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Women During the Ramayana Period

By

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As the status of women gives us a truer picture of the civilization of the times, than any other social condition, I propose to give a description of the status, rights etc. of women during the period of the Rāmāyaṇa. Women figure largely in the Rāmāyaṇa. It is possible to glean from the epic, many interesting bits of information about the habits, customs, education, accomplishments, toilette, status and rights of women during the Epic period.

Types of Women.—Vālmiki has described in his poem many a type of woman he met with during his time. Sītā, the ideal wife and the woman of culture, who has been looked upon as a pattern of feminine virtue and self-sacrifice by all Hindu women; Sumitrā the patient and uncomplaining wife, of a philosophic turn of mind; Anasūyā the woman ascetic spending her life in penance; Kausalyā the neglected queen and an ideal wife; Kaikeyī, the selfish, haughty and merciless queen, proud of her beauty and power over her husband, and insisting on "the pound of flesh" like Shylock; Tātakā the ferocious savage cannibal; Tārā the accomplished and resourceful wife of the Vānara Vāli; Śūrpaṇakhā the lecherous, treacherous, deceitful and malicious Rākṣasi; Maṇḍodari the wise, docile and loving wife of Rāvaṇa who dared to give salutary advice to Rāvaṇa when holding his war-council; Mantharā the execrated, unprincipled and scheming sycophant who looked to her own interest and only indirectly to that of her mistress, and who did not mind throwing the whole kingdom in gloom and causing the death of her king, are some of the types described in the Epic.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Women seem to have had instruction in Music and Dancing, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas, and the ceremonials connected with worship (religious instruction) chiefly from their parents, sometimes also from the elderly women of the household, the Brahman sages, and the ascetic women. The knowledge of scriptures, Purāṇas and Smṛtis learnt in this way, seems to have been thorough (II-27-10, II-29-13 and II-118-2f).

Sītā refers to the moral instruction she received from her mother, when talking with Kausalyā and Anasūyā. She had come in contact with priests, pandits, astrologers and others, and was conversant with many a branch of knowledge. Sītā was well up in Purāṇic lore. In dissuading Rāma from going armed into the Daṇḍakā forest, Sītā narrated the Purāṇa story of Indra and the hermit, to prove that the possession of arms and weapons would certainly rouse the aggressive spirit, and a thirst for blood, and provoke people to fight (III-99-13, etc.). Again in requesting Hanumān not to punish the Rākṣasi guards, Sītā related the story of the bear and the ungrateful Brahman from the Purāṇa (VI-116-36 etc.).

Sumitrā, though kept as a rule in the background by Vālmiki, reveals herself, in the few glimpses we get of her, as a highly cultured woman (II-40-4 etc., and II-44-1ff. etc.).

Kaikeyī in her wrangle with Daśaratha displayed an extensive knowledge of the sacred scriptures, the Purāṇas, history and the moral codes. She quoted chapter and verse to prove her contention. Tārā the wife of Vāli was a highly intelligent, cultured and resourceful woman of great courage. Vāli himself bore witness to her lofty intellect and culture when advising *Sugrīva* to abide always by the intelligent and well-intentioned counsel of Tārā (IV-22-12). Her detailed advice to Vāli not to fight with his brother, indicates a knowledge of politics and logical reasoning, which could not be expected in an uncultured woman (IV-15-9). Further, finding Vāli determined to go and fight, she performed the blessing ceremony of Svastyayana wishing Vāli success, with sacred *Mantras*. This presupposes a certain amount of religious instruction (IV-16-12). Her quotation from the Purāṇas, while pacifying Lakṣmaṇa, indicates an extensive knowledge of the scriptures (IV-33-50 &c., 56 F & IV-35-2). Kuśanābha's one hundred daughters were cultured and proficient in music, vocal as well as instrumental, and dancing (I-32-12).

Maṇḍodari's advice to Rāvaṇa in the War-Council discloses a knowledge of politics.

Some women of the *Suffragette Type* had even military training. Queen Kaikeyī was skilled in driving war chariots and in rendering First Aid on the battlefield.

It appears that women were trained as armed guards in Lankā. Women no doubt were physically strong in those days. The Rākṣasi guards of Aśokavana where Sītā was imprisoned, were women soldiers bearing arms.

Post-Puberty Marriage.—Post-puberty marriage was the rule of the day. When Vāyu made improper overtures to the daughters of King Kuśanābha who were sporting in the *Udyāna* or pleasure garden and enjoying themselves with music and dancing (I-32-12), the girls boldly repulsed his improper advances. This shows that they must have been adult and fit for the consummation of marriage. They must have been certainly nubile.

Sage Pulastya finding it impossible to carry on his penance on account of the disturbances by the sporting of damsels in his hermitage is said to have uttered a curse, that girls visiting the hermitage, thenceforth would become pregnant at once. This had the desired effect and kept off the girls. As pregnancy presumes a post-pubertic age of the girls and as the girls fully realised the significance of the curse, it can be inferred that all these girls must have passed the age of puberty (VII-2-13 & 16). Sītā and her sisters who were taken immediately after marriage to Ayodhyā, are described as *Enjoying the Company of their Husbands* (I-77-15). This is another evidence of the prevalence of post-puberty marriage. In fact, Sītā herself told Anasūyā (II-118-34 & 35) that Janaka was worried about her marriage as soon as she attained nubile age (II-118-34).

Dēvavatī, daughter of a Gandharva called Grāmaṇī who was given in marriage to the Yakṣa Sukeśa, is said to have been *Delighted by the Marriage* like a beggar attaining riches (VII-5-3).

Sumālin told his daughter to go and offer herself to the sage Viśravas as she was *Fast Losing Her Youth* (VII-9-7 & 18 &c.). We may safely infer from all these instances that the girls were married after puberty.¹

1. *Age at Marriage of the Bridegrooms.*—The boys were married after finishing their education as Brahmacārins. Daśaratha thought of the marriage of the princes Rāma, &c., only after they had become accomplished in all

Disparity of Age between Brides and Grooms.—Marriage of very young girls to old men was not unknown in those days (II-32-30). The poor Brahman Trījaṭa who begged Rāma for a gift before his exile had a young wife. King Daśaratha a very old king had married a very young haughty beauty—Kaikēyī (II-10-23).

Marriage of Girls and Parent's Rights.—Parents had the right of choosing a husband for their daughter. Sumālin instructed his daughter to offer herself to Sage Viśravas, as her hand had not been sought by anybody in spite of her youth (VII-9-7 & 11). Janaka offered his daughters Sītā and Ūrmilā to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively without asking their consent (I-68-12 & I-71-20). His nieces were also given in marriage by him, at the suggestion of Sage Viśvāmitra (I-72-10). None of the girls seemed to have been asked to choose their husbands. Trīabindu, it is said, gave his daughter as an offering to Sage Pulastya (VII-2-24). Maṇḍōdarī was bestowed by her father on Rāvaṇa whom he met accidentally (VII-12-17). Kuśanābha's daughters were given in marriage by their father to Brahmadaṭṭa (I-33-19).

Girls' Freedom of Choice Limited.—Parents were not a negligible factor in the marriage compact. Girls always abided by the fathers' decision in the selection of the bridegrooms (I-10-30, I-32-21 & I-33-20). Svayamvara or the maiden's choice is wrongly understood by many people. The maiden's choice was restricted by the conditions attached to a Svayamvara, "breaking of a bow," "skill in shooting" etc. Moreover the choice was *Confined to a Panel of Princes Invited*. It may also be noted that only Kṣatriya girls could choose their husbands in the Svayamvara arranged by the guardians (I-32-30). The girls did not see the husbands before the marriage. Neither Śāntā nor Sītā, neither Kuśanābha's daughters nor Maṇḍōdarī had seen the bridegrooms before the marriage. The parent's right extended over boys also as in the case of Rāma who refused to marry Sītā without knowing the intentions of his father (II-118-51).

Types of Marriages.—Though eight types of marriages were recognised by Sanskrit writers like Manu, we find references only to some of the types in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

branches of learning (I-18-33). In the olden days one had to study at least 12 years after Upanayana (performed after the 8th year). The statement of Daśaratha that Rāma was just sixteen years old, was due to his unwillingness to part with Rāma.

(1) The Brāhma Type as in the case of Kuśanābha's daughters. Kuśanābha sent for Brahma-Datta and gave his daughters in marriage to him (I-33-20 &c.). Trīabindu's daughter and Bharadvāja's daughter were also married in this style (VII-2-24 & VII-3-3).

(2) The Prājāpatya Type as in the case of Sītā. Janaka told Rāma to wed Sītā as Saha-Dharma-Cāriṇī and gave her fully adorned (I-73-29).

(3) The Quasi-Asura Type as in the case of Kaikeyī. Daśaratha practically purchased her from the King of Kekaya at the price of his kingdom (promised to her son) II-107-3.

(4) The Rākṣasa Type as in the case of Rāvaṇa and the abducted maidens. Whenever Rāvaṇa came in contact with beautiful maidens, he killed their guardians and took possession of the girls (VII-24-1 &c., & VII-25-40). His own niece Kumbhīnāsī who had been not provided, though nubile, with a husband by Rāvaṇa, was abducted during his absence and married by Madhu. This form of marriage was considered by Vibhiṣaṇa to be of an inferior type.

(5) The Gāndharva Type or Love union was suggested by Śūrpaṇakhā to Rāma (III-17-17-25) *cirāya bhava me bhartā*.

Marriage Customs and Rites.—The marriage rites had to be conducted by the family priest of the bridegroom; Daśaratha was invited by Janaka to come with his priest when Sītā was married to Rāma (I-68-13). The Formalities of Marriage, as inferred from the description of Rāma's marriage were as follows:—

The offer of the girl by her father (I-68-13). The marriage proposals had to be made by the bride's father to the father of the bridegroom.

Acceptance of the proposals by the bridegroom's father after consultation with his priests and relations (I-68-20). Departure of the bridegroom's father and party to the town where resided the bride's father (I-69-1 &c.). Their reception on arrival by the bride's father. Provision of quarters for the party (I-69-8 &c.).

The formal offer of the bride by her father according to the customary formulae in the presence of the priest; and the fixing of the date of marriage (I-69-13).

Betrothal ceremony at the bride's residence in the presence of the priests and relations of both parties.

Narration of the genealogies of the bride and the bridegroom by the purohitas; and the offer of the bride. It is to be noted that the offer was repeated thrice (I-71-21).

Return of the bridegroom's party to their quarters after the betrothal (I-71-2 &c., I-72-18).

Performance of the ceremony of Godāna and Nāndi Śrāddha on the day previous to the marriage (I-71-22).

Performance of the preliminary rites on the morning of the marriage day.

Arrival of the bridegroom gaily decorated at the bride's residence accompanied by the priest and his relations (I-71-7 &c.).

Welcome of the bridegroom's party according to custom, with sandal, flowers, clothing and ornaments. Strange to say, there is no mention of *pansupari*—or the offer of betel leaves—anywhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, (I-73-18 &c.).

Performance of the marriage rites² by the bridegroom's priest with the help of the bride's priest (I-73-20 ff.).

Arrival at the altar, of the bride, decked with jewels, clad in yellow silk and covered with a red upper garment which completely enclosed her, and led by the father.

Offer of the bride to the groom by her father after pouring water into the bridegroom's hand, with the customary formulae: "This is my daughter, do thou accept her as thy partner in all religious rites, and *Grasp Her Hand in token of Acceptance*. She will be chaste and always follow you like a shadow" (I-73-26ff). & II-29-18). The offer was followed by the grasping of the bride's hand by the groom, in token of acceptance.

The circumambulation of the fire by the couple three times, while grasping each other's hand.

The performance of *Homa* in the fire, by the bridegroom (with the bride sitting by his side).

Procession of the wedded pair after the completion of the rites to the bridegroom's house, with the priests and relations.

Departure of the bride on the next day after marriage to the bridegroom's town. The marriage ceremonies were completed in

2. Flowers, sandal-paste, vessels containing sprouting seeds, different vessels and pots, censers, conches, ladles, vessels with parched paddy (or popped rice), sanctified Akṣata (unbroken rice), Darbha grass, etc., were some of the requisites required for the marriage ceremony.

one day or two days if we include the preliminary rites of Godāna and Nāndi done on the previous day.

The bride was sent home with various presents by the father (*Kanyādāna* I-74-3 &c.).

On arrival at the husband's house these brides were welcomed by the mother-in-law and the women of the house (I-77-11 &c.), and blessed.

Throughout the marriage ceremonies, music played an important part (I-73-41).

Almost all these details are being carried out exactly in the same way even to-day in South India. The same details of the marriage ceremonies have been followed for at least over 2,500 years, proving the faithful preservation of traditions in this land.

*Dowry*³ or gift.—In those days it was not customary to buy bridegrooms as is done at present in India. The princes, seeking the hands of maidens in a *Svayamvara*, had to perform some valourous feat as in the case of Sītā's *Svayamvara*. This was called *Vīrya Śulka* or dowry of prowess. In the case of aged kings desiring to marry young princesses, some consideration must have been offered as in the case of the princess Kaikeyī (II-107-3). *Rājya-Śulka* was offered.

In the case of Brahmans, no dowry of any kind was given on either side. The maid was given and taken with Vedic rites. There is no reference in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the custom of the *Vaiśyas* or *Śūdras*. *Dowries* were neither given to bridegrooms nor demanded, though it was customary to give *Presents*. Presents were given to the brides when departing for the husband's house. Janaka gave to Sītā on her departure to Ayodhyā, cows, blankets, silks, clothes, male and female slaves, a portion of the army, silver, gold, pearls, corals &c. (I-74-3 &c.). The presents were called *Kanyādāna* (I-74-6). I interpret the word as *Stridhana* property (presents to the bride). When Rāvaṇa married Maṇḍōdari as his first queen, Maya her father no doubt presented him with a powerful weapon which he had obtained from the Gods after very severe penance (VII-12-20); but this could not be called a dowry. The girl was accepted straight off, without any dowry.

3. The word is not used in the legal sense. It is used in the sense in which it is used in Southern India, at present, by the educated people—practically purchase money paid to the bridegroom or his father (or to the bride of her father when old men negotiate for the hands of young girls).

Mixed Marriages.—Mixed marriages were not unknown. Śāntā the Kṣatriya princess was married to the Brahman ascetic Rśyaśṛṅga (I-10-30). And the daughter of King Tṛṇabindu was married to sage Pulastya (VII-2-24). It was considered dignified and meritorious for royal Princesses to marry Brahman Sages, to wait on them and to minister to their comforts. The marriage of a girl with a man of a higher caste raised her status and that of her progeny, while the marriage of a girl with a man of a lower caste lowered the status of herself and her progeny. The ascetic killed by Daśaratha was begotten on a Śūdra woman by a Vaiśya ascetic (II-63-50). Frequent references to Sūtas and Māgadhas are met with in the poem. The progeny of Brahman women and Kṣatriya men belonged to the Sūta class who were charioteers and panegyrists. The progeny of Kṣatriya women and Vaiśya men belonged to the Māgadha class whose duty was to rouse kings in the mornings—professional bards and minstrels.

Polygamy.—Polygamy was very common amongst the kings, who used to have large harems. Daśaratha in addition to the three queens, had a harem of three hundred and fifty women (II-34-13). There must have been some difference in the status of these women and the three queens. Vāli, King of the Vānaras at Kiṣkindhā, had also a large harem. Tārā begged Vāli on his death-bed, to have a look at his innumerable wives who were present at his side (IV-20-21 & IV-25-40.).

Rāvaṇa's harem of course was prodigiously large (V-9-6). His harem is called the "Forest of Women" by Vālmiki (V-9-66 &c.). In the subsequent *ślokas* it is described as consisting of royal princesses, Daughters of the Celestials, Rākṣasa girls &c. (V-9-69 & V-11-44). King Kuśanābha's one hundred daughters (all the sisters) were all married to Brahmadatta King of Kāmpilyā (I-33-20). King Kārttavīrya of Māhiṣmatī is described as sporting with one thousand wives in the river Narmadā when Rāvaṇa went to fight with him (VII-32-16). Janaka of Mithila had more than two wives (II-118-33) as he is said to have handed over the foundling Sitā to his eldest wife.

Amongst Brahmins, polygamy though certainly permitted, was probably practised only by a few. The Brahman sage Viśra-vas wedded at first Bharadvāja's daughter Devavarṇinī (VII-3-3), and subsequently Kaikasī, the mother of Rāvaṇa (VII-9-11). Sage Kaśyapa had eight wives (III-14-11).

Monogamy.—Even in the polygamous age during which Rāma lived, Monogamy was highly esteemed. Ekapatnī-Vrata (Monogamy) was considered as the ideal form of marriage (II-64-44). The blind ascetic who cursed Daśaratha, blessed his dying son and wished him to attain the regions obtained by people observing Ekapatnīvrata (Monogamy). He could not think of any superior reward for his merits. Throughout the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma is praised for his monogamy. Rāma never married another wife even for the performance of a Yajña. He invariably substituted a golden image of Sitā in the wife's place (VII-99-8) when performing sacrifices, as the presence of the wife was absolutely necessary during the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices. Rāma certainly set the example of monogamy before his subjects. Mantharā's reference to the many wives of Rāma and the many daughters-in-law of Kaikeyī (i.e., Bharata's wives) probably refers to a possibility and not to actual facts (II-8-12). The accusation of Sitā, who was imprisoned, in the Aśoka Vana, that Rāma would be enjoying himself with beautiful women was made in an angry mood. And the words of an angry and unhappy woman cannot be taken seriously (V-28-14). Sitā (V-38-54) praised Lakṣmaṇa for renouncing his pleasures and His many Women in order to follow his brother to the forest. But Rāma's brothers must certainly have followed Rāma's example. They probably had many sweethearts or slaves.

Polyandry certainly not existent.—The appropriation of Tārā, wife of Vāli, by Sugrīva, brother of her husband, is considered as an instance of Polyandry by some scholars. Certainly it cannot be taken as a reference to the polyandrous custom during the Rāmāyaṇa period. When Vāli was supposed to have died, Sugrīva succeeded to Vāli's possessions including his wife Tārā and when Vāli routed Sugrīva, he took possession of all Sugrīva's goods including his wife Rumā. When Vāli was killed by Rāma, Sugrīva again took possession of all Vāli's goods including Tārā, Vāli's wife. Evidently the tribal custom allowed a man to appropriate all the goods (including the wife) of his dead brother. Rāma looked at the possession of Sugrīva's wife Rumā by Vāli as sinful (IV-18-18 & 20) and punished Vāli with death. The younger brother's wife was supposed to stand in the relation of a daughter-in-law (IV-18-22) according to Rāma. The elder brother's wife was supposed by Aṅgada to stand in the relation of a mother (IV-55-3). So Rumā and Tārā could not be considered to have been married to two husbands at the same time. There is no reference to Polyandry in the Rāmāyaṇa; whereas during the Mahā-Bhārata period, Polyandry was probably not uncommon.

Marriage a Sacrament. Marriage was a religious sacrament. The contract between the bride and the bridegroom was sealed in the presence of the Fire and other deities, and venerable Brahmins. The husband and wife formed only one individual (IV-24-37 F) according to the scriptures. In all religious ceremonies, the presence of the wife was indispensable (I-14-33, I-73-29, II-4-23 & 36, II-6-1, &c. & VI-131-58).

Rāma when consenting to take Sītā with him to the forest told her to be a *Sahadharmacārīnī* (II-30-40) that is a partner in all the religious ceremonies.

Courting & Love.—Most of the girls of the upper classes were secluded and they sported evidently only in private parks (*Udyānas*) attached to the mansions for their use. Their chastity was jealously guarded and they had no opportunity of meeting would-be suitors. Courting (before marriage) was practically non-existent. The only courting described in detail is the illicit courting of Rāvaṇa when he abducted Sītā (III-46-15 &c. III-47-26 &c. III-48-11 &c. III-49-11 &c. & V-21-6 &c.). His courting of Rāmabha before ravishing her, is referred to (VII-26-19 &c.). All the courting of Rāma must have been done in the zenana after marriage, and in the forest after exile. Some sort of courting in the forest is also described (II-95A-4 &c.).

The courting common amongst the western nations before marriage was unknown. Though Sītā, Maṇḍodārī and Tārā were not consulted before marriage, the marriages proved happy. The conjugal love displayed by them and their husbands was intense. The whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa is based on the intense conjugal love of Rāmā and Sītā—and the subsequent distress on account of their separation. Love after marriage was fostered by mutual consideration and constant association, by the religious feeling that they were bound for ever, for weal or woe, and by the husband's kind and considerate treatment of the maid who had left her home and parents, suddenly, for the strange unknown home of her wedded husband. It must be remembered that the maidens were taken away by the husbands immediately after the completion of the rites. It is no wonder that Sītā loved and adored her husband. She was loved and treated with very great consideration by Rāma. Love is reciprocal. Love begets love. Kind and considerate treatment of the wife arouses the sentiments of love and respect on the part of the wife.

Sugriva was very fond of his wife Rūmā; Maṇḍodārī was the dearly beloved wife of Rāvaṇa, and could not be refused access

even to the confidential war-council. The sage Atri when visited by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, highly praised his dear wife—an old tottering woman for whom he had an immense respect. Never has man praised his wife with greater fervour than this Ascetic (II-117-8 &c.). The lament of Tārā over the dying Vālī⁴ and the lament of Maṇḍodārī over Rāvaṇa's corpse in the 114th Canto of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa bear testimony to the intensity with which the wives loved their loving husbands, though their fathers chose the husbands. In the case of Brahmins the love element, though not absent, played only a minor part in their relations. The wife considered it her duty to perform *Śiśrūṣā* for her husband, who was always performing penances, and help him in religious ceremonies. The wife's life was spent in personal services to the husband, feeding the sacred fire and partaking with the husband in all fasts, and ceremonies. The married life was looked upon as *One Round of Duties*. The sex element played a very minor part in their lives.

MODES OF ADDRESS

The wives used to address their husbands as "*Arya Putra*" II-27-4 & IV-19-27. The father-in-law was addressed as "*Ārya*," "the respected" or "the venerable one." The mother-in-law was addressed as "*Ārya*" (the venerable lady) II-39-28. The wives used to be addressed by name, e.g. "Sītā," or after the place of birth "*Maithilī*" (*Mithilā Girl*), or so and so's daughter—"Jānakī"—Janaka's daughter, or simply as "*Woman*" (*Vanitā*), or "*Timid One*" (*Bhīru*), or "*Madirekṣaṇe*" (*Beauty*) II-28-3, II-28-13, II-94-25, II-30-40 & II-30-40 or "*Priye*" (beloved one).

Virginity & Chastity.—Virginity and chastity were highly valued in those days. The girls as well as the fathers were very sensitive on this point. Kuśanābha's daughters refused the overtures of Vāyu and Śukra's daughter Arajā warned Prince Daṇḍa of the consequences of his rashness when ravished by him. Her father Śukra cursed the king and annihilated his whole kingdom (VII-81-7 &c.). When Rāvaṇa stroked the hair of her head, *Vedavatī* after cursing him (VII-17-27) cut off her hair and then entered the fire. Sītā's chastity forms the theme of the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Even amongst the *Apsaras* (*Celestial Nymphs*) who were supposed to be common women, there was a sort of chastity. Though

4. See the 20th and 23rd Cantos of Book IV and IV-25-37 &c.

they were not married, they were faithful unto one male as long as their union lasted. Rambhā protested vehemently when Rāvaṇa made improper overtures to her. As chastity was considered the most valuable possession of a woman, various measures were adopted to help her to preserve her chastity. An unmarried damsel was under the protection of the father (VII-80-9), said Arajā to Daṇḍa. In the absence of the father she was under the protection of the brothers (VII-25-29 & VII-24-33). Ravishment of unwilling women was considered a heinous offence and was visited with terrible punishment as in the case of King Daṇḍa (VII-81-6 &c.).

Women could not be looked at full in the face even by their brothers-in-law. Lakṣmaṇa never looked Sītā in the face (VII-48-20 & IV-6-20 F.). When women walked with men, men used to go first, the women coming behind. Vālmiki was *Followed by Sītā Behind* when going to the hermitage. This custom was evidently due to the desire to avoid the staring at women by men and to show the way. Husbands and wives do not seem to have walked side by side (VII-49-17). But during funeral ceremonies women led the way (II-102-21).

It was considered a sin even to look at other people's wives, especially in sleep as they were likely to be dishevelled and as the sight of the bodies was likely to tempt people to violate them (V-11-36 & 37). Kidnapping or abducting women was considered despicable.

Chastity in men and women was held in great esteem. Vibhīṣaṇa pointed out to Rāvaṇa that contact with another's wife was infamous, sinful and destructive of wealth (VI-9-15 &c.). Indra who seduced Ahalya, the wife of Sage Gautama, in the guise of her husband was cursed by the Sage and lost his potency (I-48-26). Ahalyā also was cursed by Gautama for being a willing partner (I-48-28 &c., VII-30-42 &c.).

Rāvaṇa was cursed by Nalakūbara (VII-26-52 &c.) for ravishing Rambhā and he was also threatened by Vedavatī for touching her with foul intent, that she would be born again and bring about his destruction (VII-17-32 &c.).

Even a suspicion of unchastity was not tolerated even in the case of such paragons of virtue as Sītā and Ahalyā.

The citizens of Ayodhyā were of opinion that Rāma was wrong in taking back gladly a wife who had been carried in the lap of Rāvaṇa and who had lived a year in the house of Rāvaṇa, and who had plenty of opportunities to misbehave during the period. They considered Rāma's action as a precedent for them to condone the

actions of their wives also. It was the fear of public scandal that made Rāma banish for ever his dearly beloved Sītā, to the forests (VII-43-16 &c.). Thus the standard of sex morality in Rāma's days seems to have been very high. The sexual offenders were severely punished whether men or women.

Ideal Wife.—The Hindu ideal of a wife has remained the same, since the days of Daśaratha. The two verses (II-12-66 & 67) very admirably describe the type of wife desired by the Hindus. The ideal wife was described by Daśaratha as ministering unto the husband like a slave, like a friend, like a mother, like a sister and like a wife according to circumstances, fond of the children and always speaking pleasantly &c. (This has been the ideal from the husband's point of view). Rāma's ideal of a wife was "one that gave birth to good sons and obeyed and loved the husband." Lakṣmaṇa's ideal was one of complete subjection to the husband (IV-32-21).

Pātivratya-Loyalty to the Husband.—"Pātivratya" means fidelity to the husband. It is something more than chastity or purity on the part of the wife. A Pativrata is one who is not merely chaste in body and mind; but who also completely loses her identity in her husband and shares the sufferings and joys of her husband under all circumstances. She respects her husband as a deity. She never thinks of her own interests or comforts at any time. Her sole object is to serve and please her husband in every way.

The men who composed the various Scriptures and Purāṇas considered it highly desirable in their own interests to praise the "Pativratā" as the ideal woman. Sītā in objecting to be left behind by Rāma when going to the forest, compared herself to Sāvitri who was considered the highest type of a Pativrata in India. Women were said to be protected by the fire of their chastity or "Pātivratya" (II-45-25). When Sītā was banished to the hermitage of Vālmiki, she told Lakṣmaṇa that she approved of Rāma's action and that it was her duty at all costs to help Rāma in wiping off the public scandal about them, as the husband was the deity, the preceptor and the most intimate relation of the wife (VII-48-16). Thus we see that the women of the day acquiesced with the view of men.

Wife's Duty.—The duty of the wife was to attend upon the husband as long as he lived. Husbands should not be forsaken even mentally, particularly when in trouble (II-24-11 &c., & 11-39-

24). She could not leave her husband and follow the son, so long as the husband was living and doing his duty correctly (II-21-61). The Śīsrūṣa or attending to the personal comforts of the husband was considered to be the best means of attaining salvation and not "fasts, penances," or worship of the Deities (II-24-25 &c.). The husband should be considered as her Deity (II-29-16 &c. & 11-58-18). During the absence of the husband, she must be performing fasts and penances. The brothers-in-law had to be considered like her own brothers or sons (II-26-29 &c.). According to Rāma the wife who served not her husband, though engaged in religious rites and fasts, would fare badly in the next world, while a woman might obtain salvation (Svarga) by serving her husband (II-24-24 &c.). This idea was carried in those days to great extremes. Anasūya maintained that women loving their husbands whether a saint or a sinner, poor or rich, wicked or licentious, might obtain great merit.

The wife's duty was to follow the husband wherever he went whether it be to the forest or heaven. Sītā's willingness to share all the hardships of forest life with Rāma, and her promise not to be a burden unto him, testify to her high character (II-30-10 &c.). She preferred the hardships of the forest life, to a life in the palace (II-27-9).

Wife's Status.—A woman was considered unfit for independence at any time, as she required protection throughout her life; from her father in childhood, from her husband during youth and from the son during old age (II-29-18). Husband, son and relations were the natural protectors of married women (II-61-27). The wife was always expected to carry out the wishes of the husband (II-95A-7). The wife could take her food only after offering the food to the Bhūtas and feeding her husband and his relations (II-95A-36). The wife was considered to be "the half of the husband." Vasiṣṭha suggested to Kaikeyī that Sītā being half of Rāma's body could rule the kingdom in his absence, as his representative (II-37-24). An illustrious sage like Vasiṣṭha having an intimate knowledge of traditions and customs would not have raised this question if such a right had not existed in those days.

Anasūyā was held in great esteem by her husband the Saint Atri (II-117-8 &c., 12). Sītā was treated with great consideration not only by Rāma but also by her brother-in-law Lakṣmaṇa (II-55-15, 26 & II-88-12). Rāma always considered her comforts first. Sītā is described as being adorned by her husband (II-16-21). The whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* bears witness to Rāma's

consideration for Sītā's comforts and his intense love for her. Sītā was treated with great kindness by Daśaratha the father-in-law and her mother-in-law Kausalyā. When Rāma was about to go to the forest, Daśaratha and Kausalyā were very much distressed to see the plight of Sītā. Naturally Sītā's love and regard for her parents-in-law were equally great. Tārā, Rumā, Maṇḍōdarī were all loved dearly and greatly respected by their husbands. A good husband was not above begging for his wife's pardon when in the wrong (II-62-6 &c.).

Women's Influence.—Women wielded considerable influence over their husbands. Kaikeyī was not the only instance. Sītā, Tārā, Maṇḍōdarī, and Anasūya had great influence over their husbands. Soldiers were in dread of being ridiculed by their wives for cowardice (VI-66-19). The wives of the soldiers goaded their husbands to mobilize quickly when Bharata ordered a march (II-82-25).

Women up in arms when insulted.—Wives were meek as a rule, but even ideal wives like Kausalyā and Sītā when insulted or ill-treated, could not help asserting themselves at times. When Kausalyā as mother-in-law, gave a parting advice to Sītā, thinking her to be ignorant of her duties, Sītā with folded hands, respectfully told her mother-in-law that she knew all about the duties of a wife and that she must not be taken for one of the bad sort of wives and that she would always adhere to her Dharma (II-39-26 &c.).

When Rāma wanted to leave Sītā under the protection of Bharata and depart to the forest, Sītā boldly accused him of cowardice and meanness in terms which made him cry for mercy and yield to her request (II-30-2 &c.). Again when Rāma publicly insulted her in vulgar language in Laṅkā, and suggested a number of paramours to her, Sītā rose to the occasion, and lashed him with fury in the presence of all the Vānaras and Rākṣasas (VI-119-5 &c.). She paid back Rāma in his own coin.

Wives of Kings—Their Lot.—Being shut up and strictly guarded in the zenana by eunuchs and others, they spent their time, with music and dancing and pretty gossip (II-10-12 &c.).⁵ Their quarters were no doubt luxuriously fitted up and supplied with the most delicious food and wine. But they could not get out of the palace as a rule (VII-35-56).

5. Refer also to the 9th, 10th & 11th Cantos of Book V.

In spite of the tenderness and love and regard paid to the wives, kings used to offer their queens as part of the fee to the sacrificial priests in the *Aśvamedha*. Though the offer could be redeemed by payment of money, the practice (the ceremonial gift) shows that the husband considered the wives as his "goods" to some extent. In the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, the four queens of the King, Mahiṣī, Parivṛtti, Vāvātā, and Pālākālī had to be given away as wages to the four priests, Brahmā, Hotā, Udgāta, and Adhvaryu (I-14-35). After having made a gift of the queens to the priests, the kings had to redeem or ransom the wives by the gift of money to the priests. As Daśaratha had only three wives to help him in the sacrifice, Mahiṣī, Parivṛtti, and Vāvātā, he gave the three wives Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī to the Hotā, Adhvaryu and Udgāta I-14-35. The *R̥tvik* Brahmā had to be ignored when Daśaratha distributed his wives. We might infer from this injunction laid down in the *Sūtras* (quoted in Govindarāja's Commentary on I-14-35) as to their disposal in the horse sacrifice, that kings in olden days must have had these four kinds of wives. This passage reveals a curious state of affairs in as much as the queens were considered in the light of property that could be mortgaged and redeemed.

