function of a definition" on p. 12. A full glossary adds to the value of the book, though an index is a desideratum. It will also add to the usefulness of the book if the more advanced portions of the discussion are distinguished by smaller type or by asterisks, so that the beginner may leave them out of the first reading.

P. P. S.

MAṆAMEYODAYA

By

NARAYANA

With an English translation by

C. KUNHAN RAJA,
Reader in Sanskrit,

AND

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI
Reader in Philosophy, University of Madras,

With A FOREWORD

By

PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

(Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, pp. li, 349, Price, Rs. 5.)

The book under review is a new edition of an elementary treatise on the Mīmāṃsā system of Indian Philosophy, written by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the well known poet, philosopher and scholar of Malabar, who lived over three hundred years ago. The publication of this work along with an English translation, notes and comparative tables meets the needs of those who require an introduction to the philosophical background of the Mīmāṃsā, as contrasted with its exegetics. A useful introduction to the latter is Āpadeva's *Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-prakāśa*, which is usually prescribed as a text-book; the present book will constitute a much-needed supplement thereto.

In the present edition, the editors have been able to give many new readings, which are improvements on those adopted in the Trivandrum edition, now out of print. They have also incorporated much that is not found in that edition. Attention may be specially drawn to section 17 under *pratyakṣa*, section 55 ff under *guṇa*, and section 13 ff under *karma*. Even in the opening verse the "*dhīmatām*" of the Trivandrum edition has been advisedly changed to "*bhīmatām*," on Mss. authority; the change

stands to reason too, since none but a very conceited writer would refer to himself as a *dhīmān*; and the invocation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is most natural in the case of one who is diffident or in fear.

In making a critical estimate of such works, one has to remember that they are translations where the author is constrained by fidelity to the text and the limitations of a foreign language; he cannot explain or make clear obscure points in the same way as in an independent exposition. The technicalities of the subject constitute an additional limitation. Having all these in view, we cannot but conclude that the editors have attained a commendably high measure of success. Thus, on p.2, the definition of *pramā* as *ajñāta-tattvārtha-jñāna* is rendered as "the knowledge of an unknown real object." Again, on p.118, the definition of *arthāpatti* as *anyathānupapattiyā yad upapādaka-kalpanam tad arthāpattiḥ* is translated as "When something is otherwise unintelligible the assumption of what will make it intelligible is presumption." In such cases, the juxtaposition of "knowledge" and "unknown," "assumption" and "presumption" looks awkward and may tend to mislead the unwary. But the subject being what it is, it is difficult to avoid such uncouth language, and all explanations will have to be made in notes. Another instance of obscurity is the expression "*asannikṛṣṭa*, not in contact"; this would not at all be clear but for the explanation in the notes and in the text itself (section 31 under *anumāna*). The notes frequently help the student by free paraphrases of passages whose meaning in the text is difficult to understand; see for example, section 4 under *śabda*, and section 19 ff under *dravya*.

The equivalents chosen by the editors are not identical with those adopted by earlier workers in the field; for example, *tarka* is translated as "counter-argument," though a note explains it as what is familiar to students of Western Logic as *reductio ad absurdum*. Some of the new equivalents, as that for "*prakaraṇa-sama*, similar to the context," though not inaccurate, convey no idea of what is meant except to one who is already familiar with the subject. But this holds good of the word even in the original, and the obscurity is inevitable. The rendering of *bhāvanā* as "productive operation" is distinctly superior to "efficient force" (Prof. Edgerton's rendering); but the qualifications "verbal" and "objective" are not self-explanatory. It is unfortunate that *kālāyāpadiṣṭa* should have been rendered as "dis-

carded through lapse of time". As will be seen from the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, "*apadiṣṭa*" means "adduced", not "discarded".

I notice that for the same Sanskrit term different equivalents have been used in different places, e.g., "*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva*" is translated as "relation of subject and attribute" and again as "relation of qualification and qualified"; greater uniformity is desirable. The analytical and comparative tables will be found of great value to both student and scholar. The printing, which has been neatly done, is practically free from mistakes. It is to be hoped that the few defects pointed out will be removed in the next edition. The work as a whole is a creditable performance on which the editors may well be congratulated.

