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Journal of Indian History

Ourselves

We are very sorry indeed that the first number of the Journal of India History for 1942 should have delayed so long. This delay, regrettable as it is, was due to the unavoidable emergencies of the war which made conditions in Madras well-nigh impossible for work in the early months of the year. The kind of paper wanted for the Journal could not be had, and printing work could not be got through in any comfort. The Editor himself has had to leave Madras for safety. As ill-luck would have it, he had a serious attack of illness which kept him in bed for a couple of months, and disabled him from work for a longer period. This unhappy combination of circumstances brought us nearly to thinking of giving up the Journal—painful as the thought was—after the years of work put into it. We are thankful, after all, that we have now got over the period of emergency and have been able to secure the means to go to work again. In these circumstances it was inevitable that we should issue a double number instead of the usual two numbers in succession. We are thankful indeed, for having secured the means to do this.

We issue the Journal in the confidence that our clients will be good enough to overlook the inconvenience caused to them, and continue to help the Journal to go on through another period of life with great comfort. On passing this crisis, we hope we shall yet have another long period of service in the cause of Indian History to which we have devoted ourselves over a score of years and more that it has been in existence.

With sincere apologies for all those who shared our anxiety.

EDITOR.

East India Company and the Mughal Authorities During Jahangir's Reign

By

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On September 22, 1599, a hundred and one London merchants decided to subscribe for a voyage to the East Indies.¹ After a few days they approached Queen Elizabeth for the grant of a charter, giving them monopoly of trade with the East and permission to incorporate themselves into a joint-stock company.² The Charter was granted on December 31, 1600.³ By this was established a corporate body, "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies", popularly called the East India Company.

The early voyages of the Company were made not to India but to the Eastern Archipelago. The ports of the Malabar Coast, situated in the territories of petty Chiefs were important marts for Indian trade, but these were mostly under the control of the Portuguese when the English company was established. The English did not hope to carry on a profitable trade there. The only course open to them was to go to Gujarat, then under the Mughal emperors who could allow them to share Indo-European trade with the Portuguese. The English thus had to deal with more powerful rulers than the Portuguese had to face and had to devise methods other than the method of the Portuguese which was to guarantee their monopoly by armed force.

The first attempt by the English to trade with India was made in the third voyage. Captain Hawkins and Finch arrived at Surat in November 1607, in the *Hector* with some merchandise and despatched their ship to the Eastern Archipelago.⁴ In accordance

with the practice of the time the new traders sought royal protection and patronage. Hawkins carried a royal letter from James I to the King of Surat.⁵ Leaving Finch at Surat, Hawkins proceeded to Jahangir's court at Agra where he was well received by the emperor. He joined the imperial service and a *mansab* of 400 horse was conferred on him.⁶ He was also successful in securing a *firman* allowing the English to trade at Surat.⁷

The sixth voyage of the Company, under the generalship of Sir Henry Middleton, holds a prominent place in its history. As calicoes and other varieties of Indian cloth were in great demand in the Eastern Archipelago,⁸ special instructions were sent for the opening of a factory at Surat.⁹ Royal letters with presents to the Mughal Emperor and the governor of Cambay were sent.¹⁰ The fleet anchored at the bar of Surat on September 6, 1611. In spite of the opposition of the Portuguese some of the Englishmen landed at Swally¹¹ and traded for a short time. Meanwhile, Hawkins had failed to obtain permission from the emperor for the establishment of a permanent English factory at Surat and returned in disgust.¹² On February 9, 1612 the English merchants at Surat were ordered to leave the city without realizing even their debts¹³ and all the Englishman left the place. Thus that first attempt to establish an English factory in the Mughal Empire was frustrated.

Sir Henry Middleton failed in his attempts to open trade at various other places and in despair resolved to take revenge on the Turks of Aden and Mocha, Indians and Portuguese, by blockading the Red Sea, where they went for trade. He inflicted great losses on Indian ships including the "Remee", a junk belonging to Jahangir's mother.¹⁴

It was towards the end of 1612, that the English were able to secure a foothold in India. Thomas Best, a seaman of great experi-

1. Stevens, 1-4.

2. Stevens, 8.

3. F.L.B., 163-189.

4. L.R.I., Introduction, XXIX, Cf., E.T. 70, 125.

5. F.L.B., 105.

6. L.R.I., 23., E.T. 82-83; Jahangir and Jesuits, 80.

7. L.R.I., 23; E.T. 85.

8. L.R.I., 18.

9. F.L.B., 323-34.

10. F.L.B., 349-50, 350-51.

11. L.R.I., 157-58.

12. L.R.I., 158, 175; E.T. 83-84; MacLagan 79-81.

13. L.R.I., 158, 175-76; E.T. 95.

14. L.R.I., 178-79, 186-88, 189-90.

ence, was commissioned to accomplish this work. King James granted him full authority to negotiate an agreement with the "Great King of the Mughals or any of his Deputies", on behalf of the King of Great Britain.¹⁵ Best reached the Indian coast in September 1612, with two ships. Near Daman, he received a warning left by Henry Middleton bidding Englishmen not to think of the trade at Surat.¹⁶ Disregarding it, he reached Swally on September 6. Four Englishmen proceeded to Surat in boats and were well received by the Governor and the chief men of the place. This encouraged them and on September 12, Thomas Aldworth and Paul Canning, two of the factors, landed with some goods for sale.¹⁷

Meanwhile the news of Middleton's exploits in the Red Sea reached Surat. The English merchants were afraid of its consequences to themselves, and Captain Best wanted to leave the place. The factors ashore found the authorities at Surat very reasonable, and decided to open a factory.¹⁸ Fortunately, the Governor of Gujarat also came to Surat and on October 14 visited Swally. After conferring with the English General and factors, he concluded an agreement with them,¹⁹ this was to be confirmed by the Mughal King within forty days; but his *Firman* did not reach them in time. Captain Best again prepared to leave the place, but Thomas Aldworth and other factors resisted his attempts. The long expected *Firman* from Jahangir confirming the agreement was received by the English General on January 13, 1613.²⁰ The English found Surat a profitable place for their trade. The Factors wrote to the Company on January 25, 1613, ".....throughout the whole Indies there cannot be any place more beneficial for our country than this, being the only key to open all the rich and best trade of the Indies and for sale of our commodities."²¹

In all ten Englishmen were left at Surat. It was decided to send Canning with four others, including two musicians, with a

15. F.L.B., 437-40, 441.
16. L.R.I., 233-34, 256.
17. L.R.I., 234, 256.
18. L.R.I., 234-235.
19. L.R.I., 235, 256; E.T. 197.
20. L.R.I., 235-36, 237.
21. L.R.I., 238.

present, to the Mughal Court.²² They left Surat in January 1613,²³ and reached Agra after facing great hardships. Canning delivered the presents and the royal letter to the Emperor, but failed to find favour with him. This was due to the Jesuits' influence at the court, who made Canning confess that the present came from the Company, not from the King of England. Canning died shortly afterwards on May 12, 1613, due to flux.²⁴ Thereupon Thomas Kerridge was sent to the court, to take Canning's place. He was to secure the confirmation of the recent agreement based on Best's articles which were not much respected there. He was also to obtain the Mughal's reply to King James' letter and secure a place where the English ships could anchor without fear of the Portuguese.²⁵ Kerridge arrived at Agra on August 22 and six days later had audience with the Emperor. His present, a standing cup, was not esteemed by Jahangir and the latter referred all business regarding the English to Mukarrab Khan.²⁶ The Jesuits, being very influential at the court also obstructed him.²⁷ Mukarrab Khan reproached the English for Middleton's actions. Kerridge had to offer many excuses for that.²⁸

Fortunately for the English, the Portuguese came into conflict with the Mughals in 1613, thus giving the English a good opportunity to acquire commercial privileges. The Portuguese in Surat aimed at excluding other European nations from trade there.²⁹ When the Mughal authorities seemed to be inclined to allow the English to share the foreign trade of Surat, the Portuguese captured a richly laden Indian ship, in which Jahangir's mother was interested.³⁰ This led to hostilities between the Mughals and the Portuguese in which the English too played an important role. The dispute was terminated in 1615 by a treaty.³¹

22. L.R.I., 237-238, 257.
23. L.R.II., 131.
24. L.R.I., 282, 300, 303, II, 108 131 Cf. MacLagan; 81.
25. L.R.II., 180; L.R.I., 300, 303.
26. L.R.I., 277.
27. L.R.I., 282-83, 300.
28. *Ibid*, 279-80.
29. L.R.II., 179, J.J., 83-84.
30. L.R.I., 303-09, L.R.II., 96, 104; E.T. 203; 191-192; Danvers, II; 162.
31. Roe, 74, Danvers II, 173-74, cf. Heras, S.J., "Jahangir and Portuguese" Proceedings I.H.R.C. IX, (1926 pp. 72-80).

After Best's departure, the hot season set in shortly at Surat and little trade could be effected till October 1613.³² Leaving William Biddulph at Surat, Thomas Aldworth, the chief factor with Withington and Young, left for Ahmedabad on October 8.³³ Due to the Mughal-Portuguese conflict, the prices of Indigo had fallen and calicoes could be had at reasonable rates at Broach and Baroda. The English therefore extended trade to these towns.³⁴

Best did not return to Surat as was expected, and as no other English ship came there in 1613, the English trade could not be expanded much. Four ships under the command of Capt. Downton reached Swally in the middle of October 1614.³⁵ This fleet brought fifteen merchants who were to stay in India, the chief of whom was William Edwards.³⁶ They brought a Royal letter and a present from King James for the Great Mughal.³⁷ William Edwards was appointed to go to the court of Jahangir under the title of a "messenger" from the English King to the Mughal Court as merchants were despised there.³⁸ Fifteen articles were prepared and sent with Edwards to be confirmed by Jahangir as the privileges of the English.³⁹

Mukarrab Khan hindered the trade of the English a little so that he might get their help against the Portuguese; but they decided to land goods in spite of that.⁴⁰ The English merchants including William Edwards entered Surat on November 8, 1614; but the "Messenger" was detained till November 30, by Mukarrab Khan without any apparent cause. The latter also forcibly seized the presents for Jahangir. Edwards proceeded to Ajmere via Ahmedabad.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Jahangir hoping to defeat the Portuguese with the help of the English, sent a *Firman* to Mukarrab Khan asking him to treat the English kindly and allow them to trade freely.⁴² William

Edwards reached Ajmere on February 2, 1615, but Jahangir had gone out on a hunting expedition. Learning of the arrival of the English messenger with presents, he called him to the place where he was. Edwards was received graciously, and the King promised to grant the English whatever they wanted. He was also given Rs. 3,000 by Jahangir for his expenses. The defeat of the Portuguese by Capt. Downton had served to enhance the prestige of the English at the Court.⁴³ Jahangir replied to King James's letter and gave a *Firman* "directed to all the Governors, both of sea ports and chief cities and towns" allowing the English to trade and securing for them kind treatment.⁴⁴

The necessity of having an Englishman of importance and high position at the Mughal court had been emphasised more than once. The authorities at home were at last converted and decided to send at their cost an ambassador from the English King to the Great Mughal. Sir Thomas Roe was chosen for the post, but was strictly forbidden to interfere in the commercial activities of the Company.⁴⁵ He came in Keeling's fleet which reached Swally on September 19, 1615.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Surat had passed under the jurisdiction of Prince Khurram and Zulfiqar Khan was the Governor of the town. Roe landed in state at Swally, on September 26, 1615, after securing an assurance from the Governor to get his and his retinue's goods ashore customs free, according to the conventional right of an ambassador.^{46a} But the Surat authorities did not pay much regard to Sir Thomas Roe. The reason was that all the Englishmen proceeding to the court had assumed the high sounding title of an ambassador. They probably regarded Roe as another impostor. Roe in his own words was "to repair a ruined house and was to make straight that which was crooked."⁴⁷

Roe's goods were detained at the custom house and the Mughal officials tried to search them. The English merchants were also put to much trouble. In the face of these difficulties the ambassador assumed an attitude of defiance and threatened the Governor that

32. L.R.I., 299, 303.

33. L.R.I., 299, 306.

34. L.R.I., 305-06, L.R.II., 100.

35. F.L.B., 449-52, L.R.II., 167, 168.

36. L.R.II., 138.

37. *Ibid*, 138.

38. *Ibid*, 133, 137.

39. *Ibid*, 133.

40. *Ibid*, 133, 138, 140, 1.

41. *Ibid*, 135-36.

42. *Ibid*, 157.

43. L.R.II., 245-46, L.R.III., 14-15, 17, 63-64, 84-85, 89.

44. L.R.III., 20, 65.

45. F.L.B., 446-49.

• 46. L.R.III., 117, Roe, 27.

46a. Roe, 28, 29, 31.

47. *Ibid*, 30.

he would complain against him to the King.⁴⁸ On October 30, a *firman* was received at Surat from Jahangir accepting Roe as an ambassador and ordering that he be entertained as such. This had its effect. Roe's goods were released and the Governor treated him in a friendly manner. The ambassador set out for the court the same day via Burhanpur.⁴⁹ Roe reached Burhanpur on November 14, 1615, and had an audience with Prince Parviz. He obtained from him a grant for the establishment of an English factory there.⁵⁰ The ambassador reached Ajmere on December 23, and entered the city privately, because he was very ill.⁵¹ Having recovered, he went to the Darbar on January 10, 1616.⁵² He was permitted to behave there according to the custom of his country. The royal letter and the presents, though small, were well received by Jahangir. Roe writes in his journal that "he dismissed me with more favour and outward grace (if by the Christians I were not flattered) than ever was showed to any ambassador, either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever,"⁵³ Jahangir also replied to the English King's letter.⁵⁴

Roe stayed at the Mughal Court till the autumn of 1618 and during this period had to follow the Emperor to Mandu and Ahmedabad. It would be out of place here to deal in detail with his negotiations at the court for a long period of two years and nine months. He had come to India with the idea of concluding a commercial treaty with the Great Mughal on terms of equality, for securing a permanent footing in India for the English so that local officials should not be able to molest or injure them. He also thought of obtaining some place on the western coast of India for fortifying and making it a fit entrepot for the English trade and shipping. In October 1616, he requested the Prince for the same, but Khurram turned down this request. However, later, Roe gave up this idea, thinking it impracticable and harmful to trade, because the plantation policy bred quarrels, as the Dutch experience in the Moluccas proved.⁵⁵

48. *Ibid.* 51-52, 54-55, L.R.III, 163-64, 196-97.

49. *Roe*, 64-65.

50. *Ibid.* 68, 79-81, L.R.IV., 294.

51. *Roe*, 81.

52. *Roe*, 81, L.R.IV., 10.

53. *Roe*, 87.

54. L.R.III., 294-85.

55. E.F.I., 13-14.

Roe also failed in his negotiations for getting a treaty concluded with the Great Mughal. The ambassador submitted the articles drawn up by him to the Mughal Emperor on March 26, 1616.⁵⁶ These aimed at freedom of trade for the English throughout the Empire, promising in return to bring rarities for the Mughal Emperor and to assist him against his enemies.⁵⁷ Jahangir referred the draft agreement to Asaf Khan. The kind entertainment of the ambassador made Roe feel that his articles would be agreed to, but these were returned by Asaf Khan on September 4, 1616.⁵⁸ Roe modified the draft making it more agreeable to the Mughal, but Asaf Khan rejected the second draft too.⁵⁹ The causes of such an attitude are not far to seek. The English had nothing to offer in return for the favours they were asking for. The bringing of rarities for the Emperor was a trivial matter and the promise of help a thing to be scorned. The Mughal Emperor regarded himself the greatest monarch of the world. As far as England was concerned, it was little known in India and too far off, to affect his fortunes. The poor presents brought by the English⁶⁰ did not enhance their prestige. Jahangir regarded Roe's embassy as an event without any significance and does not even mention it in his memoirs. Moreover, treaties of a commercial nature were an uncommon thing to the Indians of those times. Under such circumstances Roe's expectations could not be fulfilled. The Mughals generally allowed foreigners to trade in India as a favour. Roe understood the position clearly when he wrote that "neither will this overgrown eelphant descend to article or bind himself by any prince on terms of equality, but only by way of favour admit our stay so long as it either likes him or those that govern him."⁶¹ These *firmans* were revocable or alterable at any moment. Surat, the place where the English had their chief trade centre was under the jurisdiction of Prince Khurram, Jahangir's favourite son. He did not wish to interfere there. Roe accordingly was directed to secure a *nishan* from Khurram, for the purpose.⁶² The ambassador had already applied to the Prince for the same and a *nishan* granting the English

56. *Roe*, 132.

57. *Roe*, 134-37.

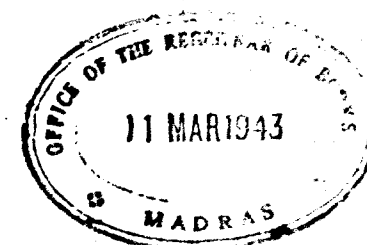
58. *Ibid.* 229-29.

59. *Ibid.* 229-30, 231.

60. L.R.IV., 10.

61. L.R.VI., 298.

62. *Roe*, 229, 231.



liberty to trade at Surat was given to Roe, on September 11, 1616⁶³ Later, in 1618, Roe secured another *nishan* from the Prince, to the same effect, after giving an undertaking for the good behaviour of the English.⁶⁴

Though Roe ostensibly failed in his mission, his services to the East India Company cannot be exaggerated. At the time of his arrival the very existence of English in the Mughal Empire was at stake. Prince Khurram had issued an order in October 1615, that the English should leave Surat after a month's trade.⁶⁵ As has been related, Roe was successful in securing an order from the Prince for the permanent settlement of the English at Surat. Zulfiqar Khan, the Governor of Surat, had harshly dealt with the English, by forcibly appropriating their goods to himself, paying them arbitrary prices, searching them and extorting bribes.⁶⁶ Roe made complaints against him at the court, whereupon he was recalled.⁶⁷ The next Governor named Ibrahim Khan treated the English more reasonably.⁶⁸ Roe succeeded in obtaining compensation for the English losses at Surat suffered at the hands of Zulfiqar Khan.⁶⁹ He also recovered English debts at the Court.⁷⁰ When the English were troubled at Ahmedabad he secured effectual *firmans* for their fair treatment.⁷¹ For Broach also he got similar orders from Mahabat Khan, under whose jurisdiction the place fell.⁷² Last of all, Roe's presence at the court must have influenced the local officials who do not seem to have molested the English.

The English at Surat could now pass their days peacefully. Trouble came with the arrival of Keeling's fleet. Zulfiqar Khan's 'abuses' have already been referred to. Some of the complaints of the English were justified; such as the taking of goods by the Governor without payment or at unreasonably low rates, detention of the goods for a long time in the customs house, overrating those

for getting higher customs, hindering their free sale and extorting bribes. There were other matters, however, in which the English were at a disadvantage. Regarding the searches in the custom house, it must be borne in mind that full free trade could not be allowed under the circumstances as the governors of the port towns had orders to buy, out of the imports, rare and strange commodities for the King.⁷³ Many people tried to evade customs duties as they do even to-day. The English were also guilty of this offence and even Roe, inspite of his high position, tried to practise the same. According to his instructions some pearls were smuggled ashore, without payment of duty, in 1617.⁷⁴ In 1616 he thought of deceiving the Surat authorities by getting costly goods, received from England, without payment of customs duties, with the presents for the Emperor.⁷⁵ The English sailors also smuggled things ashore from the ships.⁷⁶

Further the English, many a time, put themselves into trouble through their own faults and follies. Most of the sailors and some of the factors coming to Surat were unruly and went beyond the bounds of decorum, in their behaviour. The page of Sir Thomas Roe left by him at Surat, quarrelled with the people in the streets, teased their women by making objectionable gestures, and even dared to enter the houses of merchants and "putting his hands into their pots of meat and drink."⁷⁷ A sailor once opened the litter of a *doli*, in which was seated a woman.⁷⁸ In November 1616, the English hung a big bell, 8 pounds in weight on their factory house, with a sign of the company resembling the Cross which the people detested. The matter was satisfactorily settled through the prudence of the governor, Ibrahim Khan, and the bell was removed.⁷⁹ In 1617, the English landed some bricks and built a furnace at Surat to cast a big bell and a large number of sailors came ashore with arms. This created a stir among the people and the authorities ordered the demolition of the furnace and enjoined that no more than ten English sailors could come ashore at a time, leaving their arms in the customs-house.⁷⁹

63. *Ibid*, 118-119, 120-21, 122-23, 19, 30-31, 144.

64. E.F.I., 40-41.

65. Roe, 55.

66. L.R.IV., 78-81, 83-84.

67. *Ibid*, 293-94.

68. Roe, 294. L.R.IV., 307-8, 320, 329.

69. Roe, 138, 149, 150 155-56 157; 160; 172; 197-98.

70. L.R. VI., 167.

71. Roe, 153, L.R.IV., 16-17.

72. L.R.IV., 141-42, 142-43.

73. L.R.II., 178-79.

74. L.R.VI., 120, 141; Roe, 405.

75. L.R.IV., 205-08.

76. E.F.I., 111-12.

77. Roe, 327, L.R.IV., 348.

78. L.R.IV., 344-48.

79. L.R.VI., 217, 276.

English exploits at sea also sometimes brought about ruptures with the authorities. Captain Pepwell captured a Portuguese frigate on November 9, 1616, at Surat, in reprisal for one of Khwaja Abas, laden with English watercasks, captured by the Portuguese. The frigate contained some goods of Indian merchants and Ishaq Beg, the *shahbandar*, who was said to have been anti-English, got an opportunity to punish the English. It was ordered that no provisions be sold to the English and merchants were forbidden to trade with them. Though they were soon allowed to buy victuals, the embargo on trade continued upto December 7, 1616 when the English surrendered the frigate concerned.⁸⁰ Pepwell was also guilty of capturing two Indian junks for which compensation of £150 had to be paid by the Surat factory.⁸¹

In September 1617, Pepwell's fleet of four ships reached Swally.⁸² On learning of the arrival of the ships from England secured an order from Prince Khurram through Jahangir that the presents for the Emperor be sent to him without being opened at Surat.⁸³ These were despatched after a long delay from Surat with Edward Terry, Roe's new Chaplain.⁸⁴ Contrary to Roe's expectations, the presents fell into Jahangir's hands at Mandu who appropriated all, before Roe could see those.⁸⁵ The presents, according to the ambassador were poor and he was pleased at heart at this.⁸⁶

An important feature of Pepwell's voyage was the extension of East India Company's trade to Persia, mainly for exporting Indian goods to Persia henceforth; this commerce became a regular feature of its activities in the East, which formerly had been carried on by Indian merchants and the Portuguese. A few years later, in 1622, the English stepped into the freight trade between India and Persia.⁸⁷ In 1618, the English also began to send ships to the Red Sea for commercial purposes.⁸⁸ The merchants of Gujarat

80. L.R.IV., 248-54, L.R.V., 113.

81. L.R.V., 206-07, L.R.VI., 161

82. L.R.IV., 280-81.

83. L.R.IV., 204-05.

84. L.R.V., 111, 208.

85. Roe, 343-44, 344-45, 346-53, L.R.V. 2034, 208, 335-36.

86. L.R.II., 336, 337-38.

87. E.F.II., 247, 186, 198.

88. E.F.I., 27, 33-34, 35-36, 44-45, 67.

made large profits out of the Red Sea trade. They were opposed to this venture of the English, because the latter carried to Mocha not only English goods but also those of Gujarat. The English had already encroached upon their trade to the South and Persia. The Red Sea commerce was the only important sea trade left to them. They refused to sell commodities, fit for the Red Sea, to the English and the authorities put an embargo on any sale to them throughout Gujarat excepting Broach, though the English secretly contrived to make some purchases.⁸⁹ A petition was sent to the King against this, but proved useless.⁹⁰ The English tried all means including threats, entreaties, bribes etc., but the Indian authorities were not prepared to sacrifice the interest of their own merchants.⁹¹ When Bickley's fleet arrived at Swally, in October 1619, the authorities refused to allow the English to land coral as it was an important commodity which the Gujarati merchants brought from the Red Sea.⁹² The English again sent a request to Prince Khurram to lift the embargo on their Red Sea trade and allow the landing and sale of coral.⁹³ The Prince supporting the demand of Indian merchants rejected their petition, but allowed the English to land and sell their coral for the year, asking them not to bring any more.⁹⁴ The English had to give up the Red Sea trade for the time being.

In 1621, the English factors at Surat resolved to revive this trade in Indian commodities and broad-cloth, in spite of Khurram's orders to the contrary.⁹⁵ Three ships sailed for Mocha in March 1622, and after visiting that port returned to Swally on September 19.⁹⁶ Investments were again made for Mocha in Gujarat, for 1623, in Indian products.⁹⁷ In March 1623, three ships under the command of Captain Hall were despatched from Surat to Mocha for trade with instruction to seize and detain Indian junks coming back from the Red Sea to Surat.⁹⁸ This work they accomplished.

89. *Ibid.*, 56, 89, 92-98.

90. *Ibid.*, 95-96, 117.

91. *Ibid.*, 101, 106.

92. *Ibid.*, 129, 130, 131.

93. *Ibid.*, 126-27.

94. *Ibid.*, 174-77.

95. E.F.I., 319-20, 321, 325, 331-32.

96. E.F.II., 60, 62.

97. *Ibid.*, 148-49.

98. *Ibid.*, 228.

Since 1614, English ships came regularly every year to Surat and goods were exported to England. The English trade in India progressed steadily, but their factors in India continuously complained of many disabilities some of which have already been related. They were prohibited from purchasing goods for the Red Sea in Gujarat and were not allowed to deal in coral at Surat. They were greatly inconvenienced by the size of their factory house, because the one which they occupied was small and they had to distribute their goods in as many as seven ware-houses. The authorities would neither allow them to build a residence for themselves nor to hire another near the castle or the river where big houses could be obtained.⁹⁹ Many abuses existed in the customs house. Goods were overrated to get higher customs, were detained there for a longer time than was necessary and purchases were made by the local officials at unreasonably low prices, fixed by themselves.¹⁰⁰ With the opening of a mint at Surat the English were not allowed to export specie or *rials* to their inland factories and had to exchange their coins at some loss.¹⁰¹ They protested against it but to no purpose. Sometimes the English could not get carts or other means of transport due to the interference of local authorities. In October 1621 Pehlwan Safid, the Governor of Swally, ordered the cartmen not to take English goods from Swally to Surat, for their disorderly behaviour. The English also could not get water for their ship's company.¹⁰² The unrealized debts also gave great worry to English factors. They sold goods on credit, but found it very difficult to recover their debts and sometimes had to forego payments. Sometimes, the English caravans coming to Surat from inland factories, were detained on the way. In 1619, a caravan of 1600 camels, coming from Agra to Surat, was detained near Burhanpur because of a claim by a Portuguese named Francisco Soares on the Company. Sparge, an English factor, had smuggled some baskets of porcelain, left by Soares, with Bangham at Burhanpur. The *Mir Adal* had granted a warrant for it, but the English were determined not to pay as they held that according to European custom the "principals" were not responsible for the acts of the

99. E.F.I., 103, 114, 135-36.

100. E.F.I., 101.

101. E.F.I., 238, 292.

102. *Ibid*, 295, 296, 301, 331.

servants.¹⁰³ The English were successful in maintaining their point of view and the caravan was released in September 1619, on Prince Khurram's command.¹⁰⁴ Soares renewed his claim in 1621, but the Qazi to whom the matter was referred, held Soare's testimony to be false.¹⁰⁵

The English were exasperated to find that often their rivals in trade were high Mughal officials, many of whom had an immediate interest in hindering their activities. The English were put to trouble by Ishaq Beg, the Governor of Surat, in November 1619, which came to an end by the appointment of a new Governor named Jamshed Beg.¹⁰⁶ But he too was a merchant and desiring to purchase the coral of the English at low rates would not allow other merchants to trade therein. The factors at Surat decided to bribe him, rather than to yield to his desire.¹⁰⁷

Many of the complaints of the English were flimsy. These were hey-days of Mercantile System in England, but the English factors in India wanted to have full free trade in the country. The least restriction seemed intolerable and most unjust to them, even though it was necessitated by the customs and law of the country. Other checks were placed on them for their unruly behaviour at Surat. But being strong at sea they tried to get the best out of the situation for themselves. The seizing of Indian junks as a remedy to get such wrongs righted had been suggested by Roe in 1617.¹⁰⁸ This was repeated again and again, and in 1620 the Company gave its approval for such an action.¹⁰⁹ The method was tried successfully for the first time in March 1621, when the Governor of Olpad detained the English goods and provisions. The junk detained in this case belonged to Prince Khurram and was released when the Governor of Surat promised to get their grievances redressed.¹¹⁰ But the alleged 'abuses' continued till many of them were remedied in November 1621. The coral was allowed to be landed and the embargo on English trade in Gujarat was lifted. Free exportation

103. *Ibid*, 88-89, 90, 92.

104. *Ibid*, 120, 121, 134.

105. E.F.I., 209, 273.

106. *Ibid*, 145, 146, 149, 150-51, 155.

107. *Ibid*, 187-89.

108. L.R.VI., 128.

109. E.F.I., 214.

110. E.F.I., 232.

of *rials* from Surat was allowed and the English were permitted to have a house to their 'best conveniency.'¹¹¹

But new troubles came soon. The English had captured a Sind junk worth a thousand rupees according to their own computation. The Sind merchants to whom the junk belonged came to the Mughal court to seek restitution and claimed Rs. 10,000 from the English. The latter denied it and putting confidence in Asaf Khan, left to him to do justice.¹¹² In a Portuguese frigate, captured by the English there were some goods and money belonging to two influential Gujarat merchants, named Safi Khan and Gangaji, who also laid a claim of £ 1,150 on the English.¹¹³ Safi Khan, in December 1621, detained English goods at Ahmedabad and those of the Dutch at Sarkhej, thinking them to be one, though he released the latter when he came to know of their true position.¹¹⁴ Trade was prohibited to the English at Baroda and English goods at Cambay were also ordered to be detained.¹¹⁵ Such restrictions were only removed when on January 11, 1622, the English factors at Ahmedabad, reluctantly promised to pay the demand in full.¹¹⁶ Early in 1622, the English factors at Agra and their goods were seized by the authorities because of the English highhandedness at sea and the claim of the Sind merchants. It was expected that this would be repeated elsewhere throughout the Mughal Empire.¹¹⁷ The Factors were released shortly after, but the goods were kept in custody.¹¹⁸ The English at Surat learning of it wanted to represent their case at the royal court; but the Governor of Surat did not allow Jadu, an Indian broker and the envoy employed for the purpose, to leave the place.¹¹⁹ The two English factors at Samana, hearing of the misfortune which had fallen upon their brethren decided to go overland to Persia. Young first went to Lahore and not being allowed to proceed further he returned to Samana.¹²⁰

111. E.F.I., 325.

112. *Ibid.*, 267-8, 235-36.

113. *Ibid.*, 334.

114. *Ibid.*, 348-49, 350-51, 353, 355.

115. *Ibid.*, 349-50, 352-53.

116. E.F.II., 19.

117. E.F.II., 11-12.

118. *Ibid.*, 13.

119. E.F.II., 21-22.

120. *Ibid.*, 43, 58.

From there he came back to Agra in April with the cloths purchased by him.¹²¹ In the same month, Asaf Khan ordered that Rs. 10,200 be taken out of the English cash but other goods remained in the custody of the authorities.¹²² The other factor at Samana, named Willoughby, was able to reach the royal court in Kashmere the same month and was able to secure an order for the release of English goods excepting Rs. 10,200 given over to Sind merchants in compensation.¹²³

The English felt that they had suffered much and decided to seize Indian junks to remedy the wrongs done to them. A general plan to quit all the inland English factories was the first necessity to enforce their demands for better terms. Burhanpur factory was dissolved in May 1622,¹²⁴ followed by Agra¹²⁵ and Ahmadabad¹²⁶ in April and August 1623. All the factors came down to Surat.

Three English ships had arrived at Swally, in October 1622, under the command of Captain Hall.¹²⁷ Realising that the English property in India was small in March 1623, and the factories could be withdrawn in time, the President and Council at Surat decided to seize Indian ships coming back from Mocha, in October. The three ships under Captain Hall were to proceed to the Red Sea, for the purpose and a Council was appointed to accomplish the scheme.¹²⁸ Full instructions were given to them.¹²⁹ which were duly carried out. The English ships took five Indian junks including one of Khurram's and another of Dalhol. The *Dolphin* and *Blessing* anchored near Daman on September 27, with these vessels. To those were added a little later the *Gunjawar*, a big ship and the *Shahi*, a junk belonging to Jahangir.¹³⁰ President Rastell escaped to Swally, before the Indians came to know of this exploit.¹³¹ This

121. *Ibid.*, 74.

122. *Ibid.*, 78-79.

123. *Ibid.*, 90.

124. *Ibid.*, 87.

125. *Ibid.*, 221-22.

126. *Ibid.*, 258.

127. *Ibid.*, 166.

128. E.F.II., 204-05.

129. E.F.II., 206-07.

130. *Ibid.*, 264-65, 267-271.

131. *Ibid.*, 266-67.

action did not create much stir at the royal court due to the civil war which was going on, at the time. Bahadur Khan, the Governor of Surat patiently dealt with the matter. He treated the English courteously and promised to get their grievances redressed by Khan-i-Azam who was in Gujarat, putting down the rebellious Khurram.¹³² The English landed all the passengers except some kept as hostages; but kept aboard the property of everyone under seal, to be delivered after the settlement.¹³³ The Dutch chief at Surat, Pieter Van der Broeck interceded on behalf of the Indian Merchants, to President Rastell, to make up their differences,¹³⁴ as the Mughal authorities placed difficulties in the trade of the Dutch.¹³⁵ Englishmen at Surat were taken prisoners by the Governor and a guard was placed on the factory house.¹³⁶ The English had submitted an exaggerated demand of about £ 100,000 on October 18, hoping to make concession out of it without loss to themselves. This contained various losses suffered by the English due to robberies on highways including one by Malik Ambar's men, the detention of goods, unrealized debts, compensations paid, bribes and losses due to ban on trade at various places.¹³⁷ Khan-i-Azam had come to Surat but had to leave the place soon on November 4, 1623, having been asked by Jahangir to repair to the court.¹³⁸ He left the matter in the hands of Safi Khan, who would not accept all the demands of the English but assured fair treatment for the future.¹³⁹ Under repeated threats of the English to leave the place with the Indian junks, and through the efforts of Hakim Massiah-ul-Zaman¹⁴⁰ and some merchants of Surat, an agreement was reached on November 10, 1623. This was formally signed on November 14, by the English President, Nawab Saif Khan, the Qazi and the other chief men of Surat.¹⁴¹ The watch on the English factory was withdrawn, English prisoners were set free, and the junks were

132. *Ibid.* 269-70, 273-74.

133. *Ibid.* 271.

134. *Ibid.* 276-77.

135. *Ibid.* 280-81, 290.

136. *Ibid.* 294.

137. E.F.II., 281, 283-86.

138. *Ibid.* 297.

139. *Ibid.* 299, 300-301.

140. He was appointed Governor of Surat in 1636 E.F.V., 204.

141. E.F.II., 306, 320-1.

released by the English on November 19¹⁴² Prince Dawar Baksh ratified the agreement.¹⁴³ The English resumed their trade activities both in Gujarat and North India. The Surat Presidency rewarded Captain Hall, with a chain of gold, worth 100 marks, for the accomplishment of the project.¹⁴⁴

The agreement consisted of two parts. The first dealt with the English claims and the second part with the future regulation of their trade. Some of these claims were met, and others being recognized, it was stipulated to hand over the offenders to the English. The demands on Malik Ansar were allowed to be satisfied from the Dalhol junk and the goods of the Deccanese, in other ships. It was also decided to get these articles confirmed by the king so that no claim be made with regard to these in future.¹⁴⁵ On the whole, the English got compensation for all their past losses. The English were allowed to trade freely in all parts of the Mughal Empire, including Bengal and Sind. Regarding customs duties, it was decided that the English would pay 40,000 Mahmudies (£ 2,000) per annum in a lump sum and nothing more. No inland tolls were to be charged. No goods would be taken out of the customs house without payment, or detained there. Goods required for the King and Prince Khurram could be taken out, and the price paid. No carts or boats were to be denied to the English and no caravan to be detained in the way, on any pretext. Free exercise of religion was promised to the English; they could wear arms for their defence and administer justice on their own people. The estates of the deceased Englishmen were to belong to the English factory and the brokers of the English were also promised fair treatment.¹⁴⁶ Lastly it was agreed that "the past or present stoppage of the King's, Prince's or his subjects' junks shall not be imputed to the English as a crime of offence, seeing that the want of justice upon sundry abuses, outrages, prohibitions, and losses sustained had justly enforced them to that extremity." Nothing was to be asked in satisfaction for the detention of the junks, and no Englishman could be questioned or punished for that.¹⁴⁷ Thus they fully justified their action.