Discarding Wives.—A wife of good character and devoted to the husband could not be forsaken by the husband as she was the sharer of his joys and sorrows (II-29-19F & II-27-9). Forsaking the wife was infamous and unbecoming for princes, and learned people (II-27-2). If a wife be forsaken by the husband, death was considered to be the only remedy left for her (II-30-20). But a vicious wife could be forsaken (II-35-24). The Kekaya Rāja Aśvapati found that his wife was determined even to sacrifice his life in order to satisfy her pretty curiosity, and discarded her on the advice of his Guru (II-35-24F). Daśaratha renounced his wife Kaikeyī formally for being unrighteous (II-42-7 &c., & II-14-14). Hindu wives have always been at a disadvantage in the matter of divorce since the *Rāmāyaṇa* period. Rāma publicly discarded his wife in Lankā, as he suspected her chastity (VI-118-17 &c.). Though he took her back after the ordeal of fire, he banished her for life a second time to avoid public scandal (VII-45-17 &c.). He failed to do individual justice to Sītā for the sake of his own reputation.

Women & Dress.—Women in India have always been fond of decking themselves with jewels. The jewel-mania of Hindu women has existed from the earliest times. All the women characters

in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are described as being adorned with various jewels, flowers, fragrant sandal and silk clothing. To cite a few instances, Rambhā is described as being adorned with celestial jewels, and celestial flowers, and as being smeared with sandal paste. She was fond of blue clothing (VII-26-14 &c.). Sītā was wearing her jewels even in the forest. Sītā was adorned with jewels when Vibhīṣaṇa brought her to Rāma's presence (VI-117-7 & 10) after Rāvaṇa's death. Tārā when coming out of the harem to meet Lakṣmaṇa is described as coming out with dishevelled ornaments (IV-33-37). The women in Sugriva's harem including servant girls, wore the best of jewels (IV-33-23 & 24). Kuśanābha's daughters were adorned with excellent jewels when sporting in the garden (I-32-12). Rāvaṇa's wives are described as wearing various ornaments (V-10-31 &c., & V-9-46 &c.). The Vānara women invited by Sītā to accompany her to Ayodhyā in the Puṣpaka Car were decked according to their custom (VI-126-34).

The beautiful young damsels who attended upon kings for personal services, and those who entertained kings with music and dancing were all decked with jewels. The jewels worn by the Kṣatriya women of the day were anklets, garlands, necklaces of pearl or gold, gold belts, gold waist string, gold strings round the neck, ear-rings, chaplets &c. Nūpura, Mālā, Mukṭāhāra, Mekhalā, Hemasūtra, Hemamālā, Kuṇḍala, Karna Veṣṭa, Cūḍamani &c. Keyūra, Svadamṣṭra &c.

Like the present day Hindu girls, the brides were heavily loaded with ornaments at the time of marriage. Sītā was decked with all the known varieties of jewels, when she was married (I-73-26). The Brahman women also in those days must have worn all the kind of jewels described above, as Brahman priests are described as being presented by kings with various jewels and gems. Rāma presented his priest with Sītā's jewels for delivery to the priest's wife (II-32-7).

Women & Clothing.—Women's clothing consisted of silk cotton and linen. Añjana, mother of Hanumān is said to have worn silk (Kṣauma) when ravished by Vāyu (IV-66-11). Silk was the favourite fabric of Sītā, especially yellow coloured silk (V-15-20) sometimes with lace borders (V-15-44). The women evidently wore two cloths, one round the waist and another Uttariya (upper cloth) thrown over the shoulders and covering the body. Both were often of one colour (V-15-44 & 46).

Sītā had tied her jewels in her upper cloth (Uttariya) and thrown the bundle over Mount R̥śyamūka, when abducted, to

give a clue to Rāma. As Sītā rapidly took off her upper cloth and tied her jewels and threw the bundle over Rāyamūka Hill without being noticed by Rāvaṇa, the upper cloth or Uttariya must have been simply thrown over the shoulders. When Rāvaṇa visited her in Aśoka Vana, Sītā is said to have covered her waist with the drawn up thighs, and her breasts with her folded arms (V-19-3 & V-20-2) as she had only a lower garment. Evidently women wore one cloth round the waist and threw the other the Uttariya over their shoulders and body. Sometimes the upper garment was probably tied round the waist by one end, and carried over the shoulders and head, the other end being loose and fluttering (V-9-54 & 55). The loose scarf ends of the sarees of Rāvaṇa's wives are described as fluttering like flags in the wind caused by the breath of the Rākṣasa women in Rāvaṇa's harem.

It must have been customary to carry the loose end of the upper garment over the back of the head as is done by Northern women even now. Rambhā when she was seen by Rāvaṇa on her way to Nala Kūbara, her lover, is described as wearing a sky blue garment covering her head (VII-26-17). As the prettiness of her face was seen by Rāvaṇa and described, the face could not have been covered as in the case of Muslim women.

Sītā at the wedding ceremony was clad in a lower garment of yellow silk embroidered with figures of swans, and well covered with a red upper garment or Uttariya which probably served as mantle as well. Her body was well enclosed by the upper garment, to avoid public gaze (I-73-27).

The women of those days must have tied money or jewels when moving about, in a corner of their cloth. Even at the present day, our women carry money or small jewels in a knot at the end of the saree. Sītā is described (V-67-30) as unloosening the knot at the end of her cloth where she had hid her crest jewel or Cūḍāmaṇi and giving it to Hanumān for delivery to Rāma. The presence of a free end, to tie the jewel, points to the lower garment *Not being a stitched petticoat*—but a piece of cloth simply tied round the waist and having loose ends. The women in those days could not have a kaccha i.e., a fold of cloth, tucked between the legs and fixed behind. They must have worn the garment loosely knotted round the waist and fastened with a belt Rasanā. While relating the crow incident to Hanumān, Sītā told Hanumān that her lower garment got loose when she pulled her belt or Rasanā to hit the crow (V-38-17). While Añjanā, mother of Hanumān, clad with silk, was sporting on a hill, her garments are said to have been blown away by wind and her body is said to have been exposed,

revealing the charms of her body. If the cloth had been tied in the Carnatic or Mahratta fashion the cloth could not have been blown away so easily by the wind.

The Vānara women in Sugriva's zenana were in the habit of wearing fine clothes. When Sītā invited them to Ayodhyā when coming home from Laṅkā, they are described as having put on their customary costumes (VI-126-34). Rāvaṇa's women used to deck themselves in fine clothes of various colours (V-9-34).

There is no reference to a woman's jacket, though jackets (Kaṅcuka) are referred to in the case of men guarding the harem (VI-117-21). The servant girls of Indrajit are described as wearing turbans (VI-80-6).

The ascetic women must have worn bark vesture as Sītā was supplied with them by Kaikeyī when taking leave before the exile (II-38-5).

Women's Toilette.—Women paid great attention to their toilette. They used cosmetics and unguents of various kinds. They used to part the hair on the head right in the middle and plait it and let the braid hang down at the back. But when they were absent from their husbands or when in grief, they avoided the parting in the middle of the top of the head (Simanta) and only combed back the hair and plaited it as Ekaveṇī (II-10-8, V-15-24, V-19-20 & V-58-55). The women were particularly fond of wearing beauty spots on the forehead (V-9-46). Gorocana (yellow in colour) and Gairika (of orange colour) II-95A-18, were commonly used for the purpose. Tilaka was also made of gold sometimes (II-9-48). It was intended to enhance the beauty of the face (III-16-8). It was not used when in grief. They were fond of wearing flowers on their head and flower garlands round their necks. Sandal paste coloured with saffron for smearing the chest and arms was very popular. They adorned their faces and breasts with Patralekhā (ornamental patterns with Gorocana an yellow pigment) (IV-30-56). They also dyed their feet—with red liquid lac (II-60-18). The use of Añjana for anointing the eyelids was not uncommon.

Women's Articles of Toilette.—The articles of Toilette in use, during the period were :—(II-91-73 &c.).

The Comb—Kaṅkaṭa—II-91-74.

The Mirror—Darpana—II-91-75.

The Unguents—Kalka—II-91-73.

Decoctions for bathing—Cūrṇakaṣāya—II-91-73.

Tooth Brush—Dantadhāvana—II-91-74.
 Collyrium—Añjana—IV-27-13.
 Red Sandal Paste—Candanakalka—II-91-74.
 Flower garlands—Mālā—IV-26-24.
 Flower Chaplets—Kusumāpiḍa—II-93-13.
 Beauty spot on the forehead—Tilaka—II-95A-18.
 Ornamental painting on the face and the breasts—Citralekha or Patralekhā—IV-30-56.
 Silk and Linen clothing—with or without lace—Kṣauma, Kauśeya—II-4-30.
 Dye for the feet—Lākṣā Rasa or Alakta—IV-28-24.

Women & Drink.—Women were quite as much addicted to drink as men, during the *Rāmāyana* period. Drinking must have been very common. Women were encouraged to drink, by their lovers, as they considered the tremulous and glistening eyes of drunken women as particularly beautiful and indicative of passion. Women are described by the poet (when the idea of beauty has to be woven in description) as Mada Vihvalākṣī and Madirekṣaṇā (IV-33-37). Rāma used to make Sītā drink, and offer the inebriating cup to her, himself (VII-42-18). Sītā in crossing the Ganges, prayed to the River Goddess for a safe return after exile and promised to worship her with plenty of liquor (II-52-88) and flesh and rice. As people offer to the Gods what they eat and drink (II-103-15), meat and liquor must have been largely used in the Epic period by women. Tārā is described as boldly facing Lakṣmaṇa a male stranger, as drink had deprived her of modesty (IV-33-39).

Rāvaṇa's wives are described as sleeping under the effects of free indulgence in liquor in the Banqueting Hall visited by Hanumān (V-9-35, 45). The Rākṣasī guards are described as constantly indulging in liquor and flesh (V-17-9 & 16).

THE PURDAH OR (CURTAIN) RULE:—GOṢA

The Goṣa system was prevalent during the *Rāmāyana* period amongst the Kṣatriyas (VII-35-56). It is not correct to state that foreign invasions had compelled the Hindus to adopt it.

Sītā was never exposed to the public gaze before she left for the forest (II-33-8 &c.). Again, during the funeral of Daśaratha his queens are said to have marched out of the city to the cremation ground, in litters surrounded by old people (II-76-19). The door-keepers in the zenana were females called Pratihārins (II-10-20). The Superintendents of the zenana servants, were

generally old men, wearing orange coloured robes and carrying canes in their hands. They had great authority over the female warders and eunuchs (II-16-3). Eunuchs were also employed in the harem to keep order amongst the female servants (II-65-7).

The zenana in Kiṣkindhā was attended only by such servants, as could be allowed without fear in the harem. They were evidently eunuchs, and very old servants (IV-38-7). Sugrīva's zenana was well guarded (IV-33-18 Sumahatguptam).

The Goṣa system was not only prevalent in Ayodhyā and Kiṣkindhā but in Laṅkā also. Maṇḍōdarī asked dead Rāvaṇa why he was not angry with her and her co-wives for coming to the battlefield (on foot), without covering themselves with mantle or veil.⁷

They were also evidently not allowed to come out of the zenana on foot like common women (VI-114-61 & IV-25-41). Rāvaṇa employed armed women in his zenana to keep a vigilant guard over the inmates and to keep order. The zenana was the innermost compartment of the palace. As the inmates were not allowed to go out of it into the world except on very rare occasions, care was taken to make the life in the zenana pleasant.

The zenana of Daśaratha was furnished with bowers, picture galleries, and parks. The Aśoka Vana was a park attached to the zenana. Fragrant Campaka trees, Aśoka trees with beautiful blossoms, platforms of ivory, silver and gold, ever-flowering and ever-fruitful trees, ponds surrounded by seats made of ivory, gold and silver; various kinds of viands,—drinks and edibles, and costly ornaments were all found in the zenana. Female dwarfs and hunch-backs were kept in the zenana (II-7-10) for the amusement of the ladies. Birds in cages and aquatic birds in ponds; parrots, peacocks, *krauncas*, *hamsas*, &c., delighted the poor souls. Female musicians and dancers were freely supplied for amusing the ladies so that the confined women, may not feel ennui (II-10-12). Rāma's zenana had adjoining it an Aśoka Vana (VII-42-16 &c.) or pleasure grove, containing a variety of trees and birds, and luxuriously fitted up with ponds and platforms, and seats constructed of crystal glass, rubies, diamonds etc., and attended by beautiful bejewelled maidens, dancers and musicians &c. Rāma used to spend the afternoons with Sītā in the Aśoka Vana of his

7. Evidently only immodest and fallen women went about without mantle (VI-114-60 & 61).

zenana to amuse himself and Sītā, with refreshments, wines, music, and dancing (VII-42-1 &c., & VII-42-18 &c.).

The wives of the noble citizens, used to see the royal processions *through the latticed windows of the upper stories*. They themselves could not be seen by the crowd while they could see the crowds through the openings in the lattices. When watching the procession, they used to shower flowers on the princes driving along the royal roads (II-16-37).

Purdah or Goṣa when not observed.—Rāma told Vibhīṣaṇa who observed Goṣa rules when bringing Sītā to him, after the death of Rāvaṇa, that women could discard the Goṣa rules under certain circumstances (VI-117-28 &c.):—during Funerals, Danger, War, Svayamvara, Marriages and Sacrifices. Women could be seen in public when they were in danger and especially when their husbands were near them.

Rāma did not believe in Goṣa himself. He told Vibhīṣaṇa that neither houses nor clothes, neither walls nor curtains were the protection of modesty (VI-117-27). It was the conduct of women that mattered. Rāma on his return journey in the Zeppelin (Puṣpaka Vimāna) placed bashful Sītā on his lap, exposed to the gaze of all the Vānaras and Rākṣasas throughout the flight from Laṅka to Ayodhyā (VI-125-12).

Once inside the zenana, the married princesses never got out of it except on rare occasions e.g., during coronation, sacrifices and funerals &c. Practically they were prisoners in the zenana VII-35-56. Daśaratha's queens, as pointed out before, when following his corpse to the cremation ground were closely surrounded on all sides by Old People (II-76-19). When Queen Maṇḍodari sought Rāvana seated in his War Council, she was attended by old Mālyavan, the Ministers, Eunuchs, old women and young damsels (VI-58A-8 &c.).

There was no Goṣa for Brahmin girls. During the royal processions, the Brahmin girls used to circumambulate the kings or princes when passing through the main thorough-fares and offer them flowers and fruits and puffed rice (Lāja). Kausalyā refers to this practice. (II-43-15). They attended the coronation ceremonies in public (II-14-30 & VI-131-61). (II-67-17f.) There is a reference to the evening drives of girls and women in Ayodhyā, to the public parks for sporting. These were probably the Vaiśya women. It can be safely presumed that the Goṣa system was confined to the princesses and the aristocratic ladies and that the bulk of the women were not entirely Goṣa.

Women's desire for male progeny.—The birth of a son in preference to a girl (especially in the case of the first born child) was an occasion of extreme joy to the mother. When describing the desolation of Ayodhyā after Rāma's departure, Vālmiki has stated that mothers had no joy even at the sight of their first born male child (II-41-10).

The partiality for sons on the part of the Hindu mothers is not of recent date. The dislike for girls was not due to any want of affection on the part of the parents, but due to the trouble in getting suitable husbands for the girls (II-29-17). When describing her marriage to Anasūyā, Sītā bore witness to this explanation (II-118-34 &c.). The daughters were a source of anxiety to the parents and disturbed their peace of mind from the time they reached puberty (VII-12-10 &c., VII-9-9 &c., II-118-34f). The unhappiness of daughters was felt by the parents more poignantly than the unhappiness of their sons. The desire for male progeny by fathers was also due to other causes. They believed that sons by performing the funeral rites and the annual Śrāddhas saved them from Hell (Naraka) after death. The Hindu fathers desired, if possible for many sons so that one at least might perform their father's Śrāddha at Gaya to which great importance was attached even then (II-107-13).

The father of a youthful unmarried girl incurred odium even at the hands of his equals and inferiors (II-118-35). Sumālin, a Rākṣasa told his daughter Kaikasi that the lot of one, who had a nubile daughter was not enviable on account of the difficulty of getting a suitable match for the girl (VII-9-9).

Women as Dancing Girls.—Some women used to follow the profession of Dancing, and prostitution. They were skilled in music and dancing and all the arts of captivating men. They used to be well adorned with jewels and fine clothing. They were utilized as "Decoys" to tempt Sages like R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, Viśva-mitra &c. (I-10-5 & 10, I-63-5 &c., I-64-1 &c., & III-35-16). They were known as Gaṇikas or Vāramukhyas or Veśyas (I-10-5f) (II-14-39).⁸ The dancing girls played an important part in the various festivities, sacrifices, concerts, and entertainments of princes (III-35-16). Their primary role was "Dancing and Singing" and their secondary role prostitution.

8. The Vāra-mukhyas, Varāṅganas and Gaṇikas correspond to the dancing girls in modern phraseology. Most of them were courtesans. Some of them however must have remained pure songsters and dancers.

Dancing Girls and Chastity.—All the dancing-girls were not necessarily prostitutes. When the priest Vasiṣṭha was directing the arrangements for Rāma's Coronation, he told the officers, that the musicians and dancing girls of good character (Śubhācārāḥ) (II-15-8), should be posted in the middle compartment of the palace. Dancing Masters (Śailūṣa)⁹ used to direct the concerts of the dancing girls. The dancing masters also functioned as pimps in the case of the girls who took to prostitution (II-83-15). The Celestial Dancing Girls, the Apsaras seem to have had some code of morality amongst them. As has already been pointed out, they were not accessible everyday to everybody. The incident of Rambhā and Nala Kūbara may be quoted as an instance (VII-26-31 &c.). Another instance of their steadfastness is that of Hemā to Maya (VII-12-6 &c.).

Women & Domestic Service.—The Domestic servants doing personal services to Kings were all young, beautiful, handsomely dressed maidens. They were well trained to work as bath attendants on the male princes and were expert in bathing, massaging, dressing &c. Vibhīṣaṇa offered the services of such maidens to Rāma for his bath and toilette (VI-124-3).

The Epic period was a voluptuous age. People were very fond of music and dancing, ornaments and fine clothes, scents and flowers, sports and dalliance with women. The males were surrounded and attended by young, beautiful maidens who attended to their personal services; They were massaged, bathed, rubbed with fragrant sandal paste, dressed and undressed and fanned by young maidens. Neither the maidens nor the male princes seem to have considered such personal services immodest II-15-8, II-42-15, II-65-7, II-91-44 & 52, III-5-9, IV-33-21, V-10-20, V-18-11 ff, V-49-10, VI-21-3, VI-12-4-3. "The accomplished maidens of the dancing-girl class enjoyed a privileged position at court, an evil practice continued by most Indian princes up to recent times, and perhaps, in some cases, to the present day. Such women were employed as housemaids, shampooers, and garland makers. They were entitled to present the king with water, perfumes, dress, and garlands. They held the royal umbrella, fan, and golden pitcher, and attended the sovereign when he was seated on his throne, or riding in a litter or chariot."¹⁰

9. The word sometimes means an actor and sometimes a band master or dancing master—a leader of the orchestra (according to the commentator the word also refers to pimps).

10. *Oxford History of India*, p. 79.

Women's right to perform religious rites.—Women had a right to take part in the husband's sacrifices, ceremonies etc. Daśaratha's queens took part in the horse sacrifice (I-8-23 & I-14-33 &c.). Kausalyā had to kill the sacrificial horse with a sword. Sītā had to fast and sleep on grass together with Rāma on the eve of his coronation (II-4-23, 36 & II-5-9). She was crowned with Rāma on the same seat (VI-131-58). Rāma performed the Homa on the eve of his coronation together with Sītā and fasted with her (II-6-1 &c.). Sītā was asked by Rāma to perform worship and fasts during his absence. When Sītā and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were crossing the Ganges, it was Sītā who offered the prayers (II-52-81 &c.). Sage Bharadvāja instructed Rāma to tell Sītā to pray to and worship the Jumnā (the river deity) and the Fig Tree (the Sylvan deity) on their way to Citrakūṭa hill (II-55-7). Kausalyā performed Homa in the fire and worshipped Viṣṇu (II-20-16 etc.) when Rāma went to take leave of her after his banishment. As women were allowed to practise Prāṇāyāma, Kausalyā meditated on the Lord with Prāṇāyāma (II-4-33). Women took part in the sacrifices and funeral ceremonies. Women could perform penance like men as in the case of Vedavati, Anasūyā, Ahalyā, and Śukra's daughter Arajā.

In the 25th Sarga of Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa is a detailed description of all the blessing ceremonies that Kausalya performed for Rāma. They could perform "worship" themselves (II-25-26) and perform Homa in the fire with the help of priests, just like men (II-25-27 and 29). It was the custom for the women of the house to attend to the auspicious decorations of the house on auspicious occasions like coronation (VII-63-16). Women had the right of attending to the daily Agnihotra (Fire worship) in the absence of the husbands (II-75-13).

Women and Precedence.—Women seem to have enjoyed precedence in mounting carriages, boats and other vehicles. Ladies took their seats first. When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa left for the forest in a car, Sītā took her seat first and then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa ascended the car. After they had made themselves comfortable, Sītā's bundle of clothing and jewels and Rāma's bundle of arms—(swords, bows, arrows, shield etc.) and the implements necessary for forest life (basket, spade etc.) were taken in (II-40-14 etc.). When Rāma's party crossed the Ganges, Sītā was placed in the boat first (II-52-75).

Women could not be killed.—The killing of a woman was abhorred by heroes, as it was a heinous crime (IV-24-37). Rāma

when asked to kill Tāṭakā, was unwilling to kill a woman and preferred to disfigure and disable her by cutting off her nose, ears and arms (I-26-13 etc.). Women could never be killed by heroes, but could be disfigured if they molested. Lakṣmaṇa cut off the ears and nose of Śūrpaṇakhā under Rāma's orders (III-18-21). He also cut off the ear, nose and breasts of the Demoness Ayo-mukhī (III-69-16). Śūrpaṇakhā told Rāvaṇa that Rāma let her escape with her life, as he was afraid of the sin of killing a woman (III-34-11). Hanumān declined to kill the Demoness who guarded the Laṅkā fort. When Indrajit wanted to kill the magic Sītā, Hanumān protested against the mean act (VI-81-23). But Indrajit retorted that anything causing distress to the foe was justifiable (VI-81-29). The killing of a woman, though usually considered a sin, was excusable when done by a prince for the benefit of the subjects (1-25-16 etc.)

PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

Women and Property. There is no mention of inheritance of property by women anywhere. But during the marriage, parents used to give valuable presents of money, jewels, slave-girls etc.

Kanyādānam is Strīdānam in modern phraseology (1-74-3 etc.)

Kings could confer property on their wives and give them absolute right over the property. The queens generally used the income in charitable gifts, as their personal needs were looked after in the palaces.

Kausalyā had many villages settled on her by Daśaratha (II-31-22) for the maintenance of her dependants and for charitable gifts.

Women's Rights to enter the Court of Justice. Women had the right of audience to the king seated in the Royal Court of Justice, to represent grievances (āhūyantām kāryārthinaḥ puruṣāḥ, striyo va VII-53-5).

A bold queen like Mandodarī could find admission even into the Council Hall and address the King president and offer salutary advice on war and peace (VI-58A-7 etc.).

Women and Arms. Women of strong character like Kaikeyī could even go out to the battlefields driving a chariot though this is only one instance. It shows the possibility for others as well (II-9-16). In Laṅkā, as has already been noted, women bore arms, as soldiers. Rāvaṇa's female guards could wield the sword and the lance.

Beauty in women. As the influence of women over men is largely due to their beauty, it is worth while to discuss the accepted standards of beauty during the *Rāmāyaṇa period*. The elements of female beauty were:—a golden complexion; a straight and slim figure; a moonlike face, a prominent nose; beautifully arched eye-brows; eye lids resembling the petals of a lotus; large expressive eyes; black pupils; ruddy lips; white and even teeth; a smiling face; a sweet voice; large, round, firm and closely set breasts; a slender waist; large round and well formed hips; tapering thighs; soft hands and fingers with pink nails; black, long and wavy hair; general symmetry and a stately gait (II-13-21 &c., II-16-21, II-30-30 &c., 42, II-60-17, III-34-14 &c., 20, III-46-17 &c., IV-66-13f, VI-12-13 &c., VII-24-7 &c., VII-26-18 &c., 22 & VII-37 f-27 &c.

The Races famous for beautiful women were the Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakṣas, Dānavas (III-31-29 & III-34-17). Hri, Kīrti, Śrī, Lakṣmī, Apsaras (like Rambhā, Menakā), Bhūti, and Rati were considered typically beautiful women.

[For forms of ugliness see III-69-11, III-17-10 &c., & V-17-4 &c.]

Elements of Beauty in Men.—As women are attracted by handsome men, the elements of beauty in men as understood by Vālmīki are noted below.

Tall stature, powerful build, symmetry of limbs, broad shoulders, a broad chest, well covered collar bones, big long arms reaching to the knees, large soft powerful hands, moon-like face, eyelids like lotus petals, magnetic looks, fine pearl-like teeth, prominent nose, a pleasant and powerful voice, slender waist, pleasant looks, beautiful wavy hair, sweet breath, smooth complexion, and a dignified gait (I-1-9 &c., II-3-26, II-44-28, II-47-4f, II-61-22, II-64-70, II-75-28, III-17-7 & V-35-15).

The description of Rāma (P. 2 Griffith translation of Ramayana) would give a much better idea of an ideally beautiful man, than the long list given above.

Tall and broad shouldered, strong of limb
 Fortune has set her mark on him.
 Graced with a conch-shell's triple line,
 His throat displays the auspicious sign.
 High destiny is clear impressed
 On massive jaw and ample chest.
 Deep in the muscle, scarcely shown,
 Embedded lies his collar-bone.

His lordly steps are firm and free,
 His strong arms reach below his knee.
 All fairest graces join to deck,
 His head, his brow, his stately neck,
 And limbs in fair proportion set :
 The manliest form e'er fashioned yet.
 His skin is soft and lustrous dark
 Large are his eyes that sweetly shine
 With majesty almost divine.

Widowhood.—The married women of the epic period dreaded widowhood. They considered it the worst misfortune that could happen to women (II-42-21, II-66-8, IV-20-15, IV-23-12, VI-114-37, VII-24-25 & VII-25-43). There is no mention of a widow remarriage in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the case of Tārā, she could not be said to have been married to Sugrīva. Evidently in the tribe of Vānaras, the wife, kingdom &c., of the dead brothers became the possessions of the surviving brothers. After the supposed death of Vāli, the ministers handed over the kingdom of Kiṣkindhā and Tārā, (Vāli's wife) to Sugrīva his brother. Sugrīva took possession of Tārā a second time after the actual death of Vāli. This is neither an instance of widow marriage nor of polyandry as some critics make out, as Sugrīva did not marry Tārā but simply appropriated her. It was not even a case of levirate.

SUTTEE OR SELF IMMOLATION

It has been mentioned by some scholars, that the custom of Suttee was not prevalent during the *Rāmāyaṇa* period as Suttee is not referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But there are references to the practice of Suttee, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The wife of the blind ascetic whose son was shot by Daśaratha by mistake ascended the funeral pyre with her husband III-64-58.

Princess Vedavati, daughter of the Royal Sage Kuśadhvaja told Rāvaṇa that her father was slain by the Daitya, Dambu, and that her mother entered the funeral pyre of her husband. (VII-17-14). The practice of Suttee is also alluded to in other places. After the death of Daśaratha, Kausalyā determined to enter the fire embracing her husband as a true Pativrata (II-66-12). Thus it may be safely presumed that this custom of Suttee was not unknown in the *Rāmāyaṇa* period.

Buddhism in Ancient Bengal

By

MR. P. L. PAUL.

BENGAL was the last strong-hold of Buddhism in India, but it is very strange that it has been very rarely referred to in early Buddhist literature. It has been mentioned in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*¹ that Buddha once lived at Śetaka, a town of the Sumbhas; and it has been suggested that they may be the Sumhas of Western Bengal.² A Buddhist teacher Upasena has been described as Vaṅganaputto in the *Aṅguttara*,³ and it has been suggested on the analogy of such epithets as Videhaputta and Mallaputta that Upasena was originally perhaps an inhabitant of Vaṅga. No locality or city seems to have gained high recognition and to have been of much importance to the early Buddhists and it is also doubtful whether in these two cases there has been really any reference to Bengal proper.

The story of Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍaka, narrates how Buddha came to preach in Puṇḍravardhana at the instance of this pious and devoted lady.⁴ According to Yuan Chwang, Buddha is said to have preached in that city for three months and in Samatāṭa for seven days and also in Karnaśuvārṇa. In these localities the pilgrim also saw the places where past Buddhas walked. But in spite of these allusions to Buddha's personal ministration in Yuan Chwang's account, it is doubtful whether Buddha really came in person, though it may be that Buddhism was making some headway in Bengal during his life-time.

It seems that there were vigorous attempts and proselytising activities during the reign of Aśoka. Yuan Chwang saw many Aśokan topes in Puṇḍravardhan, Samatāṭa, Tāmralipti and Karnaśuvārṇa. The vigorous religious propaganda of the Maurya emperor naturally produced its effects. The recently discovered Mahāsthān inscription,⁵ which is to be paleographically assigned

1. W. 89, 168-170.

2. Dr. Majumdar, *Early History of Bengal*, p. 8.

3. I. XIV.3.

4. *Bodhi-Sattvadāna-Kalpalatā*, Bengali Translation by S. C. Das, pp. 768-779.

5. *IHQ.*, 1934, p. 54 ff. We follow Dr. B. M. Barua's interpretation.

to the Maurya period, records that oil, trees, paddy and small coins (*gandhaka* and *kākanika*) were ordered to be stored for the *Saḍvargikas* in case of emergencies due to water, fire, parrots. Oil was to be conveyed from Puṇḍranagara. This store-house was not far from the Puṇḍravardhan city, the find-spot of this epigraph. Although the fact by whom this order was made is not known, it seems that, like the Sohagaura plate, this was also an official direction. The *Saḍvargiyas* have been identified with the *Chabhagiyas* of the Vinaya texts who formed a 'band of six men with their adherents' and who are said to have acted always contrary to the intent and purpose of the Vinaya discipline. The *Chabhagiyas*, like the followers of Devadatta, might have differed on some points of discipline, which the strict followers of the Vinaya texts did not like and approve. What is important for our purpose is that as early as the Maurya period Puṇḍravardhan became a centre of activity of the *Chabhagiyas*, so much so that provisions were to be made for meeting with their emergencies. There are also evidences to show that pious Buddhists from Puṇḍravardhan visited the holy and sacred sites like Sanchi.⁶

A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription,⁷ which is to be paleographically assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A.D., states that Vaṅga was one of the countries that gladdened the hearts of the *Theravādin* teachers. That the *Sthavira* School flourished in eastern Bengal is also confirmed by Yuan Chwang, when in the description of Samataṭa the Chinese traveller observes that it had 30 Buddhist monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all adherents of the *Sthavira* School. The Gunaighar plate⁸ of Vainyagupta, dated in 508 A.D., records the grant of land to a congregation of Buddhist monks belonging to the *Mahāyāna* sect in the Tippera district.

From Yuan Chwang's account⁹ it appears that at the time of his visit the three principal religions, viz., Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, had each a fairly large number of adherents in Bengal. Although it is difficult to say what was the predominant religion, it will not perhaps be very wrong to say that they all had got almost equal stronghold and vied with each other for predominance. The details about Buddhism left by him may be noted

6. *EI*, II, p. 108, 380.

7. *EI*, XX, p. 23.

8. *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 40 ff.

9. Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. II—accounts of Kajangal, Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Karṇasuvarṇa and Tāmralipti.

here. In Kanjangal (modern Rajmahal) there were six or seven monasteries and above 300 Brethren. In Puṇḍravardhan there were 20 monasteries and above 3000 Brethren and both the Great and Little Vehicles were followed. In Samataṭa there were more than 30 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all of the *Sthavira* school. In Tāmralipti there were above 10 monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren. In Karṇasuvarṇa there were more than 10 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the *Samatiya* school. There were also three monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk products were not taken as food. Besides there were two universities—one in Puṇḍravardhana and another in Karṇasuvarṇa. The former, Po-chipo *Sanghārāma*, has been identified with *Bhasu Vihāra* by Cunningham, four miles to the west of Mahāsthāna in the Bogra district. (*ASI*, XV, 1883, pp. 104-117). In it lived 700 priests who studied according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned men from eastern India dwelt there. In the Raktaviti University of Karṇasuvarṇa congregated the most distinguished, learned and celebrated men of kingdom.