P. P. S.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VĀYU PURĀNA

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.,
(Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras.)

With the advance made in Indian Historical Research scholars are coming to feel that India had a history of her own from the earliest antiquity. It is coming to be realized that the Purāṇas which constitute an unfailing source of information for the early history of India are not the idle tales made by our ancients but the Chronicle of certain events that took place on the Indian soil, though some amount of mythology was added to the hard facts. A thorough study of the Purāṇas is a necessary preliminary for the reconstruction of the early history of India; and already a few scholars like Wilson, Kennedy and Pargiter have done some preliminary work on them. It is gratifying that a scholar of the type of Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar has undertaken a study of the more important of the historical Purāṇas.

Mr. Dikshitar brings to bear on the monograph under review his sound scholarship and balanced judgment. He says that the Vāyu Purāṇa seems to have been indebted to the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa and is definitely posterior to it. The author remarks that the upper limit for the date of the composition of the Vāyu Purāṇa can be placed in the 5th Century B.C. the period immediately

succeeding the epoch of the early *Upanishads* and the lower limit can be fixed about 300 A.D. Mr. Dikshitar has arrived at this conclusion after examining all the evidence relating to it—the philosophical, religious and astronomical data contained in it, references to it in other works and the historical material contained in it. The analytical summary of the cosmogony of the *Purāṇa* which Mr. Dikshitar attempts affords interesting reading. A study of the *Purāṇas* shows that, among the fine arts, music seems to have attained a high degree of perfection, and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* devotes two chapters for music—one for *Gāndhārvam* and the other for the *Gitālaṅkāranirdēśa*. Mention is made also of dancing and painting as the allied arts of music, though they are not treated so elaborately.

There is an interesting section on the Agastya cult and its importance to the student of South Indian History. The identification of Tolkāppiyār is particularly worthy of note. A perusal of the section entitled "The Nine Divisions of India" is sure to set students of Ancient Indian Geography thinking.

A study of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* reveals thus to us that India had attained to a high degree of culture and civilization, and it is hoped that more light will be thrown on the other institutions and arts which Ancient India had developed, by a similar study of the other *Purāṇas*. We wish that the learned author will pursue his studies and cover the other major *Purāṇas*. We congratulate Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar and the University of Madras for this interesting little volume.

P. S. S. SASTRI.

ASOKA

By

DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH., D.,

Second Edition, Published by the University of Calcutta, 1932.

The book is a revised and enlarged edition of the Carmichael Lectures of 1923. In this volume Dr. Bhandarkar sticks to the views which he expressed in the first edition regarding Asoka's Dharma, and Asoka as a Buddhist and as a missionary. In chapter VII, however, he examines the criticisms levelled against his book by Dr. J. Charpentier with a view to establish that such

theories have no legs to stand on. In the portion of the book dealing with the Translation of the Edicts and Notes, Dr. Bhandarkar has improved in the light of constructive criticism offered by T. Michelson. Going through the whole of the book presented to us in a revised form, one feels that the learned Professor is an enthusiastic advocate of the theory that Asoka was a Buddhist Emperor. It is not our aim to find fault with a trained and an experienced scholar of Dr. Bhandarkar's standing. It seems to us that there are equally substantial grounds which go to prove the opposite of what Professor Bhandarkar holds. It is not possible to examine all the different views expressed in a short notice like this. Suffice it to say that the Dharma taught in the Edicts is not the Buddhist Dharma but the Sanātana Dharma of all the Hindus, that in the light of a comparative study of these Edicts and the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra*, the conjecture of the late Dr. Fleet that it was simply *rāja-Dharma* can be accepted as a fact, that *Dharmavijaya* means righteous warfare and can be extended to mark a definite imperial policy as R. P. Chanda holds, and that the mention of *svarga* and the absence of mention of *nirvāṇa* as explained away that Asoka was preaching to laymen and to Bhiksus is not tenable as the early history of Buddhism did not differ from the orthodox religion in fundamentals. It is claimed by a section of scholars of which the late Hoernle figures topmost, that the Buddhism of Asoka's times did not permit laymen into its fold. If this were accepted, can Asoka be a Buddhist monk and hold the reigns of government at the same time? On P. 84 the learned author questions the view of scholars who are of opinion that Asoka's visit to the Sangha was a state visit with the remark 'and we cannot therefore say that the King visited the Sangha for over a year (which is nonsensical) but rather lived with it for that period.' In highly controversial topics of this kind we must always agree to differ. If we take it for granted that he lived with the Sangha, a satisfactory explanation must be given whether as a member of the Sangha, which Asoka himself includes it under the category of *Pāṣanda* sects (though the author will not interpret the term here as heretic), would be eligible to occupy the throne of a vast empire, and what became of his administration during such interim period?