142. *Ibid.* 321-22, 323.

143. *Ibid.* 322.

144. *Ibid.* 339.

145. E.F.II. 306-09.

146. *Ibid.* 309-12.

147. *Ibid.* 312.

By this agreement the English got all that could be desired but at the very time of its conclusion some of them felt that it would not be kept by the Indian authorities.¹⁴⁸ It had been forced upon them due to their weak position on sea. However, the agreement included a clause in it for the confirmation by the King. This was never granted and Jahangir coming to know of it ordered "the apprehending of our (English) persons, restitution of our recoveries and expulsion out of this country."¹⁴⁹ The English were charged with taking goods in excess to the amount of £ 10,000, in settlement of their claim that was allowed by the agreement. When the English ships had left Swally early in 1624, all Englishmen at Surat including the President were put into prison and their goods were seized. The English ships, returned from Persia, in March,¹⁵⁰ and tried to seize the Indian junks again, but the Dutch at Surat protected them.¹⁵¹ No reconciliation could be made even in April, and the English ships, the *William* and the *Blessing*, sailed for Bantam and the Red Sea without getting a landing. They were expected to return in September, to take action against the Indian junks.¹⁵²

The English factors at the court at Lahore tried to move the King for the fair treatment of the English at Surat. They were able to secure a *frman* from Jahangir for the same,¹⁵³ but before it reached Surat, an agreement had been concluded on September 7, 1624, between the English President and the authorities and merchants of Surat partly based on that of the previous year.¹⁵⁴ The English were to pay customs duties at the usual rates and not in a lump sum. The privilege of wearing arms was taken away. Restriction was imposed on the movements of the President to safeguard Indian interests at sea and he was forbidden to go abroad the ships without the Governor's license.¹⁵⁵ The English and their goods were released but some commodities and money were taken from them, as compensation to Indian merchants.¹⁵⁶ The losses of the English were apparently great, but not more than the restitu-

148. *Ibid*, 319.

149. E.F.III., 56.

150. E.F.II., 319.

151. E.F.III., 4, 6-7, 18.

152. E.F.III., 19, 20-21, 58.

153. *Ibid*, 32-33.

154. E.F.III., 27-30, 36, 195.

155. *Ibid*, 29-30.

tion they had forced in 1623.¹⁵⁷ Writing to the Company, the factors at Surat covered their disgrace with some providential benefits.¹⁵⁸ After this agreement, the English, having realized their true position, were established in the Mughal Empire; cordiality of their relations with Indians increased day by day, their trade expanded, their credit became greater and they did not come into conflict with the Mughal authorities for a long time. Thus the President and Council could write home in 1628, 'our fair correspondence with this country people is continued by all means we can, and our living amongst them is with greater peace and amity than even it was before the breach.'¹⁵⁹

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Were the Mohenjo-Darians Aryans or Dravidians?

By

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Dr. Laxman Sarup of the Oriental College, Lahore, submitted a paper on "*Is the Indus Valley Civilization Aryan or Non-Aryan?*" to the Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Hyderabad, last December, which deserves some consideration. His contention is that the authors of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization were Aryans. But after a careful study of all the documents and arguments put forward by him, one finally comes to the conclusion that the authors of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization were Dravidians.

We are sorry we do not possess the full text of his paper which has not been published as yet but its summary officially published by the Local Secretary of the Conference is in our possession, and the different arguments advanced by Dr. Sarup are quite clear and admit of no doubt.

Their final conclusion is enunciated thus. The Indus Valley Civilization is an outcome of the Rgvedic period. It occupies an intermediate stage between the Rgvedic and the post-Rgvedic Hindu civilization. Its character is Aryan and not non-Aryan." It would at first sight appear a difficult task for Dr. Sarup to prove these three statements which are totally contradictory to what has been proved by Prof. R. D. Banerji, Sir John Marshall and other authors, both Indian and European. Yet the ingenuity of Dr. Sarup seems to make this task easy. Let us examine the arguments he proposes to convince the readers.

His argument may be reduced to four different categories:—

- (1) Sociology.
- (2) Religion.
- (3) Script.
- (4) Chronology.

1. The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad Session, Summaries of papers, pp. 120-123.

(1) *Sociological Arguments.*

As regards the sociological arguments Dr. Sarup seems to overlook that when the Āryas arrived in India, they found India inhabited by a race whom they called Dāsas or Dasyus. Dr. Sarup tells us that the civilization of Mohenjo-Daro is a city-civilization as opposed to village civilization, and in this he is quite correct. But he further informs us that this city-civilization was not found in India till the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore, he concludes that the civilization of Mohenjo Daro must belong to this later period.

Now it is perfectly clear that the Āryas of the R̥gvedic period did not develop any other civilization than the village civilization as opposed to city civilization. Yet the R̥gvedic R̥sis themselves mention the *purāḥ* of the Dāsas which are precisely those cities within which city civilization was flourishing. Hence, we may unhesitatingly state that city civilization in the R̥gvedic period did not exist among the Āryas, but among the Dāsas from whom the Āryas themselves learnt so as to be able to develop the same civilization at a later period. Accordingly Dr. Sarup's argument, if properly studied proves that the Mohenjo Daro civilization was the civilization of the Dāsas, either in the very R̥gvedic period or in a period prior to the R̥gveda.

Another argument adduced by Dr. Sarup refers to trade and commerce. He is quite right in saying that the trade and commerce period of civilization is always a post-agricultural period. From this he infers that the Mohenjo Daro period being of trade and commerce must be later than the R̥gvedic period of the Āryas which was purely agricultural. Unfortunately here the traders mentioned in the R̥gveda are overlooked. Very often, the tribe of the Paṇis is being referred to by the R̥gvedic R̥sis as a tribe of enemies, who were enemies likewise of their bright gods² and who in spite of their hoarding immense riches³ were never ready to give dakṣiṇā to the R̥sis.⁴ In these references to the Paṇis all authors have seen the ancient traders of the country who were a section or a tribe of those Dāsa or Dasyus⁵ a contemptuous name given by the Āryas to their enemies in general.

2. R̥g. I, 151, 3; R̥g. I, 83, 4; 182., III, 58; 2; V, 34; 7; 61; 8; VI, 13; 3, 29, 4; 32, 2; VIII, 64, 11; VI, 13, 3; V, 34; 7.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 83, 4.

4. R̥g., V, 34, 5, 7.

5. Cf. Ludwig, *Translation of the R̥gveda*, III, pp. 213-215; cf. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 82.

Those trade activities of the pre-Āryan inhabitants of India are fully acknowledged by scholars. Mr. J. F. Hewitt describes the commerce of the pre-Āryan Dravidians of the country in such a vivid and reasonable manner that it will be useful to quote a passage from his study here. He seems to have foreseen the discoveries in the Indus Valley. He says as follows:

"There is ample evidence to show that it was not the Āryans who made India a great exporting country. The Kolarian and Dravidian settlers had founded and maintained a flourishing inland and foreign trade long before the advent of the Āryans, and this trade could only have begun and kept up by a people who had great advances in civilization. For the maintenance of a large foreign and inland trade, there must be cities like those so frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, in which merchants could live and store the minerals, forest and agricultural products, and the manufactured articles in which they dealt. These cities could not be built without carpenters and masons. The weavers of the coarser cottons and fine muslins, which formed so large a part of the exports, must have congregated into the towns, to be near the merchants to whom they sold their goods. There must have been workers in iron⁶ to make their spears and weapons of war, axes to cut down forest trees, hoes and agricultural implements, and carpenters' and mining tools. Jewellers must have lived in the cities, to prepare for export the precious stones, of which such large quantities were sent to foreign countries. And there were also dyers among the manufacturing artisans, who besides being conversant with other dyes, had learnt the difficult and recondite process of extracting dye from the indigo plant, indigo being in very early times, as it is now, a most valuable item among the Indian exports. Besides these classes, there were also necessarily in the cities potters, workers in leather and petty shop-keepers and retail dealers. None of these occupations have ever been taken up by Āryans, but were in former times, as now, left in the hands of the Śūdras or native races who originated them. The mines, which supplied so large a part of the wealth of India, and were the chief attractions

6. Zimuner, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 52, thinks that Ayas means brass, while Roth and Grassman both believe it to be iron. Considering that iron ore is exceedingly common in all the rocky parts of India, and copper, tin, and zinc rare, it is probable that iron was smelted long before the compound metals were used.

to foreign merchants, give valuable evidence of the high stage of civilization to which these people had attained. These were not mere surface diggings in alluvial gravels, but were, as the old workings still extant show, made by following the lodes of metalliferous ore to considerable depths in the rocks which they permeated. The working of these mines required practical mechanical skill as well as the scientific aptitude and perseverance necessary to discover the proper method of treating the ores so as to extract the precious metals.

"The large population of merchants, traders, artisans, miners, and collectors of forest produce, could not have been maintained unless agriculture had been in a flourishing condition. And that this was the case, is shown by the fact that pepper, saffron, oil and clarified butter (ghee) furnished a very considerable part of the exports.

"Though the rivers supplied means of carriage throughout a large part of the country, the only rivers which reached the harbours of the Western coast were the Indus, Nerbudda and Tapti. These, however, were of little use to the miners of Rajputana, and the trading and agricultural population on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. Land carriage was necessary to bring produce to the western ports from the central plains, and this must have been provided at a very early period. The warriors in the R̥gveda are all represented as fighting from chariots, and carts were invented long before war-chariots. The first two Jātaka stories, which are among the oldest in the collection, tell of the caravans of five hundred bullock waggons which merchants used to send to and fro between Benares and the sea-coast, and of the difficulties of passing through the desert. There are many other stories of the same kind, and these must have been popular for ages before they were included in Buddhist Literature, and the state of society they describe must have existed long before these stories were invented"⁷

The Dravidian inhabitants of India were therefore traders long before the Aryans entered India. Consequently the trade and commerce civilization of Mohenjo Daro period may be fully identified with the period prior to the Aryan invasion. Here again we may suggest that the descendents of the R̥gvedic Aryas learnt

7. Hewitt, "Notes on the Early History of Northern India", Part II, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXI, pp. 199-201.

likewise trade methods from their former opponents and practised them at a later period.

2. Religion.

The final inference of Dr. Sarup as regards this point is worth quoting in order to understand his mind from the very outset. From the religious point of view, he says, "The Indus valley civilization is nearer to the Brahmanic period than the age of the R̥gveda."

His first argument advanced to prove his contention refers to Śiva. There are, he says, many emblems of Śiva among the finds of Mohenjo Daro. And after stating that "Śiva is a minor deity in R̥gveda," he elaborately describes the evolution of Śiva from the R̥gvedic period to the period of the epics. Up to the present no author has ever been able to prove that the cult of Śiva ever existed in the R̥gvedic period. Not even as a minor god is Śiva ever mentioned in the R̥gveda. I should say that not even a seed of the future Śiva can be traced in the R̥gvedic hymns. The word Śiva, found only once in the R̥gveda as if it were a qualification of Rudra, is not in any-way a proof of the identification of both gods. It is equivalent to stating that Rudra is a Śiva in his graciousness and auspiciousness. The statement nevertheless without offering a proof of the identification of Śiva and Rudra in the R̥gveda might have been the first step leading to this identification at a later period and clearly shows the influence of Āṇ-Śiva cult of the Dravidians upon the R̥gvedic religion when the hymns of the 10th Maṇḍala were being composed. The later identification of the sometimes furious, sometimes benevolent Rudra with Śiva is only a way of satisfying the followers of both deities, when the final amalgamation of Dravidian and Aryan dogmas was made. This identification, though accepted, was not very happy indeed. For the three functions of Śiva which have beautifully materialized in the image called *Maheśamūrti* of the Śaivite temples, cannot find their parallel in the R̥gvedic God. The finding of the śaivite emblems in the Mohenjo Daro excavations does not necessarily imply that the civilization of the Indus Valley belongs to the Brahmanic period, when the Aryanized Śaivite Cult was fully developed. Such discoveries may also connect the Mohenjo Daro civilization with a civilization of the Dravidian nation existing in India before the Aryan invasion. But since this cult is essentially non-Aryan and among the religious emblems found in Mohenjo Daro, there is none belonging to other Vedic or Aryan

deities, it seems much more natural to identify the Indus Civilization with the Dravidian Civilization. If these Śaivite emblems belonged to the Brahmanic period, how can we explain the fact that no other emblems belonging to other deities have ever been found e.g. the Śaṁkha, or Cakra of Viṣṇu, the Vajra of Indra or for the matter of that the padma of Surya?

It is moreover to be considered that the Vrātya cult referred to in the Atharva Veda pre-supposes a fully-developed Śaivite cult under the name of Eka-Vrātya. If the Śaiva cult were only in its infancy in the Rgvedic period, how is it possible to find it so developed, even in its uncongenial rites, at a period not so distant from the Rgvedic? The Vrātya cult was essentially Dravidian. It was therefore natural that in the Atharva Veda it should appear so fully described as it could have perhaps appeared in a similar way in the late Rgvedic period.

Another argument used by Dr. Sarup is taken from the well known condemnation of the phallic cult in the Rgveda. The passage has been interpreted in different ways; either that the Vedic R̥ṣis condemned the custom of worshipping the phallus or that they abominated the god of the phallus. In either case, the Vedic R̥ṣis fully condemned the phallus and its cult either in the God or in its devotees. Can it ever be said that this shows the infancy of the cult as Dr. Sarup contends: "I think that the cult of the phallic worship (sic) was in its infancy in the Rgveda?"

Now as regards the Vedic expression itself, if interpreted in the former of the two meanings explained above it is evident from the first, that the Vedic R̥ṣis condemned those who worshipped the phallus; second that round the Rgvedic settlements were people worshipping the phallus. Otherwise the condemnation would be totally uncalled for. Therefore it is not necessary to proceed to the Brahmanic period to find the *linga* cult fully developed. It was fully developed already in the Rgvedic period, amongst the Dravidians living around the Aryan settlements. But if we understand

8. Pg. X, 92, 9. "He is invoked and is auspicious, Śiva (X, 92, 9) an epithet which is not even in the AV, as yet peculiar to any particular deity" Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 75. "Thus the deprecations of his wrath gave rise to the euphemistic epithet 'auspicious (Śiva)', which became the regular name of Rudra's historical successor in post-Vedic mythology" Ibid, p. 77.

the condemnation of the *śiśna-devāḥ* as referring to the God of the Phallus, an interpretation which is more probable, we have, in such a case, a clear reference to the God of Mohenjo Daro, as shown at least in three representations, nude and exposing the *ūrdhva-linga*. Needless to say, that those who condemn the God of Mohenjo Daro cannot belong to the Mohenjo Daro nation. That is to say that the Mohenjo Daro people cannot be Aryans.

As regards the Aśvamedha referred to by Dr. Sarup as having already some phallic ceremonies in the Vedic period, it must be noted that the ceremonies in question⁹ are not properly phallic. They may be styled obscene only, and they very likely revealed some early fertility magic of the primitive Aryans.¹⁰

3. Script.

Dr. Sarup's argument in this connection follows the same lines as the preceding ones: The Rgvedic Aryas did not know the art of writing. The art of writing was known only at a later period. Therefore the Mohenjo Daris, who knew the art of writing must belong to a later period.

To assign the Mohenjo Daro script to such a late period seems to be to say the least incongruous. The use of so many pictograms in no way developed or modified by the Mohenjo Daris, belongs to a very early age. Birds, fishes, flowers, men, houses, thrones mountains and other like signs cannot be conceived as belonging to a period when the great Brahmanic works were being written.

We may perhaps suggest that even in the Rgvedic period there were people who knew the art of writing. The Panis, whom we have mentioned above as belonging to the non-Aryan stock, are called in the Rgveda *grathins*.¹¹ This word has been interpreted by Sāyana as prattlers,¹² but the following epithet by which the Panis are qualified by the R̥ṣi, Mr̥dhavachah, i.e., rudely speaking people, makes one suspect that the two epithets would not refer to speech. In point of fact, *grathin* means composing or writing literary

9. Cf. *Yajur Veda*, III, 4, 19, ff.

10. Belvalkar-Panade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 49.

11. *Rg.*, VII, 5, 3.

12. *Ibid.*, *Grathino*—Jalpakan.

works.¹³ Moreover the word *grathin*, placed next to *Mrdhravacah*, might have, as the latter, a disparaging meaning as referring to the trade accounts carefully kept by these merchants, and which were often brought forward to justify their claims against the Aryas. Since up to the time of the Mohenjo Daro discoveries we never suspected the existence of writing as early as the R̥gveda period, we could not understand this word as having this special connotation.

Now the structure itself of the Mohenjo Daro writing and the comparison established between the Mohenjo Daro seals and those of equal or similar type found in Sumer, point to a rather earlier date than the date of the R̥gveda. Hence, the Panis might perhaps have been described as *Grathins*, i.e., writers; for writing was naturally a quaint task for the Vedic Aryas who then did not know how to write, just as the speech of the Panis is also mentioned in the following epithet as another strange characteristic of their opponents.

We may mention here, for the satisfaction of our readers, that it is recorded in the *Yāpparunkala-Virutti* (a commentary of the tenth century) quoting it from an unknown ancient Tāmiḻ work that there were four kinds of writing used by the ancient Tāmiḻs. One of them was *picture-writing* which is described thus:

"Picture-letter (i.e. writing) is that which represents all sorts of visible forms and is painted (or drawn) like the handiwork of an expert painter."¹⁴

An extraordinary piece of news which seems to tally with the discoveries of Mohenjo Daro and the character of *Grathins* attributed to the Panis.

4. Chronology.

In connection with the chronology of the Indus Valley Culture, Dr. Sarup seems to admit the dates suggested by the discoveries of those sites of the Archaeological Survey of India, namely 2,700-2500 B.C. for Mohenjo Daro, and 3000 B.C. for Harappa. Now Dr. Sarup

13. The word *Grantha*, which was so much used at a later period referring to written literary works, comes from the root *Grath* to string together.

14. *Yāpparunkalam*, edited by Diwan Bahadur Bhavanandam Pillai, II, p. 528. (Madras 1929). I owe this reference to the kindness of Rev. Fr. S. Gyānaprakāśar, O.M.I.

puts forward an argument taken from the Mittani—Hittite treaty in which four Vedic deities are being mentioned. The migration of these Vedic deities all the way from India to Asia Minor, he says, could not have taken place in less than three or four hundred years. Therefore, three or four hundred years before the Mittani-Hittite treaty such Vedic deities were known in India. This treaty took place circa 1500 B.C. Adding to this date 400 years at the most as Dr. Sarup suggests, we reach the date 1900 B.C. Dr. Sarup simply says without summing up these figures that such a date is the date assigned to the Indus Valley Culture by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues. One, nevertheless, still finds a gap of at least 600 years with the lowest date suggested for Mohenjo Daro. Evidently the R̥gvedic chronology in this case does not fully agree with the Indus Valley chronology.

There is still another argument proposed by Dr. Sarup. The *Kaliyuga*, he says, started in 12,100 B.C. i.e., after the enthronement of Yudhiṣṭhira. The R̥gveda is evidently earlier than the enthronement of this king, for it is earlier than the *Mahābhārata*. Since the R̥gveda is earlier than 12,100 B.C., it may be contemporaneous with the Indus Valley Civilization.

As regards the date of the R̥gveda, Dr. A. Barriedale Keith, after a long discussion of all available materials and every possible point of view, has lately concluded that the R̥gveda was composed between 1,300 to 1000 B.C.¹⁵ a date which, having been arrived at by an impartial scholar, does not agree in the least with Dr. Sarup's deductions. In fact, Dr. Keith further adds that "an early dating of the Vedic Indians is mistaken and that we must not put them too high in the second millennium B.C."¹⁶

As for the argument of Dr. Sarup, it is quite true that the *Mahābhārata* was composed a good many years after the R̥gvedic hymns. But was the main subject of the *Mahābhārata*, or for the matter of that many of its multiple and non-essential episodes, events that had taken place within the period that elapsed from the R̥gvedic times till the time of the composition of that poem? The affirmative reply to this question has very often been presupposed,

15. Keith, *The Age of the R̥gveda*, Woolner Commemoration Volume, p. 155.

16. *Ibid*, p. 147.

but has never been proved historically. Nay even a number of those events in connection with which Aryan tribes or heroes are mentioned, might have taken place prior to the Vedic period, and in narrating them the Sanskrit poet, who as such did not feel bound by historical accuracy, may have introduced those tribes or persons in order to make the whole poem more interesting to the Āryan nation. In particular the episode mentioned by Dr. Sarup belongs to the history of the Pāṇḍava family which is one of the portions of the *Mahābhārata* that smack most of pre-Aryan social customs. We are aware that Dr. Sarup is of the opinion that Draupadi was the wife of Yudhiṣṭhira only, and not of the other four Pāṇḍava brothers.¹⁷ But his opinion is not general and we are sorry to say, seems based on very flimsy grounds. Even Pandit M. M. Lachhmi Dhar, who interprets the whole passage mythologically, admits the marriage of Draupadi with the five brothers.¹⁸ In fact this quaint union of Draupadi with five brothers is traditional in India, though thoroughly non-Āryan.¹⁹ That is precisely the reason, one discovers behind the contention of Dr. Sarup, of not admitting the polyandrical marriage.

Therefore, most likely, the story of Yudhiṣṭhira and his enthronement, dates from a period prior to the Ṛgveda and to the Aryan invasion. Hence, the composition of the Ṛgveda very likely took place when the *Kaliyuga* had already started. Consequently the date of the Ṛgveda which was composed fully within the *Kaliyuga*, cannot tally with the dates proposed for the Indus Valley Culture and admitted by Dr. Sarup.

Before closing the chronological question, we must draw the attention of our readers to an inconsistency in Dr. Sarup's arguments. He has invariably affirmed and tried to prove that the Indus Valley Culture is nearer to the Brahmanic period than the Ṛgvedic. But when speaking about chronology Dr. Sarup appears to contend that the dates admitted for the Indus Valley Culture agree with the Ṛgvedic dates, which he places much earlier than

17. Dr. Sarup has submitted another paper on the subject to the Hyderabad Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. cf. "Had Draupadi Five Husbands?" The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Summaries of Papers, p. 96.

18. Lachhmi Dhar, "The myths of the Five Husbands of Draupadi" Woolner Commemoration Volume, Supplement, pp. 311-316.

19. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 32. (Oxford. 1923).

modern critical scholars do. This is a tacit admission of the fact that in the background of the invasion of the Aryan nation and of its development in India, existing much earlier than the former, and extending parallelly at first, and mixed up later on with the latter, there was a great culture which Dr. Sarup does not mention, nor acknowledge, and which is the solution of the great puzzle. That is the great Dravidian culture of India which erected the walled *purāḥ* of the Ṛgveda, built in the person of Māyā. Yudhiṣṭhira's palace taught the difficult notions of the atman and of the life after death to the Upanisadic Brahmanas, and laid down the foundation for the Purāṇic chronicles.

Conclusion.

We have said in the beginning of our note that though the contention of Dr. Sarup was to prove that the Indus Valley Culture was Aryan nevertheless the arguments put forward by him appear to establish that this Indus Valley Culture is Dravidian. Our impartial readers may see whether or not we were correct in our statement.²⁰

In a recently published work on Ancient Sind, Prof. C. L. Mariwala referring to another article on the Aryan origin of the Indus Valley Culture, ends discussion with the following words which may also be our colophon: "If a glorious champion of a cause cannot put forward any positive proof to support his point of view, one cannot entertain any favourable opinion of his hypotheses."²¹

20. We could have given other proofs to show that the authors of the Mohenjo Daro Culture were Dravidians. Yet that was not our purpose. We have confined ourselves within the limits of the Ṛgvedic period and to the very arguments proposed by Dr. Sarup.

21. Mariwalla, *Ancient Sind*, p. 5.

The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Imperial Guptas

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKHERJEE.

The late Mr. Edward Thomas since 1850 till the last advocated the view that the dates of the Imperial Guptas should be referred to the Śaka era of 77-78 A.D. In 1854 General Cunningham applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. In reply to this view of General Cunningham the late Mr. Thomas wrote a paper entitled 'On the epoch of the Gupta Dynasty' wherein he held that the Śaka era applied to the Gupta dates, the Vikrama era was probably the one which, in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved, should apply preferentially to the Valabhi grants. He also quoted the views of Prof. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*, Vol. II) to the effect that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160. After this on further study Gen. Cunningham laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era and adopted the view of Thomas to the Śaka era and 'stated that from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes and of the Gupta silver coins with the Shah (Kṣatrapa) coins of Saurāṣṭra, he had seen that the first Gupta must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the Kushan Scythians and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the first century of the Christian era'. 'And on the grounds that the only scheme, as far as he could see, that would suit all the known dates and other conditions of the dynasty, was to make Candragupta I, the founder of that era; that Alberuni's information was that the Śaka era was established by a king named Vikramāditya, after a victory over the Śakas; that the name of Vikramāditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Candragupta I and that the Allahabad pillar inscription mentions Samudragupta, the son of Candragupta I, as receiving tributes from the Śakas—he expressed himself as inclined to adopt the Śaka era, which began in A.D. 79, as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty and to attribute its establishment to Candragupta I'. General Cunningham also attached a note to Prof. Dowson's paper on 'Ancient Inscriptions from Mathura' in which, on the grounds that both

Kaniṣka and Huiṣka must have preceded the establishment of the Śaka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted reference in the Allahabad Pillar inscriptions to the Daivaputras and Shāhānushāhis, who must have been the Turuṣka kings of the Punjab as showing that Samudragupta was a contemporary of the Turuṣka kings whose dominions according to the Chinese authority had already passed away, in the beginning of the third century after Christ. In 1862 the late Mr. Newton published a lengthy discussion 'On the Sah, Gupta and other ancient dynasties of Kāthiāwād and Gujrāt' in which he held the view that the Guptas preceeded the Valabhi dynasty and that the dates in the Valabhi grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era. The late Drs. Bhaudaji, R. G. Bhandarkar and Oldenberg assumed the epoch, A.D. 319 for the Gupta dynasty. It is to be noted here that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed Kaniṣka's accession in A.D. 278, i.e. only 41 years before Candragupta I, according to him and Dr. R. C. Majumdar supposed Kaniṣka to be the founder of the Kalachuri era in A.D. 248-49, only 70 years before Candragupta I. The late Dr. Oldenberg says: 'It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this (Kuṣana coinage) is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off.' He further added by placing Kaniṣka in A.D. 78, that 'the vacant period between Vāsudeva (Sam. 98—therefore to A.D. 176) and the Gupta (A.D. 319) is already perhaps greater than might be expected'. Thus all these practically admit the contemporaneity of the Guptas and the Kuṣanas. The late Mr. Fergusson's view was that the Valabhi era was established in A.D. 318-19 probably on the building of Valabhi, and that Maharaja Gupta was a Viceroy of the Andhra kings but not necessarily at the time of the building of the city of Valabhi. In 1882 Sir E. Clive Bayley from a set of evidence accepted A.D. 190-91 for the epoch of the era of the Guptas. In A.D. 1880 Gen. Cunningham accepted A.D. 166-67 for the said epoch. In 1885 in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Dr. A.F.R. Hoernle arrived at the opinion that the terminal date of A.D. 319 of the Gupta empire as determined by Thomas may now be considered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no more open to question 'and that Gen. Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch of the Gupta era has every prospect of ultimately meeting with universal assent and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta dynasty'. In view of this unsettled state of things, in 1887 Dr. Fleet mainly

on a few astronomical calculations fixed the epoch of the Gupta era in A.D. 319-20. Dr. Vincent Smith remarked on this: 'A great step in advance was gained by Fleet's determination of the Gupta era which has been the subject of much wild conjecture. His demonstration that the year of that era is A.D. 319-20 fixed the chronological position of a most important dynasty and reduced chaos to order'. But even with this epoch, numerous difficulties, as admitted by historians, continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta and later periods, and lately Dr. Shamasastri in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1923 advocated A.D. 200-01 and Mr. M. Govind Pai (J.I.H., 1932) and Mr. K. G. Sankar (N.I.A., 1941) following him advocated A.D. 273 for the epoch of the Gupta era. Since 1932 this humble writer is showing from various types of evidence the incorrectness of all these determinations in regard to Gupta era only the determination by Edward Thomas approaching nearer the truth. The epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramādityas is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and that the Imperial Guptas flourished from the 1st Century B.C.

From a study of the inscriptions dated in the Gupta and the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa eras it is evident that the interval between the epoch of the two eras must be about 400 years. As Dr. Fleet assumed the epoch of the Gupta era to be A.D. 319-20, he found no other epoch but that of the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. to be $(319 + 58, \text{ or } 377)$ years earlier than his epoch. He thus assumed the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. to be identical with the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era. Now we have the Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman wherein his defeat of Mihirakula is recorded. This inscription is undated but in another inscription of Yaśodharman's minister's brother Dakṣa in the same locality the year 589 of the Mālavagaṇa era is mentioned. Thus it was assumed that Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman's defeat of Mihirakula occurred about this date which corresponds to Vikrama Sam. 589 and therefore equivalent to 589-57, or A.D. 532. Now shortly after Mihirakula's defeat his brother usurped his throne, and Mihirakula repaired to Kashmir. It was here that Mihirakula beheaded the 23rd and the last of the Northern Buddhist Patriarchs, Simha. Now let us suppose that this happened, on Fleet's epoch in A.D. 540. Whereas, from the 'Fu-fa-tsogn-yin-yuan-ching' the Chinese translation in A.D. 472 of a Buddhist work, it is stated that a persecuting king Miloku, that is evidently Mihirakula, beheaded the 23rd

and the last of the Northern Buddhist Patriarchs, Simha. The 21st Patriarch 'Vasubanda,' i.e. evidently Vasubandhu is also mentioned in this work. The date of the composition of this work in India is not known. Assuming this was composed immediately after Mihirakula's death which, say, occurred about A.D. 460, we find that his date A.D. 540 when he beheaded Simha found above is in error by at least $(540-460, \text{ or } 80)$ years, and consequently the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era cannot be identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and must be at least $(80 + 58, \text{ or } 138)$ B.C. from this evidence alone. This will also be supported from even the latest date, according to one account of the translation of a work 'Lien-hua-mien-ching' or the 'Sūtra of the Lotus Flower face' in Chinese in A.D. 574. The contents of this work show that it was written long after the death of Mihirakula who was succeeded by seven sovereigns in Kashmir who were patrons of Buddhism.

The Mandasor fort wall Buddhist inscription of the time of Prabhākara dated in Mālavagaṇa year 524 mentions the early Gupta Emperor Candragupta II and his son Govindagupta. The inscription records donations by the Gupta feudatory Prabhākara's Commander-in-chief, Dattabhāṭa, son of Vāyurakṣita, the General (*Sēnādhipa*) of Govindagupta. Now Govindagupta was the Governor of Vaiśālī, and the brother of Kumāragupta I, Mahēndraditya (Śrī Mahēndra etc.). In the above inscription it is stated that Indra (i.e. Mahēndra) was suspicious of Govinda's power. This shows clearly that Mālavagaṇa year 524 must fall during the reign of Kumāragupta I (Sam. 93-136). On Fleet's epoch, the Mālavagaṇa year $524 = \text{A.D. } 466 = \text{Gupta Sam. } 146$ falls during the reign of Skandagupta. This again shows the incorrectness of the identity of the Mālavagaṇa and the Vikrama eras. It has been shown from one Chinese evidence that the latest possible date of the epoch of Mālavagaṇa era is about 138 B.C. Thus Govindagupta's date, Mālavagaṇa year 524 $(524-138, \text{ or } 386)$ A.D. = Gupta year 66, according to Dr. Fleet falls during the early part of Chandragupta II's reign (Sam. 60-93) when Kumāra had not even ascended the throne. Kumāra I at the utmost may have been born then.

Messrs Pai and Sankar assume the epoch of the Gupta era to be A.D. 273 and that of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era to be the same 58 B.C. Thus according to them Govindagupta's date Mālavagaṇa year $524 = \text{A.D. } 466 = \text{Gupta year } (466-273, \text{ or } 193, \text{ i.e., some } 100$

years after Govindagupta's father's death. This is absurd. Hence if Messrs Pai and Sankar stick to their epoch of the Gupta era, they cannot but admit the incorrectness of the identity of the Kṛta and the Vikrama eras. When Dr. Shamasastri assumed the epoch of the Gupta era to be A.D. 200-01, he could not examine the Mandasor inscription of Mālavagaṇa year 524 as it was not then published. Dr. Shamasastri also took the Mālavagaṇa year to be equivalent to the Vikrama year. Thus Mālavagaṇa year 524=A.D. 466=Gupta Sam. (466-200, or) 266 on Dr. Sastry's epoch, when Govindagupta would be living! The same absurdity follows from Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 167 and Edward Thomas' epoch of A.D. 78. Thus the earlier we assume an epoch of the Gupta era, the earlier we shall have to seek for an epoch of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era.

The incorrectness of the identity of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era with the Vikrama era having been shown conclusively, it remains to show from other pieces of evidence the correct epoch of the Gupta as well as that of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era.

Ācārya Sthiramati's "Introduction to Mahāyānism" was translated into Chinese by A.D. 400. Hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A.D. 400. (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 167). Now let us suppose that the date of Sthiramati's death is A.D. 380. But from the Wala grant of Dharasena II dated Sam. 269, we know that Ācārya Sthiramati had a Vihāra built through Dharasena II's father Guhasena (Sam 240). (Ācārya bhadanta Sthiramati-Kārita-bappa pādiya-vihāra). on Dr. Fleet's epoch Sam. 240=A.D. 560. Even assuming this to be the last date of Sthiramati we find Dr. Fleet's epoch to be in error by (560-380, or) 180 years at least. That is, the epoch of the Gupta era from this evidence alone cannot be later than (320-180, or) A.D. 140, some 27 years prior to even Gen. Cunningham's epoch of the Gupta era.

The latest possible date of the death of Ācārya Sthiramati thus found is about A.D. 380. Now Sthiramati's teacher was Ācārya Vasubandhu. From Chinese literary evidence we learn that Hari-varman and Vasubandhu were contemporaneous. Harivarman's great work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (A.D. 383-412 in China) who also wrote a life of Vasubandhu not now extant and read the 'Śata Śāstra' of Vasubandhu before A.D. 380. Hence Vasubandhu's death cannot be placed later than A.D. 360=Gupta Sam. 40 on Dr. Fleet's epoch when Samudragupta was ruling.

Whereas Vasubandhu died during the reign of (Narasimhagupta) Bālāditya, son of Budhagupta (wrongly read as Puragupta. Vide also S. K. Saraswati, "A gold coin of Budhagupta", I.C. Vol. I, pp. 691-92). Now the inscriptional dates of Budhagupta range from Sam. 157 to 175 and he may have reigned for about 5 years more. Hence Vasubandhu's death may be placed about Sam. 200, quite in conformity with his disciple Sthiramati's date Sam. 240. Hence Vasubandhu's date Sam. 200=A.D. 520 on Dr. Fleet's epoch, is in error by at least (520-360, or) 160 years. Now Vasubandhu's teacher was Ācārya Buddhāmītra. The latest possible date of the death of Vasubandhu being about A.D. 360, Ācārya Buddhāmītra was certainly flourishing in C.A.D. 320, i.e. during the beginning of the Gupta era according to Dr. Fleet. But from the Mankuwar inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I we learn that Buddhāmītra was still living and undefeated by anybody in Sam. 129=A.D. (320-129, or) 449 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. All this shows the utter incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era. Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) also states that Vasubandhu and his master Manoratha or Buddhāmītra flourished between A.D. 50 and 150 (=Vikrama Sam. 108 and 208); and we know that during Gupta Sam. 108 and 208 kings from Kumāragupta I to Narasimhagupta Bālāditya reigned. This is quite in conformity with another statement of Hiuen Tsang that Mihirakula (and therefore his contemporary Bālāditya and the latter's contemporary Ācārya Vasubandhu) flourished several centuries before Hiuen Tsang's time (A.D. 640). All this shows the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras.

Now in Mālavagaṇa year 524 we have Kumāragupta I's brother Govindagupta ruling. For Kumāragupta I we have the date in the Mandasor inscription, Mālavagaṇa year 529. As Narasimhagupta Bālāditya was the grand-son-of Kumāragupta I, Narasimhagupta may naturally be living in Mālavagaṇa year 589, some 60 or 65 years later, when Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula. Thus the contemporaneity of Mihirakula, Yaśodharman and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya follows. Evidently Yaśodharman was subordinate to the paramount sovereign Bālāditya, and Hiuen Tsang is found to be right in giving the sole credit of the victory over Mihirakula to Bālāditya.