The above account speaks for itself and needs little elucidation. In Puṇḍravardhana there were followers of *Hinayāna* and *Mahāyāna* and in Karṇasuvarṇa and Samataṭa the *Sammittiya* and *Sthavira* schools flourished respectively. It is very likely that at an early period in Karṇasuvarṇa there was some strongholds of the followers of Devadatta, as even in the seventh century his direction regarding diet was followed in three monasteries. It is also important to remember that Yuan Chwang gives the details of the religious condition of the capital cities of the above localities. Tippera was included in Samataṭa and we have seen that in A.D. 508 there flourished a sect of the *Mahāyāna* school and according to his account the Buddhists of Samataṭa all belonged to the *Sthavira* school.

It seems from the accounts of the Chinese travellers that Buddhism was declining in Tāmralipti. In Fa-hien's time there were 22 monasteries in all of which monks resided.¹⁰ In Yuan Chwang's time the number of monasteries were ten and I-Tsing saw only five or six.¹¹ He has left a graphic account of the University of Bha-ra-ha in Tāmralipti. But Buddhism increased its influence in Samataṭa. In I-Tsing's time the number of monks rose from

10. Legge, p. 100.

11. Takakasu, Intro. XXXIV.

2000 of Yuan Chwang to 4000. The cause of the increasing influence of Buddhism within fifty years was perhaps due to the ardent and vigorous support of the Khadga dynasty who ruled in Samatata within the period between A.D. 650 to A.D. 750. All the known independent kings of Bengal before the middle of the seventh century were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Khadgas were devoted Buddhists and we are fortunate to have a picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhists and of the part played by Rājabhāṭa¹² the ruling king, at the time of Seng-chi. The king himself was an *upāsaka* and all the 4000 monks were maintained by him. He was an ardent worshipper of three jewels and played the part of a grand *upāsaka*. His sincerity was profound and faith very great. His glory exceeded those of his predecessors and successors. Every day he met 100,000 statues in moulded clay and read 100,000 stanzas of *Mahāprajñā-pāramitāsūtras* and made use of 100,000 fresh flowers. When the royal party went, an Avalokiteśvara was placed in the front. His banners and standards concealed the sun and instrumental music filled the space. The statues of Buddhas, *bhikṣus* and *upāsakas* all marched in front and the king followed behind them. In the capital city there were more than 4000 monks and nuns. All these were entertained by the king. Every morning royal messengers went to them and said, "I am commanded to ask if you passed a good night." The monks and nuns replied, "We hope His Majesty is in good health. May he live long and his kingdom remain in peace." Only after these messengers had come back and reported that the king began to transact the business of the state. The best and most learned *bhikṣus* in the whole of India were assembled in this kingdom, being attracted by the renown of the king which reached far and wide. Seng-chi himself lived in the royal temple and received extraordinary honour.¹³ It is, therefore, no accident that Śilabhadra, a scion of a royal family of Samatata, rose to the exalted position of the head of the famous Nālandā monastery and under his tutelage Yuan Chwang was placed¹⁴ and to his learning and liberality the pilgrim pays glowing tribute.

The glorious period of Buddhism in Bengal began with the foundation of the Pāla empire. The Pāla kingdom and the

12. Chavannes at first restores the text as Harṣabhāṭa but in a foot-note says that it may be constructed as Rājabhāṭa.

13. I am thankful to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for translating the relevant portion from Chavannes' *Memoire les Religions éminents*, pp. 128-29.

14. Beal, *Life*, II, pp. 58-60.

famous monasteries within it became, so to say, the radiating centre to the Buddhist world. From the eighth century onward the whole of eastern India became deeply influenced with Tāntrikism and Buddhism underwent considerable change. It is not possible to give an account of the Buddhism of the Pāla period without mentioning some details of the *Vajrayāna*, *Sahajayāna* and *Mantrayāna* systems and their pantheons, some of which are the outcome of Tāntrik influence. We wish to deal with the subject in a separate paper.

Is Chandra of the Mehrauli Pillar Inscription, Chandragupta of the Maurya Dynasty?

By

MR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

In a paper contributed to the *Journal of Indian History* under the caption 'inscriptional evidence of Chandragupta Maurya's achievements,' Dr. H. C. Seth has reached the following novel conclusions¹ :—

(a) That Chandragupta Maurya erected the Mehrauli iron pillar and is identical with the Chandra mentioned therein.

(b) That some six hundred years later, Samudragupta, getting impressed with the achievements of Chandragupta Maurya whom he regarded as an ideal monarch, had the present inscription engraved to perpetuate the Maurya ruler's memory, and probably also to take the place of a record originally engraved on the iron pillar and blurred by the process of time.

Dr. Seth's main arguments for the first thesis are summarised below :—

(a) Like Chandra of the iron pillar inscription, Chandragupta Maurya also ruled for a long time over a big empire conquered by himself and died full of years and glory.

(b) Like Chandra, Chandragupta Maurya also defeated the Vāhlikas or Bactrians.

(c) Like Chandra, Chandragupta too carried his arms as far as the Southern Ocean.

(d) Like Chandra, Chandragupta also defeated a hostile confederacy in the east.

(e) The Persian form of the pillar, its proximity to the pillars of Asoka, and the existence of an advanced school of metallurgy in Mauryan times also prove that the pillar was set up by Chandragupta Maurya.

(f) The simile of a fire that had died out after burning a big forest and the use of the word *āhva* with the name of Chandra similarly indicate that Chandra had flourished some centuries

before the Gupta period when the present record was incised. So he is most probably Chandragupta Maurya.

Of these, the arguments (a-e) are inconclusive, because

(a) Chandragupta II also ruled over an empire reconquered by himself from the mighty Saka raiders² whom we might with every reason identify with the Vāhlikas said to have been defeated by Chandra.

(b) Chandragupta II might easily be conceived to have also defeated an eastern confederacy consisting most probably of the followers of his assassinated brother.

(c) Chandragupta II is described as '*chaturudadhisalilāsvā-ditayaśāh*' in the Mathurā stone inscription. So the words '*yasyādyāpyadhivāsyata vīryānilaiḥ dakṣiṇaḥ*' of the Mehrauli inscription might be aptly applied to him.

(d) Indian art is known to have reached its acme in the Gupta period. Hence this wonder of Indian metallurgical art was most probably erected during the Gupta and not the Mauryan period of Indian history.

We have shown elsewhere that the iron pillar was originally erected somewhere near the Sirmur Hills. So its present vicinity to Asokan pillars is no argument in favour of its Mauryan origin. Moreover the Asokan pillars at Delhi are known to have been removed from elsewhere and brought to that city during the Muslim period.

(e) The argument (e) of Dr. Seth is entirely wrong. It is based on the wrong interpretation of stanza 4 of the inscription which, as pointed out by me in the pages of this *Journal*,³ should be translated as follows :—

'He, whose *pratāpa*, the remnant of that energy which destroyed the enemies, does not even now leave the earth like the heat (*pratāpa*) of an ash-covered fire (that burns out a forest) or like the glory (*pratāpa*) of a monarch who though bodily gone to another world, won by his actions, still remains on this earth by his fame.'

2. See in this connection Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper, 'New light on the Gupta History,' published in the *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, and my 'Three short notes on Indian History', to be published shortly in the *Indian Culture*.

3. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVI, pp. 12-13.

1. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVI, pp. 117-131.

Thus interpreted the events would not seem remote in the least. Nor does the use of the word *āhva* with Chandra indicate any remoteness. On looking incidentally into the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the *Anargharāghava*, I find one of its editors described as 'Paṇṣīkarop-āhva-Lakṣmanaśarmātmaja Vāsudeva-śarman. This does not mean, I believe, that the editor does not belong to this century. The *Amarakośa* regards *āhva* as merely a synonym of the word *nāma*. Neither the lexicon nor its numerous commentaries associate any idea of remoteness with it.

It is thus clear that Dr. Seth's arguments for the identity of Chandra with Chandragupta Maurya are either inconclusive or erroneous.

We now take up Dr. Seth's second thesis. It is based on mere conjecture. In fact he has been forced to adopt it by his view of Chandra's identity, and the fact that on paleographic grounds the inscription must be assigned to the third or fourth century A.D., i.e., to a period more than six hundred years later than the time when Chandragupta Maurya is known to have flourished. He knows that even if no other argument is used, the Gupta characters of the inscription are enough to disprove the identity of Chandra and Chandragupta Maurya, unless he can manage somehow to establish that, though the pillar was set up much earlier and probably with an inscription which had got blurred in course of time, the present inscription had to be incised in the Gupta period to commemorate the greatness of the Murya emperor and to take the place of the blurred earlier record. Dr. Seth cannot be said to have succeeded in this attempt, because, as already pointed out above, the inscription cannot be proved to be a posthumous record, and the achievements described therein, might all be easily referred to Chandragupta II, in whose time the pillar was therefore, most probably erected. The suggestion regarding an earlier inscription that has got blurred must be dismissed as fanciful when we remember the nature of the material used and the perfection with which it has preserved the present inscription for 1600 years or so. Jain books describe Chandragupta Maurya as a Jain.⁴ Chandragupta II was on the other hand a Vaiṣṇava. So on this ground too it is Chandragupta II and not Chandragupta Maurya—a ruler nowhere connected with Vaisnavism either by tradition or contemporary evidence—who must be regarded as the erector of the Mehrauli pillar or 'the lofty Viṣṇudhvaja, as it is called in the inscription itself.⁵

4. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 34.

5. *Prām̐bu-r-viṣṇupadegirau bhagavato viṣṇo-r-āhvajaḥ sthāpitaḥ*, (v.3).

The Yadavarayas

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INTRODUCTION

ONE of the main features of the later Chola administrative system, was the appointment of viceroys that was necessitated by the large extent of the Chola Empire. The viceroys thus appointed, over small slices of land, by the imperial power to be in charge of the local administration, not only grew powerful in course of time by carving out independent principalities of their own, but also made themselves hereditary rulers of the land. So long as the suzerain power, at the centre, was able to maintain its supremacy, the loyalty, co-operation and the subordination of the viceroys remained undisputed; but when the central authority became weak, the viceroys, who rose to power with the favour of the king, lost no opportunity in establishing their own power and thereby contributing largely to the dismemberment of the Empire itself.

The Yādavarāyas were one of such feudatory families and they flourished during the 12th, 13th and the 14th centuries. They were the rulers of that tract of land known as Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, now comprised in the modern North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor and Nellore Districts. The inscriptions which form the main source of information for a study of their history, refer to these territories besides others, which constituted the big territorial division of Jayangondaśōlamaṇḍalam, which in turn was a province of the great Chola Empire. Their epigraphs are to be found largely in Kālahasti, Rāmagiri Tiruppāsūr, Guḍimallam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Venkaṭagiri (Nellore District). Unlike their contemporaries, the Kāḍavarāya chieftains, who aimed at independence at the expense of the waning power of the Cholas, the Yādavarāyas remained loyal to the Cholas and supported them in their wars against the Kāḍavās and others. Perhaps, this unflinching loyalty and their consequent failure to establish a kingdom of their own successfully even for a short time, after the Chola decline, were due to other causes such as the succession of powerful rulers on the Kākatīya throne in the North,

and the victorious campaigns of the Pāṇḍyās in the South. They had to trim their sails according to the prevailing wind; and so we see them as feudatories of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyās and the Hoysālas respectively till their decline.

The inscriptions which belong mostly to the last quarter of the 12th and the 13th centuries, mention a number of Yādavarāya chiefs, who were ruling over the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and the neighbouring countries, as Chola feudatories, and give us particulars about the origin and development of the Yādavarāyas as a political power. But, they do not, in the absence of any other literary evidence, help us much to reconstruct a satisfactory genealogy. The epigraphs contain only the dates calculated in the regnal years of their overlords, the Cholas, besides their own. And for a correct understanding of the chronology of the later members of the Yādavarāya family, whose records contain only their own regnal years without any reference either to the Śaka era or to the years of any overlord, we have to depend almost entirely upon the Hoysāla synchronisms. There are references to the Hoysāla general of Vīra Ballāḷa III in the epigraphs of the later Yādavarāyas.

ORIGIN: MYTHOLOGICAL

The Yādavarāyas claim descent from the mythological hero, Yādu, of the lunar race, through the Chālukya line of rulers.¹ They also claim to have been the rulers of the Veṅgi country (*Veṅgi val-labha and Veṅgi mahānāyaka*.) the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas, extending as far as the Gōḍāvari. The close resemblance of the historical introductions of the Yādavarāya epigraphs with those of Vikrama Chola, who was viceroy of Veṅgi under Kulōttunga I, certainly shows that the former perhaps succeeded to the rulership of Veṅgi and the neighbouring parts, when the latter relinquished the viceroyalty and succeeded to the Chola throne.² The Yādavarāyas were prominently known as the chiefs of Kālahasti and rulers of the portions that lie in and out of the modern Śēshā-chalam Hills. Some of the epigraphs call them the protectors of

1. The Stone and Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Nellore District: Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty. No. 11 of Venkaṭagiri has:—*Yadu-varṇa Kulōttama Yādava kula dīpana and Śaṣikula Śalukki varṇasādīpan*. Also 170 T.T. of the Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 114.

2. 170. T.T. Venkaṭagiri 7 and 11. Also 386 G. T. of the T. T. D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 46.

the cities called Vēṇṭagiri and Vēṇṭari³ but all of them are unanimous in calling them as *Kaṇuppākkapuravarādisvara* i.e. the rulers of the city called Kaṇuppākka.⁴ The identification of this city situated on the bank of the Gōḍāvari (*Gōḍavaritira Kaṇup-pārupura*) is difficult, since the epigraphs refer to Kaṇuppākkapura as Kaṇuchārapura, Kaṇchavārapura, and Kaṇakrārī-pura. A record (200A of 1892) from Kālahasti dated in the 8th regnal year of Rājarāja III, refers to *Kaṇupparṇu-nāḍu* which was then situated in Rājēndrasōlamandalam. Still another epigraph from the same place (155 of 1922) bearing the 17th year of Parakēśari Vikrama Chola, mentions one Ghaṭṭidēva Mahārāja alias Vikramaśōḷa Kaṇuppāruḍayār Pudōliyarayar. Perhaps Kaṇuppakka was the same as Kaṇupparṇu.⁵

THEIR HOME

The term Yādava generally denotes a cowherd, and these chiefs had assumed the title of Yādavarāyas probably because of their occupation of the pastoral regions on the slopes of the Vēṅkaḍam Hills. The reference to Piṭaridēvi, a female deity as their *Kula-dēvata* in their inscriptions (*Piṭaridēvi labḍa varaprasādaha*) only confirms the view that they must have been the inhabitants of those pastoral regions and were not of a high origin. When they grew in political power and importance, they perhaps thought it proper to trace their early connections with the Eastern Chālukyās in order to give some permanence and stability to their rule. Hence we find them assuming the *birudas* of the Eastern Chālukyās. The Yādavarāyas were the worshippers of the Lord of Kālahasti (*Śrī Kālahastīsa pādā rāḍaka and Kālahastīsa Chāra-nāraviṇḍa madukarah*) and Lord Veṅkaṭēśa on the Tirupati Hills (*Śrīmad Veṅkaṭēśa śrī pādāravinda śekharaha*). The innumerable charities made to these two temples by them are found mentioned in their epigraphs; and Kālahasti, where there are a majority of their inscriptions, must have been their capital city. Unlike the Eastern Chālukyās who had the boar as their *lāṅghana*, the

3. *Venkaṭagiri pālaka and Vēṇṭari pālaka* in 170 T.T. Can Vēṇṭagiri be identified with Venkaṭagiri(?) where there are a number of epigraphs of Ghaṭṭidēva and Rājamalladēva Yādavarāya. *Vēṇṭaripālaka* has been translated into 'the chief of huntsmen', in T.T.D. Report, p. 116.

4. Venkayya says 'the Kaṇupparṇudaiyars were a family of chiefs having sway over a small portion of the South Arcot District'. Annual Report on Epigraphy 1922. Part II, para 102.

5. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 102.

Yādavarāyas seem to have had a garland, an elephant, and a white umbrella for their emblem.⁶

1. GHATṬIDĒVA.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ghaṭṭidēva Mahārāja *alias* Vikramaśōla Kaṇupparudayār *Pudōliyarayar*, who appears in a record of Parakēśari Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118 to A.D. 1133) dated in the 17th year is perhaps the first distinguished member of this family.⁷ It is probable that Vikrama Chola who was the viceroy of the northern divisions of the Chola Empire, appointed Ghaṭṭidēva as viceroy sometime after his succession to the Chola throne. The *biruda* Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara would suggest that he must have been an important person as a ruler of a *Maṇḍala* or province. The reference to Vikrama Chola would show his subordination to the Cholas. *Pudōli* of which he is said to have been the ruler (*araiyar-araśar*) might refer to his capital situated in Kaṇupparū, and it was perhaps the same Nāgapudōli, identified with Nāgavolu, a village in the Venkaṭagiri division of the Nellore District.⁸ This chief must be identical with Ghaṭṭidēva, who bore the surname of Kulōttungaśōla Yādavarāyan of a record (83 of 1922) coming from Kālahasti, and bearing the 6th regnal year of Rājakēśari Kulōttunga II, the successor of Vikrama Chola in A.D. 1133.⁹ The surname explains fully the subordination and the change that had taken place in the Chola overlordship. The record registers a gift of an entire village called Viramangalam for feeding the *brahmins* and *tapaśvins* in the Kālahasti temple in A.D. 1139. But for these two epigraphs, we have no other reference to this Ghaṭṭidēva *alias* Kulōttungaśōla Yādavarāya, and it is not known for certain for how long he did rule. It is even doubtful whether Kālahasti had then become the Yādavarāya capital since we find in A.D. 1147 a Gaṅgā chieftain of the name of Śīyagāṅga is

6. Chandalūr plates of Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja *alias* Māṅgi Yuvarāja, *Epi. Indica*, Vol. 8, p. 237 and 371 T.T. of the T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 122.

"Mālya danti davalachchatrādi chinnaṁ śriyam".

7. The *Cōlas*, Vol. II, p. 78. Prof. K. A. N. Śāstri says that one Nāraṇadēva, who appears with Chālukyā titles in a record (266 of 1904) from Yōgi Mallāvaram, dated in the 7th year of Rājakēśari Virarājēndradēva (A.D. 1062 to A.D. 1070) was perhaps the earliest known member of this family.

8. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 102. Also No. 12 Venkaṭagiri in the Nellore Ins.

9. In T.T.D. Vol. I, p. 102 this record (83 of 1922) has been wrongly assigned to Kulōttunga III. Prof. K. A. N. Śāstri assigns the same to the times of Kulōttunga II. The *Cōlas*, Vol. II, bis. p. 638.

mentioned as making a gift to the same temple in a record (93 of 1922) found in Kālahasti itself. For about forty-six years from A.D. 1139 to A.D. 1185, there is a gap and there is no reference to the Yādavarāyas.

KULōTTUNGA III & RĀJARĀJA III

Coming to the reigns of Kulōttunga III and his successor Rājarāja III, we find about six Yādavarāya chiefs, who were perhaps ruling contemporaneously as Chola feudatories. All their records are dated in the regnal years of their Chola overlords; but there is none to show their subordination to Rājendra III, the successor of Rājarāja III in A.D. 1246

(2) TIRUKKĀLATTIDĒVA

In the 7th year of Kulōttunga III (acc. A.D. 1178) there figures one Narasiṅga Tirukkālattidēvan *alias* Yādavarāyan,¹⁰ in a record (94 of 1903) from Kālahasti. The same chief appears in two other inscriptions dated in the 11th and 15th years of Rājarāja III.¹¹ In one of them he is called, besides the usual *biruda* 'Śaśikula śaḷukki', by the title of Rājadhiraṇṇa Yādavarāyan. Then he must have ruled for about forty-six years from A.D. 1185 to A.D. 1231, as a feudatory of both Kulōttunga and Rājarāja. He was undoubtedly a Yādavarāya.

The records call him Narasiṅgadēvan *alias* Tirukkālattidēvan *alias* Yādavarāyan, which in the Tirupati Dēvasthānam Inscriptions (Vol. I p. 107) has been interpreted to mean Tirukkālattidēvan Yādavarāyan, son of Narasiṅga, and this Narasiṅga is identified with Vira Narasiṅga Yādavarāya, a later member. This view is untenable since it is quite impossible for a son of Vira Narasiṅga, who is mentioned in a record of the 31st year of Kulōttunga III for the first time, to issue a grant in the 7th year of the same king. Perhaps, this chief may be identified with Tirukkālattidēva Mahārāja Yādavarāya, who is mentioned in A.D. 1191 (87 of 1922 from Kālahasti) on the ground that 94 of 1903 is signed simply Tiruk-

10. T.T.D. Vol. I, p. 107. The record (94 of 1903) which registers a gift of land as *dēvadāna* for the celebration of a festival to Kālahastīśa in the Tamil month of Vaikāśi, is dated in the 7th year of Virarājēndradēva, and it is wrongly assigned to Rājendra III. Virarājēndra was one of the numerous titles of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulōttunga Chola III. See The *Cōlas*, Vol. II, p. 149.

11. 136 of 1922 and 172 of 1903.

kālattidēvanāna (alias) Yādavarāyan. Moreover the latest year for this Tirukkālattidēva also is A.D. 1231.¹² Narasiṅgan Tirukkālattidēvan *alias* Rājādhirāja Yādavarāyan was then the same Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya, and he was the son of one Narasiṅgan of whom nothing is known at present. A record from Kālahasti (156 of 1922) dated in the 10th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Virarājendradēva¹³ registers a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp by one Śolavvaiyar, who was a daughter of a certain Narasiṅgadēvar *alias* Yādavarāyar. Since Narasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya is called the father of Śolavvaiyār, and if Tirukkālattidēva *alias* Rājādhirāja Yādavarāyan¹⁴ was a son of Narasiṅgadēva; it is possible that Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya¹⁵ and Śolavvaiyar were the son and daughter of Narasiṅgadēva, who was different from another Yādavarāya of the same name.

The latest year for Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya, who has been here identified with Narasiṅgan Tirukkālattidēvan Yādavarāyan, is A.D. 1231 according to the available epigraphs. But it is possible that he might have continued to rule till A.D. 1246. An epigraph from Ātmakūr (No. 7) dated in Śaka 1168 of Allun Tirukkālattidēva refers to Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya as the former's father-in-law and the consecration of Dānavamurāri Perumāl at Ātakūru (Ātmakūr¹⁶) for the religious merit of the same chief. This would give for Tirukkālattidēva a rule of sixty-one years from A.D. 1185 to A.D. 1246. From the provenance of his records, it is clear that his authority extended over the terri-

12. He might have continued to rule till A.D. 1246 as he is mentioned in a record dated Śaka 1168 from Ātmakūr in the Nellore District.

13. The Cōlas, Vol. II, p. 719. Again this record has been assigned to Rājendra III, by mistake in the T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 106. Consequently Śolavvaiyār is said to have been a daughter of Vira Narasiṅgadēva, whose earliest mention is made in A.D. 1209. The same thing is repeated in the Cōlas, Vol. II, p. 170. Prof. K. A. N. Śāstri who ascribes this record to the 10th year of Kulōttunga III (The Cōlas, Vol. II, bis. p. 719) has said that Śolavvaiyār was a daughter of Vira Narasiṅga. On page 169 he also ascribes to Vira Narasiṅga the title of Tirukkālattidēva.

14. Rājādhirāja II was the immediate predecessor of Kulōttunga III.

15. 495 of 1902 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated in the 30th year of Rājārāja III has wrongly been taken as referring to Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya, in T.T.D. Vol. I, p. 103. But the original has no reference to this chief as it mentions Tyāgasamudrapati Śittamarāsar Tikkānaiṇṇar *alias* Tirukkālattidēva Udayar. Besides, the record is signed as Śittamarāsar Tirukkālattidēva.

16. Nellore Ins. The date corresponds to 24th Aug., A.D. 1246.

tories comprising portions of the modern North Arcot, Chittoor and Chingleput Districts.¹⁷ A record from Tirumalai dated in his own 19th year (A.D. 1204), containing all the high-sounding *birudas* and registering a gift of Kuḍavūr village to Lord Venkaṭēśa, must show that this Yādavarāya even though he ruled as a Chola feudatory, yet was not exempt from self-assertion that was so much the characteristic of the Chola feudatories of this period.¹⁸

Tirukkālattidēva must have been a powerful chief as he enjoyed the high distinction of being called a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.¹⁹ He had for his subordinates the Telugu Cholas, whose co-operation and friendship, the Yādavarāyas had always valued by making marital alliances with them. Tirukkālattidēva's daughter was given in marriage to the Telugu Chola chief Allun Tirukkālattidēva (Ātmakūr 7). Madhurāntaka Poṭṭappichola, another Telugu Chola, must have also been a subordinate, as we find Nuṅgamadēvi, his consort, making a gift to the Kālahasti temple in A.D. 1194.²⁰ Darani-nallūr Tirukkālatti Udayan was his minister (Taṇtrapāla).²¹ Ghaṭṭidēvan Pilāvan *alias* Vēṇḍuḍaiyan was one of his subordinates.²²

His Queens Pudōli Mādēviyār, (Mahādevi) who is mentioned²³ along with a gift of cows for a lamp to the Kālahasti temple and Chālukkikula Mādēviyār,²⁴ who is referred to as the daughter of one Śiṅgamaraśar and who also provided for a lamp, were his queens.

His benefactions: His patronage shown to Śaivism and Vaishṇavism is best seen from his records registering gifts of a salt pan and taxes to the temples at Kālahasti and Conjeevaram respectively.²⁵ In A.D. 1195 he made a gift of land to the god at

17. 87 of 1922 comes from Kālahasti. Also 196 of 1892 and 181 of 1903; 16 of 1897 comes from Takkōlam in the N. Arcot District; 38 of 1893 comes from Kānchi. All these places formed part of the province called Jayan-gonḍaśōlamanḍalam.

18. For an account of his titles see T.T.D. Report, p. 116.

19. 197 of 1892.

20. 198 of 1903.

21. 96 of 1903.

22. 191 of 1903.

23. 87 of 1922.

24. 196 of 1892 and 181 of 1903, S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 644.

25. 95 of 1903 (undated) and 38 of 1893. (S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 851). The latter registers the gift of taxes from Amanipākkam including *Kaḍamai* (Land tax) *Kāśāyam* (Money dues), *veṭṭi*, *Śirupāḍikkāval* (Watchman's fee), *eḍuttukoṭṭi*, *taniyāl* and *Nellāyam* (taxes in kind, i.e., paddy).

Takkōlam *alias* Kulōttungaśōlapuram, on the occasion of the solar eclipse as *Sūryagrahaṇa dakshinā*. He also built a maṭhā at Tirumalai (172 of 1903) to which he endowed lands and taxes for its maintenance. Karipalli, a village in Kaṇupparūnādu was given away as a gift for feeding the pilgrims at Kālahasti at the instigation of one Śūrappa Nāyakā.

3. SINGAPILLAI

Singapillai *alias* Vira Rākshasa Yādavarāya, who is mentioned in three inscriptions,²⁶ was a son of Tirukkālattidēva. He is distinctly called the son (Maganār) in 197 of 1892. Nothing is known about him except that he made a gift of land to Kālahasti temple in A.D. 1193.

4. RAJAMALLA YADAVARAYA

Bhujabalaśiddharaśar *alias* Rājamalla Yādavarāyan, who is referred to as the son of Ghaṭṭidēvaraśar in the Venkaṭagiri records, was another distinguished member of the family.²⁷ Like his contemporary Yādavarāyas, he was also a feudatory of both Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III, and ruled for about thirty years from the 30th year of Kulōttunga (122 of 1922) to the 21st year of Rājarāja (Venkaṭagiri No. 2). Excepting 122 of 1922 that comes from Kālahasti, the rest of his records are found in Venkaṭagiri Taluk. One of them (No. 1) contains the expired Śaka date 1152. His authority in all probability did not extend beyond the limits of the Nellore District, and he was perhaps residing at Kārṇṇapūndi. He was the founder of an *agrahāra* (Brahman holdings) in Nāgapudōli²⁸ and the builder of the Yādava Nārāyaṇa Perumal temple there.²⁹ No. 10 (Venkaṭagiri) refers to

26. Besides 197 of 1892, there are two records 293 T.T. and 362 T.T. of the T.T.D., Vol. I. Both of them are fragmentary.

27. *Śaśi kula Śalukki vaṁśādīpanāna Ghaṭṭidēvaraśar magan*. Ghaṭṭidēva, father of Rājamalla *alias* Kulōttungaśōla Yādavarāyan was perhaps the same Ghaṭṭidēva, who figures as early as A.D. 1135 in the records of Vikrama Chola and Kulōttunga II (155 of 1922 and 83 of 1922 mentioned above). Rājamalla was not the son of that Ghaṭṭidēva Yādavarāya, who appears in A.D. 1221 (232 of 1903). Contra. T.T.D. Ins. p. 102.

28. Venkaṭagiri No. 11.

29. Nāgapudōli in Pagamānāḍ of Pākkainādu, a sub-division of Jayan-gonḍaśōlamandalam. The existence of a Śiva (Nāgēśwara) temple already there, is referred to in the epigraph. 'The Tirunāgēśvara Udaiyār temple of which there are no traces, was evidently more ancient and had been

the actual founding of this town only in the 2nd year of Rājarāja (A.D. 1218), even though the idea of founding it had been conceived of as early as A.D. 1217. Nāgapudōli which he founded, was also known as Rājamallachaturvēdimangalam. His queen Kamalādēvi *alias* Bejjādēvi not only made gifts of lands and cows for lamps in the same temple, but also made possible the cultivation of arable lands by digging up a big tank called *Kamalādēvi pē rēri* after her own name (Venkaṭagiri 3).

Even though Rājamalla appears to have favoured Vaishṇavism, that he was tolerant of Śaivism is seen from a record which registering a gift of lands for God Yādava Nārāyaṇa, takes care to exclude such lands of the Śiva temple of Tirunāgēśvara at Nāgapudōli (No. 11, Venkaṭagiri).

The building and the consecration of Yādava Nārāyaṇa temple by Rājamalladēva and the gifts made to the same temple by the other members of the Yādavarāya family, have been interpreted to mean that Yādava Nārāyaṇa must have been an ancestor of the Yādavarāyas.³⁰ Tēmāndi Ammai, who is referred to as the *muppiār* of Bhujabalaśiddharaśa *alias* Rājamalla in two undated records (Venkaṭagiri 8 and 9) is said to have been the wife of this Nārāyaṇa.³¹ One Nāraṇadēva is said to have been one of the earliest members of the family.³² But it is not certain whether the consecration of Yādava Nārāyaṇa, was in commemoration of this ancestor of the Yādavarāyas, since we find in the Eastern Chālukyā records, reference made to Nārāyaṇa.³³ The Eastern Chālukyās and the Yādavarāyas, who claim descent through the former, from the Yādava race, perhaps had Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) as their common and tutelary god. One Ghaṭṭidēva is called by the name of Chālukyā Nārāyaṇa.³⁴

Madhurāṇṭaka Poṭṭappichola Erṇaśiddharaśa, a Telugu Chola, and his subordinate, acted as the agent in making gifts of lands

founded by the sage Nārāḍa'. See Venkayya in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 38, p. 87.

30. T.T.D. Ins. Vol. I, p. 102.

31. *Muppiār* is translated as grandmother in the T.T.D. cited above. It may also mean a lady of distinction or an elderly person:—Tamil Lexicon, Mad. University.

32. The Cōlas, Vol. II, p. 78. (266 of 1904).

33. Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 237. Chandatūr plates. Line 3. *Nārāyaṇa prasāda samupalabha*.

34. 210 of 1903 dated in the 9th year of Rājarāja III.

and in dedicating the village of Nāgapudōli.³⁵ Savaṇar Āludaiya-pillai was one of his officers (Venkaṭagiri No. 2 dated A.D. 1237). It is possible 'that the Yādavarāyas were provincial governors and that the Telugu Cholas of Nellore were rulers of chiefships subject to the authority of the Yādavarāyas.'

5. KĀSĀNMAI.

Kāsānmai, who made a gift of one *māḍai* for a lamp to the Yādava Nārāyaṇa Perumāl, in the 19th year of Rājarāja, was perhaps Rājamalla's son.³⁶

6. VĪRA NARASIṄGA.

Of the Yādavarāya feudatories of Kulōttunga and Rājarāja, the most illustrious member was Vira Narasiṅga Yādavarāya, who was responsible for the maintenance of the Chola prestige from immediate decline. He is referred to as Vira Narasiṃha and Vira Narasiṅga in his epigraphs. He enjoyed a prosperous and a long reign of fifty-four years. When the Chola power declined after the accession of Rājendra III, he assumed independence. But fortune would not allow him to enjoy it for long since he could not withstand the rising power of the Pāṇḍyās. Commencing his rule as a feudatory of both Kulōttunga and Rājarāja and as a contemporary of Rājendra and Jaṭavarman Suṇḍara Pāṇḍya, Vira Narasiṅga, lived successfully through the troublous times that saw the decline of the Cholas and the rise of the Pāṇḍyās. His own epigraphs from Kālahasti range in date from the 12th to the 51st years of his rule. From the provenance of his records, he appears to have been the ruler of Chittoor, the South and North Arcots and Chingleput Districts.³⁷ He was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara* and 710 of 1889 calls him a *Tribhuvanachakravarti*. He also enjoyed the rare distinction of being called in his records as *Tanininru venṛān*³⁸ (one who conquered unaided). Even though the exact relationship

35. Venkaṭagiri Nos. 10, 11 and 7. Rājamalla Yādavarāya was not a subordinate of Errāsiddha, as it is suggested by Prof. K. A. N. Śāstri. *The Cōlas*, Vol. II, p. 169.