We do not propose to continue the discussion further here. We only hope that the learned Professor will agree with us that it is not possible to emphasise Asoka as a monk-emperor and Buddhist Emperor.

ALEXANDER KAMPF GEGEN POROS

By

BERNHARD BRELOER,

(Published by W. Kohlhammer Stuttgart, pp. 208, 1933.)

Alexander's Indian Campaign has been considered as of so much importance that it has continued to occupy the attention of historians, ancient and modern. In spite of centuries of research, the problems connected with this campaign such as the Camp of Alexander, the passage of the Hydaspes and the site of the battle with Poros are still far from being settled definitely. Recently under the orders of His Majesty's Indian Government Sir Aurel Stein of the Indian Archaeological Survey carried out explorations on the North-West-Frontier, the main object being 'to follow up the track of the great Macedonian in his March to India.' The result of his labours is the interesting book "*On Alexander's Track to the Indus*" (Macmillan, 1929). This book which is in the form of a personal narrative ends however with the starting point of Alexander's invasion of India proper.

The book under review which forms the third in the series entitled *Bonn Oriental Studies* seems as though it is a supplement to Sir Stein's epoch-making work. The main thesis of the monograph is a close examination of Alexander's campaign with Poros. It is broadly divided into two parts. In the first the author examines the relevant texts which form the chief sources of information. The important authorities are Arrian, Diodorus and Curtius. The second part deals with the site of the battle from sources other than the writings of ancient historians and travellers. In the introduction as Breloer shows the actual operations of war and the figure of Alexander dominate the whole and afford interesting material to the antiquarian. The most valuable contribution is the re-examination of the theory advanced by Cunningham that Alexander's camp was formed at Jalālpur, and refuted by V. A. Smith who located it at or near Jihlam. It is refreshing to note that Sir Stein has pursued his labours in this direction and has definitely established that the camp was somewhere near the present Harānpur, and that the crossing took place from Jalālpur, exactly 17½ miles from Harānpur. This is clear from a summary of

Stein's articles on the subject made in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1931.

The monograph is in original German and the language is rather difficult. There is an interesting map showing the passage by Alexander of the Hydaspes, and some useful plans and illustrations.

V. R. D.

HISTORY OF INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE

By

B. E. DADACHANJI,

(Published by D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay,
Price, Rs. 3-4.)

This is a second edition revised and enlarged. This book opens with a valuable introduction, useful as a guide to students of Indian Currency and Exchange. The subject is vast and difficult and the materials are abundant. But it speaks to the credit of the author that he has succeeded in presenting it in a concise and accurate form a comprehensive and complete account of the whole history of the currency from the time of the East India Company. One feature of the book is a lucid summary of the Blue Books and the Commissions, enabling a student of Economics to get a clear account of a complicated subject.

V. R. D.

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H. C. Das-Gupta—On a Type of Sedentary Game known as *Pretoa*.

Sundera Lal Hora—A Note on the Sedentary Game known as *Pretoa*.