The 'Lankāvatāra Sūtra' was first translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra in A.D. 443. There are several *gāthā* verses in this work which were collected together and put at the end of the Sūtra

under a separate chapter entitled 'Sagāthakam' beginning with 'Lankāvatāra Sūtroktam gāthā-ratna-mayam Śṛṇu' etc. in the translation of A.D. 513 by Bodhiruci. The verse number 786 in this work runs thus: 'Mauryā-Nandāśca Guptāśca tato mleccā nṛpādhamah | Mlecchānte Śastra-Sankṣobhaḥ Śastrānte ca Kalir yugaḥ | Kali yugānte lokaiśca Saddharmenahi bhāvitah ||' This shows that after the Guptas there came the *Mlecchas*, and after the latter there was anarchy followed by an evil age (Kali). This shows that the downfall of the Guptas occurred long before A.D. 443 (=Gupta Sam. 123 on Dr. Fleet's epoch). According to different Jaina evidence, the Guptas ruled for about 231 or 240 years. The last inscriptional date of Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta is Sam. 224=A.D. 544 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. Now we have already found Gupta Vikramāditya Sam. 240 (=A.D. 182) to be the date of Vasubandhu's disciple Ācārya Sthiramati. Thus Ācārya Sthiramati flourishing long before A.D. 400, it shows clearly that the downfall of the Guptas also occurred long before A.D. 400, quite in keeping with the date of the translation of the 'Lankāvatāra Sūtra'. This will also be evident from the history of the later Guptas of Magadha whose first king Kṛṣṇagupta flourished about A.D. 440. If these later Guptas had any relationship or were subordinates to the Imperial Guptas the very full genealogy in the Aphsā inscription would certainly have mentioned their illustrious relationship with pride instead of characterising the first king Kṛṣṇagupta as simply of 'good family' ('Sad-vamśah'). In case these later Guptas had any connection with the Imperial Guptas the former rose to prominence such a long interval after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas that the later Guptas forgot all that.

The Dhiniki plate of Mahārājādhirāja Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra issued from Bhumlikā or Bhumli, the fort in the Barada hills in Kāthiāwār, is dated in Vikrama Sam. 794 (=A.D. 738). On Dr. Fleet's epoch A.D. 738=Gupta Sam. 418 when Mahārājādhirāja Śīlāditya V would be ruling in Kāthiāwār, showing clearly the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch. Another plate of a king Jainka was found in Morbi (in Kāthiāwār). From the Makara (fish) mark on the plate and the locality where it was found, it is evident that it belongs to the Jethvā kings whose early capital was Morbi before they changed it to Bhumli about the beginning of the 8th Century A.D. The date in this plate is Gupta Sam. 585, the month Phālguna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. On Dr. Fleet's epoch the date of the grant is A.D. (585-320, or) 905, that is (905-738, or)

167 years later than the previous Bhumli plate. Whereas Palaeographically the letters of Morbi plate are much anterior to the Bhumli plate and closely resemble the characters of the Horiuzi palm leaves of about A.D. 520. Assuming the Gupta Vikramāditya era to be identical with the Vikrama era, the date of the Morbi grant corresponds to A.D. 529 (remarkably close to the date of the Horiuzi palm leaves) in which year there was a total solar eclipse on January 25 which was exactly the 5th day of Phālguna as stated in the grant. Whereas with Dr. Fleet's epoch, there was no solar eclipse in Phālguna in A.D. 905 or a few years before or after this date. All this shows as clearly as possible the identity of the Gupta Vikramāditya era with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.

That the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. will be evident from the newly discovered Gokak (in the Belgaum district, Bombay) plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dejjā Mahārāja dated when 845 years of the 'Āguptāyika kings had passed away' ('Ā-Guptāyikānām rājñām aṣṭasu varṣa śateṣu pancacatvāriṃśad agreṣu gateṣu'). The Editor of the plate in the E.I. Vol. XXI, pp. 289-92, placed the Ā-Guptayika era with Maurya Candragupta (313 B.C.). But the Editor himself admits that the resulting date (845-345 or) 532 A.D. is palaeographically somewhat too early. The plate belongs palaeographically to about the 8th century A.D. It did not strike the Editor to consider these Ā-Guptāyika kings to be the Early Imperial Guptas, for on Dr. Fleet's epoch the resulting date A.D. (845-320, or) 1165 is obviously too late and thus the Editor remarked. 'But I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately'. Ā-Guptāyikānām (ā+Gupta+ayikānām) is evidently ā Gupta* (Anu) ayikānām ('aya' with or without the prefix 'anu' might mean the same), or it is just possible that the scribe inadvertently left the compound letter 'nva' of 'ā-Guptānvayikānām.' ā-Guptānvayikānām rājñām 'is exactly similar to 'Guptānvayānām nṛpa-sattamānām rājye, of the Udayagiri inscription of Sam. 106 and to 'Guptānvayānām Vasudhēśvarānām' of the Tumain inscription dated Sam. 116 of the time of Kumāragupta I. Assuming the Gupta Vikramāditya era to be identical with the Vikrama era, the date of the Gokak plate is A.D. (845-57, or) 788 which exactly suits the date from palaeographic considerations and this date of Dejjā falls exactly within the period A.D. 757 to A.D. 812 proposed for Jejjā or his brother by Kielhorn, while editing

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jejjā's grandson Parabalais inscription dated (Vikrama) Sam. 917 (=A.D. 861). Phonetically also 'Dejja' and Jejjā' are identical. (Compare Daśaratha=Jasaratha, Duvaraja=Yuvaraja). Thus this Gokak plate proves geometrically the identity of the Gupta Vikramāditya era with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. The epoch of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era being about 400 years earlier than the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era the former must be identical with the Śrī Harṣa era of 458 B.C. mentioned by Alberuni. Thus Mālavagaṇa years 493 and 529 of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvārman are equivalent to Gupta Vikramāditya Sam. 93 and 129 when we know Kumāragupta I was ruling as stated in the inscription. Thus Mālavagaṇa year 524 of Govindagupta is equivalent to Gupta Vikrama Sam. 124, and falls during his brother Kumāra I's reign.

'The memory of Skandagupta and his victory over the Hunas seem to be preserved in the story of King Vikramāditya in Somadeva's Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara, Book XVIII; Mahendrāditya was king of Ujjayini at a time when the Mlecchas were overrunning the earth, afflicting even the gods with their oppressions, a son named Vikramāditya is born to him, who, becoming king on his father's abdication, utterly routs the Mlecchas. It is worth noting that the historical kernel of the story exactly agrees with Skandagupta's Bhitari and Junagadh inscriptions; Mahendrāditya is the well-established "Aditya" title of Kumāragupta I and Vikramāditya of Skandagupta while the Mlecchas are the Hūnas of the Bhitari inscription and the Mlecchas of the Junagadh inscription; Skandagupta moreover, did succeed his father when the Mlecchas were threatening the ruin of the country.' (Allan, Gupta Coins, p. xlix fn.) This shows that in Somadeva's Kathā Sarīt Sāgara the story of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta is to be found. But Somadeva only abridged Guṇādhya's Bṛhat Kathā. Somadeva distinctly says 'Yathā mūlam tat'haivaitat na manāg-apyatikramah| aucityānvaya rakṣā ca yathā Śaktir vidhīyate ||'. 'As in the original work so also in this one, there is nowhere the least deviation, only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large.' This shows that the story of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta was contained in Guṇādhya's now lost original. Now Guṇādhya is placed by Eühler, Keith, Levi, V. Smith and others in about the 2nd century A.D. This shows that Kumāra and Skanda did not flourish in the middle of the fifth century as follows from Dr. Fleet's theory, but must have flourished some three and half centuries earlier about

the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. showing clearly the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras.

Study of local records drew the attention of Hiuen Tsang to the history of a greatly religious monarch Śilāditya, who had been king of Mālava for fifty years, some sixty years before Hiuen Tsang. Thus this Śilāditya ruled from c.A.D. 526 to 576. Whereas on Fleet's epoch even the first Śilāditya of Valabhi ruled some 70 years later, from c.A.D. 595 to 610 or 615. That is, he ruled upto only 20 years before Hiuen Tsang thus showing a great discrepancy. Moreover none of the Śilāditya kings from Śilāditya I to VII had a reign of 50 years. Hence V. Smith was constrained to remark: 'M. Sylvain Levi seems to be right in identifying this religious monarch with Śilāditya I surnamed Dharmāditya, the Sun of Piety of the Valabhi dynasty who reigned from about 595 to 610 or 615 A.D.; for although these dates do not agree exactly with the indications given by Hiuen Tsang....' All this shows the utter incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era.

In Rudradāman's Girnar Rock Inscription dated Sam. 72 we read that he 'forcibly extirpated the Yaudheyas who were intractable for their pride for having earned the title of heroes among all Kṣatriyas.' This date Sam. 72 is taken as in the Śaka era and therefore equivalent to (72-78, or) 150 A.D. But from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta we learn that the Yaudheyas after this subjugation by Samudragupta paid him homage sometime about A.D. 350 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. This shows clearly the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch by at least (350-150, or) 200 years. It also shows that Samudragupta flourished before Rudradāman who extirpated the Yaudheyas.

'According to the Chinese authority the Yuechi during the period between A.D. 220 and 280 put their kings to death and established military chiefs! Samudragupta must therefore have reigned before A.D. 200 because he was contemporaneous with the Kushan king Daivaputra Sāhi Sāhānushāi who entered into diplomatic relations with him. On Dr. Fleet's epoch this event occurred about A.D. 350 thus showing clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by more than 150 years.

The characters of the newly discovered Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II dated Sam. 61 are identical with the early Kusana records. As the latest possible date of the early Kusanas is the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. evidently Dr. Fleet's epoch is in error, by at least 200 years.

Shaman, Hwui-Li a disciple of Hiuen Tsang wrote a biography of his master as he heard from him from time to time and completed the same sometime after A.D. 670. From this 'Life of Hiuen Tsang' (translated by the Rev. S. Beal, pp. 110-112) and also from Hiuen Tsang's records, we learn that the building of the Nālandā monastery was begun by an old king of the country called Śakrāditya. After his decease his son Fo-to (Buddha) Guptarāja seized the throne, continued the vast undertaking and built towards the south another Sanghārāma. Then his successor Ta-ta-kata-rāja built a Sanghārāma to the eastward. Then his successor Bālāditya built a Sanghārāma to the north-east. Afterwards the king seeing some priests who came from the country of China to receive his religious offerings was filled with gladness and he gave up his royal estates and became a recluse. His son 'Fa-she-lo' transliterated as 'Chin-kong' succeeded and built, another Sanghārāma to the north. After him a king of Mid-India built by the side of this another Sanghārāma. These six kings in connected succession added to these structures. Hwui. Li then states that the priests dwelling here are as a body naturally dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules'. On this Rev. Beal remarks as follows: 'This seems to throw light on the date of Śakrāditya, if he was the first to found the Nālandā convent, and this was 700 years before Hiuen Tsang, we may suppose he lived about the 1st century B.C.' From another Buddhist tradition we know that Ācārya Āryadeva was the rector of Nālandā during the reign of the Gupta king Candragupta II, (Sam. 60 to 93=A.D. 2 to 35). This shows that the beginning of the Nālandā college dates at least from the time of Samudragupta's (Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya's father. So that from A.D. 2 to A.D. 670 nearly seven centuries had elapsed. Hiuen Tsang states that after Kumāragupta I's death his son Fo-to-gupta-rāja seized the throne. From inscriptions we learn that during the latter part of Kumāra I's reign, the Gupta power was tottering to its fall due to Hūna and Huna and Mleccha inroads. Kumāra abdicated about Sam. 136 and placed Skandagupta on the throne who restored the ruined fortunes of his family and ruled from Sam. 136 to C. 155 and about this latter date Kumāra I died (for his Sarnāth inscription dated Sam. 154 speaks of 'bhūmim rakṣati Kumāraguptai'). After Kumāra's death there was a fratricidal struggle between Skanda and Buddha in which Buddhagupta was at last victorious and seized the throne

as stated by Hiuen Tsang. From the Bhitari seal we know that Kumāra's son by Queen Anantādevī was Buddhagupta wrongly read as Puragupta (vide also S. K. Saraswati, 'A gold coin of Buddhagupta', I.C. Vol. I, pp. 691-92) and Buddhagupta's son was Narasimhagupta Bālāditya whose son was Kumāragupta II. From Hiuen Tsang we learn that Buddhagupta was succeeded by Ta-ta-lra-ta-kuta rendered as Tathā-ga-ta-gupta. The Chinese word seems to be a copyist's error for the real name 'Gta-to-tka-gupta' who was evidently a son of Kumāragupta I as we know from the Tumain inscription dated Sam. 116. From the evidence of the gold coin bearing the name 'Gha-to' Mr. Allan correctly states that king 'Ghaṭotkacagupta' must be contemporary with those kings known from the Bhitari seal' (i.e. Budha, Narasimha and Kumāra). Thus after Buddhagupta's death sometime after Sam. 175 (his coin date) it seems his brother Ghaṭotkacagupta ascended the throne probably because Narasimhagupta was still a minor. As stated by Hiuen Tsang, Ghaṭotkacagupta was succeeded by (Narasimhagupta) Bālāditya sometime about Sam. 185 and ruled till C. Sam. 215. From Hiuen Tsang we learn that Bālāditya was succeeded by his son Fa-she-lo (? or Ku-mo-lo?) transliterated as Chin-kang meaning 'Varapāṇi (or Vajra-hasta), but seems to me to mean 'Śaktihasta' which is a synonym of Kumāra (or, Kārtikeya) thus clearly verifying the statement in the Bhitari seal that Narasimhagupta's son was Kumāragupta III. The Damodarpur plate of Sam. 224 evidently belongs to (Kumāra) Gupta as proposed by Krishna Sastry in the E.I. Vol. XVII, p. 192 n. This will be supported by the plate of Mahārājādhirāja Buddhagupta found in the same locality Damodarpur (date unfortunately damaged) where the name of the Nagara-Śreṣṭhin is Ribhupāla. This Ribhupāla is again the Nagara-Śreṣṭhin in the Damodarpur plate of Mahārājādhirāja (Kumāra) Gupta dated Sam. 224. It seems Ribhupāla was appointed as the Nagara-Śreṣṭhin towards the close of Buddhagupta's reign and continued in this position till his grandson's reign in Sam. 224. Two other officers *prathama kulika Matidatta* and *Prathama kāyastha*, Skandapāla of Kumāragupta seems to be the sons of prathama kulika Baradatta and prathama kāyastha Viprapāla of Buddhagupta. It seems during the rule of Bālāditya's son Kumāragupta (II) the downfall of the Gupta power occurred. For, from Jaina evidence we learn that the Guptas ruled for 231 or 240 years. Hiuen Tsang says that after Bālāditya's son a king of Central India built another Sanghārāma at Nālandā.

This king will clearly be seen to be Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription dated in Mālava-gaṇa year 589=Vikrama Sam. 189 when Bālāditya was reigning.

From the Eran inscription of Budhagupta dated Sam. 165 we know that Mahārāja Mātṛiviṣṇu was his vassal there. But after Mātṛiviṣṇu's death we find his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu acknowledging the supremacy of Toramāna. The silver hemidrachms of Toramāna are minutely imitated from those of Budhagupta. Thus Budhagupta being a contemporary of Toramāna, Budhagupta's son (Narasimhagupta) Bālāditya was clearly a contemporary of (Toramāna's son) Mihirakula as stated by Hiuen Tsang. Thus Hiuen Tsang's statement that Mihirakula (and therefore Bālāditya, Vasubandhu etc.) flourished between A.D. 50 and 150 and also several centuries before Hieun Tsang, will now be found to be perfectly true.

In the Rājataranginī it is stated that twelve reigns intervened between Kaniṣka and Mihirakula. On an average of 15 years to each reign Watters places Mihirakula some 180 years after Kaniṣka. The inscriptions of Kaniṣka's reign range from Sam. 1 and the date of Yaśodharman who defeated Mihirakula being Mālavagaṇa year 589=Vikrama year 189 and also the date of the Eran inscription of Bhanugupta being Sam. 191, the statement in the Rājataranginī will now be found to be very accurate. Thus Mālavagaṇa year 589=Vikrama Sam. 189=A.D. 131 and also Sam. 191=A.D. 133; and we see that these dates are a few years before A.D. 150 and several centuries before Hiuen Tsang's time when Mihirakula, Bālāditya, Yaśodharman, Vasubandhu etc., flourished. Another tradition preserved in the Rājataranginī is to the effect that Toramāna forbade the currency of the coins with the name of Bāla (āditya) within his territory and largely circulated the *dināra* coined by himself. From this it follows that Budhagupta's contemporary Toramāna was for sometime contemporaneous with Budhagupta's son Narasimhagupta Bālāditya.

The coins of Kṛṣṇarāja of western Gupta fabric found in the Nasik district have been attributed to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja who flourished c.A.D. 375-400. The late Professor Rapson accepting Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era remarked: 'This attribution is, however, certainly incorrect, as this date is too early for the style of the coins, which are imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the locality'. (Indian Coins, p. 27). The date of the

latest Gupta coins (of Budhagupta and others) on Dr. Fleet's epoch is c.A.D. 500=Sam. 180. It has been shown conclusively that these Guptas flourished before A.D. 130=Sam. 188. Hence the attribution of the coins to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja will be found to be consistent with the date of the Gupta coins.

Hima Kadphises is supposed to have flourished immediately before Kaniṣka. Hima Kadphises was the first to issue the gold coinage which was continued by the Gupta Vikramādityas. The nameless king of certain coins uses a symbol characteristic of Hima Kadphises and on a unique coin published by General Cunningham there occurs a bust with two faces, and in front of the faces, the symbols of the Nameless King and Hima Kadphises which seem to show that Hima Kadphises was defeated by the Nameless King who is regarded by Von Gutschmid as an Indian prince. Gen. Cunningham also saw the feasibility of some such identification and suggested that the Kharoṣṭhi 'Vi' which occurs on many coins of the Nameless King might be an abbreviation of Vikramāditya. On this the late Prof. Rapson remarks: 'It must be pointed out, however, if any such identification of the Nameless King with Vikramāditya is possible, the Vikrama era which begins with 57 B.C. must be supposed to date from his birth.' (Indian Coins, p. 17). The late Prof. Rapson supposed Kaniṣka to be the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and as this was 135 years later than the epoch of the Vikrama era, he supposed 57 B.C. to be the date of Vikramāditya's birth. In any case, it being now definitely established that the Great Vikramāditya was no other than the Gupta Vikramāditya, the contemporaneity of Kaniṣka and Candragupta follows as clearly as possible.

The Gupta era being identical with the Vikrama era it follows clearly that Candragupta I, Samudragupta and Candragupta II and therefore their Court poet Kālidāsa flourished in the 1st Century B.C. This will be supported by the Bhitā medallion depicting a scene exclusive of the Abhijnāna Śakuntalam of Kālidāsa. Dr. Vogel and others state that the medallion must belong to the Śunga period (1st century B.C. but assuming no doubt it is much anterior to Kālidāsa and on that account the identification cannot be regarded as certain'. (!) (A.S.I.R. for 1909-10, p. 40).

The latest date proposed by historians for Hāla, the Andhra king is A.D. 50. Hāla mentions the magnanimity, benevolence etc., of Vikramāditya (Candragupta I) in his Gāthā-Saptaśati.

Hāla ruled for 5 years and his successor Mantalaka also ruled for 5 years. This Mantalaka was evidently the Mantarāja of Kaurāla mentioned by Samudragupta in his Allahabad inscription. Evidently after 5 years' reign, Hāla led a retired life. This Kaurāla seems to me to be the modern Kurnool district (compare, Vegi=Vengi). We know that the famous temple of Śree Śailam or Śree Parvata in the Kurnool district was built by the Sātavāhana king for Nāgārjuna. A story related in the Sthala-Māhātmya of the place says that the princess Candrāvati, a daughter of the Gupta king Candragupta conceived a passion for the god on the Śree Śaila and began offering a garland of jasmin-flowers to him." (Report of Epigraphy for 1914-15) quoted by Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil as a very precious piece of information). This shows that during Candragupta II's time Śree Parvata was a very famous place of pilgrimage. When Fa-hian visited India (A.D. 405-11) he could not visit the place, it having been turned into a desolate impassable region. Fa-hian says. "This land is barren and without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages....." This supports that Candragupta II, Nāgārjuna, and Nāgārjuna's younger contemporary Āryadeva, flourished long before Fa-hian in the 1st century A.D. and not during Fa-hian's time in the fifth century A.D. as follows from, Dr. Fleet's epoch.

When Fa-hian visited India he found Śrāvastī desolate peopled by only 200 huts. Whereas, during Candragupta II's reign Śrāvastī was the provincial capital and the seat of the Governor, showing clearly that the Guptas ruled long before A.D. 400, quite in keeping with the statement in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra translated into Chinese about A.D. 443 already discussed.

From Dr. Walleser's 'The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources' (reprint from 'Asia Major', Hirth anniversary volume) and from the late Sarat Chandra Dass (J.A.S.B. Vol. 51, pt. 1, 1882, p. 115) we learn that according to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of ancient Indian historians, Nāgārjuna was born...when the dynasty of Aśoka waned and gave place to that of the illustrious Candragupta, the first of the Candra (Gupta) family. Nāgārjuna is also stated by them to have been born a century before Candragupta. The late Sarat Chandra Dass tried to identify Candragupta with the Maurya king of that name and placed Nāgārjuna a century after him (i.e. in the 2nd century B.C.). Hence Dr. Walleser rightly remarks that the late Sarat Chandra Dass thereby alters his own information, for, after

the waning of Aśoka's dynasty during the reign of the illustrious Candra, the first of the Candra family shows clearly that it was during the reign of Candragupta I, the first monarch of the Gupta family that Nāgārjuna was born and this was about a century before Candragupta II (last date Sam. 93). Dr. Walleser rightly identified Candragupta with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty but as Nāgārjuna could not be placed so late as c.A.D. 319 (on Fleet's epoch), he placed Nāgārjuna a century before in about A.D. 200. I—Tsing states Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of Kaniṣka (Sam. 1-23). Another Indian Buddhist tradition places Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of Huviṣka (Sam 31-60). Again from Rev. S. Beal's "Succession of Buddhist Patriarchs" (compiled chiefly from Tārānātha's history of Buddha and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books I. A. Vol. IX, pp. 118-19), we know that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Vikramāditya—evidently Candragupta Vikramāditya. From Nāgārjuna's famous poem 'Suhṛillēkha' (letter to an intimate friend) addressed to the Sātavāhana king 'Ge-ta-ka' (seems to me to be 'Go-ta-mi') will now clearly be seen to have been addressed to Gautami putra Sātakarni who was ruling in Sam. 46 when he extirpated the dynasty of Nahapāna. As such Nāgārjuna was clearly a contemporary of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. The Tibetan Lāmā Sumpa-khan-po collected materials for his work 'Pag-sam-zon-jang' from ancient Tibetan works extant in China. In this work it is stated that while Candragupta was ruling in the Eastern country-Prācyā, Kaniṣka was ruling in the West towards Delhi and Malwa. From the Tibetan version of 'Mahārāja-Kanika-Lēkha' written by Aśyva ghoṣa to Kanika we get references of Āryadeva and Candragupta. Alberuni also states that the name of the Great Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. was Candra-bija, evidently Candra-Vīrya (=Vikrama) i.e. Candragupta Vikramāditya. The Udayagiri Amrita Cave inscriptions dated in Vikrama Sam 1093 records the restoration by Kanha of a dilapidated temple of Viṣṇu first built by Candragupta (of the Imperial Gupta dynasty) after which the reign of Vikramāditya (the Great) began. We know from Buddhist tradition that Āryadeva, the younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna was the Rector of Nālandā during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta (II Vikramāditya) (Sam. 60-93). Dr. Kern assuming the correctness of Dr. Fleet's epoch threw doubts on this statement. Śūra and Śāntideva were two pupils of Āryadeva. From the inscriptions of Guhasena of Valabhi (Sam. 240) we know that Bhaṭārka, the General of Skandagupta (Sam. 136, C. 155) erected a Vihāra and

presented it to Ācārya Śūra. We know from the Gunaighar inscription of Sam. 188 that Ācārya Śāntideva lived before this time. General Cunningham also in his *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM, INDICARUM*, Vol. I, p. 10 states: 'The inscriptions of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Pulumāyi clearly belong to the same period as the well-known Gupta inscriptions.'

The tradition of the origin of the Guhilots is that they descended from the last Śilāditya prince of the Valabhi dynasty. The last available date of a Śilāditya Mahārājādhirāja of Valabhi is Sam. 447=A.D. 767 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. But the earliest prince of the Guhila dynasty for whom a date has been obtained is Guhila Śilāditya and his date is Vikrama Samvat 703=A.D. 646. This Guhila Śilāditya was again five generations removed from Guhadatta, the founder. This takes Guhadatta to circa A.D. 546 and this date is (766-546, or) 220 years earlier than the last available date of a Śilāditya of Valabhi. This shows the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era which cannot be later than (320-220, or) 100 A.D. from this evidence alone.

Mahārājādhirāja Śilāditya III to Śilāditya VII of Valabhi ruled from Sam. 343 to 447=A.D. 662 to 766 on Fleet's epoch. But from the Kāthiāwār plate of Mahārājādhirāja Jaikadva of Saurāṣṭra we know that he was ruling in V.S. 794=A.D. 738. Thus Saurāṣṭra was independent even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power according to Dr. Fleet's theory which is impossible.

On Fleet's epoch the period of Valabhi's greatest power was from the middle of the 7th to the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. But the absence of any reference to the kingdom of Valabhi in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh and the eighth centuries show that Valabhi's greatest power was attained long before the seventh century.

The Kairā plate of the Gujerāt Cālukya Vijayarāja, grandson of Jayasimha is dated in K(-ulachuri) Sam. 394=A.D. 642. From this it has been concluded that Cālukya Jayasimha's dominions extended up to at least a part of North Gujerāt, and Jayasimha sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it. It is to be noted that the two Kairā grants of Gujerāt Sāmanta Dadda II Praśāntarāga dated K. Sam. 380 and 385=A.D. 628 and 633 relate to the gift to certain Brahmans to Jambusar many of whom again reappear in Vijayarāja's grant dated K. Sam. 394=A.D. 642 alluded to above. From the Aihole inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśi II dated Śaka 556=A.D.

634 we know that he conquered the countries of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara. Thus Gurjara Dadda II was a feudatory (Sāmanta) of Cālukya Pulakeśi II and his successors. This is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsang's statement that during his time (c.A.D. 636) Kairā, Anandapura and Surāṣṭra were appanages of Mālava and not of Valabhi. Whereas, on Fleet's epoch we find the Valabhi ruler Dhruvasena II Bālāditya who made conquests and spread the power of the Valabhi ruler over these countries at that time. His Nagawa plates dated Sam. 320 and 321=A.D. 639 and 640 on Dr. Fleet's epoch, recorded the grants of one hundred 'bhuktis of land in the district of Mālava (Mālavaka-bhukti). The newly discovered Virdi grant of the Valabhi ruler Kharagraha I, the father of Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, dated Sam. 297=A.D. 617 on Dr. Fleet's epoch, was issued from the camp at Ujjayini. Whereas the Abhona plate of Kalachuri Śankaragaṇa dated K. Sam. 347=A.D. 595 is issued from the victorious camp at Ujjayini. Śankaragaṇa's son Buddharāja's plate dated K. Sam. 360=A.D. 608 was issued from Vaidiśā (Bhilsā) and his Sarsavni plate dated K. Sam. 361=A.D. 609 was issued from Anandapura showing clearly the incorrectness of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era and that these Valabhi rulers flourished long before the 7th Century A.D. On palaeographic consideration also we find that the Valabhi plate characters differ from the characters in use in the Valabhi territory about the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D. which were the same from which Devanāgarī was derived. As Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji believed in Dr. Fleet's date of the Valabhi rulers, he remarked. 'The Valabhi plate character is adopted from that previously in use in south Gujerat plates which was taken from the south Indian character.' On this A.M.T. Jackson remarked. "The correctness of this inference seems open to question. The descent of the Valabhi plate character seems traceable from its natural local sources, Skandigupta (A.D. 450) and Rudradāman's (A.D. 150) Girnar inscriptions' (Bom Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 80 F.N.) The Valabhi character followed the Gupta character no doubt. But the question is if the date of the Valabhi plates range from the 6th to the 8th centuries on Fleet's epoch, how is it that it is different from the character then in use in the Valabhi country which was the immediate ancestor of Devanāgarī? There is no mention of Valabhi in any Cālukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Kalachuri or Gurjara inscriptions from the 6th to the 8th centuries except only in one Gurjara plate of Gurjara Jayabhata III dated K. Sam. 486=A.D. 735 (E.I. Vol. XXII and XXIII) where it is stated that Dadda I (K. Sam. 330 to C. 354=

Sam. 269 where it is stated that Ācārya bhadanta Sthiramati had a vihāra built by Dharasena's father Guhasena in C. Sam. 240 = A.D. 560 on Fleet's epoch. Ācārya Sthiramati's Introduction to Mahāyānism was translated into Chinese by A.D. 400. This, the evidence of the Gokak plate and various other pieces of evidence show conclusively the futility of trying to verify the astronomical details on Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era.

From what has been stated in brief before and from numerous other pieces of evidence, literary, epigraphic and numismatic from Indian, Chinese and Tibetan sources it will be seen conclusively that the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and that the Guptas began to rule from the 1st century B.C. and not from the fourth century A.D. as supposed by Dr. Fleet.

Geneological and Synchronistic tables for clearness are given in Appendices A and B.

NOTE.

Mookerjee's article makes an attempt to identify the Gupta era with that of Vikramasamvat or Vikramaditya era. He feels that a case is made out that 319-20 A.D. fails in respect of a number of the Gupta dates and therefore the Gupta era cannot be 319-20 A.D. If so, the question naturally would be, what is the actual date of the Gupta era? He attempts to make the Vikramasamvat, beginning B.C. 57 work correctly for the dates in the Gupta era.

In regard to this whole subject, the following points require to be settled:—

(1) What are all the Gupta dates which fail on the basis of 319-20 A.D. for the beginning of the era and for what reasons?

(2) Secondly, what are the Gupta dates of the Gupta era which agree with this starting point—319-20 A.D.

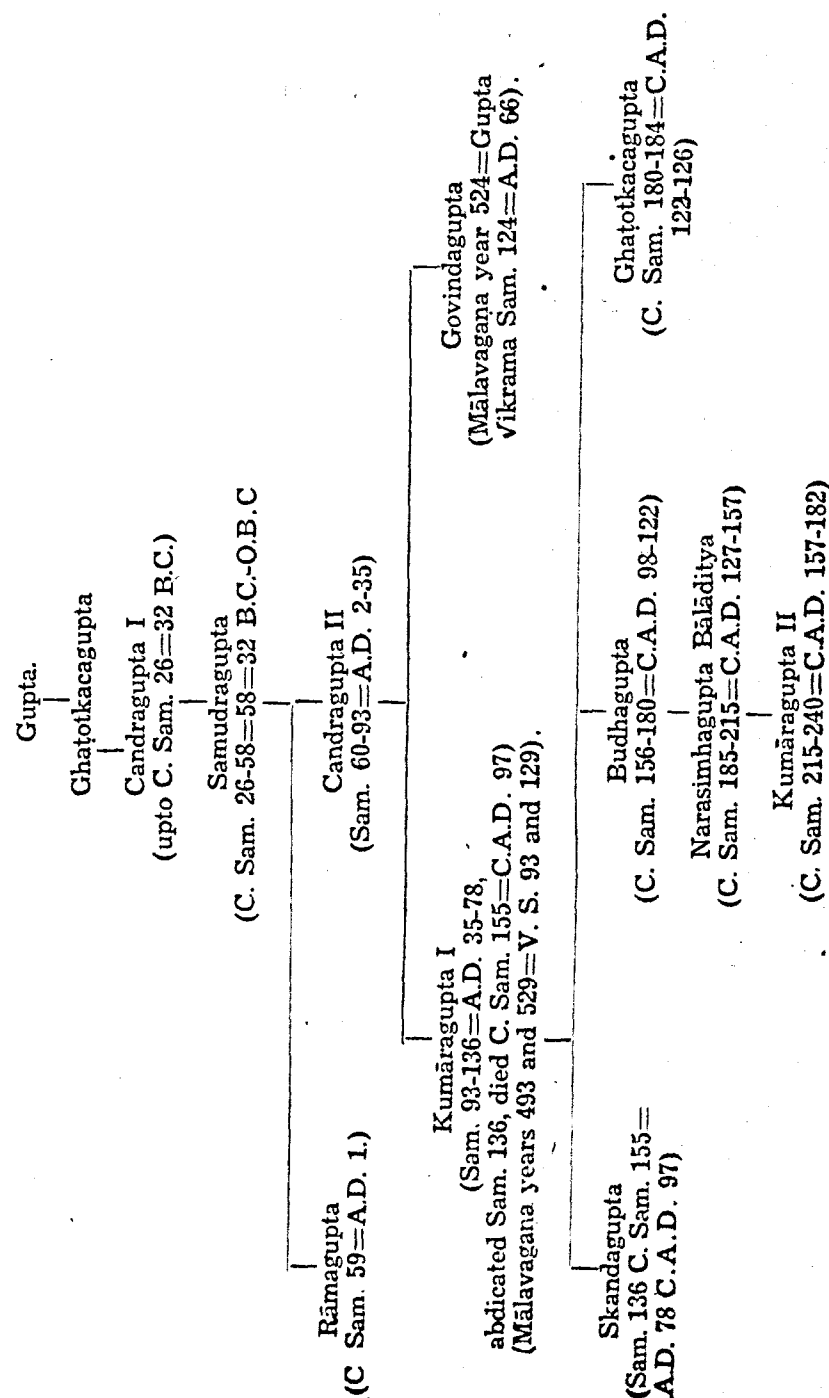
(3) Could all the dates containing astronomically verifiable dates be brought to agree with any other date for the beginning of the era?

(4) Will that date satisfy the conditions of the known Gupta dates with verifiable details and without?

A systematic investigation of these questions would require to be undertaken to fix a date for the Gupta era. Any contributions towards settlement of this question would be welcome.

—Editor J.I.H.

APPENDIX A. THE EARLY IMPERIAL GUPTA VIKRAMADITYAS



APPENDIX B

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

<i>Gupta monarchs. Kuṣāna and other rulers.</i>	<i>Buddhist ācāryas etc.</i>	<i>Andhra kings.</i>
Candragupta I (upto C. Sam. 26)	Kaniska (Sam. 1-23). Vasiṣka (Sam. 24-28)	Kālidāsa (Upto C. Sam. 70) Aśvaghoṣa (Upto C. Sam. 70) Nāgārjuna (Upto C. Sam. 108)
Samudragupta (C. Sam. 26-59)	Huviṣka (Sam. 28-60)	Hāla Mantalaka
Candragupta II (Sam. 60-93)	Kaniṣka II or Kanika (C. Sam. 41-73) Vāsudeva (Sam. 74-98)	Gautamiputra Śātakarni (Sam. 46)
Kumāragupta I (reigned Sam. 93-136, abdicated Sam. 136, died C. Sam. 155).		Āryadeva (C. Sam. 65-120)
Skandagupta (Sam. 136, C. Sam. 155).		Buddhamitra (C. Sam. 129-159)
Budhagupta (C. Sam. 157-180).	Toramāna (Śaka 52=A.D. 130=V.S. 188= Mālavagaṇa year 588)	Sūra (Upto C. Sam. 154) Śāntideva (before Sam. 188) Vasubandhu
Ghatotkacagupta (C. Sam. 180-184) Narasimhagupta (C. Sam. 185-215)	Mihirakula (C. Sam. 189-210) Yaśodharman (Mālavagaṇa year 589=V.S. 189)	Yajña Śrī Śāta karni (C. Sam. 190-13)
Kumāragupta II (C. Sam. 215-240)		

The Term Kusa or Kusana

By

BALJNATH PURI, M.A.,
Lucknow.