36. Venkaṭagiri, 4. "Yādavarāyan magan Kāsānmai".

37. 122 of 1922 from Kālahasti. 640 of 1904 from Rāmagiri (Chittoor Dt.). 165 of 1903 from Gingee (S. A. Dt.). 271 of 1904 from N. A. Dt. 149 of 1929 from Chingleput Dt.

38. The earliest mention of Vira Narasiṅga with his title *Tanininruvenṛān* is made in A.D. 1210 (640 of 1904 is dated in the 32nd year of Kulōttunga III).

of this chief with the other members, is not known; it is certain that he was not the son of Tirukkālattidēva as suggested by some scholars.³⁹

The earliest reference to Vira Narasiṅga Yādavarāya, is made in a record of Kulōttunga from Kālahasti dated in the latter's 31st year i.e., A.D. 1209. His subordination to the Cholas lasted only till the 14th year of Rājarāja i.e. A.D. 1230, the latest date available for him in the Chola records (219 of 1903). For about twenty-one years Vira Narasiṅga remained a loyal feudatory of the Cholas and later on assumed independence, this fact being surmised from the absence of records of Rājendra, claiming his subordination after this date. Moreover, the years following A.D. 1230 which marked a period of turmoil and confusion in the Chola history, would have certainly given Vira Narasiṅga an opportunity to renounce the Chola authority. His independent rule must have come to an end soon after the accession of Jaṭavarman Suṇḍara Pāṇḍya (acc. A.D. 1251), for, the latter not only carried on a successful *digvijaya* in the South, but also advanced as far as Nellore and celebrated a *Vīrabhishēka* there.⁴⁰ Besides, 72 of 1889 and 163 T. T.⁴¹ of this Narasiṅga are dated in the 12th year of Jaṭavarman Suṇḍara Pāṇḍya, i.e. A.D. 1263; and this is the latest year available so far for him.⁴² This would mean that he ruled for fifty-four years and it includes his 51st year so far available in the records bearing his regnal years.⁴³ This long reign includes also his subordination to

39. *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, p. 16. 'The Vira Narasiṃha seems the chief referred to in a record of the 15th year of Kulōttunga (III), where he is described as prince Simha *alias* Vira Rākṣha Yādavarāya, the son of Yādavarāya *alias* Tirukkālattidēva' and 'two of them are mentioned namely Tirukkālattidēva and his son Vira Narasiṅga'. The record in question (197 of 1892) refers to one Śingapillai *alias* Vira Rākṣha Yādavarāya, as the son of Tirukkālattidēva. We have seen already that Vira Narasiṅgadēva appears only in the 31st year of Kulōttunga. Moreover, the reference to Allun Tirukkālattidēva, the Telugu Chola chief, who claims both Tirukkālattidēva and Vira Narasiṅga as fathers-in-law disproves the statement that Vira Narasiṅga was a son of Tirukkālattidēva.

40. Jaṭa Sundara Pāṇḍya's conquests of the North, must have taken place before A.D. 1260, the year of Kākatīya Gaṇapati's death. 332, 340 and 36 of 1913 from Chidambaram. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1914, Pt. II, para 18.

41. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 104.

42. Vira Narasiṅgadēva's subordination to Jaṭa. Suṇḍara is confirmed by another epigraph (379 of 1911), which records a gift made by a subordinate of a Yādavarāya in the 8th year of the Pāṇḍya.

43. T.T.D., Vol. I, p. 121. The record is from Tirupati.

one Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla, a Telugu Pallava chief, who was in occupation of Kāñchi.⁴⁴ Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla, in whose 3rd regnal year the epigraph is recorded, must be identified with Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla, (acc. A. D. 1250) who suffered death at the hands of Jaṭavarman Suṇḍara. The Pāṇḍyan records refer not only to the victory over the Gaṇḍagōpāla, but also to the installation of his brothers as rulers of the lands. Since the Tamil records of the Pāṇḍya refer to Gaṇḍagōpāla without any titles, while the Sanskrit epigraphs have 'Vira' added to his name, it is clear that 'Vira' denotes nothing but his prowess.⁴⁵

Vira Narasiṅga was a powerful chief, and in the early years of Rājarāja's reign, he took an active part and fought a battle against Kāḍava Kōpperuṅginga (271 of 1904) at Uratti (Oratti in the Chingleput District). He must have also been the same Yādavarāya who appears in a record from the Tanjore District (70 of 1931) dated in the 9th year of Rājarāja.⁴⁶

His Queens. Yādavarāya Nāchchiar was his queen. She also made large gifts to the Tirumalai temple and all her records are dated in the years of her husband. She provided for lamps by making gifts and cows, and in the 30th year of Vira Narasiṅga she granted some lands as *śarvamānyā* to the Tirumalai temple including Kaḍamai and other taxes for the celebration of a festival to God Govinḍarāja Perumāl established by her. She also constructed the golden śikhara of the four faced *ratha*⁴⁷ used for taking the deity in procession. She was perhaps the daughter of one Pāṇḍiadaraiyar, son of Āṇḍār.⁴⁸

Diplomatic Marriage Alliances. Lakshimidēvi, the queen of Madhurāntaka Poṭṭappichola Allun Tirukkālattidēva, was Vira Narasiṅga's daughter.⁴⁹ We have seen already that the same Telugu Chola chief had also married a daughter of Tirukkālatti-

44. 659 of 1904.

45. If Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla is to be identified with another chief of the same name, whose accession took place in A.D. 1290, we could not easily explain a very long reign for Vira Narasiṅga.

46. The record registers an order issued by the King at the instance of Yādavarāya for the sale of lands that belonged to two Śivadrōhins. As Vira Narasiṅga took part in the battle against the Kāḍava, on behalf of the Chola, it is possible that he wielded some power in the Chola Court.

47. G.T. 111. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I.

48. 380 T.T. says that Vira Narasiṅgadēva was the son-in-law (*maru-ganār*) of Pāṇḍiadarayar.

49. 46 of 1893 from Kāñchi. *Gaṇḍagōpālādēvar dēvimāril Vira Narasiṅga-dēvan magalār Lakṣmidēvi.*

dēva Yādavarāya, a contemporary of Vira Narasiṅga. These marriage alliances⁵⁰ show the political and social relations of the Yādavarāyas with the Telugu Cholas.

His officers. Malaikkinianinrār *alias* Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha of Vira Nārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimangalam, and Periapillai *alias* Rājā-nārāyaṇa Śērakōn were his subordinates. Śūrappōttan *alias* Aṅgarāyan of Kaḍuvēli *vishaya* was Narasiṅga's *śenāpati*; ⁵¹ while Kāḍabōyan Eriyapōttan *alias* Adigaimān was his *pradhāni* (minister).⁵² 182 of 1903 from Kālahasti refers to his maid-servant, Pudōli Kizhavi by name and the daughter of one Perumāl.

His Benefactions. The temples at Kālahasti, Tirumalai and Tiruppāsūr, received numerous gifts at his hands. The Kālahasti temple got money and lands as *dēvadāna* from him in the 4th and 8th years of Rājarāja.⁵³ In the 7th year Vira Narasiṅga issued an order to the effect that the *dēvamandalam* must be considered not as *iṅgal* but *nīṅgal*, and the taxes already collected were to be made over to the temple at Tiruvorriyūr. He also made a gift of land to Kālahasti for providing a flower garden. Another grant of land as *dēvadāna* including *kāsāyam* and *nellāyam*, was made to the Rāmagiri temple for the celebration of a festival called after his own name. On another occasion a gift of thirty-six *bhujabalamāḍai* was made to the Tiruppāsūr temple. The same shrine again received all the taxes due to Vira Narasiṅga from the *Tirumaḍai-vilāgam* and *dēvadāna* lands for conducting worship and carrying out the repairs. The liquid measure called *Tirukkālattiṇḍaiyān* is mentioned.⁵⁴

Besides the numerous gifts, he is also credited with the performance of *Tulābhārās* (weighing against gold), and the gold was used in gilding the *vimāna* of Lord Venkatēśa.⁵⁵ According to 227

50. 149 of 1922. Yāḍavakula mādēvi, daughter of Śūra Nāyaka *alias* Śīya Gangan (Ganga family) calls herself as the queen of one Ghāṭṭidēva. The translation in A.R.E. 1922 is misleading and the record is undated. The epigraph refers to the marital alliances made by the Yādavarāyas with the Gaṅgās also, besides the Telugu Cholas.

51. 219 of 1903.

52. 221 of 1903.

53. The taxes that were levied and made over to the temple include an occasional tax levied in gold. *varippon koḷḷum āṇḍugaḷḷ varipponnum.*

54. This measure was in vogue even in the time of Kulōttunga I as 130 of 1922 dated in his 31st year refers to it.

55. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 122. 371 T.T. Śrīman Vira Narasiṅha bhūpaṭhi kṛtvā tulārōhanam chakre Venkaṭa bhūḍaram suragirēḥ tuḷyam tulā kāñchanaiḥ. That the Tirumalai temple was rebuilt is best seen from

of 1912 from Tiruvorriyūr, he installed an image called after him in the verandah around the central shrine and made provision for its worship. 200 of 1903 refers to his setting up God Mallikārjunā in the Kālahasti temple.

7. GHATTIDEVA.

Next in order comes Ghattidēva *alias* Yādarāya, the second of that name. His epigraphs are few and he figures only in the reign of Rājarāja III.⁵⁶ His rule was a short one and the earliest mention about him is made in the year A.D. 1221,⁵⁷ and the latest year is A.D. 1227 (Venkatagiri No. 6). He assumed the usual *birudas* of the Yādarāyas and is called a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. In 210 of 1903 he is called Chalukya Nārāyaṇa Yādarāyan *alias* Ghattidēvan. Nothing is known about him except his gifts of 100 *kāṣu* for the celebration of a festival and a village called Kiāraṅ-gonḍaśōlapuram (Kiārangonḍaśōlapuram) to the Kālahasti temple. Kāṇṭarāyan of Tonḍaimānārūr, who made a gift of cows to Yādava Nārāyaṇa Perumāḷ at Nāgapudōli, in the 11th year of Rājarāja, was the *pradhāni* (minister) of this Ghattidēva Mahārāja Yādarāya.

LATER MEMBERS

After Vira Narasiṅga Yādarāya, whose latest year is A.D. 1263, the Yādarāya family paled practically into insignificance, since their epigraphs definitely show their decline as a political power. Tirumalai in the Chittoor District became the centre of their activities. The latter part of the 13th Century was comparatively a period of confusion and disorder in South India and there were constant feuds between the three powers, *viz.*, the Pāṇḍyās, the Hoysālas and the Kākatīyas. In the interim, another feudatory family of chieftains called the Śāmbuvarāyas grew powerful in the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam country and naturally the Yāda-

another epigraph (17. T.T.) which records an order of this Yādarāya to the effect that the old documents formerly found on the temple walls were to be re-engraved after repairs.

56. In 219 of 1910 and 171 of 1903 dated in the 8th and 9th years of Rājarāja, there appears one *Paramēśvaramudaiyān Ambalakūṭṭan Śiḷambanindānā Yādarāyan Pākkān Pāṇḍar*. It is difficult to identify this person. Śiḷambanindān might refer to one who wore the (hero) anklet. Can he be identified with Vira Narasiṅgaṇa *Taṇinirruveṇṇān*?

57. 232 of 1903 dated in the 5th year of Rājarāja. It is signed as Ghattidēvanāna Yādarāyan. All of his records are found at Kālahasti.

varāyas had to shrink and to confine their power within the limited portion of the Tirumalai Hills.

8. TIRUVENGADANĀTHA YADAVARĀYA

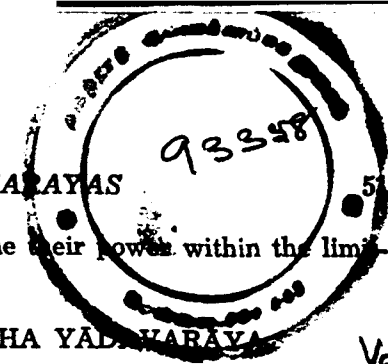
Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha's records are few and are found in Tirumalai. They contain references to his 8th and 12th years of his reign and do not help us in fixing his period of rule. But they are helpful in so far as they contain references to the contemporary Hoysāla ruler and his general, and from this the time of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha can broadly be fixed. Nos. 99 and 102 of the Tirumalai Tirupaṭi Dēvasthānam Inscriptions⁵⁸ refer to one Śingēya Dandānāyaka, who was the general of the Vira Ballāla III (A.D. 1292 to A.D. 1342).⁵⁹ No. 100 of the Inscriptions dated in the 12th year of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha refers to a gift of taxes which included a special tax called *Vallāla dēvar vari* (Ballāla's tax). The tax reminds us of the Danegeld levied by the Anglo-Saxon Kings of England to pay off the Danes, who were plundering and pillaging the land in the 10th century; and it suggests that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha, who must have been subjugated by the Hoysāla king, perhaps agreed to pay a tribute, when he was allowed to rule undisturbed. This tribute was paid by him from the income of this tax levied in the name of Ballāla. Besides, the Hoysāla supremacy is also established by the fact that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha founded a festival in the name of Śingēya Dandānāyaka and provided for the maintenance of the same by granting as *Tirunāmat-tukkāṇi*, the village of Pongalūr *alias* Śingananallūr, named after the Hoysāla general.⁶⁰ Since Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha is mentioned as *maruganār* (son-in-law) in 195 T.T., it is possible that he had married a daughter of Śingēya Dandānāyaka.⁶¹

58. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 121 and 131.

59. Śingēya Dandānāyaka and Chikka Kēṭaya Dandānāyaka were the sons of Pradhāni Mādappa Dandānāyaka, the Minister of Ballāla III. Mādappa or Mādava Dandānāyaka of the Moudgalya gōtrā was the son of Perumāḷ-dēva Dandānāyaka, the great minister of Vira Narasiṅha III, and was also the founder of the Danāyakankottai chiefs. Śingēya Dandānāyaka was the younger of the two brothers as 158 of 1909 refers to a gift by Kēṭaya for the merit of his younger brother Śingēya. 82 from Humsūr (A.D. 1338) and 40 of Kaḍūr (A.D. 1335) refer to Śingēya. 437 of 1906 dated A.D. 1338 from Danāyakankottai refers to a gift by Mādappa Śingēya Dandānāyaka.

60. Śingēya could not have been the minister of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha as is surmised in T.T.D., Vol. I, p. 110. The epigraph will only show the Hoysāla supremacy.

61. The translation in T.T.D., Vol. I, is unsatisfactory.



The Tirumalai temple was enriched by the gifts of Tiruvēngadānātha, who made a *śarvamānya* gift of land in his 9th year for the celebration of the Āḍi festival, founded by Śingēya Daṇḍanāyaka in the name of Rāchēya Daṇḍanāyaka. The records enumerate a variety of taxes among which the *Tirumaganār* and *Tiruttāyār Kānikkai* require special mention. References are also made to the taxes that may be either newly taxed or revived. (*Namvāsalilpirakkum Paḷavari Puduvari ulpaḍa*). In the 12th year additional taxes were made over to the temple *sthānattārs* (administrators) at Tirumalai for *ārādhnam* and *amudupaḍi* (worship and food for God). The *sthānattārs* also agreed to celebrate the Āḍi festival, and to conduct the *Śithagarakaṇḍan sandhi* in the temple in return for the *śarvamānya* gift of land from Tiruvēngadānātha. Provision was made for the feeding of 32 Vaishnavas in the Śithagaragandan maṭha, for the holy food to be offered to Vira Narasiṅga Perumaḷ,⁶² and for the maintenance of a flower garden and watershed. It was also agreed that further charities would be provided, if there was any balance from the income of the *śarvamānya* land, after meeting the expenses for the above mentioned items.

It is not known when his rule came to an end. Perhaps he ruled 'during the first two or three decades of the 14th Century'.

9. ŚRIRANGANĀTHA YADAVARĀYA

Next comes Śrīraṅganātha, the last known member of this family and with him the history of the Yādavarāyas comes to an end. The latest year for him is his 19th year mentioned in a record 102 T.T. His date of accession is A.D. 1336, on the ground that a record from Tiruvorriyūr (242 of 1912) dated in his 16th year, mentions the cyclic year Kṛāra. The astronomical details of this epigraph, work out correct to 24th May, A.D. 1351.⁶³ From the provenance of his records, it appears that he was in charge of a portion of the North Arcot, Chingleput and Chittoor Districts.⁶⁴ He was a contemporary of Ballāla III in the early years of his reign. That he was a feudatory of the Hoyśālas, is

62. The reference to Vira Narasiṅga Perumaḷ may suggest that the deity was named after Vira Narasiṅga.

63. T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I, p. 111.

64. 35 of 1911 from the Kilpākkam in the N. Arcot District. 387 of 1911 from Śāttaravāḍa in the Chittoor District. Also 281 of 1897 dated 17th from Śaidapēt Taluk.

found in an epigraph dated in his 3rd year and which mentions Śingēya Daṇḍanāyaka, the general of Ballāla III. But his subordination must have come to an end by the year A.D. 1342, the year of Ballāla's death. And he ruled till A.D. 1355.⁶⁵ The *biruda*, Tribhuvanachakravarti, mentioned in his inscriptions was nothing short of an empty boast.

In the third year Śrīraṅganātha made arrangements for the irrigation of the lands given as *Tirunāmattukkani* to the Tirumalai temple. In the same year Śingēya Daṇḍanāyaka appointed a Jiyar, to be in charge of the administration of the two maṭhas founded by him.⁶⁶

Āpaṭsahāya Paḷavarāyan, son of Kāḷiṅgarāyan, who repaired the Kilpākkam temple in the 12th year of Śrīraṅganātha, was one of his subordinates. Perhaps he is the same chief, who figures in another epigraph (102 T. T.) dated in the 19th year of the same Yādavarāya. 225 G.T. mentions a Yādava Viḷupparayan, Chola Viḷupparayan and Trigattarāyan.

380 T.T. gives an account of the *birudas* of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya, who claims to have defeated such enemies who opposed him, by driving them to take shelter in the forests, and to have built a royal mansion in his 16th year. Who were the enemies that suffered defeat at his hands, are not known. With him the Yādavarāya family comes to an abrupt end after having ruled over the Tondaimaṇḍalam and other neighbouring territories for more than two centuries. The Yādavarāyas, who flourished as Chola vassals in the 12th and 13th Centuries, declined subsequently, giving place to the Śambuvarāyas. Some of their *birudas* speak highly of their patronage given to learning and religion. Both Śaivism and Vaishnavism were encouraged and the two most important of all the temples that much profited by their rule, are those of Śrī Kālahasti and Tirupati.

65. T.T.D., Vol. I, p. 111. It is said that he ruled till A.D. 1360, on the ground that 181 T.T. is dated in Śaka 1281 (Vikāri). But the original contains Śaka 1181 and not 1281. Besides, there is nothing to show that this record belongs to Śrīraṅganātha.

66. 434 T.T. and 676 T.T. of the T.T.D. Ins., Vol. I.

Tirumalaideva Maharaya

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THOUGH from the points of view of the expansion of the empire and the systematisation of the administration, the reign of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, the great Vijayanagar Emperor was one of dazzling brilliance, yet his domestic life, like that of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor, was not happy. According to the Portuguese chronicler Paes, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had twelve lawful wives. Of them, four appear to have been the principal ones, namely, Tirumalādevi, Chinnādevi, Jaganmohini and Annapūrnādevi. It is difficult to say who among them was the Chief Queen. If, however, the inscriptions can give us any definite idea about that question, it was probably Tirumalādevi who was the Chief Queen, for an epigraph particularly mentions that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya ascended the Karnāṭaka throne with his queen Tirumalāmbikā.¹

Though Kṛṣṇa Rāya had so many wives, he had no issue till very late in his reign and this fact was not only a cause of anxiety to the Emperor himself but also was a cause of concern for many in the kingdom. In 1517 Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, one of the trusted lieutenants of Kṛṣṇa Rāya made a gift to the temple of Chowdeśvarī at Choḷasamudra (Anantapūr) "in order that the king may be blessed with children."² It appears that the prayers of the Rāyasam were heard and Kṛṣṇa Rāya was blessed with a child in the next year by his queen Tirumalādevi. We have to infer this from the details contained in a record dated Saturday, Kārtika 12, Bahudhānya (expired) Śāka 1440 (A.D. 1519), coming from Kamalāpuram, near modern Hospet. The inscription registers a gift of land made by the king and the queen Tirumalādevi to the God Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of Añjanagiri (Tirumala at Tirupati) for the merit of Tirumalairāya Mahārāya.³ If a conjecture is possible the gift was perhaps made on the day on which Tirumalairāya completed his first year. But it is difficult

to explain how the prince came to be called a *mahārāya* even in 1519. Perhaps the epigraph was inscribed on the walls of the temple some five years later when he came to be called a *mahārāya* and was associated with his father in the administration of the Empire.

After 1519 for about 5 years we do not hear of prince Tirumalairāya. But he comes into prominence in 1524 both in the epigraphs of the year and the chronicle of the Portuguese traveller Nuniz who came to Vijayanagar during the time of Acyutarāya Mahārāya. The Portuguese chronicler says "the king (Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya) perceiving that he was already advanced in years desiring to rest in his old age and wishing his son to become king when he died, determined to make him king during his life time the boy being six years old and the king not knowing what would happen after his death wherefore he abdicated his throne and all his power and name, and gave it all to his son and himself became his minister."⁴ Though Nuniz does not give the name of the prince who was six years old in A.D. 1524 it was evidently Tirumala who according to the epigraphs was aged exactly so many years then. According to Nuniz the reason for the so-called abdication of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and the installation of his son on the throne was the fact that he was afraid that there might be a dispute as to the succession to the throne after his own death which fear after all turned out to be well-founded.

It is worth examining here if this literary evidence afforded by the chronicle of Nuniz is supported by the evidence of epigraphy. The inscriptions do not refer to the abdication of the father in favour of his son. The inscriptions of Tirumalaideva Mahārāya which are about thirteen in number so far collected and are all dated A.D. 1524, mention him as ruling the empire with all imperial titles and are scattered over the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. The following is a list of the inscriptions of the prince :

1. M.E.R. 1912, p. 55 ; see also 87 of 1912.
2. *Ibid.*
3. 697 of 1923.

4. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 359.

Reference.	Date.	King.	Details.
E.C. IV. H.S. 58.	Tārana Vaiśāka Śud. 8, Friday.	Tirumalai Rāya.	His minister, Daṇṇā- yaka, made a grant.
E.C. IX. M.G. 6.	Tārana Vaiśāka Śud. 13.	Do.	Timmaṇṇya Daṇṇā- yaka made a grant for the merit of the king.
683 of 1923. Rep. Para 79 Ananta- śayanaguḍi, (Hospet Taluk.)	Tārana, Jyēṣṭha Śud. 7, Sunday.	Tirumalai- deva Mahārāya.	Kṛṣṇa granted a num- ber of villages to the temple of Ananta- padmanābha at Śāli Tirumala Mahārāya- pura founded in the name of his son.
261 of 1929-30. Śrīraṅgam, (T.P.)	Śāka 1446, Tārana Simha Śud. Dvitiya Uttiram, Wednesday.	Do.	Records certain grants to the temple.
115 of 1918. Kugaiyūr, (S. Arcot.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Tulā Bagula, Di, Hasta, Monday.	Do.	Do
139 of 1896. S.I.I. V, 1004 Dāmal, (Cg.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Kārti Śu. Di. 12, Monday Uttānadvādaśi Chittirai.	Do.	Do.
181 of 1913. Gorantla (A.P.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana Kārt. Śu. Di 12, Monday, Uttānadvādaśi (7-11-1524).	Virapratāpa Tirumalai- deva Rāya Mahārāya.	Do.
605 of 1929-30. Matpādi (Sk.)	Ś. 1446 Vyaya Kārtika Śu. Tuesday.	Tirumalai- deva.	Do.
116 of 1918. Kugaiyūr (S.A.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Dhanus Śud. Di Paurṇima, Ārudra, Sunday.	Do.	Do.

Reference.	Date.	King.	Details.
117 of 1918. Kugaiyūr (S.A.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Dhanus Śud. Di. 1, Ārudra, Sunday.	Tirumalai- deva.	Records certain grants to the temple.
E.C. 9 M.A. 82.	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Mārga Śu. 2.	Tirumalai- deva Mahārāya 'The moon to the ocean of Kṛṣṇa Rāya'.	Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka makes a grant.
91 of 1912. M.E.R. 1912, P. 55. Lepākṣi (A.P.)	Ś. 1446, Tārana.	Virapratāpa Tirumalai- deva Mahārāya.	A grant.

Not even one of the above records refers to the abdication of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and the installation of Tirumala as the Mahārāya. It was the custom in the Hindu courts for the reigning sovereigns to nominate their heirs apparent and bequeath their empire to them; and that was generally done to avoid unnecessary disputes on the question of succession to the throne after their own death. It was in accordance with that practice that Kṛṣṇadeva appears to have crowned young Tirumala as the Yuvarāja so that he could succeed to the throne on his own death, and avoid unnecessary palace feuds. This was misunderstood by Nuniz as the regular coronation of the son and abdication of the father. The fact that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya did not abdicate his throne in favour of his son is proved by the large number of epigraphs bearing the dates from Śāka 1446 Tārana, Vaiśāka to Mārga of the same year, which are found scattered throughout the different parts of the vast empire. Further much reliance cannot be placed on the evidence of Nuniz for it is contradictory in nature. The Portuguese chronicler says that one of the reasons why Kṛṣṇadeva abdicated his throne in favour of his son and became his minister was that he wanted to take rest in his old age. In an earlier connection, the same chronicler says that Kṛṣṇa was a little over 20 when he ascended the throne in 1509, and if there can be any truth in that it is incredible to believe that within a period of some 15 years he would have become too old to rule efficiently and hence was anxious to retire. Even granting that Kṛṣṇa became old and hence wanted retirement, it is doubtful if he could have had any rest if, as Nuniz says, he had become

the minister of his son who was only six years old and therefore could not be expected to bear the burden of the empire. Besides we have a large number of inscriptions belonging to Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya bearing the dates between 1525 and 1530, and these clearly show that he continued to rule over the empire till five or six years after the installation of Tirumala as the Yuvarāja. It should have been a very inopportune time for Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya to have thought of abdicating the throne in favour of his son when the Empire was just beginning to enjoy the fruits of peace after a hard period of strenuous warfare with the refractory feudatories on the one hand, the Gajapati ruler on the other, and the ever troublesome Muhammadan Sultans on the third. It was barely three years since Vijayanagar came out successful from the battle of Raichūr and Kṛṣṇadeva would not have thought of retiring at that time. He would have simply crowned his young son as the Yuvarāja.

But Tirumala does not appear to have reigned long. We do not hear of him in the epigraphs after Śāka 1446 (1525). He died a premature death. Nuniz is specific on the point and says that the "great festivals (connected with the installation of Tirumala as Yuvarāja) lasted 8 months during which time the son of the king fell sick of a disease of which he died." Thus according to him, Tirumala died about the middle of 1525. We find the earliest inscription of Acyuta Rāya in 1526 which states that he was ruling from Vijayanagar. This indicates that he was anointed crown prince after the death of Tirumala and hence he appeared with all regal titles since then.

According to the Portuguese chronicler Tirumala died under suspicious circumstances; and hence Kṛṣṇadeva learning that his son had died by poison given him by Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka the son of Sāluva Timma, sent for his minister, his brother and two sons, and put them into prison. Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka however escaped from the prison, but was defeated and brought back. Subsequently, all the four were ordered to be blinded and cast into prison where Timmaṇṇa languished and died. The description of Nuniz is too graphic and full of details to be cast aside. But it is extremely doubtful if Sāluva Timma who was on very cordial terms with his royal master, was the Dharaṇivaraha of the Empire and Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's own body could have been punished in that manner by the king, though it might have been, if at all there can be any truth in the charge, due to the fact that he was subject to certain fits as observed by Paes.⁵

5. *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 357.

Towards the close of his reign the heart-broken Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya was blessed with another son. He was barely 18 months old when Kṛṣṇa died in 1530 and hence not "of fit age to ascend the throne." Therefore Kṛṣṇa at the time of his death nominated his half-brother Acyutadeva Rāya to succeed him, and he ascended the throne "agreeably to the orders of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya."⁶

6. E.C. IX, Db. 30.

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

Part XVII. From October 1757 to June 1758

By

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(Continued from p. 334, Volume XVI, part 3.)

I

TROUBLES IN THE INDIAN TOWN OF PONDICHERRY

WE SAW that from the time of the reinforcements from France landing at Pondicherry in September under the Chevalier Soupire, the French position on the coast became somewhat strengthened. The English were at that time too weak to offer any open opposition to them. Soupire immediately took the field after landing and encamped at Valudavur near Pondicherry. The first important event was the capture of the fortress of Chetpattu from Izarat Muhammad Khan who was killed in the course of the attack, followed by the plunder of the place including the cannon, guns and other weapons in the fort.

A very important matter about which our Diarist dwells at some length is with reference to the recrudescence of troubles between the right and left hand castes regarding their respective temple rights in the town of Pondicherry. The immediate occasion for this was the complaint of some blacksmiths and carpenters regarding the proposed taking out in procession of their Goddess Kali for the *Pārvēttai Vijayadasami* festival along with the idols of Varadaraja Perumal and Kalahastiswaran. They presented a petition to the Governor and got from him the necessary permission. Ranga Pillai, when he heard the news, felt greatly pleased, but remarked that, in this matter, it was only the consent of the right hand castes people that was required and not the permission of the Governor; but he carefully added that they had done wisely in getting the Governor's permission and advised them further to go and seek permission from the *Nāttārs* of the important right hand castes like the Kavarais, the Idaiyars, the Agamudayārs,

the Vellālars, the Kaikkōlars¹ etc., and to "ask them softly to be pleased to allow your idols to be carried in procession along with Dharmaraja, Mariyathal, etc., idols, so that the procession may be more magnificent, and you, their servants will be pleased." They replied that they would not approach anybody or beg other people with soft words when they had secured the Governor's permission; and the latter would certainly see to the proper performance of what he had promised, through Vinayakam Pillai. Ranga Pillai however narrated to them the past history of such disputes in Pondicherry and said that the right hand castes people would, in all probability, not agree easily in the present case.²

This present dispute assumed some importance. The Governor's agent interviewed some leaders of the right-hand castes who stubbornly maintained that they would not suffer a new thing to be done; and when they were threatened with the stopping of the procession of their own deity, they replied that they would rather see that happen than consent to this request. Though the Diarist advised them to do as the Governor directed, they persisted in maintaining their stand that they would agree to everything

1. The Kaikkōlars were a left-hand caste and not of the right-hand as was wrongly entered by the Diarist. According to most authorities on South Indian ethnography, Kaikkolan Dasis except those who are specially engaged by the Beri Chettis and Kammālans, were placed in the right hand faction. (Refer to note on Right and Left Hand Castes, by the author, *J.I.H.* Vol. XIII, Part II, Sec. XIII of the Historical Material, etc. 3; and also to the authorities quoted by him in foot-note 5 therein), and also to the paper by the author entitled 'Right and Left Hand Castes Disputes in Madras in the early part of the 18th Century'—published in the *Proceedings of the Twelfth Public Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, held at Gwalior, in December 1929, (Calcutta, 1930). Refer also to the Madras Council Consultation of 15th January, 1708, that "both (Right and Left hand) castes complain against the Kaicullawarrs and the oilmen that they were very fickle in their castes, that they were sometimes of one caste, and sometimes of another, which give trouble to both castes . . . when the weavers declared for the Left Hand and the oilmen for the Right Hand which they were ordered to keep to, or be severely punished."

2. "When in M. de la Prevostiere's time the left-hand caste people tried to take Kalahasti Iswaran (the left-hand caste God) in procession, although Tiruvengada Pillai Avargal and Narasappa Nayakkan Avargal pleaded on their behalf, the right-hand people refused to yield. Again, although M. Lenoir searched the records 40 or 45 days and explained the whole matter to the right-hand caste people, the latter did not agree. But when M. Lenoir requested them to consider the case specially, they yielded."—Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Vol. XI—Entry for Oct. 22, 1757, pp. 72-73.

that might be suggested, but would not give way in an affair concerning their caste customs. Of course, the Diarist was deemed by his enemies to have been instrumental in having incited the right-hand castes people to refuse to accede to the Governor's wishes. The Governor naturally forbade the procession of Varadaraja Perumal, unless that of Goddess Kali also should be allowed to be taken out and the net result was that the *pārvēttai* procession was not held on the proper day. Since the Governor allowed the Kalahastisvaran procession, the Diarist communicated the order to the authorities of that temple; but they did not care to conduct their procession without Varadaraja Perumal accompanying it. The latter procession was thus not held for the first time since the town was founded. It was only several days later that the Governor finally agreed to the celebration of the *pārvēttai* festival for Varadaraja Swami and for Kalahastisvaran. The attitude adopted in Pondicherry by the French towards the conduct of Hindu religious festivals and worships was certainly generally marked by a spirit of non-interference. The Hindus and Muhammadans of the settlement were allowed to have their own temples and mosques and to worship therein freely, though, on one occasion, we read that the Pondicherry Council imprisoned some natives who had repaired their temples without permission; but when it was explained that the Hindu residents believed that they had always the right to do this by virtue of the religious freedom impliedly accorded to them and long enjoyed by them, they were released though the men who actually carried out the repairs were publicly reprimanded.