P. C. Basu—The Social and Religious Ceremonies of the *Chākmās*.

B. K. Chatterjee—The Social and Religious Institutions of the *Kharias*.

• J. H. Hutton—Wild Men in Assam.

P. O. Bodding—A Note on the "Wild People" of the Santals.

S. C. Mitra—On the Worship of the Deity *Jalpeshvara* in the District of *Jalpaiguri* in Northern Bengal.

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Georges de Roerich—Modern Tibetan Phonetics. With special Reference to the Dialect of Central Tibet.

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(The readings published in the *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. II, Part IV, necessitated a more careful and revised edition.)

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Appendix—A List of Inscriptions in Northern India, written in *Brahmi* and derivative scripts (pp. 227-266), by D. R. Bhandarkar.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft—Neue Folge—Band 11—Heft 3/4. (Band 86).

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The Ch'an Master Pu-Tai by Helen B. Chapin.

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On an Origin of the *Charaka* and *Susruta Samhitas* by R. F. G. Müller.

An Overlooked Pali Sutta by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

A Sumerian Representation of an Indian Stand by Ernest Mackay.

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A Short Note on the Swat Relic Vase Inscription by C. C. Das Gupta.

François Bernici's "Minute" by J. Ph. Vogel.

The *Pand-Namah* of Subuktigin by M. Nazim.

On *Vardhamana* again by E. H. Johnston.

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Jalor Inscription of the Time of *Paramara Visala*, V. S. 1174, by B. N. Reu.

Kiradu Inscription of the time of *Chalukya Bhimadeva II* and his Feudatory, *Chauhana Madana Brahmadeva*, V. S. 1235, by B. N. Reu.

Bengal and the City of Bangala by Sir R. C. Temple.

The *Viramkhola Inscription* by K. P. Jayaswal.

Dravidic Problems by L. V. Ramaswami Iyer.

The *Gandistotra* by E. H. Johnston.

Kashmiri Proverbs by Anand Kaul.

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Random Notes on the *Trivandrum Plays* by E. H. Johnston.

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- Lalla-vākyaṇi by Anand Kaul.
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INDEX FOR VOL. XII.

A

- Abhaya Singh and the Emperor, 86.
 Abul Fazl, 65.
 Āḍukotpāṭṭu Cheralātan, 195.
 Aghamarṣanas, 169.
 Ahobala, 244.
 Ain-i-Akbari, 138.
 Ajit Singh, murder of, 85.
 Akbarnāma, 64.
 Alberuni, 231.
 Alexander's battle, identification of the site, 284 f.
 Allahavardhikhan, early career of, 374.
 Ambela Expedition, events leading to, 392 ff.
 Āmohini Inscription, 22.
 Anusamyānam, 465.
 Apastamba, 182.
 Appollonius of Tyana, 27.
 Arachosia, 24.
 Ārsi, 7.
 Āryāvarta, 5.
 Asamāh of the Ikṣvākus, 337.
 Āssalāyana of Sāvathi, 339.
 Asuri, 173, 175.
 Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra, 174.
 Āsvamedha, 168.
 Atharvaparīṣiṣṭha, 5.
 Ātreya śākha, 330.
 Auckland, Lord, 251.
 Anduvan Cheral, 197.
 Ayasa, 2.
 Azes, 3.
 Azes, King, 20.
 Azez, a Pahlava, 24.

B

- Balaji Rao, 92.
 Ball, Dr., 74.
 Barnett, L. D., 347.
 Barua, B. M., 343.
 Bellary district, mine in, 78.
 Bernier, 67.
 Beveridge, Mr., 65.
 Bhagadatta, 304.
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 164.
 Bhāllaveya, 166.
 Bhārūkaccha, 35.
 Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R., 317.
 Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, 329.
 Bhayada, 337.
 Bhujyu, 158-160.
 Bhūmaha, 43.

- Bhūmaka, 37.
 Binyon, Laurence, 443.
 Bonn Oriental Studies, 318.
 Borgio, S. H., 68.
 Boyer, M., 1.
 Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 163.
 Brahmarāti, 165.
 Brahmavādhyā, 331.
 Buḍila Āśvatāraśve, 176.