The term Kuṣa or Kuṣāna has for long been a subject of controversy among scholars. The controversy does not seem to have ended. Therefore we have to consider whether the term Kuṣāna is the adjective of Kuṣa which according to Baron A Von Stael Holstein¹ was the name of the family to which Kaniṣka and others belonged or Kuṣāna itself was the name of that family. In order to consider this subject in detail we shall have to take note of the different forms which the family name assumes in inscriptions coins or elsewhere. A consideration of all the forms may bring forth fruitful results. Let us therefore enumerate these forms.

I. Inscriptions. A *Kharoṣṭhī*.

1. Panjar Inscription: —Guṣana.²
2. Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription: —Kuṣanasa³
3. Manikiala Inscription: —Guṣanavasa.⁴

B. *Brāhmī*.

1. Mathura Stone Statue of Vamataksa-Kuṣānaputra.⁵

II. Coins. A *Greek legends*

Kujula Kadphises: — KOΠTOΛOY.

Kaniska and others: —KOPANO.⁷B. *Kharosthi legends*: —Kuṣana,⁸ Khuṣana.⁹

1. J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 79 ff.
2. C.I.I. Vol. II, pt. I. p. 67, ff.
3. Ibid, p. 70, ff.
4. Ibid, p. 145, ff.
5. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1911-12. p. 124
6. Whitehead, Cat. p. 179, No. 8.
7. Ibid, No. 53, 116, 209, 231.
8. Ibid, No. 8.
9. Ibid, No. 12.

III. In *Āśvaghōṣa's Sūtralankāra* which exists in a Chinese translation we find a phrase *Kusha chung chung yui wang ming chentankia ni cha* meaning that in the Kuṣa race there was a king (wang) called Devaputra Kaniṣka.¹⁰ It would be seen that here the term used is Kuṣa, and not Kuṣāṇa.

IV. In Dr. F. W. Thomas's translation of the *Mahārājakanikalekha* which has come down in a Tibetan version, *Āśvaghōsa* writes to Kaniṣka "Train yourself in the way of your people, born in the Kuṣa race. Do you impair not the household law of your ancestors."¹¹

V. In *Kalpanāmāṇḍitikā* of Kumārlata Kaniṣka is stated to be of the family (kula) of the Kuṣa—evidently Kuṣa.¹²

VI. In certain Tamil works of the 1st century A.D. there is a mention of a term Kosar which has been identified by Kanakasabhai Pillai in his book.¹³ "Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago" with Kuṣāṇa

From a perusal of the above list, it appears that there are two prominent forms namely Kuṣa and Kuṣāṇa. The *kusanaputros* or the descendants of the Kuṣāṇa formed a different dynasty. Here at present we are chiefly concerned with the consideration of the terms Kuṣa and Kuṣāṇa. The former is noticeable only in Tibetan and Chinese texts. In the inscriptions and coins, the name appears as Guṣāṇa or Kuṣāṇa or Khuṣāṇa, but it is now certain that the correct name of the family is Kuṣāṇa which is noticeable in the Mat inscription of Vamatakṣa. The question then naturally arises if the name of the family to which Kaniṣka and others belonged was Kuṣāṇa, how are we going to reconcile it with the Tibetan and Chinese texts where it appears as Kuṣa and not Kuṣāṇa? The answer to this question would be clear from the fact that in the course of the transmission of the name Kuṣāṇa the anusvāra some how found a

place. As such the name which was transmitted was Kuṣāṇa and not Kuṣāṇa. The anusvāra was a little perplexing to these commentators. Kuṣāṇaṃ was the genitive plural of Kuṣa and so the name of the family was Kuṣa and not Kuṣāṇa. Now it may here be asked how the genitive plural of Kuṣa could be Kuṣāṇaṃ and not Kuṣāṇaṃ? The answer to this question would be forthcoming if we pursue a Brāhmī inscription of that period. In the Anyor Bōdhisattva inscription¹⁴ we find in line 3. *Savastānaṃ* = *Sarvasatvānaṃ* while in line 4 we notice *Sapasthi-Vadinyanaṃ* = *Sarvāstivādīnāṃ*. Here we find two forms of the genitive plural viz. *nāṃ* and *nāṃ* in a single inscription which indicates that both could be used to convey the same meaning. As such there is nothing impossible in taking Kuṣāṇaṃ = Kuṣāṇaṃ as the genitive plural of Kuṣa. This necessarily explains why in certain texts we find Kuṣa as the family name and not the word Kuṣāṇa. The error is now detected and therefore the Baron's suggestion that Kuṣāṇa is the adjective of the family name Kuṣa is now out of question. Thus we have been able to explain why in Tibetan texts we find the family name Kuṣa and not Kuṣāṇa. It is now certain that the name of the family was kuṣāṇa, and not Kuṣa.

10. J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 86 and I.A. 1903, p. 385.

11. I.A. 1903, p. 356 No. 49.

12. Luders: Bruch Stuke der Kalpanāmāṇḍitikā der kumāralata leipzig 1926, (Sten Know's reference) C.I.I. PLXXV.

13. p. 50

14. Vogel: Cat. M.M. No. A 61

Oldest Indo-Aryan Cities

By

ATINDRA NATH BOSE.

Long before Aryan migration, the non-Aryan settlers of India specialised in city-building. Remains of their art are seen in Mohenjo-dāro and Harappa with characteristically modern amenities like masonry drains and regular streets and baths. The Aryans were primarily an agricultural and pastoral people but whether they had come or not from the cities of Mesopotamia and Iran, they might not have been strangers to city life. Without being good builders they could not possibly conquer the land from the original settlers who knew the use of fortified cities. Hence though Vedic and Brāhmanical culture are essentially rural, a natural consequence of the consolidation of the Aryan tribal system into large states and kingdoms was the growth from the village settlements into large cities planned on the same principles in which the different village units clustered around the royal palace or citadel. The Epics present a large number of cities in the reader's horizon, dotted all over northern India from Assam to Afghanistan. When Megasthenes visited India "the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision" (Arrian. X). The Indian tract alone subdued by Alexander is reported by his companions to have contained as many as 5000 towns, none less than Cos. (Pliny, VI. 17).¹

The Science Vāstu Vidyā and Śilpa-śāstra.

The science of town-planning is so ancient in India that its origin is lost in antiquity. The treatises on *vāstu-vidyā* and *śilpa-śāstra*, the *Mānasāra*, the *Mayamata*, the *Yuktikalpataru*, the *Devī-purāṇa* and works on political science like the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Sukranīti* all testify to its remote origin. The patronymic *Viśvakarmā*—the architect divine, apotheosised master-builders like Maya, Tvāṣṭar and Manu, the mythological genealogies attributed to

1. The list was probably compiled from hearsay including every township or defensive outpost raised to hold the surrounding area in check.

them,² the position of the master-builder as high-priest or sacrificial expert, all confirm the supposition.³ These and the position of the expounders of the science also prove that the social status of the civic architect was not low. The *Mayamata* avers that blue blood ran in his veins (*abhijātavān*)⁴

Treatment of the subject

The subject of town-planning is discussed under certain heads in the *Mānasāra* and the *Mayamata* which signify its perfection. These are (a) examination of soil (*bhūparikṣā*) (b) selections of site (*bhūmisaṃgraha*) (c) determination of directions (*dikpari-cheda*), (d) division of the grounds into squares (*padavinyāsa*) (e) the offerings (*balikarmavidhāna*) (f) planning of villages and towns (*grāmavinyāsa*, *nagaravinyāsa*) (g) buildings and their different stories (*bhūmividhāna*) (h) construction of gateways (*gopuravidhāna*) (i) construction of temples (*maṇḍapavidhāna*) (j) construction of royal palaces (*rājaveśmavidhāna*). It will be noted that the construction of *Dvārāvātī* under the direction of Kṛṣṇa answers to these plans and procedures (*Devip.*, *Viṣ.* p., Ch. 58).

Origin of cities from expansion of village

The towns generally grow out of villages. The plan of the Indo-Aryan town fairly reproduces on a grander scale the plan of the village. Thus the terms *gāma* and *nigama* are often indifferently used. The following story about the origin of the Kuru city of *Ikammāsadamma* is illuminating. "He (Bodhisatta) had a vast lake constructed near the Banyan tree and transported thither many families and founded a village. It grew into a big place supplied

2. *Viśvakarmāntrakāśa*, Ch. 1.

3. Some of the metal-workers and carpenters of South India still retain the epithet 'ācārya' as their caste distinction. See Havell: *Aryan Rule*, p. 128.

4. It is suggested that he descended in social estimation at least in the time of the *Mahābhārata* since Maya, the builder of Yudhiṣṭhira's council house is spoken of as a *dānava* being a non-Aryan; this possibly implies that the science having deteriorated among the Aryans there was a lack of competent experts among them. The supposition is far-fetched. The non-Aryans being more advanced in the technique an expert of their race might well be summoned in preference to one from the Aryan stock. See B. B. Dutt: *Town planning in ancient India*, p. 14.

with 80,000 shops. And starting from the farthest limits of its branches he levelled the ground about the roots of the tree and surrounded it with a balustrade furnished with arches and gates and the spirit of the tree was propitiated. And owing to the fact of the village having been settled on the spot where the ogre was converted, the place grew into the nigama of Kammāsadamma" (Jāt. V. 511). The difference between a *gāma* and a *nigama* is thus one of degree.

A self-contained village with a surrounding wall was not of course likely to undergo urban transformation. More possibly the cities grew out of several hamlets originally clustering around a market place.⁵ Or from the advantages of some natural resources,—a mine, a bed of flint, a layer of clay, a village might specialise in an art and acquire more than local importance.⁶ More frequently, villages on trade routes soon flourished as cities. The earliest Indo-Aryan settlements were planted on the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges which were the great arteries of commerce in Northern India. The riparian cities had moreover great advantage from military and sanitary points of view. Important connections of overland routes had more commercial facilities. Hence villages and towns are said to be situated on the cross-section of numerous paths and bye-paths (Dn. XIII. 10). The city of Taxila, it will be seen was favoured with all these advantages. Such a town with the additional favour of a sea-coast obtained the designation of *paṭṭana* or seaport which is defined as "a town abounding in articles imported from other islands alive with all classes of people, a land of commercial transactions in the shape of sale and purchase, replete with jewellery, precious stones, money, silk cloths, perfumery and the like, situated in the vicinity of a sea-coast."⁷ It is important to note that these littoral settlements are referred to as *pattanagāma* in the Jātakas carrying an older tradition. In course of time when

5. Cf. the cities of Saptagrāma or Sātgaon, Caturgrāma or Chittagong, Pentapolis or 'five cities' (Ptolemy, 2. 2). Mark also the suffixes in modern city names like Cox's Bazar, Bagerhat, Lalmanirhat, Narayangani, Raniganj etc.

6. Cf. Golconda with its diamonds, Agra with its marble works, Dacca with its silk and so on, and modern factory towns like Jamshedpur, Asansol etc.

7. Mayamatam. 10. 55-57. In popular parlance a river port also is *paṭṭana*. Jāt. I. 121.

they became full-fledged seaports serving as thriving outlets for foreign transactions, the *gāma* was dropped and they became cities *par excellence* (*panyapaṭṭana*; Arth. II. 16).

Sacred city and University town.

A divine sanctuary or a sage's nook sometimes became the nucleus of an urban settlement. With the ingress of pilgrims and students, shops and resthouses were in demand. Gradually a magnificent sacred city or university town came into being, possibly chosen later for the seat of government by secular authority.⁸

But Indo-Aryan cities like the Anglo-Saxon boroughs of old arose primarily out of a military necessity. To resist invasions or to consolidate conquests it was incumbent to build fortified outposts at important strategic points linking together the military roads maintained by the state. Because of constant internecine warfare, it was hard for a purely commercial town to exist. Hence every town was protected by walls fitted with watch towers and girdled with ditches. The gates were closed at night and sentries kept post throughout the day. In the Vedic literature the word for the city is 'pur' which means 'fort' or 'rampart'. In the Arthasāstra a city appears with the appellation of *durga* i.e., 'difficult to penetrate', fortified with strong defences and other arrangements to resist attack. Its description in the Brahmayajurveda purāṇa, Kāmandakiya Nītisāra and the Arthasāstra is strikingly like that of a military encampment. The city of Pāṭaliputra was originally built by Ajātasatru to resist the powerful Vajjis (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta). The city fort was surrounded by a number of suburbs (Jāt. VI. 330. f) where the kings and the high officials repaired when they wanted to take a pleasure jaunt.

Diverse types of cities

These different circumstances of their origin explain the diversity in character of Indian cities. There were *paṭṭanas* or sea ports. There were *nigamas* or market towns situated on trade-routes.⁹ There are *vikāras* or university towns, temple cities, forts with bastions and battlements termed *durga*. A medley of other names are given in the śilpa śāstras, viz. *nagara*, *rājadhānī*, *kheta*, *kharvaṭa*,

8. Cf. Kanchi and Taxila.

9. Literally, 'nigama' means a 'trade-route'.

śivira, *senāmukha*, *skandhāvāra*, *sthānīya*, *droṇamukha*, *kotmakolaka* and so on. The cities also varied in shape-square or rectangular, circular or elliptic, lotus-like or bow-shaped each having technical appellations for its variety, and each with its peculiar planning of streets and distribution of public places and buildings.¹⁰

The planned city, principles of planning

This apart, quite promiscuously, village settlements might out-grow their rural framework and attain to urban importance. Despite their natural growth, at certain stages they underwent the skill of a scheming technician. For example, to provide for increasing population and traffic, to improve the defences and broaden the streets, the ruler had to call for the civic engineer (*sthapati*). Besides there are detailed instructions laid down in the *śilpa śāstras* and concrete instances in other literature, of cities founded with a deliberate planning at the very inception. The rules for the guidance of the builder demanded the preparation of maps indicating density of population in different parts, allocation of sites for castes and professions, distribution of residential, business and industrial areas, of parks and squares with space. When improving or extending existing towns he has to make his project without violently dislocating the existing order and with a consideration for temples, buildings and water-works of importance. As soil specialist he has to survey the ground for its fertility, solidity and mineral resources; if the city is on river or on sea, he has to study the probability of deluvion or erosion. He has to survey general traffic, sewage and water-supply, strategic points of offence and defence, folks in the neighbourhood, trees and plants suitable for culture and verdal beautification and all possibilities for the sanitation and aesthetics of the city. This would meet the demands of current political concepts. The capital ought to have the advantages of the hills, plains and seas, command vegetable, animal and mineral resources and be a centre of quick commercial activity. It should be on river bank if not on sea shore, surrounded by walls (*prākāra*) and ditches (*parikhā*) with four gates in four directions, provided with wells, tanks and pools, good roads and parks in roads, and well-constructed taverns, temples and inns for travellers. (*Śukranīti*, I. 425-33). This is not an idealistic utopia but clearly recalls the numerous city descriptions given in Pali and Sanskrit works. Indian architecture

10. See Dutt: Town planning in Ancient India, Chs. VIII, XI.

further lays down technical instructions as to road-making, e.g. that they should be like the back of a tortoise, i.e. high in the middle and sloping towards the sides where they are provided with drains and that they should be regularly watered and gravelled and repaired every year (I. 531-537).¹¹

The real was not at all out of this standard. The layout of Indian cities from the far-off Śākala in the Punjab to the distant Campā in Anga is realistically set forth in popular stories with minute details.

"Just as the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, would first search out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, even with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough ground and rocks, not open to the danger of attack. And then when he has made plain any rough places there may still be on it, he would clear it thoroughly of all stumps and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine, and regular, measured out into suitable quarters, with trenches and ramparts thrown out around it, with strong gateways, watchtowers and battlements, with wide squares and open places and junctions (where two roads meet) with clean and even highroads, with regular lines of open shops, well-provided with parks and gardens and lakes and lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples to the gods, free from every fault. And in course of time that city might become mighty and prosperous, filled with stores of food, peaceful, glorious, happy, free from distress and calamity, the meeting place of all sorts and conditions of men. Nobles, Brāhmaṇas.....all these coming to take up their residence there, and finding the new city to be regular, faultless, perfect and pleasant...."

Yathā.....nagaravaḍḍhaki nagaraṃ māpetukāmo paṭhamam tāva samam anunnatam-anonataṃ asakkharapāsāṇaṃ nirupad-davam-anaṇḍam ramaṇīyaṃ bhūmibhāgaṃ anuviloketvā yaṃ tattha visamaṃ taṃ samam kārapetvā khāṇukaṇṭakaṃ visodhāpetvā tattha nagaraṃ māpeyya sobhanaṃ vibhattaṃ bhāgaso mitam ukkiṇṇa-parikhapākāraṃ dālha-gopur-aṭṭāla-kotṭakaṃ puthu-caccara-catukkasandhi-singhāṭakaṃ suci-samatala-rājamaggaṃ suvibhatta-antarāpaṇaṃ ārām-uyyāna-taṭṭāka-pokkha-

11. The necessity of watering roads and keeping them clear was fully realised. The streets of Ayodhyā were regularly watered. Dropping filth on the king's highroad is to be fined with 2 *kāśāpanas* and the filth immediately removed by the offender Manu, IX. 282.

raṇī-udapāna-sampannam bahuvidha-devatṭhāna-patimaṇḍitaṃ
sabba dosavirohitam. . . atha taṃ nagaram apareṇa samayena iddham
bhavyeṇa phitaṃ subhikkham khemaṃ samiddham sivam anitikaṃ
niruppadavaṃ nānājana samākulaṃ. taṃ nagaram vāsaya
upagatā nānāviśayino janā navaṃ suvibhattaṃ adosaṃ-anavajjam
ramaṇiyaṃ taṃ nagaram passitvā. . . (Mil. 330 f. Cf. 34, 1 f).

The city of Indraprastha laid out by Maya for the sons of Pāṇḍu, the city of Dvārāvātī reconstructed by Viśvakarmā under the orders of Śrī Kṛṣṇa are concrete instances of such planned cities which were no promiscuous growth. Another picture gives:

"Behold. . . . a city furnished with solid foundations and with many gateways and walls and with many pleasant spots where four roads meet. Pillars and trenches, bars and bolts, watch towers and gates.

"See various types of birds in the roads under the gateways

"See a marvellous city with grand walls, making the hairs stand erect with wonder, pleasant with banners upraised, and with its sands all of gold,—see the hermitages divided regularly in blocks, and the different houses and their yards, with streets and blind lanes between.

"Behold the drinking shops and taverns, the slaughter-house and cooks' shops and the harlots and wantons. . . . the garland-weavers, the washermen, the astrologers, the cloth merchants, the gold-workers, the jewellers.

"Crowds are gathered here of men and women, see the seats tiers beyond tiers. See the wrestlers and the crowd striking their doubled arms, see the strikers and the stricken. . . ." Jāt. VI. 276.

Municipal extension

The walls and ditches of the city with its belt of stately trees presented the town a solidarity and corporate entity and prevented the mushroom growth of clumsy outskirts about them. But these defensive works stood in the way of easy expansion. This might be one of the subsidiary reasons which led to the later exclusion of the untouchables and pariah outside the city gate. The commonest method of town extension, as in the case of Dvārāvātī, was to dismantle the old walls, fill up the moats and erect a new boundary. As this was expensive and laborious, sometimes a ward or sub-town

was built adjoining the wall of the main city which occasionally equalled in eminence or even eclipsed the original one. The city of Puri is supposed to have once possessed such a sub-town the ruins of which are still existing. Kāveripattinaṃ is said to have been originally divided into the two parts of Maruvur Pākkam and Pattina Pākkam.¹² Giribaja and Rājagaha probably offered a similar instance.

'Six great cities'

At the time of Buddha, the six great cities of India (that is to say, the provinces which are now the United Provinces and Bihar) enumerated in contrast to a *khuddakanagara* or *sākhanagara* were Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvātthi, Sāketa, Kosāmbi and Bārāṇasi which were in Ananda's estimation proper places to receive his Lord at the time of *nibhāna* (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

Campā

Campā was the capital of Anga, the country to the east of Magadha. Its site is discovered at modern Bhagalpur. It lost its independence to Magadha under Bimbisāra which appears to have never been regained. According to Hemchandra's Sthavirāvali and Paṇḍitaśāstra, after Bimbisāra's death Ajātasatru made Campā his capital but his son shifted to the newly built city of Pāṭaliputra (Canto VI). In the Anuśāsanaparva it is said that the city was surrounded by groves of Campaka trees (42). The Jātakas represent it as equipped with gates, watchtowers and walls (dvāraṭṭālaka-pākāra, VI. 32). Hieun Tsang witnessed these walls and the vestiges of the mound on which they stood are still existing surrounded by a ditch on three sides and by the Ganges in the north. It was a sacred place for both the Buddhists and the Jains. The Buddhist works mention an artificial lake excavated by Queen Gaggara with groves of Campaka trees on its bank where wandering monks used to reside in the time of Buddha. It appears as a flourishing city in the Jaina work Campaka-śreṣṭhi-kathā which enumerates among the castes and crafts of the town perfumers, spice-sellers, sugarcandy-sellers, jewellers, tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, washermen etc.¹³ In the Daśakumāracarita Campā is seen abounding in rogues.

12. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai: The Tamils 1800 years Ago. P. 24 f.

13. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri: Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

Rājagraha, modern Rajgīr was in Buddha's time not only the capital of Magadha but the spiritual metropolis of India. Innumerable folklore, personal reminiscences of Buddha and his faithfuls, and spiritual discourses are associated with this place in the canon. It comprised of the hill fortress of Giribbaja surrounded by five hills and the later town of Rajagaha proper built by Bimbisāra at its northern foot. According to the Mahābhārata the old Rājagṛha or Giribrajapura was ruled by the legendary king Jarāsandha (II. 21) who was killed by Bhīma in a hefty duel. The fortifications of Giribbaja and Rājagaha still extant, are 4½ and 3 miles respectively in circumference.

Sāvatti

Sāvatti, in Buddha's time was capital of Kosala under king Pasenadi. It is identified by Cunningham with Saheth-Maheth on the Nepal border on the banks of the Rapti then known as Acirāvati. It is traditionally associated with a great many Buddhist legends and folk-tales. Out of the 498 Jātakas, 416 are said to have been recounted by Buddha at this place. The famous lay devotee Anāthapiṇḍika hailed from here and here he purchased the Jetavana where a *vihāra* was built. As the birthplace of two Tirthankaras, the place was sacred to the Jains too as Candrikāpurī or Candrapurī. It was a great emporium whence caravans started with 500 cartloads of wares (Jāt. IV. 350).

Sāketa or Ayodhyā

Sāketa was another important Kosala city and sometime its capital (Mahāvastu, I. 348; Jāt. III. 270). Its site has been discovered in the Unao district of Oudh. Its identification with Ayodhyā is doubted by Rhys Davids, for both are mentioned as existing in Buddha's time. The present city of Ayodhyā is according to him at a corner of Sāketa. "They were possibly adjoining, like London and Westminster."¹⁴ But in the Rāmāyaṇa and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa Sāketa has been explicitly called the capital of king Daśaratha although that position is habitually attributed to Ayodhyā. The city must have had two names which were indiscriminately used both in Pali and Sanskrit.

14. Buddhist India, p. 39.

Ayodhyā is unimportant in the Pali canonical works and is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, it butts in with the full grandeur of a metropolis. Situated on the banks of the Sarayu, it was a well-fortified city, protected on the other sides by a deeply excavated moat kept continually filled with water, 12 *yojanas* in length and 3 *yojanas* in breadth. Daśaratha multiplied its habitations (*purim ābāsāyāmāsa*). The city had fine wide streets full of traffic, symmetrically arranged, regularly watered and occasionally strewn with full-bloomed flowers. It had massive gates, was intersected with small crossways (*subvibhaktāntarāpaṇam*), equipped with mechanical contrivances and arms (*sarvayantrāyudhavatā*), inhabited by all sorts of mechanics (*sarvaśilpi*) provided with dramatic parties (*bahūnāṭaka saṅghaiśca saṃyuktām*), fitted with parks and mango-gardens and encircled by a line of big Śāla trees. The fronts of its buildings were harmoniously arranged (*suniveśitaveśitaveśmāntā*). It was frequented by merchants from different countries and garnered with paddy and rice (I. 5, 9 ff). It had the auspicious shape of a bow, the string being along the river (Kālikā Purāṇa 84, 237 f).¹⁵ Śāketa is referred to as Sagoda by Ptolemy (2, 25).

Kosāmbi

Kosāmbi was capital of the Vatsas or Vamsas (Jāt. IV. 28; VI 236) on the Jamunā. Its king was Udayana whose elopement and marriage with Vāsavadattā the princess of Avantī form the theme of a dramatic legend. "It was the most important entrepôt for both goods and passengers coming to Kosala and Magada from the south and west."¹⁶

Bārāṇasi

Bārāṇasi, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gumti (Mbh. XIII. 30) was the capital of Kāśi which, at the time of Buddha formed part of the kingdom of Kōśala. It was a seat of Buddhist learning and philosophy, remains of which are scattered at Sarnath. But when Hiuen Tsang visited the city "there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combines to

15. In the Mānasāra and the Mayamata this design of a village or town is called Kārmuka.

16. Rhys Davids: Loc. Cit.

shade (the sites), while the pure streams of water encircle them". Like Taxila it later attained the fame of a university town. Although at the time when the Jātakas were composed it was a centre of learning of some standing (I. 436, 447, 463; III, 537) students had to travel all the way to Taxila from Benares for the higher courses of *sippas* and *vijjās*. At that time it was a great centre of industries (I. 98) and a big and prosperous city, 12 *yojanas* in extent (II, 402)—*pākāraparikkhepo dvādasayojaniko hoti, idaṃ assā antarabāhiraṃ pana tiyojanasatikarattṭhaṃ* (I. 125).

Vesāli

Ananda's list is far from exhaustive; and even in Buddha's time, in the Madhyadesa itself, the cradle of his faith, there were other cities which could claim rank with the aforesaid ones. Vesāli, the capital of the Vajjis, a powerful confederation of republican tribes was situated in the Muzaffarpur district (Basarh) on the left bank of the Gandak (Rām. I. 4). It is said to be three *yojanas* north of the Ganges and five *yojanas* from Rājagaha (Com. on Sut. II. 1). The Jātakas aver that in Buddha's time it was a highly prosperous city (*paramasobhaggapattam*) encompassed by a triple wall each a *yojana* distant from the next having three gates with watch-towers (I. 504). According to the Mahāvagga, "at that time (Buddha's), Vesāli was an opulent (*iddhā*), prosperous (*phitā*), populous (*Bahujanā*) town, crowded with people (*ākinna-manussā*), abundant with food (*subhikkhā*). There were 7707 storied buildings (*pāsāda*), 7707 pinnacled buildings (*kūṭāgāra*), 7707 pleasure grounds (*ārāma*), 7707 lotus ponds (*pokkharani*)" (VIII. 1). The prosperity was no doubt eclipsed by Pāṭaliputra when Ajātasatru annexed the land of the Vajjis to Magadha and built the new city to hold them under subjection.

Mithilā

In the same district of Muzaffarpur has been located the city of Mithilā (Janakpur) capital of Videha, said to have been seven *yojanas* in extent (circumference? *sattayojane mithilānagare* Jāt. III. 365. IV, 315. VI. 246). It was undoubtedly a big and opulent city, for at its four gates there were four *nighamas* or wards called the East Town (*pācinayavamajjhaka*), the South Town, the West Town and the North Town each inhabited by wealthy merchants (*setthi*, *anusethi*, VI. 330 f). In the Maha-ummagga Jātaka it is said that a king dug three moats round it, a water-moat, a mud-moat

and a dry-moat.¹⁷ The great Videhan king Janaka ruled in this city.

According to a long versical narrative, Mithilā was spacious and splendid (*visālam sabbatopabham*), divided into well-measured blocks (*vibhattam bhāgasō mitam*), having many walls and gates (*bahupākāratōraṇam*), strong towers and palaces (*dalhamattāla-kotthakam*), intersected by big roads (*suvibhattam mahāpatham*), laid out with shops at regular intervals (*suvibhattantarāpaṇam*), thick with traffic of carts and chariots (*gavāssarathapilitam* beautified with parks and gardens (*ārāmavanamālinim*) (Jāt. VI. 46 ff). The account of the Mahābhārata is closely similar. The city was ruled over by Janaka and "adorned with the flags of various guilds." It was "a beautiful town resounding with the noise of sacrifices and festivities", "furnished with splendid gateways, abounding with palatial residences." "Protected by walls on all sides, it had many splendid buildings to boast of. That delightful town was also filled with innumerable cars. Its streets and roads were many and well-laid and many of them were lined with shops. And it was full of horses and cars and elephants and warriors. And the citizens were all in health and joy and they were always engaged in festivities." (III. 206. 6-9).

Kapilavastu

Kapilavastu was the headquarters of the Sākya another republican tribe, and the birth-place of Buddha. It comprised of several villages or wards of which one was Lummini, where Buddha was born and which is identified with Rummindei where Asoka's Pillar Edict records the commutation of bali and reduction of bhāga to 1/8 for the villagers, Kapilavastu is located in Gorackpur district on the border of Nepal and the United Provinces from archeological discoveries and from the distances given from other known places; viz. 60 *yojanas* from Rājagaha, 50 from Sāvatti, and so on. It had a central mote-hall (*Santāgāra*) where deliberations and administrative business were carried on.¹⁸

Ujjeni

Ujjeni or Ujjainī, the Ozene of the Periplus, was the capital of Avanti, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus ruled in the

17. The Arthasāstra enjoins three ditches round a city (II. 3). The Devi Purāṇa says that the number should be according to the requirements of the ground (72. 28).

18. For the legendary origin of Kapilavastu. See S. Hardy: Manual, pp. 123, ff.

time of Buddha and Bimbisāra by Caṇḍa Pajjota whose son Vidudhaba massacred the Sākyaas at Kapilavastu for deceitfully giving a slave girl in marriage to his father. Under the Maurya administration, this was provincial headquarters. Ptolemy notes that it was the capital of Tiastenes (Chastana). The famous Vikramāditya having expelled the Scythians and established his power over the greater part of India made this city his capital. At the time of the Periplus, it was an important mart linking the northern countries to the sea-port of Barygaza. Fa-hien refers to it as a flourishing university town.

Takṣaśilā

Takṣaśilā (Pali-Takkhasilā), the reputed centre of Brāhmaṇical learning flourished much earlier from the time of Buddha. It is profusely referred to in the Pali canonical literature and men of eminence like Pāṇini the grammarian, Jivaka the physician and Cānakya the politician, claimed this as their alma mater. The foundation of the city is ascribed by the Rāmāyaṇa to Bharata who is said to have placed his son Takṣa as king there (VII. 114, 201).¹⁹ Literally the word means "hewn stone" and Wilson thinks that the city might have been built of stone instead of brick or mud as were most other cities of India. Presumably it grew to be the capital of Gandhāra (Jāt. I. 217). Its king *Omphis* submitted to Alexander when he invaded it. Under the Mauryas it remained a viceregal centre, a large city and governed by good laws (Str. XV. i. 28). After them it was successively the capital of the Bactrian, Saka and Pahlava kings. Arrian describes the city as great and wealthy (V. 8) and as the most populous that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes. Strabo tells the same thing and with Hiuen Tsang praises the fertility of its soil (XV. i. 17, 28). The latter notices its springs and watercourses which account for this fertility. Pliny calls it a famous city, and states that it was situated on a level where the hills sunk down into the plains. Near the middle of the 1st century A.D. Appollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis are reported to have visited it and Philostratos the biographer described it as being about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city and the residence of a sovereign. The city was "divided into narrow streets with great regularity" reminding the travellers of Athens. There was also a garden, a stadium along with a tank in

19. According to Buddhist legends the name is derived from the celebrated head offering by Buddha (takka-sira).

the midst filled with cool and refreshing streams. Outside the wall was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine round which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Poros (Priaulx's Appollon, pp. 13 ff).

Its Natural Advantages

The valley in which the remains of Taxila lie, is a singularly pleasant one, well-watered by the Haro river and its tributaries, and protected by a girdle of hills; on the north and east by the snow-mountains of Hazra and the Muree ridge, on the south and west by the well-known Margalla spur and other lower eminences. "This position on the great trade-route which used to connect Hindustan with Central and Western Asia, coupled with the strength of its natural defences, the fertility of the soil, and a constant supply of good water, readily accounts for the importance of the city in early times."²⁰

Its Ruins and Plan

The remains of the city are distributed into three distinct sites within three and half miles of each other, viz. Bhir mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh. This fact characteristic of many other ancient towns reveals important socio-political developments. Firstly, there was the need of expansion of old towns and the convenient way was to start with a suburban townlet adjoining the borders than to expand by demolishing old parapets and dumping up the ditches. But the change was more often brought about by military than by civic requirements. Many of the oldest cities were moving camps of kings; and the site from which a king shifted became a deserted city. For a conqueror to use this as capital was against the rules of politics apparently because its ins and outs were known to enemy agents. Hence he had to found his own capital which was conveniently done at the neighbourhood of the old site.

These ruins also afford a clear glimpse into the old city plan. "The city of Sirkap shows several large blocks of dwellings, separated one from the other by narrow side streets.... The unit of their design is the open quadrangle surrounded by chambers (catuṣśātā) and this unit is repeated two, three or four times according to the amount of accommodation required by the occu-

20. Marshall: Guide to Taxila, pp. 1 f.

pants, the small rooms fronting on the streets being usually reserved for shops. The walls were constructed either of rough rubble or diaper masonry.²¹ About its construction and material prosperity, the Rāmāyaṇa writes that the twin cities of Taxila and Puskalāvati were rich in treasures and embellished with gardens; characterised by intensive commerce, great concourse of people, shops, symmetrically arranged in rows on both sides of the main thoroughfares; beautified with splendid shrines and massive trees; so that it took five years to build the cities (VII. 114).

Puskalāvati

Like Taxila, the city of Puskalāvati or Puṣkarāvati is claimed to have been founded by Bharata and placed under the rule of his son Puṣkala.²² It was the western capital of Gandhāra. It is placed in the district of Charsadda on the river now called Landai which Alexander crossed by constructing a bridge (Str. XV. i. 27). He besieged and reduced the city and set up his protégé there (Arrian, Anab. IV. 22). It stood on important trade routes from Bactria to Barygaza (Peri. 47) and to Pāṭaliputra. The city is also noticed by Ptolemy (I. 44) and by Arrian as a very large and populous city (Indica, I.).

Kampilla

Kampilla, (Kampil in Farukhabad district) was the capital of the northern Pañcālas on the northern bank of the Ganges (Jat. V. 98). In the Mahābhārata however it appears on the bank of the Ganges but as the capital of south Pañcāla, which became the seat of king Drupada after he was defeated by Droṇa's pupils (I. 138. 73 f) while Ahicchatra (in Rohilkhand) was capital of north Pañcāla.

Dantapura

Dantapura is referred to as capital of Kalinga (Jāt. II. 367, IV. 230; Dn. II. 235; Mah. III. 361). It is the same as Pliny's Dandaguda, the town of the Calingoe. Tradition ascribes the name to the tooth relic of Buddha preserved there. This was obviously a later ascription after the name was already in vogue from some other

21. Ibid, pp. 70 f.

22. The historicity of these two eponymous heroes is doubtful. As Taxila may well have owed its name to its stone-built houses, so Puskalāvati may have been so named due to its attractive lotus-ponds

origin.²³ The name may have been derived from the elephant tusk or ivory for which Kalinga was famous (Arth. I. 2). The city has been identified by Cunningham with Rājamahendri, and by others with Puri. It may more plausibly be placed at Dantan on the Kasai in Midnapore district. At the time of Khāravela the capital was removed farther south where the new city of Kalinga (Mukhalīgam and adjacent ruins in the Ganjam district) was built and a settlement of 100 masons was created free from revenue, obviously for further beautification of the city (Hathigumpha In.)

Mathurā

Mathurā (a little south of modern Mathurā) on the Jumna, the capital of the Śūrasenas was the reputed birth place of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his juvenile adventures. In Buddha's time it is barely mentioned while in the Milinda it is reported to be one of the famous places in India (331). Hence "the time of its greatest growth must have been between these dates."²⁴ Pliny knows the city. Arrian knows it as a great city and Ptolemy as 'the city of the gods'. This is a cogent observation for under the Kuṣāṇas it became the seat of Jaina religion and learning and dotted with numerous sculptures and votive inscriptions. The Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa records that Śatrughna founded it after slaying Lavaṇa, that it stood on the Jamunā the shape of a half-moon,²⁵ that its land was fertile and productive, that its shops teemed with merchandise, that its buildings were reconstructed and parks and squares laid out and that it flourished with brisk business transactions carried out by merchants from different countries (83. 9 ff).²⁶ The Harivaṃsa confirms the same report stating that it was like a half-moon along the Jamunā, that it was rich in gardens and groves (udyānavana-sampanna) and decorated with ramparts and turrets (chayāṭṭālaka keyūrah) (Viṣṇuparva, Ch. 54.) "It was sufficiently famous for the other Madhurā in Tinnevely first mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa to be named after it".²⁷

23. Cf. how under the influence of Buddhist legends Takṣaśilā (hewn rock) became Takṣaśira (severed head) and Adicheatra (Adi's parasol) became Ahicchatra (parasol of snake's hood).