II—MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS RECORDED BY THE DIARIST

After the landing of Soupire's reinforcements, active preparations were begun for the renewal of military operations, particularly against the English at Fort St. David. Soupire ordered the French troops from Valudavur to march to Arcot and capture it. The Governor De Leyrit keenly felt the lack of money; and both he and Soupire demanded the immediate payment of an alleged arrear of four lakhs of rupees due from the Diarist, according to the accounts kept of the country leases. The Diarist contended that his lease ran on for a term of five years, on the expiry of which the country management was taken away from him without his being informed; and that, according to the inquiries made of the renters by the Governor's commissaries, thirteen lakhs of rupees were still due on account of the lease to the lease-

holder and therefore the Council still owed him nine lakhs. The Governor persisted in demanding from him payment, within a week, of two lakhs out of the alleged four lakhs of his dues on pain of his being put in prison. Then followed the conversation given below which shows how deeply and markedly the once powerful courtier had fallen out of favour and how much the frowns or favours of a Governor could alter the fortunes of even the most influential and wealthy Indians in European settlements.³

An incident reported by the Diarist was about the attempted handing over to M. Moracin the Chief of Masulipatam, of the English ship, *Restitution*, by means of a plot hatched by the French prisoners who were on board. The ship was alleged by the Diarist to carry two lakhs of gold mohurs despatched by Clive from Calcutta to Madras. Mr. Dodwell considers that it is unlikely that the ship carried the large sum of money mentioned by the Diarist.⁴

3. The quotation is given in *extenso* on account of its value in reflecting one important phase of life at Pondicherry.

"I (Diarist) replied, 'The Gods return no answer to men, but Kings are the voice of Gods. Should a God depart from truth, who can hinder Him? All power here is yours; and if your will is to act unjustly or untruly, none has authority to resist. Instead, therefore, of waiting a week to imprison me, imprison me now or punish me or do what you will with me. I stand before you. I cannot pay you two cash, so do not think that I shall be able to pay you two lakhs for fear that you will imprison me a week hence. Now, therefore, do what you will.'—'Why', he said, 'that is just how you have cheated me all along.' I answered, 'When you are in authority you are my father and God and all. The moment I understand that I had lost your favour, I concluded that my bad time had begun and confined myself to my house, and had nothing further to do with money transactions. I have come to the Fort once in four or five days to visit you, and then returned home, waiting for my bad time to end and my good time to begin. However much I lost and whatever people did to my hurt, I have kept quiet lest my words should bring on trouble. But since you think thus, my bad time still continues. You may therefore do what you will and I shall suffer it.'—'You have cheated me thus,' he replied, 'go.' I answered, 'I do not mind whether you believe me or not. My father came here fifty years ago, and died 33 years ago (The Diarist's father first settled in Pondicherry in 1716 and died in 1726) and always I have secured the Governors' kindness and not their anger, and they, in turn, have earned glory, not infamy. But in your time, I have received not kindness but anger, and this may bring dishonour to you, although God has placed you in a position of authority. I am but your servant and the country will extol or blame you for the good or evil that appears. God has been pleased to bless you with fortune, so you know everything, and your pleasure and my fortune are one."

4. The following is the account given in the despatch from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee, dated March 13, 1758. "The

The Diarist reported that Moracin landed the two lakhs of gold mohurs, rice, cloth etc., together with the English soldiers and sepoy, put Frenchmen on board in their stead and wrote to Pondicherry to that effect. Immediately the Diarist, greatly battered by fickle fortune, felt that a change in French fortunes was about to begin and congratulated himself that just as French prospects began to decline from November 1756, when a French ship despatched to Mahe with five lakhs of rupees and goods was captured by an English ship from Tellicherry off the Mahe roads, so English fortunes would begin to decline from this capture of an English ship 'Indian.' (Entry for November 14, 1757). Such was the keen optimism that marked the Diarist even at this stage.

In December, negotiations were begun again with the Peishwa; and presents were sent to him as well as to his younger brother (Raghunatha Rao), his wakil, Balwant Rao and others. A strange rumour based upon a prophecy is recorded by the Diarist that the horoscope of the Peishwa naturally meant that he would be so fortunate as soon to displace the Mughal Emperor from the throne of Delhi and occupy it himself; and now, on the birth of a son to the Peishwa, the astrologers who cast his horoscope, said that the child would ascend the Padsha's throne at Delhi in the month of *Āvaṇi*, *Bahudānya*, corresponding to August-September 1758; and so the Peishwa was making preparations to realise that great contingency.⁵

Chandernagore prisoners have been sent down by a cartel ship, the *Restitution*, for which Leyrit promised a safe conduct; but she was seized by the French prisoners and carried into Masulipatam. She has since arrived at Pondicherry. Leyrit refuses to return her at present on the pretext that the English broke the capitulation of Chandernagore. This at present prevents an exchange of prisoners."

5. The events that took place in the rotten heart of the Mughal Empire and that enabled the distant Diarist to hope for the fulfilment of his prophecy may be summarised here briefly in order to give the reader an idea of the extreme probability of the realisation of this aim. In April 1757 Ahmed Shah Durani resolved to avenge the seizure at Lahore of Mir Mannu's son by the insolent Ghaziu'd-din Imadu'l-Mulk, advanced to Hindustan, took Delhi, where his soldiers committed a massacre and despatched a detachment which surprised the people of Muttra at a religious festival and killed many. And in June of that year, the Afghan returned to his kingdom, leaving Najibu'd-daula, as Amiru'l Omara to protect the Emperor Alamgir II, from Ghaziu'd-din. Raghunath Rao, the Peishwa's younger brother, marched from Rajputana to Delhi about the end of July after the dreaded Afghan had retired, and called upon Najibu'd-daula, to pay the customary chauth as in the reigns of Muhammad Shah and his son, on the ground that the lands assigned to the Marathas

In the last days of December the Diarist heard rumours that came from Madras that peace had been made in the previous September between the French and the English in Europe, while the Europeans at Pondicherry said that the English had given out only such news because they were awaiting reinforcements, and that it was too soon to expect news and that if really, it had come, the French would have also received it. Bussy's army was said to have been then encamped outside Masulipatam. Again, it was said that the French and English ships were reported to be sailing towards Mahe and Tellicherry for an engagement, and that when this became known at Cuddalore, the Governor order-

in lieu of chauth had been occupied by Najib and he was therefore personally responsible for the amount in cash. This demand was backed up by two contingents of Maratha soldiers of Naro Sankar from Jhansi and of Sakaram Bapu from Jaipur. The subahdari of Agra was given by the Peishwa to Malhar Rao Holkar, who nominated his own deputy to rule there. Proceeding from Agra as their base, the Marathas crossed the Jumna and sent a net-work of detachments to occupy the Doab up to the bank of Ganges, in June and July. Though they avoided Delhi at first, their approach caused *great trembling and scarcity of grain* in the capital. Najibu'd-daula advised the weak Emperor to prepare for boldly opposing the Marathas, if they should offer any attack.

About the middle of July, Sakaram Bapu, the diwan of Raghunath Rao, and Tatyā Gangadhar, the diwan of Malhar Rao, established their headquarters at Patparganj and plundered the grain-dealers engaged in bringing supplies to the capital. Najibu'd-daula ran a line of trenches outside the city, but soon withdrew most of his men from this line to the new city. The rest of the month of July and the first week of August were spent in mutual expectations of further development. Then the Marathas from the east bank of the Jumna began to cross over to the Delhi side by boat in small parties and took their first stand about 20 miles south of the city. Their most advanced foragers were at first driven back, but they returned in greater strength, plundered the neighbourhood of Safdar Jang's tomb and a quarter of the old city, even looting several houses. Najibu'd-daula tried to negotiate with the Maratha generals at Patparganj; but the latter demanded the removal of all his troops from the fort and his own evacuation of the city. Raghunath Rao attacked Delhi on the 11th of August 1757. One division of the Marathas entered the old fort and plundered old Delhi. A second division attacked the river bank south-east of the city, while Ghaziu'd-din visited Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao for cementing his alliance with the invaders. Next day, the attack continued; and for a few days afterwards, bands of Maratha horsemen were sent round the city walls, while Najib closed all the city gates and posted artillery and troops at each of them. The Marathas and Ghaziu'd-din occupied a semi-circle round the western side of Delhi and were entrenched opposite the Kashmir gate in the north-east. Fighting was renewed about the end of August. Thus, the learned Sir J. N. Sarkar described the situation at Delhi in the face of a Maratha attack. "Najib declined to resign his

ed all the inhabitants to quit the place and so men were departing. Again the Diarist tells us that Ghaziu'd-din, who was then playing a most unenviable part in the politics of Delhi and had become after the death of his father, Ghaziu'd-din II, in 1752, the Amir ul Omara with the title of Imadu'l Mulk, was written to, asking for the grant of a *mansab* and *jaghir* to De Leyrit, the same as had been formerly granted to Dupleix and that a letter had been received on the 26th of December from Ghaziu'd-din, granting to De Leyrit a *mansab* for 7,000 and to Mr. M. De Larche, one for 5,000 horse, and stating that *jaghirs* would be granted for the same honours in the Carnatic or in Hindustan. The *mansab* letter is also said to have conveyed a request to the Governor and to De Larche, asking for the supply of 1,000 soldiers, 200 artillery men together with guns, powder, shot and other munitions of war. The Diarist believed that this was the reason why Ghaziu'd-din sent the *mansab* letter.⁶

post or leave the capital unless Imad did the same on his part, and he offered only five lakhs. He preferred death in fight to the dishonour of accepting his enemies' exorbitant demands; he abused the Emperor for his cowardice and treachery and intercepted his letters to Imad. The Emperor was helpless, neither side would listen to him." Imad continued to fume over the Ruhela outrage on his harem (done by Najib's orders in the course of repelling the Marathas) and Raghunath grumbled at his august personality being ignored and Najib negotiating with Malhar, whom Raghunath hated." (Page 150—*Fall of the Mughal Empire*; Vol. II, 1754-1771.)

The most interesting feature was that Malhar Rao tried to soften Raghunath Rao and Ghaziu'd-din; and at last Najib consented to visit Malhar and accept any terms that the latter might dictate. The triumph of Maratha arms is best read in the words of Professor Sarkar who says that, "from the entry in the official history of the reign, the Emperor, as requested, sent robes of honour to Malhar to make new appointments at his own discretion; the persons inducted to office, after putting their *khilats* on, made their bows to Raghunath Rao in his tent." Thus the Marathas became supreme and Antaji Manakeshwar was appointed Imperial Faujdar of the environs of the capital. Raghunath Rao, however, was always apprehensive of a return of the Afghan invader. The Marathas however plundered Thaneshwar on the way, took Sarhind in March 1758 and finally Lahore in April and thus completed the nominal conquest of even the Punjab. Thus Raghunath Rao is regarded as having carried Hindu paramountcy, i.e., *Hindu-pad-padshahi*, upto Attock; but this was really a hollow show and financially barren. It was possible for the Peishwa to have amicably marked out the Maratha and Afghan spheres of influence in Northern India.

6. Imadu'l Mulk's policy during the period of about six years, when he was the Chancellor of the Mughal Empire (1752-58) was always one of open and vindictive opposition to the other powerful elements in the Mughal State, like Surajmal, Shujau'd-daula and Najib Khan, the last of whom became the most powerful potentate in Northern India after Ahmed Shah Abdali's re-

III

BITTERNESS BETWEEN DE LEYRIT AND SOUPIRE:

Condition of affairs on the eve of Lally's arrival

The new year (1758) began with an open manifestation of the jealousy entertained by De Leyrit of Soupire on the ground that Ananda Ranga Pillai with his meticulous knowledge of the details of the previous administrations held that it was the Governor that was in charge of the administration of the country and that it was himself alone that should be visited by the *amaldars*, the *ryots* and the *mahanattars* on all ceremonial and official occasions. In ignorance of this, De Leyrit had told the *amaldars* and the *ryots* to pay their respects to Soupire, who was only in charge of the army.⁷

turn to Afghanistan in April 1757. Najib Khan greatly humiliated Imad, as was pointed out in a previous foot-note, on the occasion of the Maratha attack on Delhi in the autumn of 1757. Imadu'l Mulk had always relied upon Maratha aid, but he knew that Maratha friendship and alliance depended upon the cash nexus and his own administrative incapacity prevented his regular payment of the sums due for the Maratha soldiers being maintained at Delhi. It was now that he thought of getting help from the French in the Carnatic. For a fuller account of Imad's policy and movements till 1758, see Chapter I, Sec. 2 and 3 of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's '*Fall of the Mughal Empire*,' Vol. II, 1754-1771.

7. Thus Ranga Pillai would maintain the superiority of the Governor who was also the Commandant-General. He wrote as follows in his Diary:—"The French recovered (Pondicherry?) from the Dutch on February 1, 1701 and hoisted the white flag; and the *mahanattars* did not visit the King's people in charge of the Fort when M. Martin was Governor. When M. Hebert came as Governor in 1708, he brought a letter from the King which he gave to the King's people, and, after sending them back to Europe, remained himself in the Fort. During the Governorship of M. Lenoir, M. Lebo, the King's man, arrived in 1728 as the chief of command of the Fort and troops. M. Lenoir thought that he would be powerless if this man commanded the Fort without regard to him, and, writing to Europe, obtained a letter from the King for his removal. So M. (La Farelle) was the only Major-General, and, ever since M. Lenoir's time, the Governor has been called Commandant-General. Now M. Soupire is the Brigadier who has come to conduct the war. The first in military rank is called *Marechal de France*; next to this is the *Lieutenant-General*; below this is the *Marechal-de-camp*; below him is *Brigadier*; then *Colonel*; then *Commandant*; then *Capitaine*; then *Major*, and lastly the officers. These are the ranks of men in the army; their duty is to fight and they have nothing to do with administration. The Minister, then the General, then the Governor, and lastly the Councillors, are the people in charge of the administration of the country, and these should be visited by the *amaldars*, the *ryots* and *mahanattars*. In ignorance of this, M. Leyrit told the *amaldars* and *ryots* to visit M. Soupire, the Brigadier, and so the Governor has spoiled everything." (pp. 93-94 of the Diary, Vol. XI).

On the 14th of January, the Diarist heard that Soupire and De Leyrit had quarrelled so much that the latter was in fear of being run through by the other, had left the *Gouvernement* and had taken up his residence in the old house of Dupleix, situated to the north of the Fort. The fault seems to have been that De Leyrit sent all the papers and communications to Soupire who took advantage of it to interfere in everything, instead of leaving the army alone in the Fort to act under Soupire's orders and himself attending to all other affairs of the administration. The situation was so bad that De Leyrit was afraid of even the *mahānāttārs* visiting him without Soupire's knowledge, while the merchants were cautioned to do so only secretly.

Soupire complained very bitterly of the very unsatisfactory condition of the administration and, particularly, of the bad state of the finances. He sent his own men to inquire how matters were going on in the country parts and got a report that affairs were very bad.⁸

Even otherwise the King's soldiers were said to have created great trouble among the inhabitants. The King's officers were said to have been in arrears of their pay for three months and when they asked De Leyrit for payment, he retorted that they could take service elsewhere if they pleased, that the Company had no money and he could pay them when money should be obtained.

Ranga Pillai found his own fortunes very perverse in every respect. He heard from two of the King's officers that Lally spent several months with Dupleix, writing down everything about the condition of affairs in India and what establishments would be required and what forces should be sent from Europe for conquering the whole country right up to Delhi. This was evidently a reference to the memoir that Lally prepared on the state of India, advocating the reversal of Dupleix's policy. The Diarist exclaimed, "I have not written a quarter of what they said in praise of M. Lally's talents, but enough to show what kind of man he is."

8. The Diarist's entry for Feb. 11, contains an account of what was supposed to have passed between Soupire and De Leyrit on the basis of this report and in the presence of the Councillors. Soupire said "What a government is yours! Instead of urging the people to attend to the cultivation, the men you send into the country beat the ryots and harass them by unlawful means to obtain money from them. How can money be expected from the country like that? and how will you be able to pay the Company?"

De Leyrit even gave away Ranga Pillai to Soupire, telling him that he deceived everyone and was worth nothing and it was only Barthelemy that championed his cause and declared that he was upright, while the Company was greatly indebted to him. From all these, the Diarist could only hope that with the arrival of Lally, his fortunes might possibly change, particularly as the evil influence of the asterism, *Rahu*, had expired in his horoscope and the three years of misfortune predicted thereby had come to an end just about a month before.

In February 1758, an attempt was made by the French administration to make a demonstration against Fort St. David. De Leyrit and Soupire marched on the 25th with 300 soliders, 200 foot and 1 gun to Marikrishnapuram almost within the sight of Tēvanampatnam, where they fired with the gun two or three times, poured out several volleys of shot with their small arms and plundered the surrounding villages. Upon this, the people of Manjakuppam, Tiruppadirippuliyur and Cuddalore fled in panic towards Fort St. David; but the commander of the latter place fired on them with four guns, whereon they returned; while it was said that in four or five days, troops would be marching on Fort St. David. The general situation was that the French were believed to have got a superiority on the coast on account of the expected arrival of Lally's squadron.

Shortly before this incident happened, the Diarist had heard of the set-back to the fortunes of the Marathas that took place in February. We saw that Amrit Rao, the Maratha agent, had reached Arcot and from thence proceeded along with Muhammad Ali to Madras and compelled the Nawab to pay him a large sum. Now the Pathan Nawabs made an attempt at the vindication of their strength against the Marathas. Abdul Nabi Khan, the cousin-german and the nearest relation of the late Nawab of Cuddapah who had been killed in battle in the previous year, entrenched himself at Siddhout, a very strong fortress near his headquarters. The other Nawabs stood on their defence in their respective fortresses. Balwant Rao, the chief agent of the Peishwa, sent agents to negotiate with Abdul Nabi and at the same time despatched troops to harry the estates of the chiefs of Kalahasti and Venkatagiri, namely, Damarla Venkatappa and Bangaru Yachama Nayak. He himself appeared before Nellore and attacked Najibullah Khan, the brother of Muhammad Ali, who was in charge of that place, in order to prevent the latter from marching against the Nawabs with a large body of French troops which he heard were advancing to join him from Bussy's army. Najibullah paid immediately a sum

of money satisfying the expectations of Balwant Rao, who had however, meanwhile plundered the fair towns of Venkatagiri and Kalahasti and frightened their poligars, who immediately gave him bonds and securities for the payment of their tributes to the Nawab. Balwant Rao and his troops then returned to Cuddapah where he made a treaty with Abdul Nabi Khan agreeing to divide the subah of Cuddapah equally with him. Then he took possession of Gurramkonda and then marched back to Sirpi with orders that Amrit Rao should join him there.

Abdul Wahab Khan, another brother of Nawab Muhammad Ali, moved about the same time to Chittoor from Chandragiri near Tirupati; and Murtaza Ali of Vellore with the help of the troops of Abdul Wahab and also those of the Marathas under Amrit Rao, now marched against Tiruppattur and in the beginning of February, he began an assault on the fort. The day after the assault was begun, a cannon ball killed Amrit Rao on which the garrison sallied out, routed the besiegers and took their cannon and the Marathas immediately retired to join the main body of their troops under Balwant Rao while the others returned home. Below is given the version of the death of Amrit Rao as the Diarist heard it.⁹

In February 1758, we have details given by the Diarist regarding the accounts of the country management during the years of *Bhava* and *Yuva* (1754-56) and also of the subsequent year of *Dhāthu*. Reference has already been made to the commandants of troops receiving money from the renters illegally and the European sureties appropriating large sums for themselves from the country revenue. Ranga Pillai gives a statement of account of the payments he had made in ready money and in grain, besides what he had paid to the sepoys and commandants. He claimed also

9. "When Amirta Rao, the Nana's man, marched against Vaniyambadi and Tiruppattur forts, the Navait Pathans who were in possession of those forts sent word to Amirta Rao that they were ready for war. Amirta Rao replied, inviting them to battle, divided his army into three detachments, posting them in three places, himself waiting with ten horse in a place of safety. The Navaits, learning this, secretly marched with 200 horsemen by the foot of the mountain and appeared before Amirta Rao's troops. Immediately Amirta Rao mounted his horse, advanced with ten horsemen, and fell upon the enemy who lost ten horses, but who managed to kill Amirta Rao's ten horsemen and wound him severely. Amirta Rao was carried to Tiruppattur fort, and his wounds dressed, but at the time of the removal of the third dressing, he died, whereon his troops retreated." (p. 105 of the *Diary*, Vol. XI).

certain sums that should have been properly credited to his account, like the amounts of commission due to him, the amounts paid to the European sureties, the sums violently seized by the commandants, the losses sustained on account of troubles caused by them and the sums spent on the repairs of tanks and canals. He objected to the addition of 10% for *rusum* (i.e., customary perquisites) and for *sādalwār* (i.e., contingencies etc.), as being improperly included and therefore as causing him a loss of five lakhs and odd in all. Since July 1756, i.e., the beginning of the second quarter of *Dhathu*, commissaries inspected the country and took possession of it; and hence the Diarist was not able to demand the arrears which were due to his part of the lease. The *amaldars*, not being allowed to speak to him either about the country or about general affairs, he was put to great trouble. He represented that he had sustained, on the whole, a loss of eight lakhs of rupees during the two years of his management and maintained that he was given at first a lease for five years and was made to pay the whole stipulated amount when the yield was only five-eighths. He also pleaded that Godeheu had told him to take up the management of the country with a lease for five years for the present and that if he should find it difficult to collect the lease money in one year, he might pay it in the course of the succeeding year and assured him that, in the matter of collection of rents, he would enjoy the same powers of punishment as the *subahdars* of old and that the Governor would have nothing to do with the business save to help him when necessary. Ranga Pillai had early complained that the country was in a miserable condition and money had to be advanced to the cultivators who had run away and who had to be promised liberal *vāram* rates in order to be brought back and that it would take two years for the land to recover. Now the Governor would not listen to all his pleadings and statements and the only course left to him was to be patient and bide a return of luck. On the 27th of February, the proclamation was issued by the Governor limiting the rate of interest for Europeans to 8% per annum as in Godeheu's time. Now the new Governor reiterated the rates though these had not been observed, and money-lenders usually charged from 10 to 12 per month.

The Diarist's entry for the 1st of March shows that English reinforcements to the extent of twelve ships, including five ships from Bengal, laden with goods and rice had reached Madras. Soupire bitterly blamed De Leyrit that he had, on plea of lack of money, unwisely refrained from attacking Madras when it was weak and so had lost chances of success; and now, Madras had

been greatly strengthened. Their mutual recriminations are interesting as reported by the Diarist.¹⁰

Evidently these ideas of De Leyrit's unpatriotic avarice were current in France itself and reports of his alleged embezzlement of public funds had been brought by Soupire from France.

This was not the worst. An incident is reported by the Diarist, under entry for March 8, of a serious altercation between one of the King's officers and Desvaux, the latter being charged by the former of having robbed the Company in conjunction with De Leyrit and therefore speaking so hotly that the former in anger gave him severe blows with his cane. Desvaux and De Leyrit went to Soupire and asked him angrily if such uncivil behaviour could be tolerated. Soupire replied equally angrily that this, or even worse, would be done if money could not be had and that M. Lally should learn the whole matter on his arrival. De Leyrit then went to his own room, his anger and wrath having somewhat abated. The Diarist says "Nobody knows what will happen. English sloops and ships are cruising about, sometimes in, sometimes out of sight." After the incident, De Leyrit and Soupire took meals in separate rooms apart from each other and without speaking with one another. De Leyrit, fearing what Soupire might do, sent for the Company's Commandant and sought his protection; and the latter assured him that he would call on the Company's officers and soldiers to do their utmost, should Soupire contemplate any act of violence. Further scenes like this occurred. On one occasion Soupire roundly charged De Leyrit, De-Larche, Barthelemy, Desvaux and Du Bausset with having stolen the Company's moneys and threatened that, if they should not render a complete account, he would confiscate their properties and get them punished.¹¹

10. To Soupire's charge, "M. Leyrit replied, 'Did I refuse money when the Company had not?' M. Soupire replied, 'You are right; how could the Company have any money when all that had been collected had been shared among you? Do I not know what you have 1,20,000 pagodas in M. Desvaux' house to be sent to Europe by the Portuguese ship? You say that you have not a single cash for pay, but you have money to send to Europe. You have ruined the country and so prevented the Company from receiving money. You seem to think I do not know that M. Desvaux has been the agent of many of you in embezzling money, but I know everything.' M. Leyrit replied, 'You say that I have 1,20,000 pagodas ready to send by the Portuguese ship. If you will prove this, I will give you twice as much at once.' M. Soupire replied, 'I will prove not only this but other things too.'"

11. "You and M. Barthelemy shall be chained, beaten and hanged; and

The strain went so far that Soupire had forbidden the Tamils to go upstairs in the *Gouvernement* and the sentry on duty should first carry De Leyrit's letters to the officers in waiting who should give them first to him in order that they might be read both by him and by De Leyrit in the presence of both of them and no letter should be taken away until the Governor should have read it out to him.

Abdul Wahab Khan wanted the help of 500 Europeans and 20 cannon, power and shot, saying that he had 2,000 horsemen and as many foot and that he had received a grant of the Arcot subah and with French help, he would be able to march to and capture Arcot and that he desired to receive the same treatment as was given to Chanda Sahib formerly.

The Peishwa's wakil wrote that Raza Sahib had not delivered the goods promised and therefore he had sent an angry remonstrance to the latter. Great efforts were made for securing support for Raza Sahib as it was expected that Lally was bringing out the King's orders that the Muhammadans should be given the management of the country and that Raza Sahib should be appointed to the subah of Arcot. The Diarist also mentions in the course of his narrative, the plot formed at Trichinopoly towards the last December by a French man, named La Forge, for the release of the French prisoners imprisoned in that fort by attempting to seduce certain Frenchmen who had taken service with the English. The plot was however betrayed to the English Commander Cailaud who ordered the physician concerned (i.e., La Forge) to be hanged. The Diarist says that De Leyrit had been informed of this attempt by the conspirators and he directed all the French troops in Srirangam to be alert on the particular day fixed for the coup and march out at a moment's notice. He also says that the physician and the fifteen Frenchmen whom he had conspired with were all of them hanged. The English Military Consultations for January 12, 1758, tell us however, that the betrayer did not believe in the promise held out to him and said that "the French would be paying the arrears with blows."

the others shall be hanged outside the South Gate; and your *dubashes* shall be hanged outside the Fort for all to see. When M. Lally arrives, I will place the accounts before him and cause him to do all this, and, should he not come, I will do it myself." (Soupire's words as written by the Diarist, entry for March 12, 1758, pp. 123-4 of *Diary*, Vol. XI).

The end of March also saw disorder prevailing on account of the soldiers and an officer going about threateningly with drawn swords in their hands in the streets and the Nayinar, as the head peon of Pondicherry was called, pleading that he could not seize them as he was unarmed. The English ships which had arrived on the coast were cruising about threateningly against the arrival of Lally's fleet.

IV—LALLY'S LANDING : THE MARCH ON FORT ST. DAVID

Early in April Pondicherry was all agog expecting the daily arrival of Lally whose ships had been sighted this side of Mahe; and cattle, fowls and other things were being got ready against the approach of his fleet. De Leyrit himself removed to Dupleix's old house outside the citadel. The rumour began to prevail that Lally and his squadron would not be coming in this month, as it usually blew violently in the Bay and that he wanted first to take Tellicherry and another English port and would come to the Coromandel only afterwards. De Leyrit was so much disliked by Soupire that his good ally Desvaux would not be allowed into the fort; and the general once refused to sit at table along with De Leyrit, as Desvaux was also seated by his side.

The Diarist got the alarming information from Bishop Noronha that De Leyrit had been telling Soupire that he himself was the worst of the Tamils, the Bishop himself was the worst of the Portuguese and M. Boyelleau was the worst among the French. Bishop Noronha further told him that *Dubashes* of De Leyrit and Desvaux and two other persons, who had been most guilty of peculation, would be duly hanged on Lally's arrival outside the fort, while a number of guilty Europeans would be sent back to Europe, as Soupire had made a full enquiry and reported all that he had heard to Lally. There was no end to Soupire's complaints against De Leyrit for his not giving him any money at all, though he had been believed to have made about 20 to 30 lakhs of rupees.

On April 28th, an English ship was sighted off the coast, while news was received of Lally's arrival at the Pondicherry roads. The English ships fired shots one of which fell close to Lally's ship and another even struck it. Lally immediately ordered a gun to be fired, struck the flag he was flying and hoisted a red one. He was received by Soupire who rowed up to his ship; while, half-way to the shore, De Leyrit welcomed him. Lally was received with a salute of 21 guns. Immediately after landing he

ordered ¹² that Soupire should proceed to help him in the attack on Fort St. David which he had ordered, while the ships following him were to make off at once to the place. He ordered also the European officers and soldiers, the German troops and foot to march at once by land to Fort St. David that very night. He further demanded that 4,000 earth-diggers and bullocks must be got ready as well as powder, shot and guns, munitions of war and provisions which must be sent on at once. Lastly, he posted some of the King's soldiers at the Fort gates with order to allow no one to go out and wrote letters describing what should be done as soon as the ships should reach the Fort St. David roads.

De Leyrit set about vigorously to collect horses, cattle, coolies etc., without delay and also attended to the unloading of Lally's goods from the ships. On the next day, i.e., April 29th, the Diarist heard news that Tiruppadiripuliyur was plundered the previous night, Cuddalore was seized that morning and plundered and set on fire; but he believed that this news could not be true. It was also said that Manjakuppam, to the west of Fort St. David, was seized, while entrenchments were dug round the fort and shots were fired into it. When nine English ships from Madras arrived in the afternoon to reinforce the Cuddalore army, the nine French ships already engaged in attacking Cuddalore opened fire on them. The two ships which came with Lally to Pondicherry now hoisted sail and stood to the east to intercept the English ships, which they attacked. The ships of both sides then put out and the sound of firing from them ceased towards the evening. "Each man tells a different story and each minute brings different news."

V. THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF FORT ST. DAVID

Soupire marched to Fort St. David on the 29th; but when he and Lally reached that place, the troops demanded why they were

12. "M. Lally having left Europe in May last, reached Mascareigne in December and stayed there forty days; he sailed again on January 26, reached Karikal on the afternoon of April 27, corresponding with Chittirai 18, where a captain went ashore to get news as D'Ache was unwell, and then, setting sail, reached Pondicherry at noon on the 19th.

Lally (*Memoire*, p. 39) says that on his arrival in the roads his vessel, the *Comte de Provence*, was saluted by five-shotted guns, three of which passed through her and two damaged the rigging. D'Ache (*Third Memoire*, p. 8) says that as soon as Lally went on board the *Comte de Provence*, he hoisted the square flag at the main-mast as the sign of his rank. A comparison of these statements with the narrative in the text

left to die of starvation instead of falling in the field by the hand of the enemy. Lally at once returned in a great rage to Pondicherry and angrily roused De Leyrit from his sleep several times in the course of the night; and the Diarist tells us that it was this continuous nocturnal teasing that made Lally violently hateful to De Leyrit in a single day. Orders were given by Lally to the Marquis de Conflans who had set out for the north to return. Likewise, strict instructions were given to De Leyrit that he should consult Lally in everything and carry out all his orders correctly.

Two of the vessels of the English had run ashore in the engagement referred to above and had to be burnt. The Diarist says that the remaining ships were damaged and put to flight; but according to English records the latter obtained a slight though not a decisive, advantage over the French fleet.¹³

suggests that Lally's flag was the reason why his vessel was not recognized as being French. The firing evidently was not part of the formal salute of welcome as Malleson (*The French in India*, p. 515) supposed."