C

- Caland, Dr., 177.
 Carakas, 160.
 Carnatic subah, 95.
 Caṣṭhana, 42.
 —family of, 39.
 Carakādhvanyus, 164.
 Caraka Vaiśampāyana, 170.
 Carana Vyūha Parīṣiṣṭa Sūtra, 165.
 Caste System by O'Malley, 450.
 —of North India by Blunt, 451.
 Caturvargacintāmaṇi, 165.
 Cavendish, voyage of, 473.
 Central Asia, discoveries in, 7.
 Chavannes, 11.
 Chavannes, 31.
 Cheral Irumporai, 198-99.
 Chidambaram Pagoda, capture of, 105.
 Chronology of Ancient India, 338.
 Cinasthāna, 44.
 Citraratha, 346.
 Commissariat, M. S., 79.
 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 1.
 Cunningham, 27.

D

- Dāman, 38.
 Dantābala Dhaumrā, 333.
 Deccan affairs in 1753, 97 f.
 Devarātasuta, 166.
 Dharmadhvaja, 172.
 Dharmamahārāja, 371.
 Dharmavijaya, 462-3.
 Diamond of Mir Jumla, 67.
 Diamond in the Mughal Treasury, 51 f.
 Dikshitar, V. R. R., 315.
 Dirgatamas, 168.
 Dodwell, Mr., 299.
 Dom Joao in Goa, 82.
 Dṛti Aindrota, 327.
 Dubreuil, Prof. J., 127, 129.
 Dundas, Henry, 381.
 Dupleix's plan at Tiruviti, 103 n.



E

Egerton, Colonel, letters to, 258 f., 405 ff.
'Elephant-lord,' 465.
Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 301.
Emerald in the Mughal Treasury, 53.

F

Fr. Da Costa, 79.
Firishta, 64.
Fleet, Dr., 2.
Fonseca, 79.
Franke, Dr. 36.

G

Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, 42.
Gondopharnes, 25.
Gondopharnes, Pahlava, 3.
Gokhale, G. K., 466.
Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, ed. by Mitra, 333.
Govinda Dikshitar, 455.
Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhyāyana,

H

Haig, Sir Wolsely, 133.
Halliday, W. R., on Greek Legends, 468-9.
Halsi plate of Kākutsthavarma, 364.
Han dynasty, Annals of, 9.
Haradatta, 182.
Harappa, Method of burial, 424, 426 f.
Hargreaves, Mr., 3.
Hastings cult, 299.
Hemachandra, 14.
Hemādri, 165.
Hillebrandt, 337.
Hindugadeśa, 18.
Hirāṇyanābha, King, 179.
Historical Sketch of Goa, 79.
Hüan-Tsang, 7.
Hou Han-shu, 12. f.
Humāyūn, 65.

I

Imayavaramban Neṇṇucheralātan, 189.
Indian Antiquary, 85.
Indian History, Scythian Period of, 1.
Indus Civilisation, 269; Figurines, 270 f.; Śaktism, 274; Iconic worship, 275; Animal worship, 278; Water worship, 282.
Indus Script, 122 f.; Prof. Langdon on the finds, 124.

Ius Valley, The Intercourse with Elam and Mesopotamia, 434.
Irvine, William, 84.
Irwin, Lord, speeches by, 144-5.
Īsvara Kṛṣṇa, 174.

J

Jagir, 91.
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, 337.
Jāmadagnya, 165.
Janadeva Janaka, 173.
Janaka Vaideha, 172.
Janamejaya, Vāyu P. on, 328.
Janamejaya Pārikṣita, 158.
Jayadāman, 37.
Jayadāmaputra, 40.
Jayaswal, 17.
Josiah Harlan, 390 f.
Junāgaḍh inscription, 41.