24. Rhys Davids: Buddhist India.

25. Cf. Ayodhyā and the Kārmuka design. Ardhacandra is not crescent.

26. The Jains thus appear as a mercantile community even in the early Christian centuries.

27. Rhys Davids: Buddhist India.

Dwāarakā

Dwāarakā or Dvārāvati said in the Mahābhārata to have been founded by Śrī Kṛṣṇa by renovation of the old sea-coast city of Kuśāsthali is perhaps of later growth like Mathurā. Yule and Lassen have identified this with the Baraca of the Periplus and Barakē of Ptolemy (I. 94) on the tip of the Kathiawad Peninsula the gulf whereof was very difficult for navigation (40). The Hari-vamśa describes the construction of the city in great detail. When Śrī Kṛṣṇa communicated his plan to the chief architect Viśwakarmā, he suggested a further extension for the accommodation of the citizens. Śrī Kṛṣṇa proceeded with his own and realised his error after a few years. A new scheme was initiated and the municipal area extended to 12 *yojanas* × 8 *yojanas*. Old walls were dismantled and old ditches dumped. The surrounding area was cleared and prepared for the extension. Śrī Kṛṣṇa gave instructions that building plots were to be properly spaced, triangular and quadrangular 'islands' were to be created on the crossways and other suitable spots; the main thoroughfares were to be measured up, the orientation of buildings ascertained. Thus ordered, the Yādavas selected the site, measured up the boundary lines, divided the plots and on an auspicious day made offerings to the presiding deities of the *vāstu*. Then Kṛṣṇa reiterated his instructions and laid special streets on the establishment of temples. The orders were carried out and special sites reserved for trees. The original city had its traffic mainly through lanes and bye-lanes (*rathya koṭisahasrādhyā*). In the enlarged city there were eight main roads—four latitudinal, four longitudinal surrounded by a boulevard. Sixteen public squares were erected at the sixteen cross-sections.²⁸ The city was bedecked with reservoirs of pure water, troughs and sheds for drinking water, parks, orchards and gardens. Fortifications were built and ditches excavated around which looked as wide and deep as the river Ganges. Defensive weapons and missiles were stored in large numbers (*Viṣṇuparva*, Chs. 53, 98).

The veracity of these minute details may be doubted with regard to the city of Dwāarakā, but by no means with regard to the general principles of town-planning. The building of the Kuru

28. Thus Dvārāvati had six longitudinal streets including the boulevard while Calcutta can boast of at most five:—viz., Circular Road, College-Wellesley Street, Chitpore-Chowringhee Road, Strand Road.

township of Kammāsadamma as described in the Jātaka story and already quoted, reflects the same principles in their original and nebulous form. The *śilpa śāstras* develop the same principles into a civic science and the builders of an age of progressive urbanisation gave effect to them with ingenious additions to meet the military, economic, religious, sanitary and aesthetic requirements of the times. Such radical reconstructions as described in the *Harivamśa* and in the theoretical works also presuppose a large control on private owners, more extensive than any modern improvement trust can boast of. No private interest was allowed to stand on the way against what was conceived as a public necessity.²⁹

Indraprastha

As Dwāarakā was built by the divine architect Viśwakarma under the orders of king Śrī Kṛṣṇa, so the city of Indraprastha was constructed by the demon Maya at the requisition of king Yudhiṣṭhira. At the site cleared by the conflagration of the Khāṇḍava forest, on the banks of the Jamunā arose the stately city defended with sea-like ditches and sky-scraping parapets and adorned with gates, towers and palatial buildings. There was a fine layout of large thoroughfares. There were magnificent houses, pleasant retreats, fine museums, artificial hills, numerous tanks brimming with water, beautiful lakes fragrant with lilies and lotuses, and lovely with varieties of birds, many charming parks and gardens with tanks at the centres and numberless fine ponds (*Mbh.* I. 217). Ptolemy notices this city as Indabara (I. 49).

Sāgala

Sāgala or Śākala identified by Fleet with modern Sialkot in the Lahore division is said to have been the capital of Madra (*Jāt.* IV. 230). It was ruled over by the Madra king Śalya, the brother of Pāṇḍu's wife who participated in the Bhārata war (*Mbh.* II. 32). It was also ruled over by king Āśvapati, father of Sāvitrī (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 206). Cunningham says that it was Alexander's Sangala which is known to have offered him stout resistance, although the position disagrees with that assigned by Alexander's

29. The *Sukraniti* says that private ownership should not be allowed in towns. Plots of ground were allotted to persons during their life-time only for laying out gardens and erecting houses thereon. Ch. II. LL. 421-24.

historians.³⁰ It was the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after this expedition from Bactria and of his successors down to Dionysius. It is referred to as Euthydemia by Ptolemy (I. 46). It undoubtedly rose to the acme of its glory under king Menander. The *Milindapañho* opens with a full-throated description of the Yona city which substantially recalls the picture of *Dvārakā* and elaborates upon those of *Vesāli*, *Indraprastha* and other cities.

Pāṭaliputra.

With the city of *Pāṭaliputra* we pass the quicksands of legends and folklore and tread on firmer historical ground. The stages of its evolution are not shrouded in the midst of Epic and Purāṇic traditions. In the earlier Pali literature, supposed to be contemporary of Buddha, it is referred to as *Pāṭaligāma*. But it had great strategic and commercial value, situated as it was on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son (*Erannoboas* or *Hiranyavahā*) one of its largest tributaries. It was near to the land of the *Vajjis* whose capital *Vesāli* was conquered by *Ajātasatru*. Hence the Magadhan king deputed his astute ministers *Sunīdha* and *Vassakāra* to convert it into a fort in order to hold the *Vajjis* in check (*Mv.* VI 28; *Jātakas*). His successor *Udaiyin* removed from *Rājagṛha* to this new city. Thenceforth *Pāṭaliputra* remained the holder of imperial tradition under the successive dynasties of *Śaisunāga*, *Nanda*, *Maurya*, *Sunga*, *Kaṇha*, *Andhra* and the *Gupta*. After the *Guptas* *Kanauj* competed with it and finally it was completely overshadowed by the parvenu. When *Fa-hien* visited it, it was still like "the work of genii beyond the power of human skill." But in *Hsien Tsang's* time all that remained of the splendid metropolis were heaps of debris and an insignificant village consisting of about 200 or 300 miserable houses. The city thus, after a shining career of roughly 900 years sank within a century to the oblivion from which it arose in the brief space of a few decades.

According to *Megasthenes*, *Palibothra* was the greatest city in India, the shape of a parallelogram, 80 stadia along the river and 15 stadia in breadth, encompassed with a wooden wall (the remains of which have been unearthed and preserved), pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows, crowned with 570 towers and 64 gates which was surrounded by a ditch 600 feet wide and 45 feet deep for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The royal

30. Arrian and Curtius have noted that this was to the east of the Ravi whereas *Sākala* according to the *Kaṇva-parvā* was to its west.

palace situated in the centre, surpassed the splendour of *Susa* and *Ecbatana* (*Str.* XV. i. 35 f, *Arrian* 10). Obviously it attracted from all northern India its overland and riverborne trade. It is recorded from the mouth of Buddha that as far as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, *Pāṭaliputra* will be the premier city, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares (*yāvatā Ānanda, āryaṃ āyatanam yāvatā vanippatho idaṃ agganagarin bhavissati Pāṭaliputtam puṭabhedanam*, *Dn.* XVI. i. 28). The 'prophecy' was evidently interpolated in a day when *Pāṭaliputra* was no longer a fishing village but the unrivalled metropolis of *Magadha*.

Tosali

Tosali has been decisively located with the finding of the name in the *Aśoka* inscriptions on the *Dhaul* rock. Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of the monument and it is almost certain now that this was *Aśoka's* capital in the province of *Orissa*. It probably continued to be so till the time of *Ptolemy* who called it a metropolis, but wrongly placed it to the east of the *Ganges* thus misleading *Lassen* to locate it somewhere in the province of *Dhakkā*. The city stood on the margin of a pool called *Kosala-Gangā* and probably hence the compound *Tosala-Kosalakas* in the *Brahmaṇḍa-Purāṇa* (*Ch.* 51) as suggested by *Wilford*.

Śrinagarī

Kalhāna the chronicler of *Kashmir* says that the city of *Śrinagarī* in *Kashmir* was built by *Aśoka* which was most important on account of its 96 lacs of houses resplendent with wealth (*Rāj.* I. 104). *Cunningham* identifies this with the present village of *Pandresthān* (*Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* or old capital) on the right bank of the *Vitastā* some 3 miles above modern *Srinagar*.³¹

Kānyakubja

Kānyakubja or *Kanauj* was a leading city in *Pañcāla* during the period of early Buddhism. According to *Rhys Davids* it was the capital of the second or southern *Pañcāla*.³² Its remains have been traced 65 miles W.N.W. from *Lucknow*. It is referred to by *Ptolemy* as *Kanogiza* on the course of the *Ganges* (2.22) and as *Kanagorā* in *Prasiakē* (I. 53). It is mentioned in *Patañjali*, the

31. For discussion on *Cunningham's* views see *Stein's* note on *Rāj.* I. 104, translation.

32. *Buddhist India*.

Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the last recounting the Paurāṇic story that Vāyu transformed here the 99 daughters (kanyā) of its king Kuśanābha into hunchbacks (kubjas) for scorning him.

Nālandā

Nālandā, of which the relics have been discovered in the village of Bargaon, 7 miles to the north-west of Rajgir is referred to in the Majjhima as a stronghold of the Jainas or Niganthas, a rich and populous city (iddhā, phitā, bahujanā, ākiṇṇamanussā). From the ruins it appears to have been surrounded with noble tanks on all sides. It is actually described as a suburb of Rājagṛha (Kalpasutra, p. 122), it apparently did not flourish until about the beginning of the Christian era.³³ It is not known from when dates its rise as the foremost university town in the East taking the mantle from Taxila as we find in the records of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing.

Paṭala

Paṭala, says Arrian, was situated at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. This indication would have sufficed for its identification but for the fact that the river very often changed its course shifting its point of bifurcation. Arrian says that Paṭala was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouth of the Indus. It figures conspicuously in the history of the Macedonian invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for his fleet which had descended the Indus. Seeing its fine commercial and strategical situation he strengthened it with a citadel, and made it a military centre for controlling the warlike tribes in its neighbourhood. In Sanskrit Paṭala means 'the trumpet flower' and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have derived its name from its resemblance to the shape of a flower.

The small cities

As opposed to these opulent cities were several little suburb towns beset with jungle (khuddakanagaraka, sākhānagaraka, ujjam-galanagaraka) like Kusinārā the city of the Mallas unfit as a place where the holy Buddha could attain nirvāṇa. Similar were the Malla townships of Pāvā and Anupiyā, Kīṭāgiri of Kāsi, Koli,

33. Bālāditya who lived at the end of the first century A.D. is reported to have built the great temple at Nālandā. Rajendralala Mitra: *Buddha Gaya*, p. 247.

Sajjanala and Haliddavasana of the Koliyas, Āpana of Angā, Hamsavati near the Sākya and Thullakoṭṭhika near the Kuru country.

Sea-ports

Apart from these inland cities there were seaports or *paṭṭanas* whose main importance was commercial and which served as gates to India's seaborne trade. Although the major part of India's foreign trade was diverted to the extensive seaboard of the south, the coasts of Bengal, Orissa, Kathiawad and Sind had their ports which exchanged cargo with all countries from Rome to Java and Cambodia. One of the earliest of these was Roruka later known as Roruva, the capital of Sovira (Jāt. III. 470; Dn. II. 235; Div. P. 544). It is not exactly located but must have been somewhere on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Cutch. It has been identified by some with Ophir or Sophir where Solomon's vessels had traded. Caravans arrived here from all parts of India including Magadha. Bhārukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha or Barygaza of the Greeks was on the site of modern Broach the seaport of the kingdom of Bhāru (Jāt. IV. 137) which may have flourished after the waning of Roruka out of importance (Div. pp. 544 ff). Surpāraka was the capital of Aparānta or Northern Konkan.³⁴ It has been satisfactorily identified with the Ophir to which Solomon sent his ships hired from the Tyrians. Supārā had such a coastal situation that western traders crossing the ocean under the monsoon would naturally direct their course thither. The name Supārā is almost identical with that of Ophir when it takes an initial 'S' becoming Sophara as in the Septuagint and Sofir which is the Coptic name for India.³⁵ Bhārukaccha and Suppāraka were the great ports of the Andhras and Sātavāhanas and contributed to their phenomenal wealth. The Periplus refers to another seaport on the western coast, viz. Barbaricum (Barberei—Ptolemy I. 60), the port of the Scythian metropolis of Paṭala and Minnagara (38) or, according to Sanskrit, of Barbara country. It also refers to the great eastern emporium of Tāmralipta (modern Tamruk) situated at the mouth of the Ganges. It is also mentioned by Ptolemy (Tamalitēs, 1, 73) and in the

34. R. G. Bhandarkar: *History of the Deccan*, III. p. 9.

35. Many biblical authorities locate Ophir on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, the Indian names for the products showing only that the place was a trading centre with India.

Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. From this port Vijaya is said to have sailed for and conquered Ceylon.

So far for the Indian cities known over the globe for their phenomenal wealth and luxury all of which have sunk down to non-entity and some to oblivion with amazing rapidity leaving behind nothing but the name and dilapidated bricks to recall their glory. The list is far from comprehensive for our space and period. It is impossible to disentangle the identity and origin of the innumerable cities from their mythic cobwebs. But the foregoing account may help to give a general picture of cities of which there is a marked uniformity over the differences of time and place, and of the various conditions of their development, viz. military, demographic, industrial and commercial. The city architecture also brings forth the social life of town-dwellers. The richer people, the military and mercantile magnates resorted to cities in large numbers and at their behests the artists poured their skill on public buildings to give expression to the happy life, the traditions and ideals of their masters. They decorated the temples, *stupas* and caves with relief sculptures presenting pictorially the soul-stirring episodes from the career of Rāma, Buddha, Hanumat, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Viṣṇu and other divine or sacred lives. The epics, legends and folklores of the land were an inexhaustible store of material for these artistic, religious and martial expressions. These impulses combined with the national ideal which, blazoned forth from the public buildings inculcated humanising and ennobling sentiments. The mute walls and colonnades of these buildings were thus great educative agents disseminating national culture. Besides being the nurseries of corporate ideals and military and artistic endeavours Indian cities were great schools of nationalism in its most liberal and comprehensive sense. It was this characteristic which gave a peculiar stamp to Indian civic life and gave Indian cities its distinctive mark of individuality which evoked the wonder and admiration of their visitors.

Bhaktisara Yogi and his Philosophy of Religion or Alvar of Tirumalisai (Mahisasurapuri)

By

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I

Bhaktisāra is the fourth ālvār amongst the Śrī Vaiṣṇava saints. He is said to have been born of Bhārgava and Kanakāṅgi, an apsaras woman, in a forest near Mahiṣāsūrapuri. The traditional date is about 4203 B.C.¹ Having been left in the forest by his parents no sooner than born, he was picked up by a childless cowherd and taken home and brought up amidst cowherds. He possessed from his very birth freedom from desire for food. His foster-father went and consulted a śūdra sage nearby who divining that the child was a great soul prayed to it and offered milk. The child drank the milk and asked his foster-mother to drink the remaining milk, saying that that would make her beget a child. A child was born to them in due time and was named Kaṇikāṇṇa. For seven years Bhaktisāra did not partake of any food. At the end of this period he left the home of his foster-parent on pilgrimage to holy shrines. He practised Yoga, and in his wanderings he came across all types of religious and philosophical schools such as Śākva, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Kāpila and Pātanjālā and Kapāla. After a thousand years, says the tradition, he discovered Śiva to be the Final Object (*para-tattva*). He became a chief exponent of Śiva-theosophy and later he entered upon a vow of silence (*mauna-vrata*). Peyālvār (the third saint of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas) coming to know of Bhaktisāra as a great philosopher and yogi, came over to where he was, intent upon correcting him. But he found Bhaktisāra observing *māuna* or silence, and would not enter upon any philosophic discussion. He thereupon hit upon a plan. He set a small garden-plot just in the sight of the ālvār's residence. In it he planted seedlings, but with their roots in the air and the leaves underground. He then proceeded to water these

1. Ancient India and South Indian Culture: Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Vol. II. p. 734, O.B.A. 74. Poona, 1941.

inverted seedlings with the help of a pot which had so many holes, that water never remained to reach the plot.

Looking at this absurd procedure, Tirumaliśai, the silent, burst into a laughter exclaiming what a fool! Peyālvār immediately retorted "Who is the fool? Not I but you". Thus started a long argument about the wisdom of the one or the other, and finally the superiority of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa was accepted by Bhaktisāra, whom he found or saw has been declared by the scriptures to be the First Cause of all, including Rudra or Śankara who happens to be the grand-son of Nārāyaṇa.² It is as a result of this that Bhaktisāra composed the *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi*. It is also said that Peyālvār taught him all the sacred and secret lore of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. We find that Bhaktisāra became the philosophical exponent of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava doctrines through his *Tirucchanda Viruttam*, wherein we find for the first time in the Ālvār-literature a mention about the Pāñcarātra doctrine of the *vyūhas*.

Tirumaliśai ālvār was always a yogi and his practices towards realization of Nārāyaṇa were so complete that he could say that he knew Him better than any one else and completely. His austere and total surrender to Nārāyaṇa was so complete that he did not permit even a shadow of Śiva, his own previous object of adoration, to fall on him. There is a story, amusing indeed, about his exclusive devotion to Nārāyaṇa. Once when Bhaktisāra was meditating on Nārāyaṇa, both Śiva and Pārvaṭi were cruising in the sky over him. He avoided their shadows. Perceiving this, they came down and seeing his strong devotion to Nārāyaṇa, Śiva asked Bhaktisāra to elect a boon. Bhaktisāra replied that he wanted nothing. But being pressed, he requested Him to grant him salvation. Śiva replied that He could not grant that request as it was not in His power to do that. But yet Śiva asked him to choose some other boon. Being pressed further Bhaktisāra prayed that the thread he was having might pass through the eye of the needle. Śiva was enraged at this, tradition says, and opened his third eye of destruction at this wanton insult. Tirumaliśai ālvār revealed to Śiva that he also had an equally powerful eye and that in his foot, due to the grace of Nārāyaṇa and his *yogic siddhi*. This the tradition goes on to say, made Śiva realise the greatness of Parābhakti,

2. This version is contradicted by the statement of Bhaktisāra in the First verse of *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* that he was the first to know this fact.

and praising him He called him Bhaktisāra by name. Another story describing his occult powers is also told as to how a magician by name Sūktisāra, was travelling in the sky on a tiger. Bhaktisāra stopped it by his occult power and made him come down. The magician finding that an occultist did this, approached Bhaktisāra offering him a present of a magic cloak. But the ālvār, refusing that cloak, offered him instead a coat of precious stones. Seeing this the magician asked Bhaktisāra to convert his *japa-māla* into a garland of precious stones. Bhaktisāra through his occult power converted it much to the amazement of the magician. Wondering at his marvellous powers he prostrated before the ālvār and left humbled. There is a story of the ālvār having converted mud into gold, and also of making an old woman young. The latter incident took place when the ālvār was staying at Kāñci, *Yadoktakāri*-temple.

This incident led to a new situation. On seeing this young girl the local rājāh was infatuated by her beauty and married her. But as her beauty was waxing day by day, the king's was waning day by day. He queried her about this strange phenomenon. She then told him that it was due to the ālvār, who was staying at the *Yadoktakāri* shrine, that she got back her youth. The rājāh sent word to the disciple of the ālvār, one Kaṇikannan, and wanted him to bring the ālvār to his presence. The disciple told him that that was impossible. The rājāh was enraged and he asked him to sing a praise of himself. This too was refused by the disciple because mortal lips were given to praise one's teacher and God, and none else. Incensed at this the rājāh ordered him to leave the city. The disciple left followed by the ālvār, and it is said that the deity in the temple also followed. Seeing this, all the other gods and townsmen left, and the whole city of Kāñci performed wholesale evacuation. The rājāh got alarmed and ran up to the ālvār and requested him to forgive the offence and the ālvār gave him refuge.

The ālvār in his final days went to Kumbhakonam. En route he had to pass through villages and towns. On one occasion when passing through a town the persons in that place found God being taken in procession in every street that the ālvār went. There is also narrated a story that once when passing through a town where Vedic recitations were taking place, the reciters stopped reciting them on seeing the ālvār who was not competent to hear them. After the ālvār left the place, when they started to recommence their recitation, they could not start again as they

had clean forgotten all the Veda. They then ran upto the ālvār, penitent at their behaviour, and requested him to assist them. Being *avidic*, he through signs made them understand and recall the Veda. He was honoured by them for this supreme gift, as greater than the Veda-knower. After a considerable period the ālvār gave up his body.

The ālvār's life as above given is the traditional version. Tirumaliśai ālvār's life was rich in its varied philosophical, occult and devotional experiences. He was a seasoned thinker and knower of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions and Vedic lore. He was a *siddha*, a perfect yogi, who had the experience of the divine and was himself a person endowed with enormous power which he used to humble the proud. The intimacy of his relationship with God was such that God lived and moved and enjoyed with him.

Internal evidence however points to certain stories about him being remarkably otherwise than anti-śaiva or anti-Śiva. Tirumaliśai ālvār seems to have had great reverence for Mārkaṇḍeya and Śiva himself. His own life seems to have run on similar lines. The story of the meeting between Śiva and Bhaktisāra is impossible, when we consider that Śiva was the object adorable of Bhaktisāra prior to his conversion to Vaiṣṇavim, though it may well be argued that new converts are always most antipathic to their older loyalties. The *Nānmukhaṇ Tiruvandādis* 15, 17 and 18 speak to the fact that Śiva taught the path to Nārāyaṇa to his four disciples and that Mārkaṇḍeya tread the path shown by Śiva. The power of Śiva was fully appreciated and his greatness fully known (*Tiruchanda Viruttam* 8). These two facts make it clear that when Bhaktisāra left Śiva-worship for Nārāyaṇa, it did not mean anything more than the fact to which Peyālvār drew his pointed attention that the Adorable and Salvation-giving fact is the First Cause and nothing else. This is Nārāyaṇa and none other. Even Śiva, the Gangādhara, was the witness to this fact, the salvation-fact, of Nārāyaṇa. Mārkaṇḍeya is well-known as a devotee of Śiva who saved him from Yama (Mh. B. Vana. 191). He was blessed with immortality (*cirañjīvatva*). Mārkaṇḍeya is said to have been the son of Mrkandu, who presumably was the son of Dhāta, the son of Bhrigu through Khyāti. Thus he happens to be a Bhārgava, even as Tirumaliśai ālvār was. Mārkaṇḍeya's life after his having been saved from Yama or death by Śiva in the first *manvantara* is not narrated anywhere except in the Bhāgavata XII skanda. It is there declared that he lived through six *manvan-*

taras and gained the fruits of tapas or austerity. At the beginning of the present *manvantara* it is said Nārāyaṇa gave him His *darśanam*. Nārāyaṇa asked him to choose a boon and Mārkaṇḍeya replied that the *darśanam* He gave was all sufficient. He however wished to see His Māyā. Nārāyaṇa then showed him the *pralaya*, deluge of all the universes, in which Mārkaṇḍeya alone persisted amidst the involution. He then saw a child on the *vaṭapatra* enchantingly beautiful, whom he recognized as the Lord Nārāyaṇa. The child opened its mouth and Mārkaṇḍeya saw within it all the worlds and himself too. This is the fullest experience of Nārāyaṇa and it is seen that Tirumaliśai ālvār in the third verse³ of the *Nānmukhaṇ Tiruvandādi* writes:

"Who knows as I do that Supreme Causal Substance of the Universe, the true substance enjoyable of all externals, is the Incomparable Person in the waters, lying on the Ocean of Milk and at Śrīranga, and who slept on the Leaf"?

Later in the same Bhāgavata Purāṇa XII it is stated that once when Mārkaṇḍeya was lost in intense contemplation of Nārāyaṇa, Rudra with Pārvatī was moving in the sky. Seeing Mārkaṇḍeya they came down but Mārkaṇḍeya was oblivious of their presence. However Rudra was able to awaken him, and Mārkaṇḍeya having been awakened perceived Rudra and Pārvatī and prostrated before them. Rudra then asked Mārkaṇḍeya to choose a boon. Mārkaṇḍeya replied "By seeing you I have become full of desirable things and they will never leave me. What is the boon I have to ask for? Nevertheless I will ask for this boon namely that my love for Bhagavān, for those that regard Him as the Highest goal, and for you may remain unshaken." (XII. 33-34) Rudra granted him this request and went his way.

Thus we have in the life of Mārkaṇḍeya as found in the Bhārata and Bhāgavata version an attempt at revealing the fact that Mārkaṇḍeya became a devotee of the Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa after having been saved from death by Śiva. Tirumaliśai ālvār who obviously realised the truth of Nārāyaṇa's ultimate Causality after having been a close and firm believer Śiva, realised also that truth even as Mārkaṇḍeya did. It is therefore likely that the story of the meeting between Śiva and Tirumaliśai ālvār has been embel-

3. Even the first verse says "Being myself the first (knower), I have made known this inner meaning. Do thou know this without remainder."

lished in a sectarian manner. It is however clear from Bhaktisāra's writings that he had absolutely no doubt as to the unfitness of Śiva being the Object. *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* 53, *Tirucchanda Viruttam* 42 and 113 show Śiva to be pervaded by rajas-tattva, and as such not the Ultimate. Śiva is described as one who smears his body with ashes which are the result of his destruction of Kāma, through anger. In his matted locks there is only the one-digit moon, and in his hand he carries a skull, and his vehicle, the bull, is cruel. Obviously these might have been the reasons which made him transfer his loyalty to Nārāyaṇa, despite the fact Śiva taught Mārkaṇḍeya and others the path of Final salvation through Surrender to Nārāyaṇa.

Historically considered we find that this chapter on Mārkaṇḍeya is unique to the Bhāgavatam and is not found in the Mahābhārata and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa to which Bhāgavata refers. Tirumaḷisai ālvār is placed in the 3rd or fourth Century, though some others incline to the sixth century. The Bhāgavata view being substantiated by Bhaktisāra, the Bhāgavata account presumably must have been widely accepted and Bhaktisāra must have discovered and spread the fact. As we know, the purāṇas had undergone great changes and editing at the hands of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava theologians. This unique account about Mārkaṇḍeya is well worth further investigation.

II

Tirumaḷisai ālvār has left us only two compositions: the *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* and the *Tirucchanda Viruttam*. The first is written in the same metre as the Tiruvandādis of the first three ālvārs, and may be considered to be continuing the spirit of the first three ālvārs. The *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* declares the supreme causality of Nārāyaṇa, whilst the first three *andādis* are utterances of the vision of the Lord through transcendent supramental knowledge, through supramental devotion, and the supramental devotionalised knowledge. The last gave the vision of the conjoint experience of the Mother and the Lord of the Universe. This unique experience of the primal causality of God Nārāyaṇa is stated by Bhaktisāra to have been first vouchsafed to him perhaps in the vision of the Lord as at Śrīranga, as in the Milk-Ocean and as the Child on the *Vaṭa-patra*. (1 & 3 N.T.). The *Tirucchanda Viruttam* is more metaphysical and enumerates the categories in such a way as to point out that all

are of the One. The central mystical principle enunciated by both the works is that the Most Supreme Cause alone can be the Path, the Goal and the Means for man, either for liberation or for bliss, or for work or weal.

1. Taking the *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* first, which can be deemed to be the earlier of the two works for the reason that it may well belong to the revelation-stratum along with the first three *andādis*, we are presented with the nature of God.

"Nārāyaṇa begot the fourfaced; the fourfaced one, being the first (creature), himself begot Śankara.

Being myself the first (knower), I have made known this inner meaning. Do thou know this without losing any part."

2. God is also the supreme Being. There is no second to Him. His transcendence is very great over the universe. This is the real meaning of reality. The real is that which lives by Him, who controls and creates and sustains it.

"If investigated (all knowers) will declare the Lord to be One only." "His Greatness none knows. This alone is the conclusive meaning of reality". (N.T. 2.).

The unity of nature, the purposiveness of order in the world and other such features, reveal the Oneness or unity of the Governing power.

3. The Lord is also the ordainer of all the fruits of *tapas* or *Yoga*. He alone is the granter of results of all actions, and this is a special characteristic of deity, though the law of karma that every action has its result, is by no means abrogated by this statement. Every cause is followed by an effect. This provides the mechanical link. It is this that is usually affirmed as the complete statement of the cause-effect relationship. But when the activities are by individuals who are seeking certain ends or results, it is seen that these individuals have the 'awareness' of the results accruing from certain activities. This 'awareness' of the cause-effect relationship itself cannot however yield the notion that there is a being or person who has destined or determined or fixed the appropriate fruits of the actions, or in other words, is the ordainer of fruits. It is this Being, that the *mīmāṃsakas* affirm as not necessary, since there is no need to posit the existence of God over and

above the reciprocal relationship between causes and effects *even* in respect of supernatural fruits. In other words, they assert that the ritual causal-relationship is not different from the mechanical causal-relationship, even though we are in this case unable to perceive the link, and even though there is no immediacy in the consequences, and even though there is a lot of time-gap. This atheistic *mīmāṃsā*-view is refuted by the ālvār here by saying that the Lord is the ordainer of fruits of actions, ritualistic as well as mechanical or natural and moral actions, for He is the master of all orders of existence. That is why he says:—

“Fruits or effects of all actions of *tapas* of those who perform them, come finally from the Lord whose hand holds the discus (Nārāyaṇa).” (N.T. 2).

4. The ālvār, as already stated, declares the Lord to be the One person who is incomparably great, whose greatness cannot be known by anyone except by men like himself. Says he:

“Who knows, as I do, that the supreme causal substance of the world, the true substance enjoyable of all eternals, is the Incomparable Person in the waters, lying in the Ocean of Milk, and at Śrīranga and Who slept on the Leaf.” (N.T.3).⁴

This verse intimates the enjoyable nature of God. God is knowable, enjoyable and is also the primal Being established in the waters. (Manu. I. 8). This primeval form is assumed in order to reveal the unity of the material and efficient causality of God. “God is all”⁵ “Thou art verily all this world. Verily their existence is due to thy grace. Thou art indeed the God of these gods of austerity” Thou art indeed the flaming fire, the big mountains, the eight quarters, the two lights (sun and moon) in the egg”. God is thus the material cause since the whole universe is His body. It is this original causality that makes God also the supporter, ruler, saviour and protector of the universe (N.T. 19). He has unequalled and unexampled greatness. It is His will that brings into being all beings. *Tirumāl akaippu* is most important. (N.T. 37). It is an echo of the *upaniṣadic* *icchā* which is not merely a

4. Mārkaṇḍeya's Vision of Nārāyaṇa's Māyā at the beginning of this Manvantara (Cf. Bhāgavata XII. 8-12).

5. N.T. 20; T.C.V. 55.

will to be many but also a desire to save, to redeem and to land. It is not nature, *svabhāva*, that makes the things manifest themselves.⁶ For it is not in the power of *svabhāva* to move backwards into its own unmanifest state, nor has it the power to grow. A clock-movement of winding and unwinding, *abhivyakta*, is not capable of going beyond the starting point, or beyond mere repetition. An independent or transcendent Being is necessary to bring it into existence as well as to withdraw it from existence. It is this that is implied in the rulership of God as well as creatorship. This of course cannot be proved by the Logic of intellect. That is why the ālvār clearly says that he *knows*, since he has seen Him to be all the three forms.

5. In the fourth verse the ālvār affirms that God Nārāyaṇa is the *sarva-vācaka-śabda*.⁷ Every word ultimately denotes Him only. He is thus not merely the total cause, he also is the object denoted by all words.

6. The ālvār then speaks of God as the creator of all gods, men, animals and plants (N.T. 5). In speaking of God as the creator, the ālvār also speaks of Him as the Destroyer too of *Hiranyakaśipu*. God is thus described as redeemer of all creatures, saviour of all souls in the same breath as creator. Thus in brief outline the first five verses describe the nature of the *paratattva*—the transcendent Godhead.

7. The ālvār then mentions that men are misled about God's real nature, being, attributes, powers and manifestations. The ālvār points out that whilst the supreme Deity Nārāyaṇa owes His nature and others to Himself, and as such these are intrinsic to Him, the rest including the god-souls (*dēvas*) have their godhood or nature extrinsic to them. It is something granted to them for their austerity and devotion to Him. (N.T. 53). This godhood or divine status may be acquired even like the *Rbhus*, or may be permanently retained too, even like the immortality from which there is no fall. God is the supreme protector (N.T. 30). He is the destroyer of the evil and the restorer of the good. (N.T. 48)—a statement recalling the promise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*. Not only this, God runs after His devotees. (N.T. 60). He is indeed the only or sole means to

6. Cf. Śvet. Up. VI. 1.

7. Cf. T.C.V. 4.

realization. (N.T. 64), for it is due to Him and His creatorship and transcendence that we exist at all. To attain the transcendent is not possible by any other means such as knowledge or works but through His grace alone. (N.T. 30)⁸ Man's love of God is the supreme wealth, no other wealth has he. God alone is the treasure-house of man (N.T. 61). The path of surrender through wearing the feet of the Lord on one's forehead is the path of liberation

8. Having described the nature of God and the duty of man towards Him, it may be asked as to what the results of not doing one's duty (*dharma*) by God are? Not to do it entails all risks of misery of birth and death. *Tapas* (askesis) is of no use in this direction, for obviously it is a method of great privation and suffering undertaken to get over misery. What is requisite is the knowledge of the creatureliness of man and the knowledge of God whose creature man is. The *ālvār's* main purpose is to reveal in broad and definite outlines the creatorship of God and to point out as to which god fulfills this criterion most satisfactorily. Secondly, in pointing out the creatureliness of all beings including in this category all the hosts of heaven, the *ālvār* clearly points out the possibilities of *tapas* (askesis), which can only grant godhood not liberation. (N.T. 6 & 53). Liberation could be granted only by that saving knowledge which rescues man from his *kārmic* embodied existence. (N.T. 79). For in the verse 79 the *ālvār* says that embodied existence is a disease,⁹ this despite the fact the *ālvār* lived very long on this planet. He did not envisage an earth-immortality but only an immaterial existence in divine substance. Thus the nature of God, the nature of the seeker, and the means to liberation and the goal of attainment have been stated.

9. The *ālvār* feels the importance of the concept of God's nearness to man in his struggle to surrender to the Divine. God's

8. N.T. 53. "I have no other God except Rāma, the destroyer of *Lāṅka* of the *asuras*. Do not deem as fit to be attained *Śiva* and others, who being cruel have not the Godly nature, though they have achieved god-state." Mr. Pisharoti wrote in his ed. of *Mukundamāla* that Rāma is not loved at all by the earlier *ālvār's* except *Kulaśekhara*, and that *Kulaśekhara ālvār* was a devotee of Rāma, thus proving that Rāma cult was later than the *Kṛṣṇa*-cult. The above verse clearly disproves his assumptions. Cf. My article "The *Kulaśekhara's* Philosophy of Devotion. S.V.O.I. Vol. III. p. I.

9. Cf. T.C.V. 53.

descent into humanity for the sake of helping humanity and creation is a positive fact of the greatest importance to Religious consciousness.

"Thou hast manifested thyself as Milk-white, Golden, Green and Black (in the four yugas).

Thou hast willed the destruction of both the Kuru and the Pāṇḍava armies, being the Commander (of the World)" (N.T. 24).

The *ālvār* mentions the various descents of Nārāyaṇa as Rāma.¹⁰ Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa, Narasimha, and Matsya.

10. The Philosophy of Descent is a unique exposition and its role in theology is inestimable.¹¹ It is the most revealing fact about Hindu religion. It reveals the nearness and the dynamic redemptive act of God Himself. *Āśrita-vātsalya*, *Saulabhya* and *Sauśilya* are the prominent features of Providence.¹² "By this means thou hast sought to relieve the (sorrows of) the refugees." (N.T. 25). The nature of providence is such that it reveals that the God's government is ultimately based on Goodness and truth. The concept of the *avatār* apparently reveals an inner contradiction. According to some thinkers it is inconsistent with the nature of God as Omniscient and Omnipotent. There is no need for God to descend when He could as well save without descending. The evil could be destroyed by a fiat and indeed evil need not be created at all. It is possible to conceive of a devotion without goodness, in which case it is necessary to justify the destruction even of the devoted as against the good or those devoted to the good. Again, what is

10. Rāma: N.Ś. 8, 53, 85; T.C.V. 32, 33, 39, 91, 94, 116.

Varāha: N.T. 70. T.C.V. 25, 26, 32, 48.