13. "Report the arrival of 11 French ships under the command of D'Arche, with Lally as Commander-in-chief of all the French forces. They appeared off Fort St. David April 28-7 dropping anchor, 2 lying out to sea, and 2 proceeding to Pondicherry. Pococke and Steevens sailed southward from Madras April 17, with His Majesty's ships, the *Yarmouth*, *Elizabeth*, *Tyger*, *Cumberland*, *Weymouth*, *Salisbury*, *Newcastle* and *Queenborough*. Pococke put into Negapatam, and having sailed by Karikal and other southern ports, reached Fort St. David—April 29. The French on his appearance, put out to sea. Pococke chased them. The two fleets formed a line of battle about noon; but it was not till 3 o'clock in the afternoon that the engagement began 10 leagues northward of Pondicherry. After 2 hours, the French Admiral broke the line and bore away, followed by the other 8 ships, and on being joined by the other two which had been away to leeward, 'hailed their wind' to the south-west. The masts and rigging of our squadron were so much damaged that they could not sail so well to windward. The French reached the coast at Alambarai where one of them, the *Bien-Aime*, 74 guns, was obliged to run ashore. The rest reached Pondicherry while ours were repairing their damages between Sadras and Covelong. Lally reached Pondicherry the 28th." The same letter (Despatch from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee of the Company, dated May 20, 1758) tells us that though the English squadron prevented the French from landing more men, they had been collecting all their forces at Fort St. David, being posted at the Garden-House (present residence of the Collector of South Arcot) and at Cuddalore which being of great extent, was surrendered by the two companies of sepoys left there. The opinion was that everything possible had been done for the defence of Fort St. David, the provisions had been plentiful and the garrison was as large as could be spared from Madras. The crew of two ships threw themselves into the fort when the ships were surrounded by the French squadron.

A great obstacle confronting the French was the difficulty of sending sufficient provisions for the troops at Fort St. David. An order was given that all the liquor and arrack stored in Pondicherry were not to be sold, but were to be given over to the Government for the use of the troops in the field.

On May 4, the Diarist heard the news that, in the third watch of the previous day, French troops marched to Cuddalore and hoisted the white flag; while a proclamation was made that any English sepoys would be killed at sight. Lally himself had arrived at the Cuddalore Garden House on the 1st of May and had detached the Comte d'Estaigne across the Gadilam river to reconnoitre and take post near Cuddalore. The place remained in the same condition of fortification as when attacked twelve years before by Duplex. It was surrounded on the three land sides with a rampart and small bastions, but had no ditch or other advance defences. It was open on the sea side, but the approach to this side was flanked by two bastions at the extremities; and the French attackers, according to Orme, thought that the sea face was also defended.

Lally proposed, even on the 2nd of May, a conference with the English Commandant at Fort St. David, on the subject of the feeding of the French prisoners¹⁴ and also on that of the surrender of Cuddalore. Major Polier, the commander at Fort St. David, went to Lally and after much discussion, it was agreed on the 3rd that Cuddalore should be delivered up at sunrise on the 4th, provided a battery of heavy cannon had at that time been made ready to open fire, and then the English garrison at Cuddalore would be permitted to retire to Fort St. David with their arms and field ammunition and the French prisoners therein should be released and sent over to proceed to any of the neutral ports of the south like Tranquebar or Porto Novo where they were to remain until the fate of Fort St. David should be decided.

The Diarist has given us plenty of information about the discontent that became manifest in Pondicherry even immediately

14. The practice was that even when soldiers of one side fell into the hands of the enemy, they were still a burden on their former masters. Thus the French had to feed their own men in the hands of the English. Muhammad deemed this 'the European style of treating prisoners. Duplex laid the blame for this practice on Lawrence and the English who were deemed to have begun it. But "whoever may have been responsible for it, the burden falling on the French in 1752 (and later) after a series of set-backs must have been grievous." (W. H. Dalglish: *The Company of the Indies in the Days of Duplex* (1933), p. 176.)

after the arrival of Lally. The hurry which marked Lally's advance on Fort St. David, had prevented him from collecting the necessary number of coolies and other labourers for the siege operations required for the reduction of Fort St. David. A number of the Indians of the settlement were pressed into service and employed in carrying earth and burdens and doing other services. Orme remarks: "The violence created terror; the disgrace indignation." The head peon was very busy collecting provisions and men. The Diarist's own *agraharam* was practically denuded of supplies of rice, ghee, fowls, sheep and other provisions in order to provide for the soldiers and sailors landed from the French ship, which also disembarked 32 chests of silver. He was forced to give up all his horses except two lame ones, even they being demanded at one time.

The Diarist tells us that Boyelleau was appointed to make an inventory of the goods found in Cuddalore on its surrender and Lally declared before the Councillors—so we read in the Diary—that he would not talk with them until Fort St. David and Madras should have been captured.

Lally rejoined the troops before Fort St. David on the night of May 10th; there had been no fighting, but English ships were cruising to and fro near the coast. On May 12th, there was some sharp fighting in Fort St. David, where they raised a battery south of the river Pennar. Lally set out again to Fort St. David in the evening of the 14th. The situation in Pondicherry was very bad. All the pack-bullocks had been seized, rice and paddy were very scarce, while ten months' pay, amounting to 17 lakhs, was owing to the soldiers and officers, who had accompanied Lally. On the 15th, the Diarist heard that the French had occupied the ground to the north of Fort St. David, comprising the Dutch Factory and the sand-hills, as well as the entrenchments on the south. Great efforts were made by De Lyrit to get men to send the three mortars required most urgently by Lally. On the 16th, Lally's troops attacked the Uppalavadi Battery¹⁵ and the Company's troops, the

15. Fort St. David stood in the angle where the canal running from the Gadilam river near its mouth to the Pennar, joins the former. The bed of the Pennar was 1800 yards to its north. Its garrison consisted of 1600 sepoys, lascars and topasses, about 620 Europeans including 80 invalid pensioners and 250 seamen landed from the two ships which had run ashore.

'By many additions and improvements Fort St. David was now become a fortification armed at all points; but the original defect of want of space in the body of the place still remained; being only 140 feet

Chukklers' Battery, which was soon captured. Lally cut off the reinforcements that were sent from the Fort to strengthen the fighters in the Uppalavadi Battery which he captured, killing 40 soldiers and 300 sepoys. Two batteries had thus been taken and there were only two more. The sound of guns was heard at Pondicherry all through the 17th evening. The next day, a lakh of rupees was collected somehow by De Leyrit and sent to Lally for the army expenses. The latter also contrived to lade a ship with cannon, bombs, shot, powder chests, bundles of leaves and other things; and labourers had to be impressed for the task with extraordinary difficulty, the Diarist noting that the Governor would not spare even Chettis, merchants and Brahmans for the purpose. He had to protest, when he was asked to provide 1,000 labourers at very short notice, that he could secure only 300 and that all the available men in the town had gone to the camp and no more coolies were forthcoming.

from W. to E. and 390 from N. to S. The four bastions at the angles mounted each 12 guns. The curtains, as well as the bastions, were surrounded by a *faussebray* with a brick parapet. The outworks were a horn-work to the north, mounting 34 guns; two large ravelins, one on the east, the other on the west; a ditch round all, which had a *cuvette* cut along the middle, and was supplied with water from the river of Tripapolore; scarp and counter-scarp of the ditch faced with brick; a broad covered way excellently pallisaded, with arrows at the salient angles commanding the *glacis*, and the *glacis* itself was provided with well-constructed mines. All these works, excepting the horn-work, were planned by Mr. Robins, but the horn-work was raised before his arrival in India with much ignorance and expense, the whole being of solid masonry, and the rampart too narrow to admit the free recoil of the guns. The ground to the north of the fort, included by the sea, the rivers of Panar and Tripapolore, and the canal which joins them, is a plot of sand, rising in several parts into large hillocks, which afford good shelter against the fort. On the edge of the canal, 1300 yards to the north of the fort, stood an obsolete redoubt, called Chuckly-point. It was of masonry, square, mounted eight guns, and in the area were lodgments for the guard; the entrance was a pallisaded gate under an arch, but the redoubt was not enclosed by a ditch. About 200 yards to the right of this stood another such redoubt, on a sand-hill called Patcharee. Four hundred yards in the rear of these redoubts was another sandhill, much larger than that of Patcharee, on which the Dutch had a factory-house called Thevenapatam; but the house had lately been demolished; and a fascine battery of five guns was raised on the hill. In a line on the left of this hill, and on the brink of the canal, was a gateway, with a narrow rampart and battlement." (Orme's History of Hindostan, Vol. II, p. 307)—See also Orme's Plan of Fort St. David with the French Attack, May, 1758 in Vol. III (of the 4th ed.)

The Diarist reported on the 19th May that two men came out from Fort St. David to treat for peace with Lally, offering to surrender the fort and the Company's goods therein, on condition of being allowed to depart with their arms and goods and money. Lally is said to have declared that only the women in the fort could go away without interference, but the men must lay down their arms and march out under guard and not like victors with their goods and weapons. By now 50 or 60 Europeans seemed to have died and there were left only about 150 Europeans and 100 topasses. This attempted negotiation is not mentioned by Orme or in English records.

There was no active firing heard on the 20th; only slight firing marked the operations of the next day. The French had been provisioned on a plentiful scale and Lally was held to be conducting the attack very carefully; and an English ship that appeared opposite Fort St. David soon put out to sea, being warned of the danger.¹⁶

Aumont marched against Devikottai with some troopers, soldiers and foot and plundered Achalpuram in the neighbourhood; and a body of Europeans and sepoys, 500 strong, was encamped before Devikottai, reinforced by 400 or 500 of Gadai Rao's horsemen who hoped to secure their favour and prevent them from plundering the country. De Leyrit withdrew all troops from Srirangam on Lally's orders whereon the English at Trichinopoly marched out, seized the place and carried away 125 guns and a lakh of pagodas worth of powder and shot. Parts of the forts of Chettupattu, Tiruvarangam and Kallakurichi were demolished and deserted.

By May 28, Lally was said to have completed four batteries at the camp and intended to carry the Fort by assault on the third day. A Council of D'Ache and the Pondicherry administration was held that day to decide about attacking the English ships and Madras. D'Ache, the admiral, put out to sea for action, while the English ships were drawing near and had fired on the Alambarai

16. The English admiral, Pococke, after his encounter of April 29th, began repairing the damages of his ships between Sadras and Covelong. He was off Alambarai (a French possession) on May 13th; he was not inclined to attack the French ships if he could not encounter them outside the Pondicherry roads. If the French avoided a second action with him, Pococke intended to proceed to Fort St. David to assist it if possible. Pococke could not get south of Alambarai (May 26th).

fort. On the 1st of June, the Diarist heard that shells broke the flag-staff at Fort St. David and damaged the first story which had to be pulled down, while fire from Cuddalore destroyed the southern wall. The powder-magazine also exploded, killing many. At 9, on the morning of the 2nd June, there being no drinking water available at all, the white flag was hoisted on the fort and the keys were brought out under a white flag. The commandant was imprisoned and the rest were made to sign paroles. Though it was rumoured that about 60 lakhs worth of property had been got in the fort, besides a *jhul* (horse-cloth) set with precious stones, the treasure that was actually brought to Pondicherry could not have been worth more than a lakh and a half of rupees. Wynch, the Governor of Fort St. David, Sloper, the chief at Cuddalore and other English Councillors and officers were brought to Pondicherry and lodged in the old Gouvernement.¹⁷

Lally himself, immediately after the surrender of Fort St. David, set out for Devikottai, even on the 3rd June. He accompanied the troops as far as Chidambaram and sent a party against Palayamkottai which surrendered. Devikottai likewise capitulated to D'Estaing who appeared before it on the 4th and its garrison marched through the Tanjore country to Trichinopoly. Lally made a triumphant entry into Pondicherry on the evening of the 9th and proceeded to a magnificent *Te Deum* and a very sumptuous entertainment.¹⁸ (**Orme says that he made his triumphal entry on the 7th).

17. The articles of capitulation are recorded in the Madras Military Consultations of June 12; and the resolution of the Council of War held on the 1st, in the Military Consultations of June 27th. These explain the conditions of the garrison and the reasons for surrender. The charge was made that Lally did not keep even one of the articles.

18. "As M. Lally was returning victorious, preparations were going forward from early morning to three o'clock to-day; the officials, *vakils*, merchants, *Mahānāttārs* and various people from bound villages and Villiyannullur were told of his coming; those who could not give nazars were supplied with rolls of silk, dresses of honour, pieces of cloth, pagodas and rupees; the *naubat*, standards, music and dancing-girls, elephants and camels, flags and the other marks of honour were ordered to be brought; I set out with all marks of honour.....In front of us went people with music and dancing-girls, flags, standards and other marks of honour. Behind us came troopers with drawn swords; next to these came the General on horseback; then came officers and gentlemen, and lastly the *naubat* was carried. *Tōraṇams* had been tied in every street; plantain trees and coconut branches had been erected; water sprinkled; *kōrai* spread and other

Ranga Pillai was held up in honour by Montmorency to Lally as the Company's Courtier and presented him with gifts. He arranged for the visit of the *mahānāttārs*,¹⁹ *monegārs* and others to Lally on the next, the 10th, and presented them one by one, to the great man. The Diary gives an exhaustive list of the *nazars* given by them and proudly recorded that he procured an order for the release of almost all that were in prison.

decorations made from the Bound-hedge to the town. M. Lally, as he came, observed all these decorations made from the Bound-hedge to the town. When he entered the gate, a salute of 21 guns was fired, and then four councillors received him. As he passed by the mint, M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Barthelemy and the other councillors escorted him to the Capuchin's church, where mass was heard, a salute of 21 guns fired, followed by another when he entered the Fort."

(Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Entry for June 9. Vol. XI, pp. 194-6).

19. Among the Mahanattars were the Vellalas, the Chettis, the Komutis, the painters (of cloth), the Kaikkolars, washermen, carpenters and blacksmiths, the Vāpiyans (oil mongers), gold-smiths, brass-smiths, betel-leaf sellers, the Shaniyans, the coral-merchants, the Agamudaiyāns, the Indigo-merchants, the pressing people, the potters, the cloth merchants, the arrack-renters, the shroffs, the grocers, the people of the country management besides the renters of the different districts, the Company's merchants and the vakils of the Indian potentates. The list given on pp. 201-203 of the *Diary*: Vol. XI, is very instructive as to the organisation of the Indian society of Pondicherry in their relation to the administration.

Sher Singh Nama

By Mohammad Naqi Peshawari

Written A.D. 1849.

By

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THIS brief chronicle, written in Persian by Mohammad Naqi in 1849 A.D., the year of the British annexation of the Panjab, is preserved in a single copy in the Library of the India Office, London (Ethe. No. 505). It is a contemporary, and purports to be in part an eye-witness, record of the violent events which occurred in the kingdom of Lahore between 1839 and 1843—the first phase of its decadence into the chaos which resulted in the Anglo-Sikh Wars and their inevitable sequel.

The account is frankly partisan. The author acknowledges (folios 10-12) the indirect, and (folio 40) the direct patronage of Maharaja Sher Singh. But despite this bias, the chronicle gives a fairly clear, if summary, record of the circumstances of the death of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh and the succession of Raja Sher Singh to the tottering throne of the Panjab. Like so many of these chronicles written under patronage, however, it is very defective as a historical document, because the author is more concerned about the elegance of his style than about the fullness and accuracy of his record. Perhaps its greatest weakness as a piece of contemporary historical evidence is the strong suspicion which it engenders in the mind of its reader, that it is largely derived from the famous *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh* of Munshi Sohan Lal, which begot so many copyists and imitators.

Thus Naqi's account (folios 17 and 18) of the death of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, divested of its rhetoric, amounts to the bare statement, "On the day of his father's death a stone and not a crown descended upon the son's head." On the other hand, Sohan Lal in Daftar IV, folio 70, of *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, has given the graphic and detailed account of this critical event, which is our only clear and authentic source of knowledge. So he wrote:

"When the Prince was about to perform his ritual ablution, some person unknown dug out by the roots a mulberry tree which

stood outside the second arch of the Roshnai Gate, near the third arch, known as the Daryawala Gate, near the wall of the shrine of Guru Arjan; and the tree fell with a loud and terrifying noise. Many regarded this astonishing occurrence as an ill omen. When the Prince approached the gate, some unknown person caused the whole of its arch and roof to crash like an arrow of destiny upon his head, so that his skull was crushed and his blood and brains gushed forth and his blessed body was hidden under the ruins. Mian Udham Singh¹ lost his life at the same moment. Other members of the company, such as the great Raja,² the Bhai Sahibs, Dewan Dina Nath and several other prominent persons, received injuries to their shoulders and backs." This collocation illustrates the comparative value of the two chronicles as contemporary historical documents.

Sher Singh Nama is mainly concerned (folios 20-36) with the narrative of the successful attempt of Raja Sher Singh, in January, 1841 A.D., to displace Mai Chand Kaur and her party—chief of whom was Raja Gulab Singh—in the supreme position in the kingdom. If this account is compared with that given by Sohan Lal in *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Part ii, folios 1-18, it will be found that the latter is not merely much fuller and more authoritative, but also appears to provide Naqi with his source. For example, in describing the siege of Lahore Fort by the followers of Raja Sher Singh, Naqi writes (folios 30-31) :

"The inhabitants began to cry out against the oppressive violence of the soldiers and their followers, who behaved like devils. The clerks and book-keepers within the city especially went into hiding, like mice from cats, or cats from lions. Those who fell into the hands of the brutal soldiers paid with their lives for their defenceless weakness."

Sohan Lal writes (*Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, IV, (ii), folio 13):

"In the midst of this confusion the soldiers ranged through the city of Lahore, molesting the inhabitants. They haled the government account clerks from their homes and took them prisoners, extorting large sums of money from them. They sought out the *munshis*, seized their possessions and plundered their relatives and friends. They raided shops, despoiling their owners

1. The eldest son of Raja Gulab Singh.
2. Dhian Singh.

and holding them to ransom. There was no authority to check this riot and wild disorder; nor was any one allowed even to die quietly. Leading residents of the city declared that the troops had become utterly unbridled, because there was no one to hold the reins of government and that every inhabitant found in the streets was robbed of all he possessed and the loot was divided among the soldiers. They said that others, following the atrocious example of the troops, formed themselves into bands, sometimes numbering hundreds, which ravaged the bazars in quest of booty."

In short, the *Chronicle of Mohammad Naqi* has little, if any, historical value as a contemporary record. It is, however, at least contemporary and does not conflict with the account given by the well informed Sohan Lal, whose *Tarikh-i-Ranjit Singh*, so well known to many during its author's life, was expanded by him into the *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh* and published by his son and Sir Richard Temple in 1884. *Sher Singh Nama* is, moreover, elegantly written and contains many a picturesque image and graphic phrase.

In the translation which follows I have omitted the merely rhetorical passages and much of the literary adornment of the original, but hope that something of its quaint savour has escaped into the English phrase. I wish to acknowledge the valuable help which I have received from Mr. M. S. K. Malik, M.A., M.O.L., who prepared the basis of this translation.

That sad and unexpected calamity, the slaying of the ornament of the throne and dominion of the Panjab¹ and the destruction of his household, was brought about by the fury of the soldiers, who were stirred to revolt by certain malicious and contemptible persons, moved by envy and enmity. Another like event quickly ensued, namely, the slaying of the noble prince and lion-like minister,² who was stricken down as it were in the twinkling of an eye, for he was destroyed on the same day³ during the revolt which was inspired by these treacherous conspirators. The administration of government was utterly confounded by these deeds and even the wisest public men feared for its stability and continuance.

These events, like an earthquake, caused such universal excitement and confusion that the restoration of order seemed

1. Maharaja Sher Singh, assassinated by Ajit Singh Sindhianwala on 15th September, 1843. His son, Partab Singh, was slain at the same time.
2. Raja Dhian Singh.
3. But later.

impossible. But the all-embracing and unfailing wisdom and justice of God brought forth a masterful man, a bold and daring horseman, a wise and cautious general, who could plan victorious battles; whose sword could subdue cities and peoples, leading his enemies captive and seizing their strongholds; an ocean of kindness to his friends, a destroyer of his enemies. This man was the right hand of government, the strong arm of the great kingdom, the stay of its throne, a resourceful and glorious counsellor and organiser, a minister and a minister's son, well versed in the secrets of state. The name of this great warrior and true man was Raja Hira Singh⁴ (May God redouble his glory!), who with His help came to end all turbulence, enmity and error and, according to the saying, "brought back to life a world that had suffered death." This lion among warriors, this tiger of revenge to his enemies sharpened his claws to maintain the honour of his race and to rend the leaders of that brood of foxes, who, having wearied of their own polluted lives, had made bold to shed the blood of the king and his minister. So he gave new life to the kingdom, as it is said, "Vengeance is life."

Mohammad Naqi Peshawari, son of the late Mulla Khwaja Bakhsh, has been moved to write this story. He came at this time, according to his lot, to the strange city of Lahore, the home of his revered ancestors, to seek his fortune. And here he witnessed the events of this mad confusion, which struck him with wonder and led him to reflect that it would not be out of place to relate them in the best style that he can command. Hence this chronicle of slaughter and vengeance, of loyalty, courtesy, friendship and courage and of the qualities of that man, the embodiment of generosity, who, guided by fate, avenged the murdered prince⁵ and by his strong will restored the old order in the state. The author has been specially induced to write these things by the suggestion of Bakhshi Bhagat Ram, most bountiful patron of his time, a very *Hatim*, the protector of all deserving men of

4. Son of Raja Dhian Singh. He bribed the Khalsa Army to besiege the Sindhianwalas in Lahore Fort, which was captured on 17th September, 1843, when the surviving leaders of that faction were put to death. Raja Hira Singh, who had been the minion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, then proclaimed the latter's putative son, Dalip Singh, Maharaja, and himself Wazir. But after exercising power for fifteen stormy months, he was put to death, with his subtle adviser, Pandit Jalla, on 21st December, 1844, by the insatiable Khalsa soldiery who had raised him to dictatorial power.

5. Maharaja Sher Singh.

sword or pen. (Verses, pp. 10-11, omitted.) He commanded that the strange and wondrous deeds of that brief space should be well and briefly recorded as a memorial of the prince⁶ and his reign and as a tribute for all future time to the courage and daring of the Raja.⁷ The writer's obedient pen is under the hand of God.

A brief account of the change that occurred in the kingdom of the Panjab after the death of the great Maharaja.

That prince, who was the peer of Kekhusro and sat upon the throne of Jamshed, holding a court of heavenly splendour and the crown and seal of the Panjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, departed to Paradise, according as it is written, "He who comes to life must vanish in death, though he live in a strong tower." With hard tempered sword, as fierce as mighty Oxus, he cleansed the dominion of Panjab of the dust of strangers and the dregs of an oppressive race; then spread his bounty to the world as much by benevolence and sacrifices as by destroying evil-doers. He maintained his strong empire for forty years, proclaiming his glory upon the drum of awful authority, which resounded in the ears of the people of Rum,⁸ Zung,⁹ Rus¹⁰ and Frang,¹¹ until sambat 1896, which is 1255 A.H. (A.D. 1839), when he yielded his body, which was used to be clad in silk, to be laid in its bed of ashes. The fires of death consumed the earthly shell of that bountiful spirit and the wind scattered its ashes; nor could the dominion of the Panjab gainsay it.

Grief welled from the hearts of his people; the flame of sorrow rose from their minds and their eyes wore a watery garment of mourning tears. The eyes of their leaders were robed in black kohl and the anguish of thousands was printed upon their cheek with the indigo of their wet eye-lashes. At last, realising that, even if it be not till a hundred years, every man must in the end depart from his earthly house, they ceased from their vain grief and, after the rites of mourning, that prince whose path was the sky, Maharaja Kharak Singh Bahadur, honoured the throne of his inheritance as by right and fate. He renewed the glory of the

6. *Ibid.*

7. Raja Hira Singh.

8. Rome—or Turkey.

9. ?

10. Russia.

11. France—or Europe.

Panjab by the clear stream of his justice and benevolence, for the land lay in a mirage, bereft at that moment of the true waters of kindness.

During his reign, which was no longer than one year and a few months,¹² he gave great care to his kingdom, doing everything for the welfare of his people and the Army. Everyone partook of his kindness, according to his fortune, for he acted as it is written, that all God's people should be treated with grace; and he shed no blood. The lease of life of this elect among princes drew to its appointed end, whatever may have been the cause thereof.¹³ He placed the burden of his will upon the horse of death, exchanging the fleeting throne of trouble and anxiety for the wooden plank.

Then the prosperous day of the kingdom gave place to a dark night of oppression with the sinking of the star of glory, that bright sun. Authority descended upon that rose-garden and new bud of sovereignty,¹⁴ who was just thrusting forth the branch and leaf and fragrance of youth according to the design of God, whose ways with the world are hidden from us in our ignorance. By His decree, against which no man can complain, fate in a moment made another sign. On the day of his father's death a stone and not a crown descended upon the son's head. In a flash his budding life perished in the tempest of death. In the drooping of an eyelid he vanished like a bubble from the world. So a red tulip burst in that garden of courtiers and the hearts of his followers, which had blossomed into a fair garden of care-free joy, were swept by the bitter storm, which withered this royal bud.¹⁵ Glory was gone from the Panjab; no longer brightness shone in its royal pleasure.

12. From July, 1839, till 5th November, 1840. He died prematurely aged at 38.

13. The death of the imbecile Kharak Singh was said to have been hastened by drugs and by the harshness of his son, Nau Nihal Singh, who, though only eighteen years old at his father's accession, played the role of Mayor of the Palace to this *roi fainéant*.

14. Nau Nihal Singh.

15. Nau Nihal Singh was in his twentieth year when he was killed, with the eldest son of Raja Gulab Singh, by a fall of stone from a gateway, on 5th November, 1840, while returning from his father's obsequies. The hand of the Jammu Rajas (Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh) was suspected in this remarkable accident; for the forceful character and previous conduct of the young prince promised completely to frustrate their ambitions. Nau Nihal Singh was the only man who might have maintained the kingdom of Lahore in the condition to which his grandfather, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, had brought it.

Certain of the courtiers, who were divided, then placed in authority Bibi Chand Kaur, mother of the dead prince, who had retired into modest obscurity, and the conduct of the kingdom was entrusted to a council of her advisers. These men became the ornaments and light-givers of the Darbar, according to the precept, "Consult together upon everything." But there was no agreement among them and the council, which had been in existence only for a few days, was dispersed. Chaos ensued and grew, so that the spring of the Panjab passed into autumn. The council had ended in mischievous confusion and the state fell rapidly into disorder.

The well-wisher of this noble dominion, its sincere and pure-minded guardian, the wise minister and enlightened counsellor, that brave and virtuous man, the refuge of the weak, that is, the great Raja Dhian Singh Bahadur, knew the truth of the saying that "women are frail in religion and wisdom" and that to accept anything, even a walnut, from a woman means the harbouring of vain desires and ambitions worthless as straw; for the strength and permanence of the state cannot be maintained by such means in a style worthy of the old tradition. He knew, too, that it was vain to hope that the affairs of the kingdom could be firmly administered by a divided and distracted council, for the Queen, whose glory reached to the sky, was not a warrior and no confidence, even to the measure of a linseed, could be placed in her wisdom or experience.

The members of the council were entirely selfish and the healthy body of the kingdom was ready to fall to any disease. Dismayed and anxious on account of this confusion, he warned those about the court that these hypocrites would surely rouse from his sleep of disappointment and indifference Prince Sher Singh,¹⁶ who had departed from Lahore in chagrin at his failure to secure the throne. That prince had retired to his estates, where he abandoned himself to drunkenness and debauchery to occupy his mind. He had also betaken himself vigorously to hunting and flew about the plains pursuing game with falcon and hawk, meanwhile hoping for a fortunate turn in the political situation.

The more earnest of those (who listened to Raja Dhian Singh) accepted his hint and solemnly agreed among themselves, without arousing opposition in other quarters, to act upon it. They sent

16. A putative but extremely doubtful son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

requests to the prince and suggested that a division of the Army should march to strengthen his will.

An account of the advance of the regiments from Batala with the intention of capturing the city of Lahore and depriving Bibi Chand Kaur of authority over the kingdom, (with the help of the true Master who rules the heavens).

The prince,¹⁷ who was as generous as the ocean and as noble and steadfast as its coasts, was inundated with letters of invitation from officers of the Army, which convinced him of their sincerity. These so rekindled his ambition that with a small band of followers he instantly took to horse, firmly determined to conquer the kingdom. In one day he covered 20 *farsangs*, halting only at Fatehgarh, two *kos* from Lahore, on Thursday, 5th of Chet, Sambat 1897,¹⁸ which is 1256 A.H. This was the place of residence of the Chevalier, General Avitabile,¹⁹ Sahib Bahadur, and in earlier times was called the kiln of Budhu.

Since the auspicious rise of the prince's star at Batala the most senior officers of the Army resorted to his exalted door to pay him respect and inform him of the arrangements they had made for his support, showing the utmost enthusiasm for his rising cause. Believing that their fortune lay with him, they led their men in haste from the city, giving every outward sign of sincere loyalty, and gathered like a constellation about this new-risen moon. The *Frangi*²⁰ officers also joined the prince with the artillery and gave him the customary salute of guns and swivels in token of their adherence. The thunder of the guns which greeted the triumphal progress of this ornament of the throne rent the ears of the fish beneath the earth and the birds of the air and stupefied his tortuous enemies, whose senses forsook them. The fortunate prince showed the greatest favour to the officers and men of the Army, making them the fairest promises and agreeing to all their

17. Raja Sher Singh.

18. January, 1841.

19. Chevalier (Knight) of the Legion of Honour, an honour conferred upon him by Napoleon. He was at that time governor of Peshawar.

20. European. They soon became obnoxious to the uncontrollable Khalsa army. Foulkes, an English cavalry officer, was brutally slain by the soldiery; General Court, a French officer, who had remodelled Ranjit Singh's artillery, was forced to take refuge with the British forces across the Satlaj; and Avitabile, an Italian in civil employment, was prepared at a moment's notice to retreat from Peshawar to Jalalabad.

demands once he had with their help achieved his ambition and destroyed his malignant foes.

At the hour when the sun, sovereign of the east, invaded the dominion of the west and the planets and stars, his thronging warriors of the night, carried the azure citadel, that other triumphant sun entered the city of Lahore with his conquering troops and a following as numerous as ants. With the countless army which had descended from heaven to his aid the prince besieged the fort, in which the imprudent and luxurious Bibi Chand Kaur had shut herself upon the misguided advice of her relations.

By chance that wise commander and forefront of the battle, that tempered sword of daring and courage, that being endowed with the bravery of Rustum, the frame of Tahmtan, the strength of Isfandiyar, the cunning of Bizhan, the vengefulness of Bahram, the audacity of Jove, namely, Raja Gulab Singh²¹ Bahadur, and also that vessel of magnanimity and generosity, that brave leader, true son of a great minister,²² the strong arm of authority, that is, Raja Hira Singh Bahadur (May God redouble the dignity of both!) had that night for a certain occasion taken their abode in the fort and were therefore included among the besieged. So they were trapped by that overwhelming army. The Queen entreated them to defend her and, in any case, their honour as soldiers prompted them to protect the weak. They therefore resolutely seized their arms and joined in the defence.

Thereupon the gunners of the besieging army, skilfully commanded by the conquering prince, unloosed their thunder against the fort to destroy it, in fulfilment of the saying, "The high shall be brought low," and the principle of saving by destroying. The guns were laid to breach the foundation and wall of the fort. But the beleaguered leaders did not flinch from spurring the garrison to the defence and lighted a flame of battle which licked up many a life among those who were tending the fire of conquest.

The siege continued for three days, the destroying flames rising far into the sky above the city. The inhabitants began to cry out against the oppressive violence of the soldiers and their followers, who behaved like devils. The clerks and book-keepers within the city especially went into hiding, like mice from cats, or cats from

21. Gulab Singh supported the cause of Mai Chand Kaur, foreseeing under a weak regime advantage for himself and his family.

22. i.e., son of Raja Dhian Singh.

lions. Those who fell into the hands of the brutal soldiers paid with their lives for their defenceless weakness.

Besiegers and besieged fought on resolutely; many were slain on either side, but there appeared no prospect of a decisive result. Finally the famous minister, the great Raja Bahadur (Dhian Singh), who had departed to Jammu a few days before this violent rising, upon learning the news returned swiftly with a great host, spreading the wings of a happy phoenix over the country beyond the Ravi and raising the banner of correction. This hopeful and comforting news brought joy to the people of Lahore and also to the contending armies in and about the fort. The prince,²³ whose grandeur was like a sea-cliff, was stirred by a passion of love (for Raja Dhian Singh) and rode impetuously towards the river, like an ocean gale or a mountain torrent, in his own glorious person to welcome him. From beyond the river came the fountain of benevolence to meet the well of truth. So Raja and Maharaja met, two rivers of generosity mingled in identity. After an affectionate greeting they were borne upon one elephant, which carried these two fountains, nay, oceans of benevolence swiftly towards the city, showering wealth as they progressed. These two planets of fortunate aspect, stars more brilliant than sun or moon, alighted at the Shahi Masjid, which stands within the city-wall close by the fort. They continued for some time rejoicing and celebrating the royal New Year. With the conjuncture of these two auspicious stars the omens of dissension vanished and the sign of felicity appeared.