K

Kabandha, 341 f.
Kadamba tree, 354.
Kālakācāryakathānaka, 17.
Kalawān Inscription, 3.
Kaḷudaimalai, near Trichinopoly, 109.
Kambojika, 21.
Kāmvār's statement incorrect, 89.
Kane, P. V. 309.
Kaniṣka era, 1.
Kapila, 173.
Karlgrén, Professor, 8, 13.
Kāśika, 169.
Kāthaka Samhitā, 346.
Kātyāyana, 171.
Kausalya Āsvalāyana, 343.
Kavandhin Kātyāyana, 340.
Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, 190.
Keśin Dālbhya, 337.
Kharoshthī Inscriptions, 1.
Kātyāyana, 309 f.
Khotan, 44.
Ki-pin Kingdom, 9 f.
Kohinūr, 71.
Kohinūr Dispute, 63.
Kō Perum Cheral, 190 f.
Krishna, Dr. M. H., 131.
Kucha, 7.
Kujūla Kadphises, 28 f.
Kumāralata, 27.
Kushānas, 2.

L

Lāṅgali, 175.
Lanhitya, R., 165.
Laugākṣi, 177.
Levant Company, 472.
Levi, Professor, 7, 30.
Līṅga Purāṇa, 165.
Lion Capital, 41.

M

MacLagan, Sir Edward, 307.
Mādhava-Vidyāranya, 240; identification of 242-3.
Madra country, 169.
Mahābhāṣya, 5.
Mahājanaka, 343.
Mahākṣatrapa, 20.
Maharājabhṛata, 26.
Mahidāsabudha, 165.
Mātra inscription, 19.
Majjhima Nikāya, 338.
Mākodai 203 f.
Mālava gana, 22.
Malcolm, Sir John, 77.
Māṇḍavya, 173.
Mānsehra inscription, 19.
Mao-tun, 5.
Maratha rule in Orissa, 138-9.
Marshall, Sir John, 20-21.
Maskelyne, Professor, 75.
Marwar, Chronicles of, 86.
Mathura, Lion Capital of, 20.
Mā-vaṅko, 204.
Mayūraśarma, coronation of, 360.
Middle-Iranian dialects, 7.
Mir Jumla, 68.
Mir Jumla, 73.
Mithradates II, 17.
Mohenjodaro, wheat and Barley, 114; Humped Indian bulls, 115; copper, tin and lead, 116; Minerals, 118 f.; Evidence of spinning, 118; Population of different races, 118-9; Ornaments and dress, 119-120; Weapons of war and chase, 120; Domestic vessels, 121.
Moreland, W. H., 295.
'Mountain-rat,' 142.
Mughal Treasury, sale of values, 47.
Muhammad Shāh, Emperor, 89.
Mukkanna Kadamba, 367.
Murunda, 8, 14, 46.
Murunda tribe, 4.

N

Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, Prof. Vogel on, 287 f.
Nahapāna, 38, 39.
Naraka, 304.
Nasik Inscription, 42.
New Zealand, constitution of, 136.
Nimi, 344.

O

Oldenberg, H., 343.
Orme, on Tiruviti, 100-101 n.

P

Pahlavas, 3.

Paila, 168.
Pañcasikha, 173.
Pāṇini, 169.
Parasnis, D. B., 251.
Parthian dominion, 27.
Parwana, 91.
Patañjali, 5.
Pathak, K. B., 46.
Patirruppattu, on eight Chera kings, 185 f.
Pearl in the Mughal Treasury, 54.
Pippalāda, 339.
Pontiff of Śrīgeri Mutt, 248.
Portuguese inscription of Goa Governor, 80-81.
Precious stones, 48; Cutting, grinding and polishing of, 49 f.
Pulamāvi, 40.
Punḍra bhukti, 353.
Pundras in the Ait. Brāhmaṇa, Baudhāyana Śūtra, Mahābhārata, 349.
Pundravardhana, the Pundra country, 350; a part of the Mauryan empire, 351.
Pushkalāvati, 19.
Puṣpinji, 175.