Vāmana: N.T. 70. T.C.V. 25, 26, 32, 105, 109;

Trivikrama: N.T. 9, 15. T.C.V. 105, 109.

Kṛṣṇa: N.T. 16, 24; T.C.V. 25, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 40; 41; 42; 43; 49; 71; 92.

Narasimha: N.T. 5, 18; T.C.V. 23, 24, 25, 63.

Matsya: N.T. 22. T.C.V. 35.

11. An entire volume can be prepared on the *Avatār* concept. Cf. My contribution to SRI AUROBINDO JAYANTI VOLUME 1942 on *Divine Evolutionism* expounding Sri Aurobindo's view, pp. 11-24.

12. Cf. Tiruvaymozhi. I. 8, 9, 10.

the criterion of the good? Is it that which means obedience to the laws of the society at any particular time or of some theology, or to a messenger, or is it any obedience to the inner voice or inner law, personal to the striving soul? Again if the *avatār* is to be conceived as a finite God, something in the manner of Ahura Mazda, has He to live a historic life of suffering, or has He merely to veil His transcendence, of His own will by the form He assumes? Is His tenement a *kārmic* one or an *unkārmic* one, yielding to the transcendent plastic stress of His own superior status? Indeed does the body or form interfere with the transcendence, omniscience and omnipotence and His oneness or His manyness and omnipervasiveness? These questions have been the most important philosophically and theologically speaking and have vexed and taxed the ingenuity of all expositors of the doctrine.

The descent, if it were to be fruitful, must be a *total* presence involving no diminution of the greatness and glory, omniscience, omnipotence and omnipervasiveness of the descending Godhead. His form, whether it be of the lowest animals or the human or divine *dēva*, whether He incarnates through a womb or not, is of divine substance and not of mere matter. He descends out of His own will and grace, and not out of any sort of compulsion. His course of activities are already fulfilled, but He enjoys them in time and space and creation. That which is the delight of eternity He makes a delight in History, because the many individual souls are creatures of History. He shows Himself as the creator of History and the Lord of historical growth and progress. That not a whit of His transcendent power is lost in the descent, the ālvār reveals by saying

"Thou who destroyest Hiraṇyakaśipu in a day, art also the being who created gods, men, animals and plants."
(N.T. 5).

"Destruction is the lot of those who do not worship Thee".
(N.T. 6 & 14).

God in this sense, if transcendent to matter and change, yet descends into them as their complete master. They are real and His descents are also real, and, verily, for the purpose of associating with the souls more closely, accessibly and perfectly.

11. We may suspend for the present a consideration of the metaphysical implications of the *avatār* as this concept is accepted

by the ālvār apparently from the Pāñcarātra literature which is clearly seen from his referring to the fivefoldness of the Divine in the *Tirucchanda Viruttam*. (17).¹³ The ālvār is equally concerned with the Arcā descent of God in the form of Image (*pratimā*), for the sake of the human worshipper who has invoked Him through his prayers and chants and offerings. The ālvār mentions in the *Nānmukhaṇ Tiruvandādi* the following sacred places (*tirupatis*) Śrīrangam (30, 36, 60), Mylāpore (35), Tiruvallikeṇi (35), Tiruvēṅgaḍam (34, 39-48), Kumbhakōṇam (36),¹⁴ Yadoktakāri, Tiruvellōre, Tirupperūr (36) Kilāmbi (36). This may not mean that other temples were not existent about this time (4th century), but only that the ālvār had not either sung about them or visited them.

12. The largest group of hymns refers to Vēṅgaḍam. The ālvār is almost love-sick with the Lord at Venkaṭa.

"I shall call upon the Lord of Venkaṭa to appear. I shall draw a mystic circle¹⁵ on sand (for prophesying whether I shall) reach that Mountain in whose perceptive caverns stumble the elephants frightened at the falls which drown down sparkling stones." (N.T. 39).

This is the first utterance of any ālvār of the beloved-lover relationship. It is this that has been developed to perfection by Śatakopa, Kulāśekhara and Āndāl.

The nature of the Lord of Vēṅgaḍam is to grant salvation.¹⁶

13. Rg Veda. IV. i. 7.

"Threefold are those supreme births of this divine force that is in this world, they are true, they are desirable: He moves there wide-overt within the Infinite and shines pure, luminous and fulfilling...."

Cf. Rg Veda. X. 53. 5. This is the very earliest reference to Pāñcarātra in Ālvār Philosophy. Therefore it is historically important.

14. T.C.V. 55-60 refer to Kumbhakōṇam, 50-54 to Śrīrangam as also 119.

15. The omen-circle is drawn closing the eyes so that the line drawn by the hand completes the circles correctly. Or else concentric circles are drawn and then these are counted. If they are an odd number then success is not predicted. If even success is assured.

16. The above text might have been the original of Venkaṭanātha's *Dayā-śataka*.

"I have always sung about Venkaṭācala when singing about a mountain. Thus have I secured salvation.

Steadily established I am meditating and lo! I have been caught in the net called the feet of the Lord of Śrī, who in turn is caught in the net called Vedic usage." (N.T. 40).¹⁷

The Lord cannot exist without love (*dayā*)

"O Lord of Rāṅga, Thou who art difficult to obtain through one's own efforts, Thou who art running after thy devotees...."

The Lord at Venkaṭa's asterism is Śravaṇam. (41). He is the sin-abolisher (42). His transcendence is so great that the first born fourfaced Brahmā and the three-eyed Śiva are offering flowers at the altar of His feet and sing His praises at eventide. At eventide one could see, says the ālvār, the two gods Brahmā and Śiva wending their way together to Venkaṭa in the North (43). This particular use of the word "Lord of Venkaṭa of the lofty heights of the north" definitely intimates the Northern limit of the land of the Tamils (*vaḍa-vēṅgaḍam*).

The Lord is eternally a youth (*kumāran*). Those who worship the eternal Youth become eternally youthful (*tridaśa*).

"O youthful ones! Do you seeking refuge go to the Venkaṭa mountain, in whose gardens is resident the eternal Youth (*Kumāran*), Who, when a child long ago, counted with His feet (toes? the heads of the punishable demon (*Rāvaṇa*))." (44)¹⁸

He is the treasurehouse of the freed and the bond (*vāṇorkkum maṇṇorkum vaippu*) (N.T. 45).¹⁹

The Venkata-Hill is described as a wonderful Hill wherein elephants, lions, *yālis*, gold, precious stones, pearls and flowery trees, nine kinds of gems, forests and streams abound. Monkeys

17. The doctrine of the Mother is a truth of the Veda. Śrī is the object of supramental intuition as the third ālvār has shown. The play on the word *nūl* shows the thread of composition. God is the thread of unity in all the many Hymns along with the Mother.

18. The story is not traceable in any extant purāṇa.

19. Chā. Up. VIII. 3. 2. where the Divine is described as *Hiranyāṇṭhi-*

and huntsmen (*kuravas*) dwell on it. (47). Indeed it was a treasure-mountain of all desires (46). Venkaṭa therefore is sought after even by the immortals (*nityamuktas*) as something to be attained for, it is verily capable of annulling all sins and curing all diseases. It is Venkaṭa which is the Mountain of Him who protects gods by destroying the demons with His discus (48). Having thus extolled fully the greatness of the Mountain and its Lord, the ālvār deems himself to be highly fortunate. He even compares himself with the Lord: "Who is my equal? (51); not even God is my equal for I have a saviour whilst He has none."²⁰

13. The means of liberation is the Lord Himself (N.T. 64, 83). He is the ready-means (*siddhopāya*), as the Vedāntic teachers say.

"The Lord who has the discus, Who appears as if having His love for His devotees itself as His body.²¹ granting to the devotees the pleasures of this world, as the protecting King God, Heaven, coolness, relations, Mother, and every other Himself finally makes him attain the supreme above". (N.T. 83)

This magnificent verse summarises neatly that the Lord grants everything. Attaining Him one attains the entire freedom of the Universe of God and all that it contains. The means in special measure is be adopted is surrender complete and total to Him alone and none other however great or exalted, even if perforce it be one's own earlier teachers. Man must know His Lord God and surrender to Him. This God is Nārāyaṇa.

14. Some thinkers consider that their minds are impediments to realization and seek to demoralise their minds. The ālvār on the contrary holds, and this is most interesting from the point of view of sublimational psychology, that mind is not an impediment at all.²² It can be a most useful instrument of devotion. (81 N.T.) An easy way is the way of praise and prayer of the Lord by the mind, (N.T. 52). He utters a stern warning against taking gifts of men.

20. Cf. Tyāgarājasvāmī's wonderful song: *అనాభవమనామ నేమ*.

21. Cf. Dayāsataka, 6.

22. Cf. Aryan Path: Vol. XIII. No. 2. (Feb. 1942).

"Evil men become slaves for money: obtaining sins through gifts, experience them. They walk as human sacrifices in exchange for (another's) head.

Ignorant men not praising the Lord as He who drank the poison, as different (that is as nector) from the breast (of Pūtana) experience sin." (N.T. 52).

The praise of the Lord is the intelligent man's way to salvation. It means exclusive mental devotion. The ālvār writes

"Let the mouth praise! Let the eyes adore! Let the ears hear Thee.

Do thou offer cool flowers bending thy crown low and with hands crossed (in reverence), thinking on the Lord adorned with Tulasī garland and High Crown, attached to me from beginningless time." (N.T. 11).²³

Again

"No mental suffering will visit if one but accepts Madhusūdāna as sole refuge, for God is man's wealth." (61).

"Those who have meditated with devotion on the Lord Creator and are able to fix Him in their minds attain quickly." (79).

He appeals to his mind.

"O good mind! Hast thou not seen the supreme Being? Is He not always? Is He not dwelling in the hearts of all meditators? Know thou that the unequalled Lord is the protector of me and of those like me." (N. T. 86.).

"I have made devotion my vocation" (84) and "My whole time is taken up with the praise of God" (85).

"I shall not withdraw my mind which has only desire for Thee." (60).

Asking himself whether there is need for any further individual effort (*puruṣakāra*) to supplement or augment the God's redeeming grace, the ālvār says that God's power is so great that it is not waiting on man's effort, which is puny, ignorant and frustrating.

23. Cf. Kulasekhara's *Mukundamāla*-stanzas, for they almost copy these ideas; and both may have got it from the Bhāgavata literature.

"Is it necessary to plant the seed of effort in the field of the ancient sāṃsāra of the Tiller Who has killed the Bulls?"

"The moving water-bearing Cloud will reveal the black cloud-form of Nārāyaṇa." (N. T. 23).

There is no need for *puruṣakāra* once the offering of oneself entirely to God has been made. There is only praise to be done in order to keep the mind in constant attunement with the Divine Presence. God is the only doer and the only instigator of all things (*kartā* and *kārayitā*).

As I have already pointed out, the ālvār says that this path has been already taught by Śiva himself, Śiva whom many others proclaim as the Highest Creator.

"Rudra of right austerity taught the four seers²⁴ under the shade of the banyan tree in the previous aeon the Way of His surrender to the Lord Who measured the world and is reposing in the Ocean" (Nārāyaṇa). (N.T. 17).

This fact is more explicitly stated in an earlier verse (N.T. 15).

"If you are but able to worship the Lord after offering flowers at the feet of Him Who measured the world, as the gods do, then could you know the manner how the blue-throated (Rudra) was able to retain the poison in his throat (Durda) was able to retain the poison in his throat, even as Mārkaṇḍeya did know." (N.T. 15).²⁵

24. Agastya, Pulastya, Dakṣa and Mārkaṇḍeya were taught by Śiva the path of surrender to Nārāyaṇa or Trivikrama in the earlier manvantara. Here the ālvār grants the epithet of "right austerity" in strange contrast to N.T. 53. T.C.V. 42, 113.

25. The above story points out that Rudra was able to retain the poison through His surrender to Trivikrama-Nārāyaṇa and that Mārkaṇḍeya who was saved from Yama in his sixteenth year by Śiva knew this secret, and became the devotee of Nārāyaṇa. This was what made him immortal as the Bhāgavata story XII. 8-12 says. This is what is to be inferred. This version will make the Bhāgavata an older version which was expunged by later writers from the other Śaiva Purāṇas. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa strangely does not have this later history of Mārkaṇḍeya and his worship of Nārāyaṇa. Is it a case of translation of content in sectarian legend-making?

Surrender to the Lord is the way to conquest over death. It is the path leading to eternal youthfulness, physical and temporal immortality even as in the case of Mārkaṇḍeya, whose life, as I have already shown, the ālvār's life simulates.

15. Thus the *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* of which an analysis has been given above lays bare the essential attributes of God, describes the *avatār* and *arcā* of God, points out the means to the realization of the Highest Bliss even here and now, and declares unequivocally that the Path of Surrender to the Highest alone is capable of sublimating the human, and that this was the path taught by seers like Mārkaṇḍeya and Śiva Himself.

III

1. The *Tirucchanda Viruttam* is a more philosophical poem than the previous. It is also more closely packed. If the *Paratattva* and the *Hita* have been taught in the previous poem, here, in the latter, the cosmic elements or categories are dealt with at greater length.

The first five verses describe the categories of existence which are declared to have their source in Brahman—a doctrine adopted from the Upaniṣadic texts. The numerological description of the categories is the first of its kind in Tamil literature, and it is difficult to understand except with the help of commentaries. It also shows with preciseness the categories as accepted at the time of this ālvār.

Having become the five in the earth*
In the water the four, in the fire the three,
In the strong wind the two, In the above (ether) the one,
Becoming distinguished as different from these,
(Thee), Who can know thy being (as the One cause)?
T.C.V. 1.

Here we have the five elements as well as their qualities nearly stated, and that all these have their original cause in the One which is different from them.

2. The second verse represents the Form of God as, at the same time, the Object of meditation, of *tapas* (askesis,) of adoration and praise, as also as the giver of beneficence. Some things can be objects of knowledge but cannot be deemed to be the givers of

beneficence, even like matter; some others can be considered to be beneficent but they cannot be objects of cognition (*āśraya-sūnya*). God in the ālvār's philosophy is *śubhāśraya*.

Being the six²⁶ (*karmās*),

Being the six²⁷ (seasons),

Being the six²⁸ sacrifices,

Being (worshipped by) the five (sacrifices)²⁹ five āhūtis³⁰ and the five (*agnis*),³¹

He Who is the excellent Two (qualities),³² the three³³ the seven,³⁴ the six³⁵ and the eight,³⁶ and having made distinct the knowledge,³⁷

Being the True and the deluder,³⁸

And is the (self of) the five,³⁹

He, the Lord, is verily a magician (*māyan*).

26. The six *karmās* are *adhyayana*, etc.

27. The six seasons are *vasanta*, *grīṣma*, etc.

28. The six *yagas* are *āgneya*, etc.

29. The five are *deva*, *pitur*, *bhūta*, *mānuṣya*, and *brahma*.

30. The five āhūtis are *prānāhūti*, etc.

31. The five fires are *gārhapatya*, *āhava-nīya*, *daksināgni*, etc.

32. The two qualities are god-knowledge and renunciation of all else

33. The three are lordship, liberation and realisation or *parabhakti* *parajñāna* and *paramabhakti*.

34. The seven activities are *viveka*, *vimoka*, *abhyāsa*, *kriya*, *kalyāna* and *anavasada*.

35. The six are those qualities of *jñāna*, *baka*, *aśvarya*, *virya*, *śakti*, *tejas*.

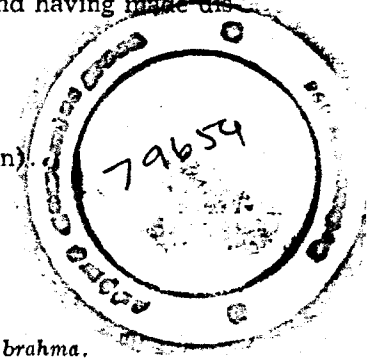
36. The eight are *apahatapāpmā*, *ajarah*, *vimṛtyu*, *viśoka*, *vijighṛṣa*, *āpipāsa* *Satyakāma* and *Satya-Saṅkalpa*.

37. The good knowledge for the good and bad for the bad.

38. Revealing the good form to the good, and deluding the asuras.

39. He is the inner self or ordainer of the five elements along with their respective qualities of *sparśa*, *śabda*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*, as stated in the 1st verse.

Venkaṭanātha explaining the presence of deluding doctrines in the world which are said to have been promulgated by seers like Brhaspati and Śiva. whilst not disputing their authorship, harps constantly on the point that wages of sin is sin itself, wages of evil cannot be good, for even the good appears to them as undesirable and delusive. It is only when the evil persons come across the fatal knot of their delusive activities that they gain a total and irretrievable defeat which makes them collapse and thereby makes them *akincanyas*, helpless, seized by *kārpanya*,



God is here described as having the fullest Lordship of the world and the paths, and there is in Him nothing of evil. He is the transcendent and the immanent ruler of all things, activities, efforts, enjoyments. He is the teacher of duties and philosophies, and, even whilst teaching the true path, He deludes the evil spirits and hurls them down—even for the sake of finally winning them over.

3. The third verse deals with the five-fold powers of the Lord:
"The five (elements), the five (senses), having made the five (motor organs), the five (*tanmātras*),

Having made the three (*ahamkāra*, *mahān* and *sūkṣma-prakṛti*) into one (*manas*), and becoming the Self of the soul in these,

Thee the First Cause, who art thus, Who can see in the world the five (transcendent forms), the five (sense-organs), the five (sound etc.) becoming the five (*sthānas*).⁴⁰

By the above verse are mentioned the absolute enjoyability and experienceability of the Deity.

4. The fourth then mentions that the deity is also the source of all vocables. God is *sarva-vācaka-śabda*. The Veda is His body. So too the poet prays to the Lord to reveal Himself as his own Self (*āvi*).

losing their *svabhāva* of asuras—a state in which they too seek the Grace of the Divine. Cf. *The Wicked Succeed*: my article *Scholar Annual* 1934.

40. *Bhogaśāhāna*, *bhagopakarāṇa*, and *bhogaśāhāna*, etc., cf. T.C.V. 77.

Being the (self of) eight and eight and eight (i.e. 24).

Being the One (support of) seven (*dvīpas*) and seven (Hills) and seven (oceans).

Being (self of) the eight and three and one (12 *āḍityas*).

The Prime Lord, Those who make the eightfold surrender and speak the eight (lettered) word.

Affirm (Him as) the Supreme Abode.

Surrender is usually said to be *sad-vidham* and not *aṣṭa-vidham*. The two more elements may belong to the two *nīstas*, *ācārya* or *śvanīsta*, as these too constitute steps in the path of surrender. It is yet an interesting point to investigate whether the so-called six or eight types (*vidhāni*) are not merely six or eight parts or steps (*aṅgāni*) as in the case of yoga which is said to have eight *aṅgas*.

5. God is all *sarvam khalvidam Brahma—nirkiṇṇa dellām neḍumāl*.

6. The sixth verse reaches the peak of this statement of the unity of the material and efficient causality, as well as the teleological causality of God (*upādāna-nimitta-puruṣārtha-kāraṇatva*). The description is intended to show mythologically the Selfness or supporterness (*adhāraakatva*) of God.

The Meru that is supporting Heaven (*pākam*)

The Earth that is being supported by the directional elephants (*nākam*),

The Supreme Sky that is full of happiness (*nākam*),

The Supreme Abode (*paramapada*).

The flowing Gangā that is upborne by the sky (*nākam*),

The clouds supported by the sky, the fire, the incomparable five breaths—All these are supported by the One Substance.

7. So far we have the description of the categories and of the Deity who is the One substance behind all, supporting all, denoted by all words and names. The nature of the Deity in relation having been taught, the *ālvār* describes the Lord as He is in His own essence—*svarūpa-nirūpita-viśeṣaṇas*.

Being the One and two forms.⁴¹

Being the Lord of both knowledge and ignorance

Creating the One and the two times,

Being the Lord of karmic earth,

Making one and two fires,

Wonderful Lord born amid cowherds!

Can He who has three eyes know thee?

Even Śiva cannot know Thy greatness and wonderful nature. The relationship between cause and effect is affirmed as subsisting between the soul and ignorance. The relationship of cause and effect considered as material causality is one between the *sūkṣma-cidacid-viśiṣṭa-Īśvara* and the *sthūla-cidacid-viśiṣṭa-Īśvara*. Or as

41. Cf. *Viśvakṣena Sam*:—

Caturvidhasya bhagavān mumukṣūṇām hitāya vai |

Anyesām api lokānām sṛṣṭisthityanta siddhaye ||

Cf. *Jayākhyā Sam*: which states these forms to be Satya, Acyuta and Puruṣa as the emanations of the One.

the commentator Peria-vācchān Pillai writes under the verse 8, the states of cause and effect are like subdued fire and flaming fire.

8. The Creator as already mentioned is a wonderful being-Māyan (T.C.V. 11). It is a wonder of wonders that the Utterly Transcendent is identical with the Person who creates Himself as the Descent (*avatār*); and what is still more wonderful is that He is born of the creatures (T.C.V. 12).

Mythological theology reveals two things, firstly the transcendence of God does not involve and is not opposed to immanence.⁴² Creatorship on His part does not imply non-creation of Himself through descent or self-manifestation. The descent is to use the very excellent expression of Śrī Aurobindo 'a coming down of the Divine below the line which divides the divine from the human world or status'. This is the divine birth—*janma karma ca me divyam evam yō vētti tattvataḥ*—(BH.G. IV. 9). The creator exhibits all the fullness of His creatorship and lordship in the terrestrial scheme. The *avatār* is thus a profound mythological principle of descent of the creator, self-creating Himself for some purpose of delight which may be of the redemptive kind (*dayā-svarūpa*). Creatureliness is a play on His part, if indeed He plays that part.⁴³ The apparent fatherhood and motherhood of creatures is due to the Will and Grace of the Creator so that the creatures may be granted the pleasure of a total experience which consists of infinite types of relationships. The fundamental note in all true relationships in respect of the creature to the Creator is to be totally conscious of their creatureliness, *śēṣatva*. That is why we should mark a radical distinction between the birth of the creatures which is their ordinary lot at the direction of God as a result, equal and opposite, of, or earned by, their own *karma*. Nor can the secret of the *avatār* be known except through His inimitable Grace, for the Lord's body is Love, beneficence, *dayā* itself as is stated in the *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi*, 40. So also is the *avatār*.

9. Mentioning the *avatār*, the ālvār correctly anticipates the supreme doctrine of descents or emanations of the Divine. The

42. Sec. 10 under *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* in this paper.

43. Cf. "Kulasēkhara's Philosophy of Devotion:" J.S.V.O.I., Vol. III. 1 Devaki-Kṛṣṇa, Kausalyā-Rāma, Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Daśaratha-Rāma relationships are all of this 'inverted kind'.

Cf. *Nānmukhan*, T. 40.

idea of a descending Divine into the scheme of Humanity and infra-humanity is always intrinsic to the idea of the Creator indwelling and entering into the created. The Rg Vedic statement of three-fold births (Rg Vedic IV. i. 7), the statement that there are souls which had five-fold births (Rg Vedic X. 53, 5), the statement of the Upaniṣads on the Antaryāmin doctrine, the Gītā affirmation of the *avatār* as the most splendid exemplification of His Divine Nature even in and amidst the material-vital-mental and space-time scheme, and lastly the Pāñcarātra statement of the five-foldness of the Divine *Para*, all are grouped as it were by the ālvār in the most luminous verse of the *Tiruchhanda Viruttam* 17.

"One Person.⁴⁵ In all four persons.

Being thus the Enjoyable Being⁴⁶ and the Person realized through merit,⁴⁷ and the Person of (many) manifestational forms.⁴⁸

O First Lord lying on the serpent in the Milk Ocean and beyond it, Thou art the Transcendent special Form.⁵⁰

The four *vyūhas* are different from the other four, such as Arcā Antaryāmin (*pūnniyattin mūrti*), *Avatār* (*Ennil mūrti*), the *Vāsudeva* (in the Milk Ocean) and the *Āka-mūrti* the *Para-Nārāyaṇa*.

10. The theory of *vyūha* is a unique contribution of Āgama literature to Theism. It confirms not merely the immanence and transcendence of God; in the universe it reveals the Deity operating widely in the several planes of existence. *Vyūha* is defined 'as a process which while bringing the product into existence leaves the

44. Cf. 29 and 48 verses.

Vāsudeva—the all-pervader—is the first.

45. The three persons are Samkarṣaṇa, Pradhymna, and Aniruddha.

46. This is the immaterial form.

47. This is the form realized in liberation.

48. The form that is *vibhava* or *avatārs* like Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-*vibhava-jātiya*.

49. He is the Being in the Ocean—the first herein mentioned.

50. The utter. Being beyond all creation of which these are all emanates. He cannot be known at all. It is this that the ālvār considers himself to have seen even like Markandēya. N.T. 3.

The Vaiṣṇava and the Kāśmirian Śaivism accept the *vyūha*-doctrine. It is most probable that the latter accepts this on the precedence of the Pāñcarātra and Vaiṣṇava āgamas.

source of product unchanged.⁵¹ This is too wide a definition since it will apply to the *vikritis* of *Prakṛiti* in *Sāmkhya* unless we are prepared to consider that unchanged means absolutely unchanged, in which case the definition cannot apply to the *Sacchidānanda* even, for there is indeed a change. The doctrine of the *Veda* in respect of this *vyūha* is beautifully expressed by the text

Pūrṇamadaḥ pūrṇamidam pūrṇātpūrṇamudacyate |
Pūrṇasya pūrṇamādāya pūrṇamevāvaśiṣyate ||⁵²

Here we have clearly expressed the theory that when the Divine incarnates as the Cosmic Deities of *Samkarsaṇa*, *Aniruddha* and *Pradhymna* who are the *adhiṣṭāna devatas* of *Buddhi*, *Manas* and *Ahamkāra* of all creatures, as the *antaryāmin* of all souls, as the *avatār* incarnating in all strata of creatures and planes, and finally as the *arcā*, the Lord in material form which is yet a supramaterial existence, the Divine continues to be the All, transcendent to all and in each of His own incarnate and unincarnate Beings.

The *Vaikhāṇasa* theory of *Vyūha* which is enunciated in their *Arcanākālpa* has reference to the five-foldness of the deity similar to the *Pāñcarātra* view; but the forms are *Viṣṇu*, *Satya*, *Puruṣa*, *Acyuta* and *Aniruddha*. *Vyūha* means a sundering apart (*vi—Vuh*).⁵³

Of what is this the sundering it may be asked? *Pāñcarātra* says that it means the keeping apart, for the purposes of creative, redemptive, meditative and providential activity of the Divine, the several qualities, perfect and matchless in themselves, such as the six qualities of *jñāna*, *bala*, *aiśvarya*, *vīrya*, *śakti* and *tejas*. When such a Brahman which is of the nature of knowledge and is endowed with all qualities, resolves Himself into the idea of splitting Himself into the many without becoming separated from

51. *Kashmirian Saivism*: J. C. Chatterjee, p. 59.

52. *Viśvakṣena Sam*: XI.

Samkarsana stu deveṣo jagatsraṣṭumanāsrataḥ |
Jivātativam adhiṣṭāya prakṛteṣtu vivicya tat ||
Aiśvarya-vīrya-sambhedād rūpam pradhymnam ucyate |
Pūrṇasādgunya evayam acyutopi mahāmune ||

Cf. *Ahīr. Sam.* Ch. V. 29-38.

Cf. N.T. 7.

53. *Vyūha* means also dispersal or removal cf. *Īśa. Up.* 16 *vyūha rāsmīn* samūha tejah.

the Main and Original Unity or self-identity of His eternal nature, then we have the multiplanal or multidimensional or multi-personal manifestation of the One person.⁵⁴ The manifestation proceeds in pairs, it is declared by *Pāñcarātra*,⁵⁵ one of the pairs being cognitive and the other conative or volitive, or one being theoretical and the other practical or expressed in quite a different way, quietistic and dynamic. Thus *Jñāna* and *Bala*, *Aiśvarya* and *Vīrya*, *Tejas* and *Śakti* are the three pairs of qualities which are manifested under the triple personalities of *Samkarsaṇa*, *Pradhymna*⁵⁶ and *Aniruddha*. The manifesting of each pair is described by the *Pāñcarātra* as if successive at the beginning, till finally all the pairs are represented by the three distinct persons or entities or deities. It is however commended by all philosophical schools that this successiveness should not be equated with origination or creation of creatures, or that these parts are caused by their previous pairs, or that the qualities of the Divine could be taken away from the Divine Nature that is integral. Nor should it be considered that these qualities could be divested from their substrate, the Divine, so as to build up new souls or persons, for the obvious reason, *qualities are not things*.

11. Thus we have in all, three cosmic forms of the Self having two attributes each, the Lord of all creatures indwelling in all as Self, as *Arcā* and as *Avatār*. The *ālvār* of *Tirumaliśai* has shown that there is a running thread of unity of all in and through the Transcendent. The personalities of the three or five forms are not of the finite souls, independent and individual, but the *contin-*

54. Christian theology speaks about three persons: God before incarnation, Son during incarnation, and the holy ghost as that which takes of the son and carries it on to men. Power is God, Wisdom is son, holy ghost is love. They form one life, not three minds but one mind, not three substances but one substance. Cf. *Dēan Inge: Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 36. The point is that they are represented to have here a temporal succession but not contemporaneous existence, though that is not by any means ruled out.

55. *Introduction to Pāñcarātra*: O. Schrader. Adyar, p. 81.

56. Cf. *Mahāsanat Kumāra Samhitā* Vāsudeva creates from His mind the white Goddess *Śānti*, and together with her *Samkarsaṇa* or *Śiva*: Then from the left side of the latter is born the red Goddess *Śrī* whose son is *Pradhymna* or *Brahmā*, the latter again created the yellow *Sarasvatī* and together with her *Aniruddha* or *Puruṣottama*. This view is not acceptable to *Ālvār*-Theology however.

ous single continuing manifestative Self, infinite and indivisible and eterna! Brahman.—*ajayamānō bahudhāvijayatē*. The ālvārs have shown that there is no difference between the *Arcā*, and *Avatā* and *Nārāyaṇa*. In their Hymns they reveal the fact that they were conscious of this supreme continuity and inseparable identity of the One Supreme Self represented by various descents of His. The personalities of God are thus different in kind from those of the many souls. It is this fact that has to be remembered in connection with the view maintained by Rāmānuja that in the Pāñcarātra system the souls are not held to be created. This point is very important in the understanding of the metaphysics of Pāñcarātra which whilst distinguishing radically between the souls and Īśvara, affirms the emergence or creation of the personalities of the Īśvara which are initiated for the cosmic, individual, beneficial and redemptive purposes and evolutionary delight of extracting a harmony out of the many. God has to be conceived as the *Unitas multiplex* Reality, if not *unitas quintuplex* or *septiplex*.

12. God is described next (T.C.V. 19) as the most important Power, as the subduer of all creatures and as the Teacher of all. The symbol of the Bird is used. Taking the form of a bird (*pu!*) He moves with birds, slays birds evil in nature, and yet has a bird (*Garuḍa*) for His ensign, and yet the Great Being lays Himself down on the bed formed by a serpent which is the food of that *Garuḍa*. Before Him everything trembles. He is not inconscient in a bird-form. He is full of transcendent power and consciousness whatever form He takes, even though not the cosmic forms above mentioned. Nor does He tolerate evil amongst birds and beasts. Evil is what He destroys or converts into pure Good and meed. He elevates everything through getting their services. This is His enjoyment and love (*kādal*). God helps all creatures in every way, taking even lowly forms of tortoise (20), fish (30) Lion-man (*Nṛsimha*) (23) so that His devotees may attain immortality and progress in their life-aims (20). This same activity of Grace produces these infinite *vibhavas* or special births in and out of wombs. God in every form and body incarnates without interference to His supreme Nature *svarūpa svātantrya*.

13. After describing in the 22nd Hymn that God is the "Womb, Protector, Transcendent, becoming a Child rolling the seven worlds up into Nector," the ālvār addresses God thus

"Thou restest on a fig-leaf. O Primordial God!

Thou who wearest the beeful *tulasi*-cool garland art with the Beautiful Lotus-born Mother in thy chest. Thou Lord of the Earth, whose body is blue like the Ocean! (24)

The ālvār describes the greatness of the Avatār:

"Conjoining Womanhood with manhood (Thou createst), became the Lord of neuter too and the Ruler of all.

Becoming the inner ruler of all persons, thou maddest creation evolve from matter.

Thou became a cowherd who loves the cows;

Thou became false (to the wicked non-seekers) (and)

Thou wert the Real (to the seekers);

Thou wert a bachelor (or rather livest in Brahman);

Thou are fit to be sought by the world as supplicant;

Thine form is complex. Who canst know thy Wonderful Form?"

And again

"Transcendent of the Transcendent!

Having the Ocean as bed, and enjoying the Supreme

Lady in the chest, Thou loving, wert born in human wombs.

Lord of the Form of Knowledge! None can know thy greatness as this,⁵⁷ (29 T.C.V.).

14. God's accessibility is one of the most important experiences of the ālvārs. It is indeed the keynote of the Descent. *Saulabhya* goes along with *niyāmakatva*, *rakṣakatva*, and *nāśakatva* of the wicked. It also is *bhogyatva*. The ālvār laments

57. (i) is the *Para*, (ii) is the *Vāsudeva* in the Milk Ocean, (iii) is *Aniruddha*, says the commentator, (iv) *Avatār*, (v) *Antaryāmin*. The *Arcā* is also a form of knowledge even though in image-form. Cf. T.C.V. 79.

Can there be attainment of Him (Who is the ruler of the) ten (lords) of the ten (directions),

Being the One ordainer of the seven (notes of music) and nine (sentiments),

Who descended for the sake of the good of the fourteen (worlds) ten times into them and is the One (being)

Who has incarnated previously.

In all His descents His nature is Divine not material nor vital nor mental. *Janma-karma ca me divyam evam yō vēti tattvataḥ Bhā. Gitā, IV.*

the bad faith of men, who ought to know that great accessibility of God.

"Milkwhite (in *Kṛta*), Copper-red (in *Treta*), moss-green (in *Dvāpara*) and (in *Kali*) of the hue of the blue-lotus enjoyed by the bees.

During all these periods the hues taken by Thee will be hues of the ages.

The accessibility of Viṣṇu in all these periods not enjoying, What hue is it that the men of the earth have? (T.C.V. 44).

The bad and evil souls do not belong to any period, and indeed they belong to all periods and have a distinct hue or darkness (*tamas*) in their natures, a darkness that is incapable of enjoying the Divine who is accessible at all times.

And again the ālvār addresses the Divine:

"Thou who have taken up thy residence on the Earth whilst yet the Ruler of the eternals and art standing eager to help (thy devotees) (*mayangi niṇṇenṇu*), and art beyond all thought,

Thou who grantest visions to thy seekers and art distinct.⁵⁸

O Thou the Cause of my good, seated on a serpent.

O Thou the most pure Being, adorned with *tuḷasi*-garland (T.C.V. 45).

What Wonder!

Lest it be said that God being manifest in one Form will not be available for Worship in any other form, the ālvār says (T.C.V. 47) that He has no limitation to His omnipervasiveness (*vāsyatva*).⁵⁹

15. The ālvār's praises on the God at Śrīrangam and Kumbhakonam breath the air of the accessibility of God and His extraordinary integral nature stretching from the terrestrial to the supra-terrestrial universes of God. The most important aspect of the Divine nature which usually fascinates and yet frightens is the

58. Cf. T.C.V. 79.

59. The haters of God are distant to God. "To those whose faces are turned away from Govinda, those minds are attached to objects (of senses), to them that Supreme Brahman is than the fair; to those whose minds are absorbed in Govinda, having renounced all objects, one should know that is near." *Viṣṇu Dharma* 99. 14.

Cf. *Īśa-Comm.* Vēṅkaṭanātha on verse 4. J.S.V.O.I. Vol. III. 1. 1942.

Ugrarūpa of God—the terrible-aspect of God. So much has been made of the *ugra-rūpa* of God as a necessary and fundamentally intrinsic nature of God, that it has been sought to be held as the real aspect of the Deity.⁶⁰ Rudra is therefore declared to be the real Deity. Power, Fierceness, Violence and Dionysic frenzy are considered to be more the nature of the deity than the quiet, fascinating, redemptive and beneficent Apollonian Deity, and welcome to the human mind.