After these rejoicings the exalted and famous Raja opened the door of friendly counsel to his noble brother²⁴ and his glorious son.²⁵ With weighty words he entreated the two lions, so jealous of their honour and once more covered with valour, to evacuate the fort; adding every inducement that occurred to his mind. Accordingly the brother, by his advice, and the son, by his order, abandoned the defence on the third night and with high hearts marched out of the fort with a great following and, by the good offices of the Raja, paid their respects to the Maharaja and then proceeded across the river.

On the morning of the third day at sunrise, when the garrison had been depleted by this evacuation, the conquering prince en-

23. Sher Singh.

24. Raja Gulab Singh.

25. Raja Hira Singh, son of Raja Dhian Singh.

tered the *Qila Mubarak* in all the glory of Jamshed and majesty of Fridun, wearing on his brow the crown of victory, thus fulfilling the maxim that woman's place is either the home or the grave. In Sambat 1897²⁶ he seized the kingdom from Bibi Chand Kaur, leaving her desolate. He brought good fortune and happiness by adorning the throne with his glory amidst a thunder that reached the eighth heaven, like the awful roaring of a lion, which marked his ascent to kingship.

(Pages 37, 38 and the first half of page 39, which contain a hyperbolic eulogy of Maharaja Sher Singh in astrological terms, are omitted).

As a result of his fortunate victory the kingdom returned to its normal state. Conspirators were foiled and the face of his enemies was blackened; but those who sought his grace with praise received of his bounty, for by his charities and rewards he wisely fulfilled his promise of liberality. The writer of this veracious chronicle himself received a reward from that princely fount of benevolence on account of certain verses upon his succession. These were brought to his notice by that noble, generous, prudent and sincere man, that writer with a golden pen, that embodiment of wisdom, *Hatim* of intellect and minister of generosity, Ajudhia Prasad (May God, whose bounty imposes no obligations, increase his life!). The writer received a grant of land in the district of Peshawar (May the most high God preserve it from all oppression!)

(An account of the coronation poem, which follows, page 40, is omitted.)

26. (January) 1841.

The Foundation of the Vidyalaya¹ (Hindu College, Calcutta) in 1816-17

By

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THE Foundation of the Vidyalaya was a great landmark in the history of English education in India, precisely because it was the first institution of its kind. (i) Who conceived the idea of its foundation? (ii) What was his motive? (iii) For what objects was it opened? (iv) What part did the Government play in its foundation? These are some of the questions connected with the foundation of the Vidyalaya; to throw some light on them is the purpose of this paper.

WHO CONCEIVED THE IDEA?

The late Major B. D. Vasu (in his "History of Education under The East India Company") wrote that "Raja Ram Mohan Ray conceived the idea of that educational institution which came to be the well-known Hindu College of Bengal"² (2) His view has been endorsed by Professor Brajendra Nath Banerjee in the JB & O R S (1930).³ (3) There are others who also write to the same effect.

The only argument that these two scholars and their supporters have put forward is the evidence furnished by a letter addressed by Sir Edward Hyde East to his friend J. Harrington, then in England, on the 18th May, 1816, which is published in the 'Second Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories'—Vol. II (1852-53).⁴

Even a cursory reading of this letter, however, will show that it does not anywhere mention that Raja Ram Mohan Ray conceived the idea of founding an institution, called later on by the name of the Vidyalaya. How did these two scholars then arrive at this

conclusion? In all probability they seem to have done that on the assumption that the man who called on Sir Edward Hyde East to solicit his aid in founding an institution (the Vidyalaya) was Raja Mohan Ray.⁵ But this assumption of theirs is not free from serious doubts. Firstly, a doubt is created by a statement of the author of the 'History of the Brahmo Samaj' that "the report of this conference (between David Hare and Raja Ram Mohan Ray), it seems, was carried by Baidyanath Mukerjee, a member of the Atmiya Sabha, to Sir Edward Hyde East, who sent him round to sound the Hindu citizens."⁶ This doubt is strengthened by the letter of Sir Edward Hyde East itself. For therein he writes that "the man who approached him was a Brahman of Calcuttawhom I knew";.....whereas he writes further in the same letter that "he was not acquainted, nor had had any communication, with Raja Ram Mohan Ray."⁷ It therefore does not necessarily constitute an argument that he was the man to have actually conceived the idea of the foundation of the Vidyalaya. And this for several reasons. First, Sir Edward Hyde East was approached in the beginning of May, 1816; but the idea of an institution (the Vidyalaya) had been conceived nearly a year before. Sir Edward Hyde East himself writes in his letter that "in fact, several of them had before, at different times, addressed themselves to me upon this topic but never before in so direct a manner."⁸ Secondly, from Appendix VI of "Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XIV, Papers relating to the Establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal," where an abstract of the history of the Vidyalaya, compiled from the unpublished records of that institution, is given we know that "On the 1st of May, 1816, after the subject had been agitated in various places for nearly a year previously, a public meeting of Native and European gentlemen was called to establish an insti-

5. (a) Basu, footnote, p. 37; (b) JB & ORS, 1930, p. 155.

6. Shastri—History of the Brahmo Samaj, p. 56.

7. (a) Letter of Hyde East—reference given above. (b) Two facts tend to strengthen the conclusion that Baidyanath Mukerjee went to Sir Edward Hyde East. First, he was a member of the Atmiya Sabha and so Sir E. Hyde East's description that he was known to the Europeans of distinction of Calcutta and well known for his interference in the religious affairs of the Hindus can safely be applied to him. Secondly, he was made the Native Secretary of the Hindu College (Vidyālaya) on the 27th August (1816) meeting. See Paper A, "Second Report on Indian Territories," Vol. II, p. 250. Name given there: Baboo Baiddeenath Mookinjee.

8. Sir E. Hyde East's letter (18th May, 1816), para 1.

1. Other names of the Vidyālaya—Mahāpāṭhashāla, Hindu College, Anglo-Hindu College, after 1853, Presidency College.

2. B. D. Basu's book, pp. 36-37.

3. JB & ORS, pp. 154-155.

4. Sir E. Hyde East's letter, pp. 235-237.

tution for giving a liberal education to the children of the members of the Hindu Community."⁹ The Calcutta Review Vol. XVII and the evidence of Dr. Alexander Duff before the Select Committee of the House of Lords (1852-53) make it absolutely clear that the idea had been conceived in 1815.¹⁰ And the man who conceived the idea and the man who approached Sir E. Hyde East need not necessarily be the same person. True that Raja Ram Mohan Ray was prepared to lend his support to it; but it does not mean that he conceived the idea of founding the Vidyalaya.

These doubts are confirmed by the two pieces of evidence (given below) which show that the credit of conceiving the idea of the foundation of the Vidyalaya belongs not to Raja Ram Mohan Ray but to David Hare. Dr. A. Duff in his evidence before the Select Committee said:¹¹ "In the year 1815, they (David Hare and Raja Ram Mohan Ray) were in consultation one evening with a few friends as to what should be done with a view to the elevation of the native mind and character. Ram Mohan Ray's proposition was that they should establish an assembly, a convocation, in which what are called the higher or purer dogmas of Vedantism or ancient Hinduism might be taught;.... Mr. David Hare.....said that the plan should be to institute an English school or college for the instruction of native youths."

The Calcutta Review (Vol. XVIII) writes¹² "In the year 1815 a few friends, among whom was Mr. Hare, met together, one evening, in Ram Mohan Ray's house; and the conversation turned on the most fitting means for the destruction of superstition, and the elevation of native mind and character. Ram Mohan Ray contended earnestly for the establishment of a weekly meeting, for the purpose of gradually undermining the prevailing system of idolatry, by teaching the pure and more intellectual dogmas of the Vedanta. To this Mr. Hare decidedly objected..... He proposed, instead, the establishment of a college for native youth; and the two friends separated, each wedded to his own plan, which they carried out with characteristic energy;.....the intellectually inferior, but sturdy practical mechanic, originated the Hindu

9. Bengal Selections, Vol. XIV, Appendix VI.

10. (a) Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII, pp. 342-343. (b) Duff's Evidence.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII, pp. 342-343.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE VIDYALAYA IN 1816-17 97

College, and more remotely the whole system of Anglicized native education."

WHAT WAS DAVID HARE'S MOTIVE?

What was the precise motive of Hare in founding the Vidyalaya is only a matter of speculation. There seems to be no evidence to show that he did this for any political consideration. And if the Calcutta Review were to be believed, it appears that his motive was not the conversion of the Hindus to Christianity, because Dr. Hare considered all religions to be mere superstitions.¹³ The only tentative conclusion (unless some evidence to the contrary is forthcoming), we may have, will be that it was pure philanthropy that urged him to give out his scheme during the course of a discussion about the ways and means of the intellectual and moral improvement of the Hindus.¹⁴

WHAT WERE THE OBJECTS FOR WHICH THE VIDYALAYA WAS FOUNDED?

The misunderstanding about this matter is as old as 1817. The facts that one of its principal objects was English education and that such a thing was being done for the first time seem to have led people to think that it was meant exclusively for English education. In his letter dated May 21, (1817?) by Sir Edward Hyde East to J. Harrington, he writes, about the Vidyalaya as if its object was English education alone.¹⁵ The Court of Directors in their despatch of September 29, 1830 wrote.... "The Vidyalaya....., originally established by the natives themselves, for the study of the English language, and for education through the medium of that language exclusively, has had more decided success."¹⁶ Dr. Alexander Duff says that in the meeting at Sir Edward Hyde East's house "it was unanimously agreed that they should commence an institution for the teaching of English to the children of the higher classes.....In the beginning of 1817 the college.....was opened, and it was the very first English seminary in Bengal, or even in India, as far as I knew."¹⁷ These and similar other statements have led many to think that the Vidyalaya

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

15. Sir E. Hyde East's letter (May 21, 1817?), p. 238.

16. Affairs of the East India Company (1831-32), Vol. II, App. 1.

17. Duff's evidence.

was opened only for English education through English language. Such a view, however, is absolutely untenable. In the 18th May letter of Sir Edward Hyde East there occur three references to this subject,¹⁸ (i) ".....Hindus were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition;" (ii) "on the 14th May, 1816 meeting, all expressed themselves in favour of making the acquisition of the English language a principal object of education, together with its moral and scientific productions;" (iii) "The principal objects proposed for the adoption of the meeting..... were the cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular, next the Hindustani tongue, convenient in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals; grammar; writing (in English as well as Bengalee), arithmetic, history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as fund increases, English belles letters, poetry, etc., etc. "In Paper (A) on page 250-the first of the 27 August 1816 committee rules shows clearly that "The primary object of this institution is the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindus, in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia."¹⁹ Again, in appendix VI of Bengal Selections, Vol. XIV there are the following references:—(i) "on the 27th May 1816 at a meeting of the committee formed on 21st May 1816 meeting it was decided to call the institution "Mahāpāṭhshālā or Hindu College," of which the primary object was declared to be the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindus, in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe." (ii) When the school was opened on January 20, 1817, "Twenty scholars were present on that occasion, and English, Bengalee and Persian were the languages taught."²⁰ These conclusively disprove that it was opened exclusively for English education through the medium of English language.

The truth about the statement that it was the first English seminary is that it was so only in the sense that it was the first institution where English education was also to be imparted.

18. Sir E. Hyde East's letter (May 18, 1816), para 7.

19. Paper A, p. 250 [see footnote 7(b)].

20. Bengal Selections, Vol. XIV, App. VI.

WHAT PART WAS PLAYED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA IN ITS FOUNDATION ?

It is generally believed that in those days the Government of India was almost wholly indifferent, and at times even actually apathetic and hostile, to the growth of education. And there is no doubt that there is a good deal of truth in this criticism. In this particular case, however, this criticism cannot wholly hold good. True that the Government when approached by the committee of the Hindu College for aid in money, land, etc., refused to do so; but it was not because of their indifference, apathy or hostility, to education (English) but because of political considerations. One of the objects of the institution was the teaching of English language and the Government did not want, it appears, to associate themselves with it, lest the people should be furnished with a cause of alarm that the Government intended to impose their culture and language. From the letters of Sir Edward Hyde East referred to above it becomes quite clear that the Government were very much concerned with the Hindu College (Vidyālaya). When Sir Edward Hyde East referred the matter to the Governor-General in Council, they "signified through his Lordship, that they saw no objection to my permitting the parties to meet at my house. It seemed indeed to be as good an opportunity as any which could occur of feeling the general pulse of the Hindus, as to the projected system.....and this without committing the Government in the experiment."²¹ And although the Government refused aid in the beginning, yet it should not be forgotten that when it was found that there were at least some people who welcomed English education and that the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus were not hurt thereby, they saved it from the impending ruin in 1823.²²

21. (a) Sir E. Hyde East's letter (18th May, 1816), para 3. (b) Also in Sir E. Hyde East's letter (21st May, 1817), the following lines are important:— (The completion of the college was retarded, for one member of the Governor-General's Council thought that) "The Government should not show any outward marks of countenancing any plan of this description, giving patronage, land or money, which might give umbrage to the Hindus in the country, though it was desired by all the principal Hindus in Calcutta . . ."

22. Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII, pp. 354-55.

Editorial

OBITUARY

PROFESSOR HERMANN JACOBI OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN

It is with the greatest regret that we have to record here the demise of Professor H. Jacobi of Bonn on the 19th October 1937 in his eighty-eighth year. Jacobi's name was for more than half a century one in Oriental scholarship to conjure with. His scholarship was so wide and so widely acknowledged that his word was accepted without question on many matters of importance in the study of Sanskrit and Prakrit generally. He was a great authority on matters astronomical, specially relating to Hindu astronomy. It was only the other day soon after his retirement that they celebrated the 50th year of his tenancy of the Sanskrit chair in the University of Bonn, which corresponded to his 80th year. Almost since then he had to remain completely inactive, and in a condition which made death perhaps a relief. That does not detract in the least from his greatness as a scholar and the unquestioned high position that he held in the field of Oriental scholarship for more than half a century. We have had opportunities of corresponding with him off and on for a number of years, but for about 18 months immediately preceding 1928 we were regularly corresponding with him on several questions connected with the philosophical systems expounded in the *Maṇimēkhalai*. It was a great pleasure to discuss matters with him, even where we differed vitally, and, in spite of the fact that we failed to come to an agreement on the main point of the discussion in regard to the matter, the admiration we had for the Professor only increased, and we have the greatest pleasure in recognising his good feeling in spite of the difference when he characterised the completion of our work on *Maṇimēkhalai* as "Your great work *Maṇimēkhalai*." His death is certainly an irreparable loss to Oriental scholarship. That calamity had befallen Oriental scholarship, however, quite five years before his death almost, as he had no control over his faculties for the period. It is with sincere sorrow that we place on record our admiration for the great scholar for the wonderful width of learning, and the simplicity and suavity with which he could correspond on matters of scholarship.

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

We notice with similar regret the passing away of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, an Indian scholar of eminence in another field of Oriental scholarship. His work lay principally in Persian and Urdu, and in Islamic philosophy and sufism. We have had the pleasure of meeting him at the Oriental Conference in Lahore ten years ago when he presided over the section of the Oriental Conference relating to his subject. It is matter for special regret that he should be taken away in the prime of life to the great loss of Islamic scholarship in India.

INDIANA

A new journal under the caption *Indiana* has recently come to our notice. This new effort at journalism has for its object the presentation of a summary of the work that is being done on Indian History and Culture in the large number of journals which engage in the publication of these. This little journal seeks to provide something like a guide and an index to recent work in the subject of Indian History and Culture which is daily getting to be more voluminous in output. The new journal has a useful function. Let us hope those responsible for its publication will do all in their power to make it really the useful guide that it could be.

DHARMAKOŚA

The *Dharmakośa Maṇḍala*, a body of scholars influentially backed up, have made themselves responsible for a scheme for the publication of the *Dharmakośa*, which comprehensively indicates a collection of works bearing on the *dharma* of the Hindus, which, in its turn, stands comprehensively for what may be regarded as the Hindu way of life, secular and religious. The idea here is to collect together in chronological order, and in a number of volumes, the Sanskrit texts bearing upon this vast field of Hindu sociology, if we may so call the whole of this voluminous work, for the sake of brevity. It is under a very competent board of editors, and has been divided for convenience into six main divisions:—(1) law and political administration; (2) the duties of the castes and the orders; (3) the duties enjoined in the *Purāṇas*; (4) the denominational texts of particular sects, expiation and quiescence; (5) the discipline preparatory to final deliverance; and (6) the sacrificial rituals. This list indicates the different departments of life activity of the orthodox Hindu, and comprehends the whole of this active life. The texts bearing upon these are collected from published works as well as unpublished manuscripts, and arranged in the

order of chronology, so that one may study the gradual evolution of each one of these institutions separately. How important this is even for a general student of sociology is easily comprehended if one should remember that Hindu society is of long standing and is one of those which are the oldest, and perhaps the only living old society with the exception of China. The institutions live, though subject to various influences, destructive and other. A full understanding of this social life is of the first importance both from the general point of view of sociology, and from the special point of view of understanding Hindu society as it exists to-day. It is a very valuable piece of work, though it is voluminous and calls for sustained effort backed up by great resources. The Maharashtra has shown its capacity for organising such work and finding means for encyclopaedic work of this kind in various departments, and it is to be hoped that they will meet with as much success in this as in many others. The volume before us covers only one part of what might be called Vyavahārakāṇḍa, and deals with legal procedure, leaving the sections on law to a subsequent volume. The texts are collected in chronological order from the Veda onwards. The various commentaries and *bhāṣyas* are similarly arranged, so that on each topic the reader has got laid before him the texts bearing upon the whole course of its evolution. It is to be hoped that the work will receive the attention of the public that it deserves and would be amply supported financially to make it a success.

[*Dharmakōśa ; Vyavahārakāṇḍa ; Vyavahāra mātṛika, Part i, published by the Prajñā Paṭhashāla Maṇḍal, Wai.*]

Reviews

SAIVA SIDDHANTA. By Miss Violet Paranjoti, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Luzac & Co., London.

This is a thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Madras by the author, and attempts to give an account of the Śaiva Siddhānta from the Tamil literature which contains the system expounded. It follows the Tamil texts in the exposition part, submitting it to a critical examination in the light of modern critical idealism. Śaiva Siddhānta has hitherto been available only in Indian languages, particularly Tamil, and to some extent in Sanskrit and other languages, Northern and Southern. The only work worth mentioning in a European language is the German work '*Der śaiva Siddhānta*' by H. W. Schomerus, which has been regarded since its publication as a good exposition on the Śaiva Siddhānta system. Miss Paranjoti has studied this work critically, and has made use of it in the course of her own work. She has done her part of the work, we are very pleased indeed to say, satisfactorily, and has made an attempt to supply a longfelt want of a handbook on the Śaiva Siddhānta system. She has consulted the Tamil works of the Santāna Āchāryas, and other works bearing on the subject, and has given a very good analysis of the works.

It is composed of nine chapters, of which the first bears upon the literature bearing on the subject. The following seven chapters deal with subjects like epistemology, conception of God, *Māya* and its evolutes, *malā*-fettered soul and the freeing of the *malā*-fettered soul and release. The last chapter, chapter IX, is devoted to a comparative study of this system with the other Indian systems of thought. The work is a satisfactory exposition of the subject, and may be recommended for those who wish to have a reliable handbook for the understanding of the subject. The printing and get up of the book does credit to the G. S. Press.

SUARNADVIPA. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., Published by Asoke Kumar Majumdar, Ramna, Dacca.

This is a work which forms a part of a larger scheme on the history of ancient Indian colonies in the Far East. A scheme under which a body of Indian scholars should visit the most important centres in the Far East to study on the spot the archaeological and

other material with a view to bringing out a series of works on this very topic was discussed among a certain number of friends on the occasion of the Indian Oriental Conference at Lahore, but has not been realised owing to various valid reasons. In the meanwhile, Professor Majumdar of Dacca had already been at work and had brought out the first volume of the series on Champa in 1927. The work under review is the first part of the second volume of the series, and the next part of this volume is expected to be out soon. The volume on Champa summarised the history, as far as it is traceable from the records made available, and contained the corpus of the inscriptions so far published. The same plan is intended to be followed in the second, and the part under review deals with the history of Suvarnadvipa to be followed by another containing the inscriptions separately. The information here is based entirely upon the *disjecta membra* of information which could be collected from the inscriptions incorporated, in the light of such references as could be got, say, from the Chinese history and the work of various travellers, Muhammadan and other. In the nature of the case, it could not as yet be anything like a connected account of the history of this vast region. The very name Suvarnadvipa has had a vague application, and it would be difficult to state with certainty what the name included at any time, and what it excluded of the insular and the peninsular parts of what was called Farther India and the East Indian Archipelago. The story begins comparatively early, and the knowledge of this region in India is traceable to periods anterior to the inscriptions of Asoka, the Arthashastra, and perhaps even the Ramayana, and while perhaps the knowledge may have been continuous, the information available regarding that knowledge is hardly so. Professor Majumdar has studied these records, and has set down the information available therein in as much of a connected form as is possible, and has provided those who may be curious to know something about this region all the material available for them to study and form their own opinion on the subject. The Malay Peninsula, the islands of Sumatra and Java and the other islands, large and small, at one time or another, constituted parts of this general descriptive name. Professor Majumdar with painful industry has arranged the information available on each one of these and put them together in a form which, while it does not as yet provide a continuous history, does present us with a faithful picture of all that is available on the matter. The Sailendra empire first and the empire of Java next stand out in this whole group as two important and brilliant periods of history and cover more or less the period beginning with the 7th century and coming down to the 16th. All the historical material

is drawn into requisition and an interesting account of these is presented. It is matter for doubt whether we are likely to have much more information in the future, but what is so far available is here in a form handy enough for reference and interesting enough for study for those anxious to know something about the history of this important aspect of the spread of Indian culture beyond the borders of India. We congratulate Professor Majumdar on his achievement, and hope he would continue and carry out the scheme that he has made for himself without any interruption.

Before concluding this short review, we might take leave to point out that there are a few points which might indicate early connection with South India of this region, in the regular voyages of merchant ships and of the knowledge of sailors going in them of the islands of the naked savages, the Nicobars, of which there is a graphic description in the *Manimekhalai*, and on the whole it might strike a casual reader that South India does not come in for adequate recognition in this comprehensive work on overseas territory, where Indian culture flourished. We should like to note with appreciations that, unlike some others engaged in similar research work, Professor Majumdar shows a tendency to follow the principle of sensing facts of a general tendency rather than get lost in the discussion of mere details, and, what follows therefrom, all the fruitless discussion to which they lead. Where information is not quite full, and we have not the means to ascertain fact definitely, it is really more important to be able to trace the general tendencies rather than keep quarrelling over mere details characterising these as this or that. We commend this feature of Professor Majumdar's work.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE EIGHTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MYSORE, December 1935. Bangalore: Printed by the Superintendent at the Govt. Press, 1937. Pages CLII and 870, and 33 and 35 pages of Index. Price Rs. 10.

This very efficiently got-up *Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* held at Mysore in December, 1935 under the auspices of the Mysore University and under the presidency of our *Doyen* of historians, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, is very welcome, though belated. It is sumptuously illustrated with the scenes of places where the sittings of the Conference were held and the photographs of the personages who played an important part in the course of the Proceedings.

H. H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore expatiated in his opening remarks on what Mysore has contributed to Indian History and Culture; and he remarked, *inter alia*, that "we in Mysore feel that we can claim a share in your learned President who is himself a Mysorean and has spent a large part of his distinguished career in the service of the State." The Presidential Address of Dr. Aiyangar, was, as usual, very comprehensive in its range and very constructive in its suggestion of ideas along which scholarship and research should move. He pleaded for an extension of the field of exploration as well as an intensification of the process adopted with reference to the area of the so-called Indus Culture. He would not leave further India nor Anthropology out of the purview of Indian scholarship and would caution workers in all fields against over-hasty conclusions. Thus he would plead: "Having come so far I would most earnestly bespeak your consideration whether the time has not arrived for a reconsideration of the whole of our organon of criticism in respect of the whole field of cultural research, particularly literary and allied. It strikes me that there is too much of a readiness to make affiliations, to assume interpolations and worse, and cast aside works as later fabrications without sufficiently serious consideration of the position in each case." He stressed upon the growing recognition of India's possession of the basic key to Asiatic culture as a whole and on the likelihood that soon she would be recognised as capable of giving the world the light that would guide its future.

The Conference worked in fourteen sections, viz., Vedic, Iranian, Islamic, Classical Sanskrit, Philosophy and Religion, Prakrit, History, Archaeology, Ethnology and Folklore, Fine Arts and Technical Sciences, Linguistics, Kannada and other Dravidian languages, modern North Indian languages and the Pandita Parishad. Representative papers read under sections and the addresses of the respective Sectional Presidents have been given in the volume. Dr. L. Sarup dwelt, in his address as President of the Vedic Section, on the relation between the Rig Veda and the Mohenjo-Daro culture, which he holds to be certainly posterior in age to the former, both on the basis of positive and negative factors; and he further says that the Dravidian character of the Indus culture cannot be supported. One paper in that section applies the criterion of thought for determining the early and the later passages in the text of the Rig Veda. Mr. Anklesaria, in his Presidential Address in the Iranian section, deplors that Avestan studies have been deteriorating in India on account of the absence of discovery of any new material and gives a short summary of the cultural progress made by the Zoroastrians in India

during the last ten centuries and more. Dr. M. Patel would fix the date of Zoroaster before the eighth century B.C., probably a little before the Medes appeared in Western Iran. The address of Dr. M. Nizamuddin, the President of the Islamic section, surveys Islamic Studies in the East and gives a few suggestions for their future development and expansion. He would also put forward the idea of an All-India organisation for the promotion of Urdu. Virasaiva philosophy occupies a place in the Proceedings of the Philosophy section. In the History section, the Presidential Address of Dr. R. K. Mookerji deals with the varied problems confronting Indian historians, both cultural and chronological. Among them we may note as significant the following remark: "Therefore, it may be concluded that the civilisation based on the cultivation of more important wheats began in the Panjab and spread thence down the river Indus to Sindh and that Mesopotamia learnt from India the art of cultivation. And since Sumerian civilisation is pretty certainly older than Egyptian, it follows that the Indian pre-Vedic civilisation is the most ancient of all, while its makers, the pre-Dravidians or Dravidians, may be recognised as the pioneers of civilisation." The papers in the History and Archaeology sections are marked by variety, by novelty of suggestions and by intensive and critical treatment. The Presidential Address in the Ethnology section puts forward a plea for the encouragement of Anthropology by our Universities. Mr. Suhrawardy, the President of the Fine Arts section, describes the different stages and ideas adopted by Indian artists and would recommend the sociological method of developing art as affording great scope. Prof. Upadhye says, in his address in the section of Indian Linguistics, that the Prakrits inherit many of their characteristics from a period anterior to Classical Sanskrit and can be traced back to Vedic Sanskrit. The late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, in his Presidential Address in the Dravidian Languages section, traces the antiquity of Kannada literature as compared with those of its sister Dravidian languages. In this connection he would fix the period of the Tamil Third Sangam for the fifth century A.D.; and he would conclude that the literature of Kannada is of greater antiquity than that of any other South Indian vernacular, except Tamil. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the President of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages section, would stress not merely upon the value of the linguistic aspects of such study but also upon their literary and cultural phases. He points out the increased use of the Roman script in Indian philological work and believes that the move towards the Romanisation of Indian languages is bound to come ultimately. He

says, "An Indianised Roman script would be the most suitable thing for India of the future; but if I cannot have it immediately (and from sentimental reasons even the most ardent supporter of Roman would feel a secret joy, if the Indian alphabet, so precious and so old a friend, continued to be in life for a little longer), I would advocate the general adoption of Devanagari for the whole of India, as such a measure will receive the support of a large number of Indians. The present moment is to some extent propitious for such a movement as Devanagari is associated with Hindi and with Sanskrit."

There are Sanskrit and Urdu sections of the papers included in the volume; and its preparation, the variety of fare comprehended, the accuracy secured in typography and diacritical marks and the readability of types which mark it reflect considerable and meritorious credit on the painstaking Local Secretary of the Conference, Dr. M. H. Krishna of the Mysore University.

C. S. S.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. By M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Reader in Politics and Head of the Department of History, Economics, and Politics, Andhra University, Waltair. The Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay, 1938. Pp. xvi & 242. Price Rs. 4.

This book is a sequel to the author's previous work, "The Beginnings of Local Taxation in the Madras Presidency," published about ten years ago. It traces the chief landmarks in the history and development of Local Boards in the Presidency from before 1871, when the Local Funds Act was passed. This Act had been preceded by the Education Act of 1863 and by the District Road Cess Act of 1866. The Act of 1871 increased the scope of Local Taxation as well as that of local activity. It created areas of local administration known as circles, though in effect the circle was co-terminous with the district in many cases. The resolution of Lord Ripon's Government of 1882 brought about a complete change in the situation. It recommended the establishment of smaller administrative units in the place of the larger ones on several grounds. Ultimately the Local Boards Act of 1884 created Unions, Taluqs and Districts, the last of which were generally identical with the revenue districts. The scheme was based upon a hierarchy of authorities, but the Union was in most cases only an artificial creation. The Royal Commission and Decentralisation

insisted upon the importance of the village as a community and upon the necessity of preserving the revenue taluq as the taluk board. The feature that was then uppermost in the people's minds was that the smaller units of the village and the taluq should be preserved in preference to the district. The resolution of the Government of India on Local Self Government of 1915 favoured the formation of village panchayats in selected areas with limited powers. The action of the Madras Government on this resolution was a mere whittling down of its purpose. The Village Panchayats Act of 1920 was merely an enabling measure; and the Local Boards Act of the same year merely retained all the older units of administration. It was in 1928 that the agitation began for the abolition of the taluq boards and the bills of 1930 and 1934 made further amendments which increased the uncertainty in relation to the constitution of different units of local administration. Our author rightly deplores that even to-day the question of administrative areas does not seem to have been finally settled and condemns the idea of an intermediate agency between the village and the district. He would urge that respect should be paid to the principles of administrative areas suiting themselves to the needs of the tempo of the people and to correspondence between area and function for everyone of the local institutions and endeavours. Above all he would urge that the political ideal of representative democracy which is the goal of all Indians should take note of the village as a unit and make it the instrument and method of training men in this ideal.

In the second chapter he traces in detail the constitutional development of local boards from before 1871 and he holds at its end that the problem at present before the local boards is more an administrative than a constitutional one and lies in the relations of the president of a board to its members and in the area of his powers as well as in the relations between the board and the government. In the next chapter, state control and supervision are traced and we read that there is nothing parallel to the extraordinary powers of the District Collector to act in cases of emergency. The author deplores the vast and extending field of governmental control over the boards and finds the principal explanation of this feature in the general political system of the country. Unless the bureaucratic government becomes a responsible one, local autonomy cannot become real in any true sense. Both local and provincial governments should function on the set of principles. Of course he makes markedly clear the distinction between state control that helps local autonomy and the control that hinders it

and proceeds to describe the essentials of that autonomy with an admirable amount of clarity accompanied by detailed documentation. He would advocate also an extension of local activity to include more services and a greater amount of efficiency and expert knowledge on the part of the officials employed at the headquarters for control and supervision.

Taking expenditure and revenue, our author would first discuss the problem of roads and communications and the utilisation of old accumulations of railway cess for the construction of new roads and bridges. The problems connected with the control of education by local boards are next discussed and concluded with a recommendation for the concentration of expenditure essentially on elementary education, the introduction of compulsion in select localities and a more cautious policy in respect of expenditure on secondary education. Preventive medicine and expenditure on medical relief in general form the most ill-regulated and the least fruitful of all the branches of local fund expenditure. A strong case for progression in the rate of the land cess is put forward particularly for ryotwari areas, while a tax on houses is regarded as an ideal one for local fund purposes, though their suitability to local areas is perhaps doubtful. The removal of tolls is regretted and the introduction of profession tax is regarded as an epoch making event. Pilgrim taxes and impositions like license fees etc., in pilgrim shrines are justified. The process of provincialism with regard to services of local boards has also been noticed. The village panchayat and the District Board are deemed adequate for all purposes of local administration at present. The profession tax is deemed to be capable of further yield while an increase in provincial grants is urged. The last chapter dealing with certain general considerations affecting the subject of the book is very instructive. Herein the author puts forward the bold view that the failure of mass education to make rapid progress in the last fifteen years is due to the large amount of autonomy conferred on local boards in 1920. He would make an appeal for a wiser control and guidance from the Provincial Government, for a reform in the administrative organisation of the district boards and for greater enlightenment among the electorate, conclusions with which everybody ought to agree.

C. S. S.

THE CRESCENT IN INDIA—A STUDY IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY. By S. R. Sharma, M.A., Professor of History, Willingdon College, Sangli. Author of *Mughal Empire in India*. Part I—Pp. 1-310. Part II—Pp. 311-718. (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2.)