R

Rāja Māldev, 65.
Rājyavardhana, 21.
Rāma and Krishna cults, 129.
Rapson, Professor, 11 f., 17.
Rauruka, Sauvira capital, 18.
Rendall, M. J., 134.
Roy Choudhury, H. C., 157.
Riṣabhadatta, 38.
Ruby in the Mughal Treasury, 53.
Rudrasena, 40.
Ruthnaswami, M., 140 f.

S

Sai-wang, 6.
Saka era, 1.
Saka Moga, 3.
Śaka and Pāṇini, 5.
Śaka tribe, 4.
Śakayavanam, 5.
Salabat Jang, 90 f.
Śālihotra, 175.
Śālivāhana, 2.
Samudragupta, 8.
Śāṅkhyāyana Grhya Sūtras, 174.
Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, 85, 89.
Sarpa-sattra, 329.
Sastri, S. S., 449.
Śatakratu, 178.
Śatānika, 348.
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 169.
Satyayajña, 327.
St. Martin, 79.
Selva Kaḍungo Aḷi Atan, 197.

Śen Kuttuvan, 193.
 Shahjahan by Dr. Saksena, 132-3.
 Shāh Shujā, 72.
 Sher Shāh, 65.
 Sinologists, 5.
 Śivaskandavarman, 363.
 Śiradhvaja, 343.
 Sirkap, ancient city, 2, 31 f.
 Skanda Purāṇa, 165.
 Sources of Vijayanagar History, 455-6.
 Śrīsthala, 340.
 Stella Kramrisch, 446.
 Śudasa, 21.
 Sulabhā, 172.
 Sulabhā Brāhmaṇas, 176.
 Sulabhā Maitreyī, 172.
 Sun God, 171.
 Susāman Dhanamjaya, 168.
 Sūtrālaṅkāra of Aśvaghoṣa, 27.
 Svāmi Rudradāman, 39.
 Śvetaketu, 182.
 Śvetāśvatara, 167.
 Śyāmāyāni, 162.

T

Ta-hia, 9.
 Ta-hia country, 6.
 Taittiriya, 163.
 Taittiriya saṁhita, 170.
 Tālagunda inscription, 354.
 Taxila silver scroll, 1.
 Tavernier, 61, 69.
 The 'Mauryan Polity' by V. R. R. Dikshitar, 457.
 Thomas, Professor, 3.
 Tiruviti, operations round, 99 f.
 Tittiri, 170.
 Topaz in the Mughal Treasury, 54.
 Toramāna, 230.
 Trichinopoly, operations round, 106 ff.
 Trilochana, 368.
 Tripurvata, 357.
 Tukhāra tribe, 4.
 Tura Kāvāṣeya, 344.

U

Uddālaka Āruṇi, 327.
 Udiyan Cheralātan, 186.
 Uparicara Vasu, 175.
 Ushavadāta, 38.
 Uttanka, 395.

V

Vaiśampāyana, 163.
 Vājasaneyā Brāhmaṇa, 167.
 Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya, 157.
 Vājinah, 167.
 Vajins, 167.
 Valabhi era, 215 ff.
 Valabhi era, 220 ff.
 Valadeva, 165.
 Van Wijk, Dr., 1.
 Varatantu, 180; pupils of, 180.
 Varendra Research Society, 352.
 Vāyu Purāṇa, 164; Some aspects of, 315 f.
 Vedāntatīrtha, Prof. V., 157.
 Vedic Mythology, 337.
 Vikramāditya, 2, 34.
 Vikrama era, 4.
 Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 163.
 Viṣṇuśāsa, 169.
 Visvāmītra, 169.
 Vyāsa Pāraśarya, 168.

W

Weights of the Jeweller, 55; In the reign of Babur, 56; In Jahān's reign, 58 f.
 White Yajurveda, 168.
 Wima Kadphasis, 34 ff, 44.
 Wu-sun, 11.

Y

Yavanas, 5.
 Yüe-chi, 5.
 Yüe-chi Kingdom, 10.

Z

Zeda Inscription, 8.
 455-6.