Tirumaliśai ālvār recognizes the importance of this *ugra* or *ghora* form of the Deity for is it not an essential part of the nature of the Deity as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Himself revealed in His *Viśvarūpa*? That form is terrible to behold, encompassing as it does all awe. Man feels his head reeling, throat parched and limbs trembling, and words are held up. In the 61st verse the ālvār tries to synthesise the *Ugra* or *ghora-rūpa* of God with the *saṁlabhya* and *saukumārya-rūpa* of God. This is testified to by mentioning the Varāha and Siṁha forms which are forbidding and fierce to behold in the same breath as the Lord whose feet are being washed by the river Kāverī at Śrīrangam, girdling as it does the island temple. God is Keśava because He is the destroyer of misery and therefore is it that He cannot stand the misery of others. His fierce form is shown not indeed to frighten the devotees but to reveal that His power is illimitable. The *Trivikrama*-form is a wonderful aspect of the illimitable power of surpassing plenitude,—a power to be exercised against the foes of truth and light. Not only did the foes tremble before this form, it was strangely the form at which the devotees of light, the votaries and martyrs of humanity and divinities never quailed, for they knew that this was His Māyā, His essential power that revealed the magnificent Infinity of His Grace and transcendence.⁶¹ In the story of Mārkaṇḍeya in the *Bhāgavata* to which reference has been made, Mārkaṇḍeya prays to Nārāyaṇa to reveal to him His Māyā—and that was the deluge awe-inspiring and soul-quaking. The *Ugra-rūpa* does not frighten, indeed does not destroy the knower, for it is also the manifestation of the Love and *Saulabhya* nature of God.

"Entering the hearts of those who with one-pointed mind seated through Yoga seek to attain thee, and residing

60. Cf. *Saivism in South India*: C. V. Narayana Aiyar, Ch. II.

61. *Kva yauvanonmukhībhūta sukumāra tanur hariḥ |*
Kva vajra-kāṭhinābhoga Śarīroyam mahāsuraḥ ||

therein, Thou hast become difficult of perception. O Thou Dispeller of sorrows, Lord of Gods!

The ālvār finds in the descents of God as *avatār* (63b) the supreme mingling or fusion of both the fierce and ruthless and destructive effort in respect of evil, and the calm, benevolent, exalting and elevating love of the Good. Indeed if we could say that the destruction of evil is half good, if not the good itself, as some schools of thought contend⁶² then, the *avatār* such as Narasimha really typifies this happiness as achieved by man through His descent. But this is not all in the theism of the ālvārs, which holds that God does not stop short at the destruction of all obstacles to His devotees, but goes further to grant them the felicity of the supreme nearness to His supramental plane and presence (*parama-pada*).

This shows that man is the dependent, the instrument and servant, conscious and willing if good and knowing, and conscious and rebellious and obstructive if evil and blind—but all the same a helpless tool of God.⁶³ For it is this important fact that is usually missed by theists who decry in this failure of God to convert the evil, a finiteness on His part and even a helplessness on His part, and thus describe Him as an Ahura Mazda fighting His battles against His foe, or else as a finite soul apotheosised for certain exceeding virtues—a hero at best. God is then described as a Hero made Ideal, and nothing more. But what about His foes? Can there be foes at all and has He to struggle against them? Does He destroy them or do their evil deeds recoil on them and destroy them, even as the Bhāgavata explains the destruction of Sagara's sons?

These are important questions as any student of Religion will admit. Three important questions arise: Can God have hatred if He be all-love or beneficence? Can God be cruel if He be all-love? Can God lead to destruction any one, however wicked, if He be all-love? We know that if we answer these three questions in the affirmative then we shall be landed in endless confusion, since love is something that negates hatred, cruelty and destruction of anything, except those pains inflicted surgically, those privations administered for correction. Non-violence, *Ahimsa*, is one of the

62. Nyāya, Buddhism and Sāṃkhya contend that annihilation of sorrow is the final enjoyment. Śānti or peace is the resultant of the annihilation of sorrow and suffering.

63. Bh. Gītā. XVIII. 60.

most important attributes, just as much non-hatred (*nirvaira*) is of any spiritual soul. This is the essential meaning of the great instruction of love your enemies, deem your enemies also as belonging to the self, but not their wickedness. The path of conversion of the wicked from his wickedness to goodness is the necessity, and this is to be achieved only with the help not of *bhēda* and *danḍa* or *māyā* or *indrajāla* but with the purest means of *śama* and *śānti*. Means must be appropriate to the end, and cannot be quite the opposite, for the proposition of thesis, anti-thesis to synthesis is not on a par with the ethical structure of the recognition of God as the indwelling self of all. The *avatār* of love would be quite different from the ordinary notions of God we know of. The naturalistically-minded theist stops short of the finite God struggling with his righteous weapons against the mighty unrighteousness or anti-christ, as H. G. Wells's *Invisible King* does and Prof. Laird has stated in his *Mind and Deity* following his footsteps. This may lead to the emphasizing of the nature of God as perpetually 'creative', by which is meant more or less a God who is in the birththroes of creative struggle—not a God who is a master-willer (*saṅkalpa-siddha*). He would be a way-farer as Mrs. Rhys Davids will put it. Such a naturalistic theism distinguishes rightly between the Good and Evil radically, and postulates two adverse and opposed powers sustaining the two sides or armies. This view is also facilitated by the fact that some of the noblest children of God, seers and prophets especially in the West, had to pass through fire literally, and martyrdom was their lot however glorious. Whatever spiritual evidence of their successes they had, whatever might have been the social repercussions and recoil that made their canonization possible posthumously, the fact of supreme concern remained that God was unable to come to their rescue at that critical and crucial historical moment on the terrestrial plane. This has been the most difficult part of the theistic postulate of faith in God or God Himself, and has been the target of atheistic thinkers throughout the History of Religions.

In India however we find that this crucial critical historical moment had always led to the descent of the Divine even in the form that may be requested. The challenge of Hiraṇyakaśipu was to reveal God here and now, and anywhere and in a form that none could imagine. So indeed it is claimed that God manifested Himself. The purāṇic stories though essentially mythological and fantastic do indeed preserve the central fact of philosophico-theological

interest of an answering deity. Miraculous! Miracles are no arguments it may be said but being as real as brute facts they have to be faced and explained. It cannot be that God in the West was experimenting with penury and suffering and testing men with fire and torture, stake and inquisition, decapitation and mass-murder, whilst He was experimenting with love and intercession and teaching in the East. It is true that we have evidences of the self-same fierce and unholy hatred bred intolerance through non-perception of God as the self of all beings, between the sects such as the Jains and Lingāyats, and the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas which had also led to experiences of martyrdom. The *deus ex machina* theory that God helps those who are fit to be helped through some good act of theirs whilst He is impartially unmovingly looking on at the catastrophic moment, at those who have done nothing, or done anything inadvertently, and adversely leaving them to the kind or hard mercies of the mill of the natural law that grinds slowly but surely without any distinction of good or bad, is a fine calculus of cause-effect, but hardly capable of explaining the abiding conflict in the man's soul about God's omnipotent omni-benevolence. Special Grace is a special expression of the ever present general Grace, a fine inundation of His grace at the appropriate moment. This is what the ālvārs consider to be the result of an act of surrender and prayer to the Lord. The evil ones even are saved because of some good act of prayer they have done. The mechanical calculus of the ordinary life is not the calculus of God. Rigidly does the law of *karma* work, but its rigidity is qualitatively raised so as to appear very much relieved of its tension, by the apprehension by man of God's supreme Will. Obstruction is an indication, a sign of the disapproval of nature against man, which man has to overcome. The triumph over the obstacles to the attainment of God is the only important effort which will be achieved by a total surrender to God. Pursuit of any others or any other objects such as pleasures or even of higher things like the path of the solar orb is of a low order or kind. These small ends are sinful and sorrow-producing (T.C.V. 67).

16. Happiness is the goal of all endeavour be it religious or secular. This happiness may be graded from the lowest to the highest according to the degree of permanence and satisfaction of the inmost nature. The ālvār raises an interesting but important proposition whether liberty or liberation, *mokṣa*, is higher than service of the Divine, and replies (T.C.V. 83) that happiness in the

state of *samsāra* can be, provided there is uninterrupted possession of the love of God. Happiness is the experience of the Love of God, and God inalienably.

"O Lord, decorated with honeyful *tūlasi*-garland!

Even though I attain the blessedness immeasurable on reaching Heaven on separation from your feet, the love of thee which bound my mind to thee with tenfold rope⁶⁴ firmly, will itself become my happiness.

Even if other bodies have to be taken, happiness will be ordained by the Lord through the love the devotee and surrenderer bears to His feet (T.C.V. 84) in any and every state—a note that is so often struck by the succeeding ālvārs like Kulaśekhara—and a note struck by those who profess to enjoy *Jīvanmukti*. Though this is the happiness, the ālvār says that all rest in the hands of the Lord, even to deny all love, all knowledge, all action. God's will is not capable of being prophesied. It is because of this incapacity to measure or calculate or anticipate the Will of God, there is fear. Against this fear, God alone can help. "The immeasurable Magician alone must help man." He alone can keep fear away from the breasts of His devotees (T.C.V. 91, 92) 17.

A general survey of the two masterpieces of this ālvār Bhaktisāra shows clearly that he has represented the *tattva*, *hita*, and *Puruṣārtha* very luminously, and has shown that man should seek the Highest *tattva* alone, and not any *tattva*, thinking that that could lead to ultimate and integral happiness. The ālvār, despite the avowed sectarianism, really makes out a case for the acceptance of the very Highest Being, and *paurāṇically* so to speak, seeks to affirm the Supremacy of Nārāyaṇa who is Origin and sustenance and Destroyer of the Universe, who makes poison into nectar and who is Love itself as revealed in His manifold descents into the spatio-temporal scheme of the Human beings. In all the goal is to perceive "the Oneness in the manyness" of the Deity:

"Thou art the breath in the body, sleep along with wakefulness, the five-fold produce of the cow, and their purity is Thee.

The attractive products of the Ocean are thee;

The air that moves in the ether and the earth is thee. I too am thee. Thou are Rāma too, my Lord! (T.C.V. 94).

64. The tenfold rope is stated to be Bhakti.

The *sāmānādhikarānya* doctrine is clearly mentioned here. He the Lord is always with the Mother of the Universe—this is a specific experience of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava seers.

“Though one attains the things of the world of Brahmā blest with undestroyable prosperity, and the things of the world of Hara blest with power of all destruction, and the things of the world of the thousand-eyed Indra, and even the fullest happiness that is the sign of the Highest God, Should not the mind seek out that Happiness of being United to thee alone? (T.C.V. 108).

The Highest goal and aspiration has been pitched by the ālvār on the Integral One Being of whom every one is a member and servant and disciple and votary. This is the *siddhi*, not the attainment of *Īśvaratva* (divine existence, or godhood) nor yet *aṣṭasiddhis* of even the Higher Gods.

Thus does one achieve the immortal in mortal existence, the secret of which was enunciated by the doctrine of service of the divine, *kainkaryā*, and prayer and singing and ecstasy of living in Brahman. The general lines are thus well and firmly laid for the great proliferation of the later saints of *bhakti*. In Tirumaliśai ālvār, *bhakti* is dynamic, realizing and not merely ecstatic or resignatory or aesthetic. There is not the frenzied dionysian need for dance and song and *tāṇḍava-nṛtya*. Such is the significant contribution of the fourth ālvār to the stream of Divine Experience in South India.

Editorial

OBITUARY.

Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) became the Edwards Professor of Egyptology in the University College, London in 1892. He was engaged in excavation work in Egypt in the years 1880-1922; and among his principal discoveries the following may be noted:—The Greek settlements at Naukratis and Daphnae; inscriptions of the Israelite war at Thebes; kings of the earliest Dynasties at Abydos; Hyksos camp; city of Onios and palaces of Memphis, Tarkhan and the Treasure of Lahun. Some of his numerous works are the following:—

- 'Stonehenge' (1880).
- Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh' (1885).
- 'Historical Scarabs', (1889).
- 'Ten years Digging' (1893).
- 'History of Egypt (1894-1923) in 6 volumes, with collaborators, bringing the history down to the middle Ages and containing an immense assemblage of facts and records invaluable to the student.
- 'Telle Amarna' (1895).
- 'Koptos' (1896).
- 'Six Temples at Thebes' (1897).
- 'Religion and Conscience of Ancient Egypt' (1898).
- 'Syria and Egypt (1898).
- 'Diospolis' (1901).
- 'Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties' (1901).
- 'Abydos I, II & III.'
- 'Methods and Aims in Archaeology (1904).
- 'Researches in Sinai' (1906).
- 'Hyksos and Israelite cities (1906).
- 'Religion of Ancient Egypt' (1906).
- 'Memphis (1909).
- 'Egypt and Israel' (1910).
- 'The Labyrinth' (1912).
- 'Formation of the Alphabet (1912).
- 'Heliopolis' (1914).
- 'Scarabs' (1917).

'Some Sources of Human History' (1919).

'Prehistoric Egypt' (1920).

'Religious Life in Ancient Egypt' (1924).

Petrie became an F.R.S. and an F.B.A. His publications cover a very wide range, from the most technical to the relatively popular.

Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I. E., C.S.I. (1863-1942).

He served in the Indian Political Department from 1890, and took part in explorations in and Government of India missions to Manchuria, from Peking to India via Chinese Turkestan and on the Pamirs and in Hunza (1886-91). He was Political Agent in Chitral and was the special correspondent for the *Times* in the Chitral Expedition of 1895. After serving in Transvaal and Rhodesia and in several Indian States, he became the British Commissioner in Tibet, in connection with the mission of Lord Curzon. He retired from service as Resident in Kashmir. He developed into a religious mystic and was President of the Royal Geographical Society for a time. He was very sympathetic in his appreciation of Indian religious mysticism and took part in the Congress of Religions held in Calcutta recently.

Among his publications and writings the following are noteworthy:—

'Heart of a Continent'.

"Relief of Chitral".

"South Africa of To-day (1898)".

"Kashmir" (1909).

"India and Tibet".

"The Gleam."

"The Heart of Nature".

"Wonders of the Himalaya" and "Dawn in India".

Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda

This great student of Indian Antiquity and Anthropology who passed away in May last, was the life and soul of the Varendra Research Museum of Raj Shahi, which he helped in starting about 1910 and to the building up of whose usefulness he made the most notable contributions. He also began the Varendra Research

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Society Publication Series with a small volume in Bengali, entitled "Gauda-Rajamala" Part I, in Bengali, and dealing with the political history of Hindu Bengal. In 1916, he brought out his well-known work—"The Indo-Aryan Races". He was entertained in the service of the Archaeological department in 1917 and in 1921 he became the Superintendent of the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum, wherein he did a remarkably striking amount of work in rearranging and developing the collection of Antiquities. He was also a teacher of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Department of Post-Graduate Studies of the University of Calcutta, through the discerning appreciation of the great Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, and became the head of the Department of Anthropology which was soon started therein. He was closely associated as member, Fellow and Anthropological Secretary, for a number of years, with the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His contributions to the series of memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India and of articles to the Annual Reports of that survey as well as to various learned, journal are very valuable. He attended the World Anthropological Conference held in London in 1934, after he retired from the Archaeological Department and he brought out a small volume entitled *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London, 1936, and helped the museum authorities in their task of rearranging the galleries of Oriental Religion. Government conferred on him the distinction of Rai Bahadur in 1925. He was busy in research work and in writing almost till the day of his death at Allahabad on the 28th of May last. His death is a great loss to the world of Indological scholarship.

Reviews

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The Oxford University Press have laid the Indian public under heavy obligation by publishing a number of little books called "Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs." Indian affairs now occupy an attention which it has never before received either in the country itself or outside. Many are the problems that confront a serious-minded citizen of India, and no less those out of it who take an interest in the affairs of India. Owing to the present circumstances, the number of the latter class is very great indeed. The questions that relate to India are of many kinds and interest all classes of people from the statesman to the general reader. To these and to the average citizens of India, a certain amount of correct knowledge of the many problems calling for solution, has been supplied by the Oxford University Press with the necessary background of a little information upon these problems on the same model as their Pamphlets on World Affairs. They have supplied us with a number of these useful pamphlets for review.

Of these the first number is what they call a double number, and attempts to tackle the cultural problem of the country. Serious-minded people are in many ways troubled over the complexity of this country. The one question that dominates the minds of the thinking is whether the vast population of this country could be brought to a unity such as would enable the country becoming a nation. The actual of the problem form is whether it could ever become a nation, containing as it does peoples of various stages of culture from the most advanced almost to the primitive. Beyond that, the cultures of several important groups of people in the country seem to be irreconcilably opposed, for any kind of unity. The cultural problem of India is fundamental and is considered in this pamphlet by five thinkers, each one with a characteristic outlook upon the question.

The first Essay is by the well-known Indian Christian writer Mr. A. J. Appasamy, who set out to consider whether the different cultures of India could be brought into harmony. He begins by quoting an Indian Christian who said at a Conference, "My ideal

for India is one Indian society with one Indian culture." Mr. Appasamy's problem is whether, with such different communities in India as Hindu, Moslem, Parsee, Sikh and Christian to mention only the principal ones—any cultural unity is possible. In all these great varieties, Mr. Appasamy would still find a certain underlying unity at least through the various communities grouped together under the big, broad label "Hindu". He recognises the intangible cultural unity among the Hindus. But when he turns his attention to the Mahomedan and Christian population, the question arises whether an attempt could be made to bring about any synthesis of religions. The votaries of these religions—Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs—could, as it is, never be brought to merge into one, notwithstanding the centuries that these religions were professed side by side in India. Such a synthesis will not come and it must be said will not be brought about as the one or two remarkable attempts made in this connection failed. The phenomenon that took place in America to bring about unity among the immigrants of different European nationalities that settled there could not be brought about in India, as the types of culture prevalent in India are very much wider apart than what prevailed in America. The only possibility in India is not the synthesis of religion, but a harmony of different cultures, the differences being recognised. He wishes to bring about this much needed harmony among the various people by making them understand each others' points of view, and, while holding on each to its own particular culture, sympathise with that of their fellowmen. It may make the beginning of the desired cultural harmony. His idea seems to be a mere extension of what had actually obtained among the various classes and communities of the Hindus themselves. That cultural unity among the Hindus had been obtained by a diffusion of culture by various popular means, so that even the unlettered ignorant mass of people had some knowledge of the higher culture of the land. This can be brought about, Mr. Appasamy hopes, among all the varieties of people in India understanding the culture of the rest.

The next writer, Sir Abdul Qadir, notes the differences among the people in point of food, dress and religion, but would see room for comity among these different peoples by means of the cultivation of literature, music and understanding of the differences in religion. On a closer study, it would be found that after all religions do not differ so very much from each other in point of their real teachings, and he would therefore advise a frank recognition

of the differences, external and internal. An effort to soften these by a sympathetic study of each others' points of view not only in religion, but perhaps in such secular directions as literature and music would, according to him bring about the desired result. He couples together the efforts of Asoka and Akbar, which we should say is rather unhappy, as what each attempted to do was very different from the other. Asoka's religious effort, if it could be so called, was one of reconciliation, while that of Akbar's was amalgamation. The best ideal, according to him, is "to seek unity in the midst of diversity and to recognise that diversity of religious thought is bound to remain."

The next writer in this symposium is Mr. R. P. Masani, who regards India's past as the melting-pot of cultures, and would emphasise the sense of fellowship and world community which he considers is latent in man. He considers the causes or influences that contributed to intensify the cultural differences in the last century and would draw attention to the principle of humanity. According to him, "the gospel that can unite all human souls under one standard of universal religion is the gospel of humanity." This would be above religion and need not be coloured by it. He would draw attention to the Hindu philosophy of self-knowledge which culminated in the formula "Tatvam Asi", "That art thou."

We pass on to the next writer Sir Radhakrishnan who lays emphasis on the spiritual basis and insists upon God realisation as the basis of India's religion and culture. He points out that the principle of toleration had long been accepted in India and Hindu monarchs made it a point to patronise all differing religions, even down to atheism. The maintenance of Dharma was the principal duty of Hindu rulers, and that Dharma was elastic enough to respond to the changing needs of time.

The last writer in this group is Sir Jogendra Singh who begins with the impossibility of limiting culture by country or community. He fails to see cultural differences in various communities. While recognising that men and women could quarrel in many external details, there is a culture which is common for people of differing religions. Eighty per cent of the vast Indian population live in villages, and notwithstanding their divergence in religious beliefs, they live as good neighbours; almost as much could be said of the majority of those living in towns. If you leave the material realm of culture, you find the interesting unity in a commonly prevalent

sympathetic feeling for other cultures. He quotes Sir Muhammad Iqbal: "Religion does not teach hatred

We are Hindees
Hindustan is ours."

While material culture may bring about hatred, the culture of the spirit will only promote sympathy. Religion undoubtedly has the power to refine our nature. A proper understanding of religion will remove much that causes bitterness. He points out that the establishment of an impartial Central Government by the British in India, recognising merit wherever it existed, has done a good deal to bring about a certain amount of cultural unity. He would insist upon a strong Central Government and would have a democracy different from the exotic systems such as are too much in evidence at present. He is not for "discovering and demarcating cultural regions." He emphasises the cardinal principles of religion and good government as the only means to bring about, unity and would have the British government provide that.

This modern problem, as we are fain to regard it, was a problem which confronted the very early Hindu Emperor Mandhata. He succeeded to his father's empire, and brought into the empire other realms in rapid succession. He was confronted at once with wide and fundamental differences which could hardly be reconciled with one another. He understood the Dharma and, puzzled beyond remedy, he went to consult Indra the King of all. Indra could not solve the puzzle and appealed to Vishnu for assistance. The Mahabharata story is that Vishnu's spirit got into Indra and indicated to the human emperor that the solution of his difficulty lay in his not attempting at the unity he had in mind; but advised him to content himself with putting down, with a stern hand, what seemed to him grossly undesirable in the newcomers, otherwise providing the means for the various groups of peoples that constituted his subjects the means to pursue life in their own accustomed way. That was the basis upon which the Hindu Dharma was made to flourish, and all groups of people from the most primitive in point of civilisation up to the most highly cultured could live and thrive without molestation. A late king, the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, described himself as the 'gateway that prevents the entry of destructive creatures in the garden his subjects', which, with characteristic differences of artistic expression, means that different group plants were to grow in their own way by being provided all the air and light that they required, and shutting out creatures that would

fain destroy. That, in short, is the fundamental principle that governed the vast and varied peoples of India, which may well govern the world of the future with benefit to all.

THE CRIPPS MISSION. By Professor R. Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford.

This is one of the important pamphlets issued by the Oxford University Press among their pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Professor Coupland who was in India studying the constitutional problem under the auspices of the Nuffield College, was about returning when the Cripps Mission arrived. He stayed at the request of Sir Stafford Cripps and watched with interest the work of the mission. He gives the results of his observation in the form of a connected account from the arrival of the mission down to its departure.

The author begins his account with a preliminary description of the conditions that developed in the political field from the August Offer onwards. He traces the causes of the distrust that had grown generally to a point of acuteness in India against the sincerity of Britain's promise to make India free and independent. He traces the position of parties, describing as well as he possibly could the attitude of the various important parties, the Congress, the Muslim league, the Hindu Mahasabha and other parties and organisations that came to the front in recent discussions, and, as an interested spectator, he notes the reactions of these various parties in respect of each particular move from the government in recent times. He points out that the Congress policy since the outbreak of the war has been one of complete non-co-operation, if not of active hostility. The provocation for this was that India was dragged into the war without her consent, and if the congress took an active part in the war effort, this would mean acquiescence in this humiliation. The congress, therefore, formulated a demand that the British government should immediately declare India independent. Then, they must provide for a new Constitution for India to be drawn up by Indians only, elected by India as a whole. This was followed further by a demand for a provisional national government in the Centre, such as would command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central legislature, and secure the co-operation of the governments in the provinces. This demand was met by what is called the August

Offer, the promise of full Dominion Status and concession of the claim for constitutional self-determination. The offer was not accepted and the distrust in the sincerity of the British promises naturally grew apace. It was made worse by the statement of Mr. Churchill in September 1941 that the Atlantic Charter was intended primarily to apply to Europe. While this aggravated the distrust in the minds of the Congress and its sympathisers, it aggravated the antagonism between the Congress and the Moslem League which had already grown to be antagonistic soon after the inauguration of the Congress rule in the provinces. They now took a definite attitude of hostility to the Congress demands and formulated their own scheme of Pakistan. This in turn stiffened the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha who set themselves up against the Pakistan scheme. Apart from these three distinct well-defined parties, Indians in general were somewhat ruffled by India being drawn into the war without her consent. The menace of Japanese invasion did not seem to affect the antagonism among these parties. The advance of the Japanese made the Moslem League declare themselves ready to fight the enemy while not accepting the move for the national government. This naturally provoked the Hindu Mahasabha into declaring themselves against this threat of revolt. All these different parties wanted a national government without any of them defining what exactly they meant by the term. All that one could make clear from out of this was a desire that India should be declared free and that provision must be made for a national government which had the general support of the people and was responsible to the Crown. This was put in the Sapru proposals. In reply to this, Mr. Churchill pointed out the recent grant of Indian representation on the War Cabinet and on the Pacific Council.

It was in this state of affairs that Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India with a Draft Declaration. He had the commission to discuss this Draft declaration with the leaders of various parties, explain the purpose of the British cabinet and persuade these leaders and their parties to accept the Cabinet declaration. The Draft declaration made it clear that the British government proposed to take the earliest steps to create a new Indian Union on a footing similar to that of the dominions, and equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate to any of the other members of the British Commonwealth of nations. They further made provision for the creation of a provisional government for the duration of the war. The Draft itself and the discussions that followed indicate clearly that

the British government had given the guarantee of Indian freedom after the war—the guarantee that is said to stand, even after the declaration had been rejected.

The discussion now began and proceeded on some of the details of the declaration about the constitution of the government. There were three points which did come up for considerable discussion. (1) the provision for non-accession of provinces to the new scheme, (2) the position of the Indian states and (3) the provision for the protection of non-muslim minorities. These went on on familiar lines. The non-accession provision was objected to by the Congress and by the Hindu Mahasabha, as being in fact the concession of the principle of Pakistan. The second point of objection was that the complete ignoring of the ninety millions of people in the Indian States constituted a negation of democracy and self-determination. There were other points of objection from various parties. The non-accession proposals were objected to by several parties, as also by several others when Sir Stafford had to point out that the proposals must be accepted as a whole or rejected. On the question of defence, the proposals conceded the creation of a Defence ministry; but the position of the Commander-in-Chief and the need for single military policy for all the Allies proved the rock on which the negotiations broke. Finally, the Congress representatives declined to accept the declaration and demanded that the national government must be a cabinet government with full power. The Congress President who made this demand stated that this should be considered to the "unanimous demand of the Indian people".

Such a demand was obviously impossible in the actual circumstances of the country. The British government, while definitely promising the independence of the country after the war, asked for a provisional government during the war which would be a national government as far it may possibly be, but subject to the governing consideration of the allied war effort and the Indian co-operation that that effort implied. The creation of a national cabinet government was regarded as a task too complicated to be negotiated under the war emergency and could not be acceded to.

Professor Coupland's account presents a fair summary of the discussions that took place and the information regarding general opinion that he gathered, judging by what appeared in the public Press regarding the whole course of the negotiation. It provides a reliable summary, handy and useful to the general reader.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY. By K. Gopalachari. Published by the Madras University.

This book of a little over 200 pages consists of the research work carried on through the years 1934-36 by Doctor K. Gopalachari at the University of Madras. It deals with the early history of the Andhra country, and consists of the history of the country under the rule of a certain number of dynasties of rulers. It begins with the history of the Sathavahanas in a manner specially associated with the Dakhan, and follows up the story with accounts of the various minor dynasties which succeeded the Satavahanas, bringing up the history of the land to the seventh century A.D. We have to go for the beginning of the Satavahanas to a period almost immediately following the death of Asoka, the Mauryan Emperor.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the history of this important dynasty—the Satavahanas—taking up 124 pages out of the total of 216. The history of the period has to be built up chiefly from inscriptions and coins of the various dynasties that ruled over the country, and without the aid of other sources of information, Doctor Gopalachari has done the difficult work of piecing together the scanty information derivable from these sources into a connected account, exhibiting care and judgement throughout. He has had to make sure about every detail by a comparative study in Palaeography. He has made a fresh study of many of the inscriptions bearing on the subject and discusses details with confidence. Taking the Pauranic list of the Satavahanas, he divides them into the early Satavahanas and later ones primarily, a number of names in the middle being so far mere names and nothing else.

Of the period following the disappearance of the Satavahanas, he deals with it under the heads—the Ikshvakus, Brhatpalayanas, Vaingeyakas, Kandaras and Vishnukundins, bringing the account down to the establishment of the Pallava power under the great Pallavas in the South and the early Chalukyas in the Dakhan. His criticism and discussion of moot points exhibit insight and impartiality. Although it is possible to indicate a few points of doubtful interpretation here and there, it must be said to his credit that he has done the difficult work with commendable care and impartiality. Each section has a section on Social and Economic Conditions throwing useful light upon the condition of the country during the period.

The work won for the author his Doctorate Degree at the University and the Doctorate was well bestowed.

A dozen plates to illustrate the work follow as a supplement and add to the value of the book.

THE DIN-I-ILAHİ OR THE RELIGION OF AKBAR. By Makhanlal Roychoudhury, M.A., B.L., Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941. Pp. xliii and 337.

This thesis on a most important theme is planned on a very intensive and comprehensive scale. It endeavours to probe into the inner strands of the great religious upheaval that marked the age of Akbar as they manifested themselves not only in India, but in other parts of Asia. The work shows how in the genesis of the *Din-i-Ilahi*, the Central Asian forces stretching back into early Mongol culture wound their course through the Semiticism of Arabia, filtered through the Monism of Iran and were ultimately Aryanised by the touch of Hindustan. The time at which Akbar's stage was to be set was marked by a spirit of Eclecticism prepared by Hindu Saints and Muslim Sufis and by other forces of liberal Islam.

Our author who commands a flexible, easy and flowing style, first deals with the Indian background and tries to maintain that the Muslim conquest of Northern India by the Turko-Afghans was never thorough as the Arab conquest of Persia was and the conversion attempted by the conquerors was superficial, piecemeal and never general. The eclectic tendency of Hindu teachers like Ramanand and Kabir and of Muslim *litterateurs*, like Amir Khusrau, Jaisi and Rajjabji, provided a favourable soil for Sufism. Sufism adopted the Hindu doctrine of *Guru-Shishya* with all its technique of worship, while the widely prevalent belief in the appearance of the Mahdi and the growth of the sect of Mehdevis shook the faith in Sunnism and prepared the way for new doctrines to germinate.

Reacting on this Indian background, was that of Central Asia, where the pliable Mughals frequently changed their beliefs, stressing Buddhism in some areas, embracing Islam in others and retaining generally traces of Shahmanism. Even the great Timur was an enigmatic figure; and it has been held even by recent writers, like Harold Lamb, that the great conqueror was not a devout Muham-

madan, but one who followed his own ideas, and he never accepted an Islamic surname. He and his Tatar followers were called half Muhammadans by their neighbours and often held to be as bad as heretics and Pagans. The Khalif in Egypt and the orthodox Sultan of the Othmanlis emphatically looked upon Timur as a Pagan. The Mongols were but newly converted and they were soldiers before they were Churchmen. However, Timur had always a great and mystic regard for Saints and Darwishes, and much sympathy for the learned. His lineal successor Babar, whose veins contained also the blood of Chengis Khan, was both orthodox and liberal. Humayun was equally broad-minded and accepted Shiah influences. He was specially instructed by Babar, on the eve of his Indian expedition, to refrain from destroying places of worship of any community and, in particular, from the slaughter of cows. Sher Shah's tone of administration was entirely Hindustani or Indian; his dream was the idea of a common Hindu-Muslim rule.

Akbar had an innate mystic temperament and inherited the broad Central Asian traits of his family; besides he was brought up in his youth under liberal Shiah influences. In spite of these however, Akbar could not for a long time outgrow the circle of the orthodox Sunni faith that clung to the Mughal court.

Prof. Roy Choudhury is of the opinion that till the time when the *Ibadat Khana* was built round the cell of Shaikh Abdulla Nyazi Sarhindi, and named specifically as the *Ibadat Khana* (i.e., the Worship Hall) and not the *Iradat Khana* (i.e., the hall of desire) nor the *Iyadat Khana* (i.e., the hall of sickness and sympathy) he was a deeply devout Sunni of the usual type. During the course of the discussions in the *Ibadat Khana*, Akbar was dismayed by the diversity of opinions and decrees given by the Sunni lawyers, and opened it to Shiahs, to Mehdevis and other sects. The author of the *Dabistan* fully describes the Shiah-Sunni dispute and the other subjects that were discussed in the worship Hall. All this took place at the time when the powerful Shah Tahmasp of Persia was murdered, and Akbar became freed from the pretensions of Shiah Supremacy over him. About the same time the Muslim Empire of the Sunni Khalifa fell into disorder and weakness; and Akbar proceeded very cautiously to free himself from what our author calls the "religious hegemony of Rum." He ordered the *Khutba* to be read in his own name, in the manner in which it had been done by his great ancestors. Timur, Ulugh Beg and Babar. In order to make

his path as safe as possible, he assumed only the title of *Khalifa-uz-Zaman*; and he took also the rank and dignity of the *Imam-i-Adil*, at the request made by the Persian element in his court through a *mahzar*, which implied that the Mughal dominion in India was a separate entity, at least in the political sense. The book makes it quite clear that this *mahzar* of 1579 was a political document, both apparently and by implication, and it had no connection with the *Din-i-Ilahi*.

There is a note on the three paintings of the *Ibadat Khana* which are described in their detail, in an appendix to chapter IV. These latter make it clear that these discussions were participated in, among other representatives of different religions, by a Buddhist also.

Discussing the forces at work in Akbar's court, our author suggests that so far as Badauni was concerned, his venom against Akbar proceeded from a sense of personal wrong and non-appreciation of his merits. Personal motives should also explain much of the vituperation levelled against Akbar by the Sunni Mullas, whose failure to satisfy Akbar's mind induced the Emperor to give a favourable reception to Shiah and Hindus, who were admitted to the *Ibadat Khana*, only at the third stage in the development of the discussions. While stressing on Akbar's political appreciation of Hindu help, our idea of the breadth of view of Akbar is limited by the statement that, in spite of his social eclecticism and Hindu sympathies, the Emperor was nothing but a Muslim (Page 147). The followers of each faith, Parsi, Christian and Shiah, flattered themselves that they had converted, or nearly converted, the great Mughal and that he had ceased to be an orthodox Muslim. It was true, however, that after Islam, Zoroastrianism was the greatest influence on Akbar. Discussing the evidence of the Christian forces at work, our author examines the motives that lay behind the Emperor's invitation of the Jesuit Fathers, and would find in them a combination of political incentive and religious urge; and this was certainly nearer the truth than the one-sided statements of the jealous English contemporaries and the equally partial and weighted view of the Portuguese Missionaries. The distinct benefits accruing from the three Missions are explained.

Legislation of a social and quasi-religious character was given an entirely religious bias by contemporary historians, because Akbar attacked the interests of the Mullas from the secular point of

view of the State. An examination made into the charge that many of these regulations were anti-Islamic concludes with the view that the policy of universal toleration was the root explanation; Most of his Aims had an Islamic background and were justified by precedents in the actions of previous Sultans. "Others were allowed by the Shariat; 'for reasons of State' many more were necessitated by the social or economic conditions of the Empire and such changes were permissible in the Muslim dominions inhabited by non-Muslims. It is therefore, not proper to brand Akbar as an apostate because he promulgated those "Aims."

The *Din-i-Ilahi* is explained in the last chapters, both in regard to the circumstances of its promulgation and in its movement and growth. Its fundamentals as given by Mohsin Fani, in his famous *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, in the form of a dialogue, stress purity of individual life and purity of outlook; and it is held to be mainly Sufi in character. How far this view approximates to the truth is open to further discussion. That it was a Sufi order with formulae found in the *Quran* and in the practices of contemporary Sufi orders, is put forward, and the particular formula on which stress was laid, that Akbar was the representative of God, is held to have been applicable only to the harem and not to have been necessarily opposed to the Kalima. The book has got an excellent bibliographical note, and covers very clearly the ground of many controversial points on the lines that should mark true interpretation.