Prof. S. R. Sharma of the Willingdon College, Sangli, has already made himself useful to students of Indian History by his *Mughal Empire in India* published in three parts in the years 1934-35. In this book he tries to meet the requirements of the bulk of undergraduates in our Colleges. His knowledge is intensive and comprehensive and his presentation and style are attractive. He traces the history of Hindustan from the post-Harshan centuries which form the background of the picture of Islam's rise; and he supplements his narrative of the outline of political history of this period with a notice of the forces which moulded the life of the people and their culture. He also sketches the background for the rise of Islam, as a political power in India itself, by tracing Arab achievement and Turkish contributions to the development of the Islamic faith and empire. Then he goes chronologically through the lives of the successive dynasties of Delhi. Three of these dynasties alone he would deem imperial, in both their stature and dominion; viz., the Khaljis, the Tughlaks and the Mughals. The Tughlak period formed a mingled chaos of growth and decline; Firuz Tughlak's reign is pictured in the light of antecedent measures, both political and administrative, which largely moulded his policy.

The pre-Mughal elements of Islam in India were marked by points of strength as well as of weakness, which were both due to the political empiricism that controlled their conduct. One feature of this empiricism which affected the administration was, as has been rightly stressed elsewhere, the absence of any binding legal concept operating in the administrative field, individuals alone counting for everything. In some epochs, however, this empiricism was modified by a struggle between philosophical rationalism and ecclesiastical dogmatism. Mr. Sharma gives us a good account of the machinery of the Muslim government in India and of the status of the Hindus in the body politic. He is inclined to accept the chroniclers' contrast of plethora and plenty that normally prevailed with the shocking famine conditions that occurred occasionally, as being a feature of the life of the people: but in reality, this plethora should have marked only the lives of the nobles and the upper classes and should, really, have deprived the masses of their plenty.

He follows the lead of writers who have gone before him in his analysis of the elements and methods of cultural *rapprochement* between Hinduism and Islam and comes to the conclusion that it is possible to hold "the Turks did their worst on Hindu Society and failed. The Mughals were to attempt their best and yet never succeed." (Page 210).

The rule of Sher Shah is described with the usual enthusiasm that has characterised both contemporary and later estimates of that monarch; and stress is laid upon the idea that he was, above all and essentially, a man of destiny who had faith in himself and in his mission.

Akbar is portrayed in the light of the awakening, both spiritual and material, that marked contemporary India as well as Europe. The reign of Jahangir saw the fruition of the empire which was built up during the previous half a century. The various episodes of the Mughal Empire in the 17th century are elaborately and critically described. At the end of Shah Jahan's reign, the Empire is held to have just passed beyond the meridian of glory and power, and entered on its decline which, however, continued to glow with the effects of the midday shine as usually happens. Aurangzib's reign is a period of post-meridiem and the events and policy that marked it are not capable of easy analysis and explanation. Mr. Sharma feels that it is possible, in the ultimate analysis, to attribute all Aurangzib's failures and defects to his religious character. (Page 591).

The sunset of the empire was the reign of Bahadur Shah and its nightfall was the period that extended from 1712 down to the invasion of Nadir Shah. The final disintegration ranged over the three or four decades that preceded the disaster of Panipat.

The last chapter entitled 'The Review of the Empire' attempts to survey the achievements and the failures of the Mughals, particularly in the field of their relations with Rajputs who contributed largely to the chivalry and the art of the Empire. The 17th century also saw the conversion of the Maratha tribe into a nation. The achievements of Christian missionaries in the country are among the topics dealt with. The retention of some traits of Mughal administration and ideas and art even in the present day life of India is noticed, though, perhaps, an exaggerated estimate is given of the continuation of Mughal influence in the following words:—"Our provincial and district administrations are derived from Mughal proto-types; the powers of our externally appointed governors and viceroys, not altogether res-

ponsive to the chords of national life are the relics of a past that is still living; our Civil Service, composed of men of-all-work imperially selected to administer imperial as well as local interests, still reminds us of the *mansabdars*, shorn of course of their feudal military character and functions, and selected on more scientific lines." Mughal culture is attempted to be surveyed in two or three of its important phases.

Mr. Sharma should be congratulated not only for his fluid and flowing style, but also for the numerous, apt and valuable quotations, both from original and from authoritative secondary resources, which he comprehends in the course of his narrative, in the view that, as foot-notes, they may not be really taken in by the average student in the measure in which they deserve to be grasped. A large measure of credit is due for the attractive format of the volumes, the choice of the illustrations, the maps and the lists of relevant dates at the end of each chapter.

C. S. S.

THE LAND OF THE GURKHAS, THE HIMALAYAN KINGDOM OF NEPAL. By Major W. Brook Northey, M.C., with a chapter by Brigadier-General, the Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B., M.V.O. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., pp. X & 248. 10/6 net.

The author claims that his account of Nepal is neither an ordinary, cursory travel book nor an elaborate and exhaustive treatise of an expert but that it is the outcome of his twenty years' experience in a Gurkha regiment which enabled him to get into living touch with Nepal. The valley of Nepal which gives its name to the whole kingdom, has been the centre of religious and artistic culture for over twenty centuries from the age of early Buddhism and of Asoka. The Gurkhas first disturbed that culture; and the Newars of the valley whom they conquered, had been profoundly influenced by the Buddhist and Hindu refugees flying from the Moslem invasions of the Gangetic valley. Their three chiefships of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan exercised an ever-shifting suzerainty over the petty tribal states. The Newars claim a South Indian origin, though their language, customs and physical traits indicate only their Himalayan affinities.

From the time of their great ruler of the 15th century, Yaksha Malla, down to the Gurkha invasion in the middle of the 18th cen-

tury, Newar culture developed a characteristic style of architecture and great proficiency in manual arts and crafts, and great prosperity, both in the artistic and commercial senses. Major Northey would deem that any coherent account of Nepalese history is only to be dated from the 14th century and an accurate picture is possible only from the accession of King Prithvi Narayan Sah in 1769 A.D. Gurkha annals are too abundant of blood and treachery; and as one previous writer has remarked, Gurkha politics became, from now onwards, "one of steady progress as regards arms, and of a disgusting succession of murders and intrigues and atrocious cruelties as regards the Court."

Our author has duly utilised the labours and researches of B. H. Hodgson, of Wright and Oldfield, of the earlier accounts of Kirkpatrick, Hamilton and Fraser and of the writings of Waddell, Bell, Bendall, S. C. Das and Landon and Sylvain Levi. He takes us fairly rapidly over the stormy years of Bhim Sen Thappa's rise and fall, Jang Bahadur's rise to power and the inglorious obscurity to which the Sah dynasty has since been relegated. The philo-British leanings of the Government of Nepal have been consistent and strong and, indeed so marked, that Landon could declare that "Nepal perhaps remains the sincerest friend to the British of all the sovereign states of the world. We have tried her fidelity a score of times, and she has never failed us. Her word is her bond—and more than her bond." This is only most true.

An adulation of the worth of the successive Prime Ministers of Nepal has been a characteristic feature of all accounts of Nepal; and it is certainly a deserved tribute that is paid to Jang Bahadur and his successors in office. Bir Shumshere's long and beneficial tenure of that office, the record of his more famous brother, Chandra Shumshere, and the present ruler, Sir Joodha Shumshere, form the subject-matter of a chapter entitled *Nepal in Modern Days*. An account of the tribes of the people is next given; and herein we are told that, in affinity in the matter of physique, the Gurkhas come closer to the Japanese than even to the Chinese. Major Northey describes also the proverbial camaraderie and spirit of freemasonry that prevails between the Gurkha warriors and the Highlanders. Despite the militarism of the Gurkha, we read that, at heart, he is not really warlike; and inter-family and tribal feuds are far less prevalent than among other martial races. Kathmandu and the road leading to it are elaborately sketched, particularly its temples and shrines which display orthodox Hinduism fast replacing the Buddhism of

the Newars. Temple architecture is of the *chaitya* style; and art in general is not only intensely religious, but strongly symbolical as well. The other towns of the valley and the eastern and western regions of the kingdom come in for their proper share of treatment. Darjiling is described as it is to-day, as the greater proportion of its population is due to immigration from Nepal. A useful bibliography, a good survey map of the kingdom and numerous good illustrations of the country, the people and the monuments make the book attractive.

C. S. S.

THE JHA COMMEMORATION VOLUME—Presented to Vidyāsāgara Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍita Ganganātha Jhā. Published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1937.

One good way of honouring a profound scholar is to get up a commemoration volume by his pupils, friends and admirers and present it to him on a suitable occasion. Quite appropriately the pupils, friends and admirers of Dr. Ganganatha Jha, whose eminence as an oriental scholar no one can dispute, and whose contribution to the advancement of knowledge is highly valuable, presented to that distinguished scholar a volume of essays on oriental subjects, which he has made a lifestudy. This volume was presented on his completion of the 60th year on 25th September, 1932. Thanks to Poona Oriental Book Agency, we have before us a well-got up and handsome volume containing some contributions of an original character.

The volume opens with *prasaṁtis* or appreciations of Dr. Ganganatha Jha, where attention is drawn by various scholars, east and west, to the works of Dr. Jha, especially his works on *Mīmamsā*, *Nyāya* and *Vedānta*. The volume proper consists of two parts. Part I consists of nine learned papers in Sanskrit, contributed by some of the eminent pandits of India. Among these *Sābarabhāṣye Udāharaṇaparipāṭi* by Pt. Chinnaśwami Sastri, *Vedāpamuṣeyatvam* by Pt. Mādhava Sastri Bhāṇḍāri, *Yogapadārthavicāra* by Pt. Ravinātha Jha may be particularly mentioned. Part II contains forty-six interesting papers in English. It would not be out of place to refer to some of these contributions here. Dr. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad's paper on contribution of India to Arabic Literature contains some valuable and original information. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's *Nārāyaṇīya in Tamil Literature* is a thought-provoking article. There is much in his suggestion that the Tamil poet was indebted to the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*. Another

interesting paper is that of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who examines the evidence furnished by Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa to show that Daṇḍakāraṇya was no other than Mahārāṣṭra. The study of Mañjuḥoṣa as the God of learning in the Buddhist Pantheon by Dr. B. Bhattacharya is an exhaustive study of the different forms of Manjuśrī. Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidushekara Bhattacharya contributes a short article on *Catrakoṭi* and shows how the Sapta-bhaṅgī theory of Jainism differs from Buddhism. A noteworthy contribution is on the *Philosophy of the Tantras* by Dr. J. Chakravarti.

Into all the other papers which are equally interesting we cannot go due to limitation of space. Still mention may be made of Dr. S. R. Das's paper on the *Nakṣatras* or the *Constellations in Jaina Astronomy*, a useful study. In an article on Rāvaṇa's Lanka, Dr. Hiralal identifies the Oraons with the Vānaras, and the Śabarās as Rikshaws of the Rāmāyaṇa. The correctness of the view depends on further light on the subject. An interesting but not plausibly convincing is the article on sea voyage. It must be remembered that the prohibition of sea voyage was only for a particular community and not for all people. It is not therefore surprising that our ancients largely indulged in sea voyages. Mr. P. V. Kane treads on a controversial field in examining the marriage age of Hindu boys and girls. The point raised deserves further investigation. Dr. A. B. Keith's is a learned study on Brahman. Equally learned is Dr. Sten Konow's examination of Medha and Mazda. The next interesting paper is by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi on the first promulgator of Buddhism in China, and it is suggested he was an Iranian prince of the Parthian Dynasty. The *Conception of Mukti* by Dr. R. Shama Sastri, the *Tuḥfatul-Hind* by Syed Masud Hasan Rizavi, *Indian Words in the Humayun Nama* by Dr. A. Siddiqui, and *Ottorokorsha* by Dr. F. W. Thomas may also be read with interest.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN. By Dr. M. W. De Visser, Late Professor of Japanese in the University of Leyden. 2 Vols. published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1935.

Dr. M. W. De Visser, who is no more unfortunately with us, has done a great service by leaving behind him the two volumes now under review, at once learned and valuable. The study of Buddhism in the Far East is certainly interesting but at the same

time the more difficult. In composing these two volumes, the late Professor used the Chinese books and translations, the Japanese Annals, biographies of priests and other ancient Japanese works on ceremonies as the main sources of information. The first volume contains nine chapters of which the introductory chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the Sūtras of the seventh century A.D. A list is made in chronological order. Interest centres round the fact that there were sūtras for causing rain and for stopping the downpour. In the succeeding chapters we find rich material in the shape of different entertainments of monks and nuns, especially of the eighth and ninth centuries, of the festival of Buddha's birth, and of the Buddhist festival of the dead. In these one notices the influence of Indian festivals especially the Indian 'feast of lamps' or Dipāvali. Remark is made in this connection that "the Hindu Dipavali festival must have been continued by the Tantric priests in China with the Avelambana and Preta-feeding rites". The ideal underlying these festivals seems to be lamps being guides to the spirits of the dead. Mention is made of the festival of Ten thousand lamps and of twenty thousand lamps. It is said that when the Emperor Temmu fell ill, there was the offering of lanterns in the temple of Kawara in A.D. 686, and repentance made. A chapter (VIII) is devoted to an account of the rites of repentance. The last chapter of this volume furnishes an account of the retreat of the clergy in India, in China and in Japan.

The second volume consists of seven chapters. Here are examined the sūtras which were in use in Japan in the eighth century. As in the previous volume, a list of the sūtras is given in chronological order. A history of the Japanese Buddhism in general in the eighth century is traced in a separate chapter (XI). In the next chapter we have information of Prajñāpāranita and its principal text. While this deals with Mahāprajñāpāranita sūtra, chapter (XII) is on Vajracchedikaprajñāpāranita sūtra. In this volume, again we have mention of several festivals, as for example, the three festivals of Nara, and the festivals connected with the lotus sūtra. There is an elaborate general index. To a student of ancient Buddhism in the Far East the book is of immense value, as giving him 'some insight into the life and soul of Japanese Buddhism.'

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA VOL. II. VEDIC INDIA, PART I.

By V. Rangacharya. Published by the Indian Publishing House, Madras, 1937. Price Rs. 10 or 15s.

Professor V. Rangacharya has planned to publish a series of volumes on pre-Musalman India, and the book under review forms the second volume of the series. In this work Professor Rangacharya traces the Aryan expansion over India. There are six chapters of 552 pages. The first is on the evolution of Vedic literature. A list of Vedic works as also post-Vedic works like the Itihāsas is furnished in chronological order. Towards the end of the chapter a bibliographical history of Vedic research is briefly told. The second chapter deals with chronology and historical lessons of the Vedic literature. In this chapter the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are taken up for critical examination in point of date, and interpretation of traditions. In this connection Prof. Rangacharya remarks: "There is every plausibility for the theory that the Sumerians were the original people of the Indus Valley, and that this region was the cradle of the civilisation of the world to which even Mesopotamia and Egypt were indebted. The Heliolithic period of Indian History, in other words, is not later than that of the Nile, the Euphrates or the East Mediterranean." (p. 146). There is a useful bibliography at the end of this chapter also. In the third chapter the story of Aryan expansion over India is narrated. The author begins with the geographical data of the Rig Veda, and mentions the different Aryan tribes and their diplomatic relations. The succeeding chapter is devoted to the Aryan expansion over Hindusthan. An account of the Kuru land and its chiefs is first discussed. Then the Pañchalas, the Matsyas, the Surasenās, the Chedis, the Madras, the Yādavas and other dynasties are examined in detail. The chapter is concluded with Magadha's contribution to Indian cultural development. In the fifth chapter the Ikshvāku dynasty of Kosala, and the Videha dynasty find prominent mention. Their genealogy, their relations with neighbours, and their services to Vedic culture are briefly narrated.

By far the most important chapter in the book is the last chapter which deals with the Aryanization of the Dekhan, South India and Ceylon. The chapter begins with the Muṇḍas and their relations with the Dravidians. After mentioning a few tribes, the author proceeds to examine the interesting problem of the Dravidian immigration. The various Dravidian tribes are next taken up for examination, such as the Kurumbas, the Irulas, and the Nagas.

The last section is on the Aryanization of Ceylon. The foregoing rapid survey of the book will convince the reader of the wealth of material, the learned Professor has been able to gather and present in the true spirit of a historian. We congratulate the talented author for the erudite work which is a solid addition to the existing studies on Vedic India.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE HUMAN FAMILY AND INDIA. By Dr. G. H. Mees.
Published by Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay (1938).

This book attempts to present a general survey of sociological and other religious problems in India side by side with the western social system. It is divided into five chapters.

In the first chapter the author distinguishes between varṇa and caste. The former is said to refer to natural or cultural classes and applies to social theory and ideal while the latter refers to social practice in India and elsewhere. "Both," says the author, "are in many ways directly opposed."

The second chapter begins with an exposition of "confusion of natural classes" (varṇa samkara). Its danger according to the author is not a hereditary, economic or a racial one, but a purely cultural one (p. 42). He realises the pressing need of the world to-day in the finding of the real "Brāhmaṇa." "The new Brāhmaṇa will come forward out of all social classes." (p. 60)

The problem of nationalism and internationalism is examined in the third chapter. Nationalism which is the desire for complete expression and self-sufficiency entails imitation of other nations and hence unworthy. True nationalism and true internationalism can only go hand in hand because they are two aspects of one and the same thing (p. 78 and p. 84). Much emphasis in this chapter is given to individual as the acting agent and the creator and the cultural leader.

The last chapter deals with the coming stage in world politics. The author turns at first to dictator-countries. In Soviet Russia, the people and its leaders are held down by Stalin. In the Fascist and Nazi countries, human freedom is brushed aside. At present we want a leader of the purer and nobler type. "The task of the social guides", observes he, "is to try to ennoble them and to transmute them to superior forms of expression for the high ends

of humanity." Lastly the author concludes. "Let us be practical. . . . Let us begin by doing our own job."

The exposition of the principles is thought-provoking. But the author is too theoretical and too rationalistic. All the same his book is a valuable critical study of a complex subject.

A. S.

THE MELA-RAGA-MALIKA of Maha-Vaidya-Natha Sivan.
Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, 1937, Adyar
Library.

Of the compositions that belong to the realm of art music, the *rāgamālikas* (garlands of *rāgas*) are the most pleasing. They are enjoyed and relished by the initiated as well as the lay. The change of *rāga* at each section gives a peculiar pleasure to the listener. The *chitta svara* (solfa passage) at the end of each section followed by a complementary *svara* passage in the *pallavi rāga* adds greatly to the beauty of the composition. It requires creative talents of a high order to compose *rāgamālikas* and this accounts for the paucity of compositions of this type in South Indian music. Ramaswamy Dikshitar, Muthuswamy Dikshitar, H. H. Svati Tirunal, Syama Sastri and a few others have left behind them some good *rāgamālikas*, but it was given to Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer and Subbarama Dikshitar to attempt *Rāgamālikas* embracing the 72 *Melakartas*.

Venkaṭamakhi is the author of the 72 Melakarta scheme. The *ārohana* and *avarohana* of many of his melas however lacked the *krama sampūrṇa* character. Therefore the *mela paddhadi* of *Sangraha cūḍamaṇi*, which was free from the effects of Venkaṭamakhi's system came to be followed by all scholars, musicians and composers from Tyāgaraja downwards. It is the *Sangraha cūḍamaṇi* nomenclature, viz., Kanakāṅgi-Ratnāṅgi, that is in vogue now. Venkaṭamakhi's nomenclature, viz., Kanakāmbari, Penā-dhyuti, etc., has become a thing of more academic interest at the present day. Consequently Subbarama Dikshitar's *Melakarta Rāgamālika* based on the system of Venkaṭamakhi has not attained much publicity.

The 72 Melarāgamālika of Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer, based as it is on the current accepted system, is of special importance. It is the only composition of its kind. Through this composition we are able to get a glimpse of the *svarūpa* of many *rāgas*, which were merely in the position of scales. The composer's richness of musical

conception, fertility of imagination and wonderful creative skill are all seen to a high degree of perfection in this composition. It is longer than the longest symphony of Beethoven. Mahavaidyanatha Iyer will long be remembered by posterity for this priceless legacy that he has left behind him. A Telugu edition of this composition was published many years ago. The Theosophical Publishing House has rendered a valuable service by publishing this work in Devanagari script along with an English transliteration. The editor happily gives for us the original correct version. A short biographical sketch of the distinguished composer and the circumstances that occasioned this composition are given in the opening pages. The explanation of the scheme of 72 *melakartas* given in the introduction will be of use to those who are unfamiliar with it. 1865 on page viii is evidently a mis-print for 1856. The book is beautifully got up and deserves a place on the library of every musician and music lover.

P. S.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. (Sepr. 1937).
Vol. XXIII. Part III.

The Mālavās, 4th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. (with Appendix) by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri (discussing the origin, extension and ethnography of the Mālavas as reflected in their coins and the puzzle about their non-Indian origin).

The Saltpetre Industry in India in the seventeenth century with special reference to Bihar by Jagadish Narayan Sarkar.

The Dynastic Names of the Kings of the Puṣyamitra Family by J. C. Ghosh (suggesting that in all probability the *gōtra* of Puṣyamitra was Śauṅgamitreyā, shortened into Śauṅga or Śuṅga in the Purāṇas and the Śuṅgas could go by the name of either the Bhāradvāja or the Kāśyapa *gōtras*; and in this view, Dr. Jayaswal's identification of Śuṅga Puṣyamitra of the Purāṇas, Puṣyamitra of the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, and *Sēnāniḥ Kāśyapod-vijah* of the *Harivaṃśa* (Bhaviṣya, ch. 2. V. 40) is still plausible.

On the Cult of the Godling Kāsi Bābā among the Binds of Bihar by Sarat Chandra Mitra.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal: Letters. Vol. II. 1936. No. 3. (issued February, 1938). Numismatic Supplement for 1935-36.

Some coins of the Napki Malka class restruck by Shahi-Tigin by M. F. C. Martin. (It is probable that Shah-Tigin was the ruler of Kapisi. General Ventura obtained two of these coins from the relic-chamber of Manikyāla stupa near Rawalpindi.)

The Coins of Rajgir by S. Singh Roy. (These are marked by the presence of an animal on one side and a tree in railing on the other.). Most of these coins do not conform to the indigenous weight system of India.

Two new Andhra Coins by A. S. Altekar. (The first may be attributed to a member of the Sadakana family who was probably a son of Kaḷālaya of Chitaldrug coins; and the second is a coin of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura.

Notes on two Gupta Coins by Ajit Ghose. (The first should not be attributed to Kumaragupta I, but to a later king of

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the 6th or 7th century who may have taken the title of Mahēndrāditya, possibly the Kumāragupta of the Bhitāri seal. The second is a rare variety of the standard type of Samudragupta's coinage, in which the king is shown wearing a dagger.

A gold coin of Virasimha by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. (A unique example of the numismatic issue of a dynasty known only from their epigraphical record in Gwalior territory.).

A Note on the bi-lingual coins of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (describing the attempt made by the Sultan, for the first and last time in the annals of Muslim Numismatics, to translate the whole of the Arabic legend into Sanskrit).

The Tribal Coins of Northern India by S. K. Chakraborti (explaining the types and symbols of these coins, their weight-systems, provenance and description).

Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad by R. G. Gyani. (The first notice of the coins of the premier Ruling Dynasty in India.).

The Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty by R. B. Whitehead.

Note on a unique copper coin of Barbak Shah (of the line of Ilyas Shah of Bengal) by Shamsuddin Ahmad.

Unpublished mint-marks on Awadh coins by Rai Bahadur Prag Dayal.

The Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese coins by R. Burn.

The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. July-December, 1937. Vol. XI. Parts III and IV.

Advaita and the Concept of Progress by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

A Note on "Daśaśatasakaladharaṇīṭala" mentioned in the Telugu Academy Plates of Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman. (The phrase refers to Vengi and the number to grāma grāma being the unit of measurement of a territorial division.)

In what sense can we call the Teachings of Nāgārjuna Negativism? by Dr. Paul Tuxen, University, Copenhagen.

- A Note on Amṛtagaṇa by Dr. C. Minakshi (holding that this was a group of men who were in charge of temple affairs, peculiar to Tiruvorriyur about the time of Aparājita Pallava).
- The extent and influence of the Indus Civilisation by P. Joseph.
- The Language of *Kalittogai* by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar (held to belong to the Middle Tamil Stage in the evolution of Tamil; and having peculiarities that are not met with in the bulk of the *Eṭṭuttogai* and *Pattuppāttu* collections, but some of which are shown by the *Kuṛaḷ*).
- The Number of Rasas by Dr. V. Raghavan, VII—VIII.
- A Note on the Date of Śaṅkara by Mr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri (noting an inscription of Cambodia *cir.* 878-887 A.D. recording the foundation of a Śiva temple by a certain Sivasoma, who had learnt the śāstras from the mouth of Bhagavat Śaṅkara.)
- A Note on the Scientific Status of Linguistics by C. R. Sankaran.
- Error, Doubt and Dream in Dvaita by P. Nagaraja Rao.
- Aditya Chola's Kappanūr (Bala) Subrahmanya Temple—9th century A.D. by Mr. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam and Mr. K. Venkataranga Raju.
- Zeitschrift der Deutsch-chen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Band 91—Heft 2 (Neue Folge Band 16). (D.M.G.)
- Problems of Semitic Grammar by G. R. Driver—Oxford.
- Die Entstehung der neuindischen Sprachen by Von Ludwig. Als-dorf—Berlin.
- Zur Chinesischen Kultur-geschichte des 3 und 4. Jahrhunderts by Von Werner Eichhorn, Bonn.
- Journal of the Burmah Research Society*—Vol. XXVII, Part III (December, 1937).
- The Ancient Pyu by G. H. Luce (Śrī Kṣētra being the only Pyu site as yet searched with any thoroughness; and the main key to the Pyu language being the quadrilingual Myazedi inscription of Pagan (c. 1113 A.D.).
- The Burmese Army by R. R. Langham Carter.
- Early Newspapers in Burma by C. A. Cuttriss.
- A Burma Diary of 1810 by B. R. Pearn (of 2 missionaries of the London Missionary Society who went to Rangoon from Madras in 1810).

- Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV. Part III. Journal, Dec. 1937.
- Malaya in the Wu-Pei-Chih Charts by J. V. Mills.
- On a Collection of Malayan Maps in Raffles Library by J. V. Mills.
- An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula (Cont.) by R. Braddell.
- Suggested origin of the Malay Keris (a beautiful dagger) and of the Superstitions attaching to it by C. G. Griffith Williams. (The origin of the dagger's supposed magical properties may date from the time of the Hindu-Moslem wars in Java.)
- A Short Vocabulary of the Banggi and Bajan language by W. F. Schneeberger.
- Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, Vol. VI, Part I. (Trichur, Cochin).
- Ritual Games of the Kotas by M. B. Emeneau, Yale University.
- A Primer of Malayalam Phonology by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar.
- The Appurtenances of Kathakali by Prince Kerala Varma, Ammaman Tampuran.
- Early Tamil Studies and Missionary Effort (Part II—Protestant effort) by Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari.
- Sanskrit Hevāka by Prof. F. O. Schrader, Kiel (suggesting a Munda origin of the root, hewā).
- A Note on Puruṣōttama-Dēva, author of Bhāṣā-vṛitti.
- A Marble Statuette at Calakkal by V. K. R. Menon.
- Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX, 1938, Pt. I.
- Influence of the Mahābhārata on Hindu Social Life by His Holiness Shri Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurkoti).
- The Indian Conception of Values by Prof. M. Hiriyanna.
- The Formation of Konkani by Prof. S. M. Katre.
- Fragments of Poems pertaining to King Sambhu, son of Shivaji by P. K. Gode. (2nd instalment of poems found in the records of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur.)
- Rāmānujācārya—the author of Nāyakarātna—by Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. (The author is different from the celebrated Rāmānuja; and his date may lie between 1350 and 1575 A.D.)

Some Minor Purāṇas by R. C. Hazra (Garuda Purāṇa and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa).

The Dacca University Studies, Vol. II. No. 1 (April, 1937).

The Impact of Modern Psychology on Political Thought by Ajit Kumar Sen.

Background of Hindu Political Thought by Ajit Kumar Sen.

Administrative system in Bengal during the Pāla and Sēna periods by Pramode Lal Paul (marking the wide scope of state activity, the efficiency of the army and the police and the minute details about land grants).

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Jayaswal Commemoration Volume), Vol. XXIII; Part IV (Dec. 1937).

There are appreciative and commemorative notices of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal by Sir E. A. Gait, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. P. C. Manuk. The other papers are as follows:—

Some remarks on the models of the Bodh-Gaya Temple found at Nar-Thang by C. E. A. W. Oldham (vindicating Cunningham's restoration in sane points).

Virakkal and Sati memorial stones at Buddhapur and Būram with plates) by E. H. C. Walsh.

The *Dēvicandragupta* and its author by Prof. Sten Konow, Oslo. (indicating reasons to hold the truth of the narrative of *Dēvicandragupta* and of the assumption that Viśākha-datta was a contemporary of Chandragupta II. Ramagupta, entitled Rājan, was perhaps in charge of a part of the empire and not emperor; Vśākhadatta was very likely a Gupta court poet).

The Pilgrim's Way by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy (*Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 15, being interpreted as an exhortation to Rohita to travel in the forest, in search of a way of escape from death, with the refrain 'Keep on going, Keep on going' and containing a metaphysics of travelling."

A *Proto-Indian Icon* by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., (dealing with a Sumerian-looking image acquired by the writer for the museum of his Indian Historical Research Institute: it has inscriptions in front and behind one of which is read 'King-farmer of the crab' meaning King of Mohenjo-Daro, which was according to him, known as the 'City of the

Crab.' The date of the image is about the end of the 5th millennium, B.C.).

Chandesvara's Vivādaratnākara by Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha.

Dēvanāgarī and the Muhammadan rules of India by Dr. Hirananda Sastri. (showing that Muslim rulers of Hindustan from the time of the Ghuznavides were friendly to the script of Dēvanāgarī which was used in their coin-legends.

Sunga Sculpture from a Patna Mosque by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri (perhaps a panel from the life of King Agnimitra Sunga, when he fell in love with Mālavika).

Rajah Jhāo Lal of the Oudh Court by Mr. K. K. Datta (a picture of a corrupt and intriguing courtier of Lucknow at the end of the 18th century)

A Note on a curious custom of the Santal Parganas by S. C. Mitra, (explaining a custom by which if one man's beast is injured another man's beast, the injuring animal should be given to the owner of the injured animal.

Appendix

Adhyarddhasataka "Hymn of One Hundred-fifty [verses] by Mātriceṭa edited by K. P. Jayaswal and Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana.

Journal Asiatique, Tome CCXXIX, Jan.-March, 1937.

Juifs et Musulmans Selon Le Hadit par Georges Vajda.

Noms ouraliens D'animaux dans l'Inde par Guillaume de Hēvēsy.

Archiv Orientální (Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute, Prague). Vol. IX. No. 3. December 1937.

Winternitz's History of Buddhist and Jaina Literature from a critic's point of view by Dr. O. Stein.

Ein werk über die Philosophie der Sanskrit-Grammatik. von Johann Schropfer.

President Masaryk, His Relation to the Orient and to the Oriental Institute of Praha by B. Hronzy.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme Orient, Tome XXXVI, 1936. Fasc. 2.

Dasa-bodhisatta-uddesa-Texte Pali public avec une traduction et un index grammatical par Francois Martin. Appendice Dasabodhisattappattikatha.

L'art du Kulen et les debuts de la statuaire angkoriennne par pierre Dupont.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1938.

Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum
(concluded) by E. H. C. Walsh.

A forgotten branch of the Ismailis by W. Ivanow (referring to Shah Tāhir Dakkani who inspired the religious policy of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, and was regarded as an Ismaili Imam, a successor in a schismatic line of the Imams of the Khudwands of Alamut).

Nirmāṇa Kāya by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami (the term, meaning a body of measurement, and its equivalent, *nimittam*, used in Buddhist literature, occur already in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Saṃhitas*).

Bahāduri and Hamza Isfahani on the migration of the Parsees into India by C. Inostrantser (giving a clue similar to that contained in the later, but much more detailed, account in the *Qisse-i-Sanjān*).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 57, No. 4. Dec., 1937.

The City Aktab by Arno Poebel (city of the goddess Agtuppi).

Wên Ta ya, The First Recorder of Tang History by W. Bingham.

The Lemon in Asia and Europe by H. W. Glidden (held to be a native of the Eastern Himalaya region, which was the focus for the spread of the lemon, both word and thing).

The History of Tamil R (17th consonant of the Tamil alphabet) (not agree with the view that the earliest value of this letter was an alveolar occlusive).

Man in India, Vol. XVII, No. 4. Oct.-Dec., 1937.

Caste, Race and Religion in India (contd.) by S. C. Roy.

Djawa (Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut.) 18th Jaargang—No. 1
1938—2—Jan.-April, 1938.

Programma van het Bali Congress—18th-24th October).—
Verlag van het Congress van het Java-Instituut: Gehouden
op Bali.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII, Part IV. (Oct., 1935).

No. 17. Three Copper-Plate Inscriptions from Gaonri by Rao Bahadur M. N. Dikshit (noticing the migration of Brahmans

[illegible]