C.S.S.

HYDERABAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES. No. 13. A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions. Edited by P. Sreenivasachar, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Principal, S. R. R. College, Bezvada. Part II. Comprising Texts and Translations of Inscriptions with 56 illustrative plates. Published by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1940. Price Rs. 10.

This volume contains 56 inscriptions with their transliteration in English and a literal translation following each. Besides, the dates of these inscriptions have been calculated in an appendix with the help of the *Indian Ephemeris* of Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai. There is also a tabular list of epigraphs showing their location, date, ruler and language and indicating their contents with necessary remarks. This list is bound to be very

useful even to the average student. An informative glossary of the special and technical terms and words occurring in these inscriptions and sumptuous illustrations of all the plates complete the volume. We are promised a monograph which would form Part I, and which would contain chapters on the history, religion and social conditions of the period covered by these epigraphs. The industry and accuracy displayed in the careful reading and transliteration and translation of these epigraphs is striking. We may mention the following particulars as illustrative of the high level of the remarks made about these records: (1) The existence of the general *Nakharamu* (functional groups or occupational assemblies) and of the five special *Nakharamus* of the Ciramatti, Anumakonda and other localities in the Kakatiya kingdom. (2) Besides the achievements of Prola Raja, Rudra and other prominent rulers of the dynasty, we know something of the achievements of chiefs like Era, Kapaya Nayaka, the Malyala chiefs and various others. (3) We get an elaborate description of Anumakonda, the definite boundaries of Rudra's kingdom, the genealogy of the Kakati dynasty, the *birudas* of the kings, chiefs etc. (4) The flourishing of the *Lakulisa* sect, the distinction between *Paradēsi* and *Swadēsi* merchants, a number of details regarding the fixing of dues on commodities and the units of measurement, the *Kampus*, who are identified here with the classes now known as *Telagas* or *Kapus*, the instruments of the measurement of land, the different *vrittis* for which gifts of land were made and the main purposes and details of temple worship and management. Specially important is the mention of musical instruments and types of musicians. Noteworthy among the former are, *Mrdanga*, *Ramdakra-puraka*, *Khala*, *Jalaja*, *Karamdavadaka*. We eagerly await the publication of the introductory part.

C.S.S.

MAHMUD GAWAN—THE GREAT BAHMANI WAZIR.

By Haroon Khan Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon). (Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942). Pp. xiv and 267.

Mahmud Gawan was the greatest of the ministers of the Deccan Sultanate. A full-dress biography of this personage has been a long felt want and has now been supplied by Professor Sherwani in this very readable and instructive book. After detail-

ing the condition of India about the middle of the 15th century in his learned introduction our author draws attention to the fact that in King Devaraya II's time the kingdom of Vijayanagar began to enlist Muslims in its army and taught its troops a better use of the bow and the arrow. The Hindu army thus became knit together as it had never been before, while Malwa and Gujrat played a most vital part in counteracting the fortunes of the Bahmani kingdom wedged in between them. In this political situation it was the genius of Mahmud Gawan that made good use of the shifting politics of India at that time, first to make Malwa impotent, next to strengthen the Bahmani hold over the Arabian Coast and then to extend Muslim dominion over the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula.

The minister's family and relations with Gilan are explained on the basis of his famous collection of letters—the *Riādu'l-Insha*. This latter discloses to us, in the letters that he wrote to the Sultan of Gilan, an account of the great cultural work that was being done by the Bahmanis in the Deccan, and gives us a picture of the righteous ruler's duties. Among the details of the civil and military organisation of the Bahmani kingdom we note a regular department of the army—*ātishbāri*, as early as 1366 and *ātish khānah*, mentioned in 1378. Prof. P. K. Gode in his paper on 'The use of guns and gun powder in India from 1400 onwards' (*A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, Presented to Sir E. Denison Ross, Kt., C.I.E., on his 60th birth-day*), makes a reference to the presence of musketeers and gunners in France and Florence even before the middle of the 14th century: the use of gun powder was current in Vijayanagar about the middle of the 15th century and Mahmud Gawan is shown by Prof. Sherwani to have made use of mines in his second campaign against Belgaum in 1472. Mahuan, a China-man in his account of the Indian ports, which were visited by a Chinese mission about 1406 A.D., says that guns were to be seen then in Bengal. Prof. Sherwani holds that the use of guns and gun-powder by the Bahmanis seems to be the first instance of the use of artillery in India. Our author has also shown how a careful study of the coins of the Bahmanis provides a decided corrective to the erratic genealogies given by Ferishta, and proves that the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* is more accurate in this respect.

The contest between the Northerners, who were of Afghan or Turki stock and settled down in the Deccan with their Habashi subordinates, and the newcomers from Irāq and Irān, which really caused the downfall of the Sultanate is examined by our author. He

comes to the conclusion that the latter were as much of the Deccan as the Normans in the time of Henry I of England were of England, and that it was unjust that they were called Cosmopolitans. The rivalry between the two parties became pronounced from the time of Ahmad Shah I and his Wazir Maliku't-tujjār. The Massacre of the newcomers at Chakan in 1447, poured oil on the flames of animosity between the two parties. The arrival of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar in 1452 was followed by his rapid rise into importance. Gawan shows that the character of Sultan Humayun was not that of the cruel oppressor that Ferishta had painted it to be, and that he was a king who was a correct disciplinarian intent on maintaining a balance between the oldcomers, the newcomers and the natives of the land. Like several other Muslim sovereigns of India, he was unfortunate enough to be depicted in the blackest colours by historians. The minister's ascendancy became marked from 1466 and was the natural fruit of his moderation and balance during the years of the rule of the Triumvirate in the previous five years, closing with the murder of Khwāja-i-Jahān Turk (1466).

This event made the way clear for the final supremacy of Mahmud Gawan in the Bahmani system. He became the Prime Minister and signalised his assumption of power by ending the war with Malwa, of which, our historian says, the hatchet was never dug up again. Hubli, Konkan, the Malabar ports and the hinterland of Belgaum, were all of them acquired in successive stages, with Sangameshwar and Goa as pendants to the whole bunch of conquests. Nor was progress in the east neglected.

The appearance of Yusuf Adil Shah in the forefront and Gawan's famous college at Bidar are noted as marking the zenith of the Minister's fame. More important than his campaigns and political achievements were his administrative reforms. The provincial administration was reorganised on a *utilitarian and scientific* basis and on the working of eight *sar-laskarships*, each one of them leaving certain tracts to serve as the Royal domain, whose officials would be a strong check on the provincial governor. The latter officer should have under his direct command only one fort; and the other forts in his provincial jurisdiction should be under captains appointed by, and responsible only to, the central government. The jaghir system was also reorganised on a uniform basis of remuneration for the holders' maintenance of men under arms. A revenue survey, with a view to a just assessment and an accurate record of rights was undertaken also. Thus the work of Rajah

Todarmal was anticipated by Gawan by over a century, and the tendencies to disruptive feudalism were checked. More important than even these reforms was the attempt of the minister to hold the scales evenly between the two parties in the State by distributing the provinces equitably and equally between them. The oldcomers were in fact even given a preferential treatment and a slightly stronger position. The tragic end of the Khwaja came in 1481 owing to a conspiracy of his enemies that was successful with the king. Exactly one year after he was martyred the miserable kings who ordered his execution died of shock and repentance.

The chapter on a retrospect of the Khwaja's personality is very instructive and, at the same time, sober and restrained in its estimates. His diplomatic and military encirclement of Malwa whose Imperial ambitions he so much dreaded is shown to have been such as would have done credit to the head of Machiavelli or Kautilya. His loyalty to his master was as intense as that of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria. His skill in military strategy was as great as any that could be achieved in the fifteenth century. His patronage and love of learning are remarkable and his own style of writing became a model of courtly letter-writing; his collection of letters is well-known in Persian literature and has become deservedly famous, as well as a quarry of historical information. It is analysed by Prof. Sherwani on pp. 184 et seq., and he has included even a note on the philosophy of his life that can be gleaned from those letters. Praised by the great Sultan Muhammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople and by Jami, who wrote that, owing to the Khwaja's presence in India, that country had become the envy of Rum itself and described by the traveller Abdu'r Razzaq as being one among the world famed alumni of Gilan, it should be agreed to by the reader that Mr. Sherwani's estimate of him as a diplomat, soldier, administrator and man of letters has not been superfluous in praise or appreciation. The rapid disintegration of the Sultanate is sketched next, but we would have liked a fuller explanation of the factors that brought it about in spite of the good work done by our hero. A full bibliographical note on the authorities, particularly on the Khwaja's Letters which are proved to bear evidences of authenticity both external and internal, writers both contemporary and later, including Ferishta and Sayid Ali Tabataba, whose *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, as we have pointed above is more accurate and fuller than Ferishta, as also secondary works, a synchronistic table of contemporary Indian sovereign between 1453-1481, and an

appendix which shows the loyalty of Kharan Singh and his family to the Sultans—these have greatly enriched the substance of the book. It is good that the last has been given as an episode showing the marked extent to which Mahmud Gawan was helped by the Hindus of the Deccan, many of whom were definitely friendly to the Bahmani regime. The book should be on the shelves of all students of Deccan History and one would be justified in holding it up as a perfect model of historical composition.

C.S.S.

HUMAYUN BADSHAH. By S. K. Banerji, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London), Reader in Indian History, University of Lucknow. In two volumes. Vol. II. Maxwell Company, Luncknow. 1941. Pp. xvi & 444.

In our Journal for December 1938, we had the pleasure of reviewing the first volume of this work, which brought the narrative of Humayun's eventful life down to the battle of Kanauj, along with an explanation of the reasons for Humayun's loss of the Delhi throne and an evaluation from contemporary sources of his personality and character.

This volume which is somewhat fuller than its predecessor describes Humayun's fugitive life after his escape from Delhi; his occupation of Kabul and Qandahar in 1545, and his invasion of India, reoccupation of Delhi and his second period of rule. The work gives also sidelights on Baber's family, and the peculiar administrative institutions introduced by Humayun, the court, the nobility and the condition of the people under him, as well as a special chapter dealing with Akbar as he grew up under Humayun's tutelage.

Humayun's flight from the Punjab to Bhakkar, his negotiations with Shah Hussain Arghun, his marriage with Hamida Banu Begam of which we learn the difficulties were cleverly overcome by the mother of Hindal—the further adventures of the fugitive in Sehwan and in Rajputana—where he unfortunately missed the right moment for closing in with the offer of alliance with Maldeo, and the birth of Akbar at Amarkot, are all detailed in several chapters. We read that Jauhar confused the date of Akbar's birth with that of his tonsure ceremony which took place 40 days later; and our author is inclined to support the view that the prince was

born on the night of 4/5 Rajab 949 A.H., i.e., on the night of October 14-15, A.D. 1542, on the basis of an examination of the evidence supplied by both Jauhar and Gul Badan Begam. The year that elapsed from Akbar's birth saw him fly from place to place, even from his own brothers, and at last drove him to appeal to Shah Tahmasp of Iran, by a letter, written in verse and full of humility, which has been summarised and given to us only by Jauhar, while the reply of the Shah has been given in full by more than one writer, including the courtly Abul Fazl.

Humayun is held to have gone to Persia more with a view to passing on to Iraq and Arabia, than with any definite object of getting material aid for the reconquest of his former territories or Afghanistan. His acceptance of the Shi'a faith was in fact no wrench on his religious convictions. Dr. Banerji would estimate the magnanimity of the Persian Shah at a high level, particularly as to his not insisting on the cession of Qandahar and did not mention his generosity in his own memoirs. This Persian alliance of Humayun led to a deeper penetration of the Iranian language and culture into the Mughal court and Indian society, and it threw Turki, the mother tongue of the Mughals, more and more into the background, and led to a larger body of Iranians settling in India. Humayun's occupation of Qandahar was continuous from the date of its capture by him in spite of his promise to give it to his new ally, and the Persian Shah's invasion of it only in 1558, has naturally raised questions of delicate detail regarding Humayun's faith, the Shah's contentment with Bairam Kahn's governorship of the city and an attitude of duplicity adopted by both sides. The story of the fortunes of Qandahar in the 16th and 17th centuries as an ill-used buffer between the Mughals and the Persians is a tedious and complex one. While it has been held that it was Shah Tahmasp who started the game of duplicity which converted the question of the occupation of Qandahar into a trial of strength between the rival empires, and while Humayun might have been culpable of breach of promise towards the Shah, our author would strike an even ground between Humayun and Tahmasp and would not wholly condemn the one, nor charge the other with duplicity when he proceeded to recapture the place in 1558, because from realistic political considerations, Qandahar was equally important for both the Mughals and the Iranis.

Humayun's subsequent occupation of Kabul and Badakshan formed probably a prelude in his mind to an attempt for the re-

covery of perhaps his family's lost dominion in Turan. The loss and recovery of Kabul could not entirely dislodge this ambition from the king's head. From 1548 onward when Humayun entered Kabul as conqueror for the third time, the alternative of an advance to India was open before him. But it so happened that he could not proceed further than the river Balk in the north on account of the continued truculence of Kamran, but had to turn his attention to India. On this subject Abul Fazl's remark may well be noted, that if this trouble with Kamran had not appeared the conquest of Transoxiana would have been undertaken.

The character that Humayun displayed in his continuous struggle with Kamran shows him as being above all petty meanness and personal prejudice. His energetic campaignings in these years of crisis and his frequent consultations with the Ulama and the nobles show him off to great advantage, though perhaps he was to some degree blind to practical realism.

The final invasion of India was facilitated by Islam Shah Sur's policy and actions which, though successful for the time, produced an unfavourable reaction, and in the anarchy of the reign of his successor, Humayun found a favouring factor. But the weaknesses of his own side had also their effect. The general observations made by Prof. Banerji at the end of the chapter on Humayun's invasion of India are worth careful perusal as showing the real operative forces of that difficult year 1554-55, which gave back the Mughals their Indian Empire. Humayun's tomb is claimed by him to have set a new model and a new standard in the building art of India, as it suggested "new principles, wider possibilities and greater flexibility and showed out the receptivity of the Indian artists." The traditional belief in Akbar's formal illiteracy is supported by Dr. Banerji and we read this perhaps startling idea, that "if Akbar's reign is the Golden Age for art and literature, it was because his two predecessors had placed them on a high pedestal." The view that Akbar was totally illiterate is however, not accepted by our author, who says that according to the evidence of the *Akbar-namah*, he could compose Hindi and Persian poetry and was well versed in the niceties of poetic diction. A chapter on Baber's family with a detailed treatment of some of the verses of Humayun that do not occur in any of the modern works and a description of the prominent ladies of the Imperial family and of the age,—a most creditable feature—make a good phase of the treatment. The innovations and regulations of Humayun's reign, which inform us

that he is to be credited with the introduction of a crude form of the *mansabdari* system and some improvements in the land revenue department as well as a plan for decentralization, may strike our attention. We can also well appreciate the stress made on his attempt to bring the Iranis and Turanis in India together. A study of his monuments and of his personal piety and scholarship with a note on his other general virtues and defects is supplemented by an account of the difficulty that marked his position as ruler, torn as it was between the Central Asian ideal of *primus inter pares* and the Persian ideal of absolute rule. Similarly the nobility had not yet become organized in any definite relation to the monarch. The saints and the learned men who played a principal part in court life are detailed, but we are referred to a paucity of material concerning the life of the people, whose indigenous religious leaders are however outlined in fair detail.

On the whole the author is of the opinion that Humayun was as ruler, an unfit instrument for moulding the destiny of mediæval India, and, though he promoted humanism, he could not organize the administrative or military system. The bibliography, documentation and other equipment are full and lack nothing. The sifting of evidence and the weighing of arguments on either side are of the same high level as those which marked the previous volume.

C.S.S.

HAIDAR ALI. Volume I, 1721-1779. By Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta 1941). Price Rs. 5. Pp. iv and 294.

This monograph on Haidar Ali takes account of the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French sources, the bulk of which were not available to Colonel Mark Wilks, the great pioneer historian of Mysore. In the Preface to the first volume of his work, published in 1810, Wilks details the materials collected for his work and claims that he had extensive opportunities of observing the character and manners of the people of Mysore whose transactions formed the staple of his work, and that in making use of the manuscripts available to him, particularly those of the Mackenzie Collection, he endeavoured to trace peculiar instances of information to their source. With regard to the second and third volumes of the original London edition of his *History*, Wilks enjoyed access to the records at the India Office and to the

Journals and Accounts of Sir Henry Cosby, Colonel Allan, Sir John Kennaway and Colonel W. Kirkpatrick. Wilks's work has been justly described as "an enduring monument of his fame" and as displaying "a degree of research, acumen, vigour and elegance that must render it a work of importance in English literature."

Dr. Sinha has now brought out a very clear account of Haidar's life, as "a study in biographical form of a typical figure of eighteenth century Indian History", which concentrates its main attention on the military and diplomatic activities of its hero and does not claim to be a pure biography. It has utilised almost all the sources of information that became available subsequently including Portuguese (e.g. the Brown Ms. of Peixoto), French and Dutch sources, and matter embodied in the Indian languages. The bibliographical note at the end of the volume is most instructive and gives us instances as to why the versions given of particular incidents in Haidar's career should not be accepted as true.

Wilks's account is valuable not so much because of the written authorities which are still available to us, as because of the evidence that he derived from living characters, which enabled his presentation of one aspect of inner history, namely, the criss-cross of personal rivalries and antagonism that might otherwise have remained unrevealed. Dr. Sinha's succinct estimate of the value of the work of Wilks in these words, "we may be better informed about data, but Wilks gives us a living picture", cannot be improved upon. The fortunes of Haidar in his youth traced in the first chapter, in spite of the fulsome accounts given of them in some chronicles, cannot blind us to the lack of advantage of either birth or wealth from which he suffered. The second chapter outlines Haidar's rise to prominence in the formative years 1749-55. Attention is rightly drawn, by our author, to the lack of authority for the statement made by Bowring that Haidar even went on one occasion to Pondicherry and there he came to be strongly impressed by the discipline of the French troops and the skill of the French engineers; he had plenty of opportunity of observing French skill elsewhere than at Pondicherry; and we do not at all come across any contemporary account mentioning Haidar's visit to the French settlement. Again, there is in reality very little information to show that Haidar learned in the operations round Trichinopoly the secret of Maratha success in attack, as he was then too much dazzled by the "spectacular efficiency" of the European trained sepoy and fighter.

Haidar's appointment as the *faujdar* of Dindigul is shown to have been at the time most necessary for the interests of Mysore in keeping hold of the marcher region between Trichinopoly and Madura. The conquests of Haidar at Dindigul, this subsequent march to Seringapatam, despatch of the Malabar expedition and participation in the palace politics at Seringapatam have made Dr. Sinha estimate that Haidar was in no way less adroit than the tyrants and usurpers of Ancient Greece in the employment of force and fraud. His usurpation of power in the state and subsequent destruction of the party of Khande Rao that opposed him are explained as constituting thrust and counter-thrust of unscrupulousness in which neither side could claim any credit for fair play. The analysis of Khande Rao's ability and character given on p. 57 is very revealing and instructive; but it is perhaps slightly different from the estimate of Khande Rao given in the new edition of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (Vol. II; p. 2485). The *Gazetteer* editor holds that a study of the records at Fort St. George has served to throw new light on the character of the Mahratha offices, and on the part he played in the war against Haidar and that in the new light Khande Rao is shown to have been neither the *servant* of Haidar nor guilty of any treachery to him; but he was a keen soldier and outmanœuvred Haidar in military abilities though he was no equal to the latter in the art of dissimulation.

Dealing with Haidar's capture of Bednore, which could have, but did not, put up a strong resistance, Dr. Sinha stresses the political significance of its use by the conqueror. Ever afterwards Bednore was regarded by him as his *Swarajya*, distinct and separate from Mysore where he ruled only in the name of the king; and here he asserted the royal prerogative of striking coins in his own name. We may be permitted to remark here that in the kingdom of Mysore itself Haidar never assumed the external appendages of royalty, which were continued in the ruling family, unfringed in any manner, though Peixoto describes some occasions when he practised violence on the Raja. He is held to have declined to accept the theory that Mysore was under a Muslim government under him. It was reserved for Tipu to assume the title of Sultan, and to call his government the Khodadad Sircar and openly proclaim his *de jure* rulership.

Haidar's relations with the Marathas are detailed at some length. The Maratha campaign of 1764-65 ended in comparatively easy terms imposed on Haidar Ali, mainly due to the desire on the

part of Raghunath Rao to enlist the support of Haidar for the furtherance of his own personal ambition. We greatly value the analysis of the motives of the second expedition of Peishwa Madhava Rao who did not on this occasion actually contemplate the entire subversion of Haidar's authority. In tracing the relations of the British power with Haidar in the years 1760-67 the Bombay Government's friendly attitude towards him is stressed and explained. In the account of the first Anglo-Mysore War, Dr. Sinha is at some pains to explain away the British failure, in the lack of mobility on the part of the British troops, the consequent limitation of their theatre of operations, the improper and mischievous civilian interference with the military, and the dishonesty and corruption of the Madras Council. In that war the attitude of Peishwa Madhava Rao was one of uncertainty; but not such as to incline to the view that he really intended to help Haidar against the British, as there was in reality, at the time, a much greater clash of interests between Haidar and the Marathas than between him and the British. In the succeeding Maratha expeditions against Mysore in 1769-70 and in 1770-71, Haidar was totally on the defensive. Dr. Sinha carefully indicates that the Maratha victory of Chinkurali was a gain only from the point of view of military tactics and strategy, but was not productive of fruitful consequences to the victors. When peace was concluded in July 1772 Haidar found that he was not entirely lost, but had to work hard to recover lost power. The Marathas had then an idea of marching to the relief of the miserable Tanjore ruler, who was hard pressed by Muhammad Ali; they had also a similar plan on their political anvil in 1774-5. It is interesting to trace how slowly Haidar's bargaining power with the Maratha government increased.

The capture of Gooty and the end of Murari Ghorepade constitute an event of great importance in Haidar's political career. The diplomatic changes in the Deccan politics in the years 1775-79 pushed Haidar definitely to the side of Raghunatha Rao and enabled him to make annexations up to the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. After 1775 Haidar was certainly prepared for a *rapprochement* with the Marathas. The numerous causes of ill-will that tended to grow between the English and Haidar are analysed very clearly; and they show that Haidar's anti-British policy was most carefully calculated and pondered over before it was definitely acted upon. Upto May 1778 Haidar's pre-occupation with Maratha politics did not give him any opportunity to face the problem of his attitude towards the British. Through his relations with the English, Haidar showed

himself a realist and he always held, in the picturesque language of our author, that it was "not possible for him to throw two bridges across, one to Poona and another to Madras." When he finally ended the anti-Maratha phase of his attitude, he as firmly became definitely anti-British. Haidar's conquest of Malabar and his relations with the European powers on the coast are treated in the last chapter, in which is traced his experiment at ship-building activity. In this particular his chief difficulty seems to have been the securing of proper commanders.

The great care and balance marking the treatment of the subject of the work, are its most commendable features, and would make it one of the most authoritative presentations of the career of Haidar. The book stops rather abruptly; and the chapters on the Second Mysore War up to his death could have been added to make the biography complete in one sense. We eagerly await the publication of the succeeding volume, having nothing but unqualified praise for the clarity, carefulness of treatment, and the shrewdness and balance of conclusions marking this book.

C.S.S.

PRACHIN BANGALA PATRA SANKALAN. Edited by Dr. Surendranath Sen (Published by the Calcutta University 1942.

The Government of India authorised the Keeper of Records to publish the records in oriental languages in his custody, through private agencies. The Calcutta University have now published the Bengali records. The Bengali introduction is fuller and more detailed. For those not acquainted with that language, the learned editor has given a brief introduction in English together with English synopses, biographical and geographical notes.

The records in this volume deal with British expansion beyond the eastern limits of Bengal. The first of the eastern states to accept British hegemony was Cooch Behar. The circumstances which led to this are given. Next we are treated to the position of Assam on the eve of its becoming a part of British India. The administration of the country was run on military lines and it was in charge of five officers who enjoyed quasi-sovereign powers. The internecine troubles invited the interference of Lord Cornwallis' Government. Lord Cornwallis sent Captain Thomas Welsh to restore peace. While the Captain's efforts were almost successful

he was recalled and the old troubles began with greater force. It was not until 1823 Assam was relieved of her unwelcome masters.

Then the records tell the tale of Cachar and Manipur. These were small principalities unable to stand against the aggressive neighbours. These appealed again and again to the Government of East India company to help them. The British were not anxious to plunge into the politics of these states and pursued a policy of non-intervention. But it was the Burmese aggression of these territories that compelled the Company's Government to actively interfere and launch a definite North Eastern frontier policy. A bibliography is also appended. These records throw more light on the internal conditions of the eastern states of Bengal, which necessitated British interference and ultimately their annexation. To this extent it is a valuable publication, and we are grateful for Dr. Sen for this useful work.

V. R. R.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SINDH UP TO THE ANNEXATION—1842. By P. N. Khera—Minerva Shop—Lahore, Price Rs. 3-12-0.

The annexation of Sindh by the British in 1843 has generally been condemned by historians as an act of wanton aggression on a set of chiefs who did not give any cause for offence and who were genuinely anxious at all cost to remain at peace with the neighbouring powers. "The Amirs wished for peace till the last moment" says the author on Page 62. They had remained peaceful even in the face of the gravest provocation, as for e.g. when they accepted a new treaty even after Sir Charles Napier destroyed Imamgarh the desert fortress of the Khan of Khairpur—described as the Gibraltar of Sindh without any cause or without any formal declaration of war. Mr. P. N. Khera has not deviated from the position taken up by many writers on this episode in the history of North West India. It will indeed be madness, on ethical grounds at least, to challenge the position taken up by the author of the act himself, Sir Charles Napier, who described it blatantly as "a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality." Mr. Khera has categorically stated that though one cannot deny Napier's claim to have done good to the country, it is a different matter to say whether Napier had any right to annex the country. On moral or ethical grounds the annexation is therefore undoubtedly "a blot on the English national escut-

cheon". Prof. Khera has however pointed out that it was a political necessity. Sindh had an important part to play in the scheme of defence to provide an outer and an inner barrier against Russian designs on the North West. Persia after 1828 had begun to lean towards an alliance with Russia—though, for this, the British themselves were to blame when they had refused to help the Persians in their war against Russia in 1826 and had obtained release of their treaty obligations of help to Persia by paying the Shah a small subsidy. The inner barrier of the states was to consist of Lahore, Bhawalpur and Sindh and the outer of Kabul, Herat and Persia. Both the British Government and Ranjit Singh were casting covetous eyes on Sindh and were suspiciously watching each other's movements. To the English, Sindh was of great strategic importance also because it served as a buffer-state between the Punjab in the north and the English in Bombay. To Ranjit Singh also, it was of importance because its possession would provide him with an outlet to the sea (Note: Page 8.). In any event the Amirs would have found it difficult to maintain their independence. Sindh had already assumed the role of the "Sickman of India" receiving fresh leases of life for short periods because of the difficulty of arriving at an understanding among the parties regarding the division of the spoils. The Amirs themselves were aware of the fact. One of the Bilochi soldiers in the service of the Amirs had declared even as far back as 1831 at the time of the despatch of Burnes's mission to Lahore. "The mischief is done. You have seen our country. Alas! Sindh is gone since the English have seen the river which is the high road to its conquest." It was therefore a question of annexation by Ranjit Singh or the British. When the latter became definitely aware of the designs of the Sikh ruler and when they found that Sindh was no longer likely to be a buffer, it was as well that the British moved first and forestalled Ranjit. The British Government was for long pursuing only a policy of non-interference and "wait and see." The British Government would have preferred to respect the integrity of Sindh and would have been content with the securing of commercial advantages and some kind of diplomatic control. It was Ranjit's designs clearly manifest in his conversations with the representatives of the British Government which included even a proposal to launch a combined Anglo-Sikh expedition against the Amirs in 1831 and an invitation to the British Government to assure neutrality at last, if they were not agreeable to the former, that made them change their policy to one of positive aggression and eventual annexation. This would be very

clear from the protracted diplomatic negotiations that were carried on with the Amirs and Ranjit Singh by the British Government which form the subject matter of the bulk of the book and which have all been thoroughly substantiated with extracts from authentic records. The hostile designs of the Amirs towards the British, the violation by the Amirs of all their treaty obligations, their crude primitive and despotic system of administration may be pleaded in extenuation but can by no means be convincing reasons for the drastic step of annexation. It is these points of view that have been stressed by the author in this book, in detail and with commendable skill. He has shown considerable ability in the handling of historical material and the presentation of the gathered-up material in a thoroughly convincing manner. The book is fully documented and bears ample evidence of scholarship. Prof. Khara has to be congratulated on his thoroughness and also on the commendable success he has achieved in performing the very difficult task of dealing "with a highly controversial subject in a highly judicious and balanced manner."

V V.

**RIG-VEDA WITH SAYANA'S COMMENTARY IN FOUR
VOLUMES WITH A FIFTH CONTAINING SUPPLEMENT
Vol. III.**

The Vaidika Samsodaka Mandala, Poona, has placed the lovers of Ancient Indian Culture under deep obligation by the publication of an up-to-date, critical and reliable edition of the Rig-Veda with the commentary of Sayanacharya. Volume III of the Rig-Veda comprising Mandalas, VI to VIII is before us. The Rg-Veda, being the earliest extant record of the literary and cultural activity of the Aryans in India, a study of its forms the bedrock for a correct understanding and real appreciation of any type of later Sanskrit Literature. The two complete editions of the Rg-Veda with Sayana's Bhasya—the Bombay edition and that of Max Muller—are now out of print, and hence, to meet the increasing need of scholars, a fairly cheap, handy and reliable edition of the Rg-Veda has been a desideratum. This learned Mandala have rightly felt this urgent need and taken up the noble task of popularising the Rg-Veda by its publication. The Mandala is doing the same kind of critical work with regard to the Rg-Veda that is being done by

the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in regard to the publication of a critical edition of the Mahabharata.

The editors of the Rig-Veda have, in the present volume, as in the previous two, utilised with caution and discrimination the printed Bombay edition as well as that of Max Muller, adopting readings therefrom after considering their relative merit, and, in a few cases, suggesting better readings on the strength of new manuscript material. The method followed is as the editors admit, that chalked out by Max Muller. A wealth of manuscript material in Devanagiri, Grantha and Malayalam scripts from India and outside has been profitably pressed into service. This has rendered the present edition most critical and up-to-date enabling the editors to give variant readings as foot-notes, selecting and adopting the best reading and suggesting new ones. It is clear from the Introduction that for the IV, V and VI Astakas which contain Mandalas VI to VIII as many as 15, 21 and 20 manuscripts have been consulted. This has eliminated the possibility of error and ensured the maximum of accuracy.

The notes following the Sanskrit Introduction give readings adopted differently from those of Max Muller. They also contain the manuscript-variants, and correct readings are suggested in the place of readings adopted incorrectly, as it would be seen by Sayana. The words in the Vedic texts, differently reproduced by Sayana, are noted and the actual words in the Pada-patha given. Moreover, references differently quoted by Sayana, are noticed and original readings given. Those that cannot be traced to their sources are also mentioned. In the Samhita and pada-texts the editors have rightly followed the traditional recitations.

The following features of the edition specially redound to the credit of the editors. An attempt, on the lines adopted by Max Muller, has been made to trace the references quoted by Sayana from Vedic and other branches of Sanskrit literature to their original sources. The successful tracing of some quotations which could not be traced by Max Muller is a piece of valuable research. The full commentary of Rig-Veda VIII. 79.7 (it is not VIII. 79.3 as mentioned in page X, line 13, of the Introduction) where Max Muller has left a partial lacuna is a useful contribution. The manifold nature of the manuscripts has, no doubt, rendered the task of filling up the lacuna less difficult by the adoption of existing or suggested readings. The inclusion, for the first time, of a new commentary (ascribed to Sayana) on the 11 Valakhilya-hymns (RV. VIII 49 to 59) is really a valuable addition. Words in the

original verse reproduced in the commentary are marked 'V' for distinction, and are given without any Sandhi change (unlike in the Bombay and Max Muller editions)—which makes for clarity and easy reference (compare Bhasya on VI. 6·75 in the three editions). Quotations are clearly marked out by being put within inverted commas (a procedure not adopted in the Bombay and Max Muller editions). References to other Vedic texts given as foot-notes in the Bombay edition and put between two lines in Max Muller's edition, are here enclosed within brackets. Discretion has been used in putting fullstops only where the sense is complete. The B. edition gives less full-stops, while M.M.'s edition gives more of them than are needed. The present edition holds the balance between these two. (Compare the Bhasyas on RV. VI-1-1 in the three editions).

The work under review is a distinct improvement on that of Max Muller, facilitated evidently by the availability of a greater number of manuscripts for comparison. While Mandalas VI to VIII in Max Muller's edition extend to 806 pages, the present handier edition runs to 966 pages of smaller size including the newly acquired commentary on the 80 verses contained in the 11 Valakhilya hymns.

The printing and get-up are excellent. The price Rs. 16 which exceeds that of the previous volumes by Rs. 4 is still moderate in view of the economic conditions brought about by the war. The present edition which is up-to-date has supplied a real want and leaves very little to be desired. We eagerly await the publication of the IV Volume completing the work. It is now incumbent upon all those interested in Ancient Indian History and Culture to lend their generous help and co-operation and expedite the progress of this noble task to its early completion.

C.S.V.

(In publishing the above review with great pleasure, we wish to join in extending our own appreciation of the valuable editorial and publishing work of the Mandala and the scholars associated with it. Very recently, Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford pointed out in his contribution to the work "Cultural Heritage of India", that European scholarship has achieved the task of tracing the meaning of the words of the Rig-Veda, and that it is left open as yet to successfully trace the meaning of the passages in their actual context. This is a call for a further study of the Rig-Veda which cannot be done without a good edition of the work easily accessible to those who would take up the

study. It is a matter for gratification that that essential need is being supplied. It is held that Sayana and his collaborators were alone responsible for the commentary on the Veda. There are a number of references to the Veda being commented upon—not only the Rig-Veda but the other Vedas as well—thereby indicating that this monumental commentary is by no means the first. It is probable that they were not written commentaries, although we have no warrant for saying so, except for the fact that no written text has so far been forthcoming. There are, however, indubitable inscriptional references to these Vedas and Brahmanas having been taught with commentaries. One of the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise for election to village assemblies is ability to comment on one of the Brahmanas. The Bhatta teachers were often expected to be able to comment and teach two Vedas, the Veda to which he was born and an other Veda of his own acquisition by study. The possession of a correct text of even this commentator of the fourteenth century would certainly be a valuable aid to a correct expounding of the meaning of the Veda, and the work of the Vaidika Samsodaka Mandala is quite a distinct service to the correct exposition of the vedic text, which the learned Professor wants. We would add our quota of grateful commendation to the scholars of the Mandala, and would bespeak their goodwill for the early completion by issuing the fourth Volume of the text and the commentary and the fifth Volume of supplementary matter.—Ed. J.I.H.).

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Foreign influences on Muslim Theology. By Dr. A. S. Tritton.

The influence of Chingiz-Khan's Yāsa (a comprehensive code of law and rules governing the entire life of the community) upon the general organisation of the Mamluk state. By A. N. Poliak.

Lacsio enormis (excessive deception without fraud, flagrant misrepresentation causing an objective state of loss evident disadvantage to one of the parties in a bargain in Muhammadan Law. By Willy Mansbach.

Hvatania IV. By H. W. Bailey (texts to illustrate the religion of Khotan and to supplement the material already available from other sources).

The vulgar pronunciation of Tamil. By Gordon Matthews, (discussing the deviations of the dialect from the standard pronunciation under the two headings of omissions and substitutions—the dropping of a consonant or a syllable and the substitution of one vowel on a consonant for another.

Indian Art and Letters. New Series, Vol. XVI. No. 1—1st issue for 1942.

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A plea for the study of Contemporary History. By G. B. Henderson, (a plea for the study of contemporary history and for the making of, at least, interim judgments, on matters of urgent and immediate importance).

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Excavations at Kondapur, an Andhra town (cir. 200 B.C. to

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The origins of civilisation in Mesopotamia. By S. N. Chakravarti, (suggesting the possibility of India proving ultimately to be the cradle of Sumerian and of Babylonian Assyrian and Western Asiatic culture generally and of a greater age to the Stone Age sites of Sukkur and Kohri which may have well led to the evolution of the first Indian Urban Civilisation).

The problem of Historical Knowledge. By V. V. Joshi.

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The Civil Service. By Dr. E. Asirvatham.

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