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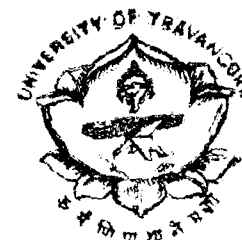
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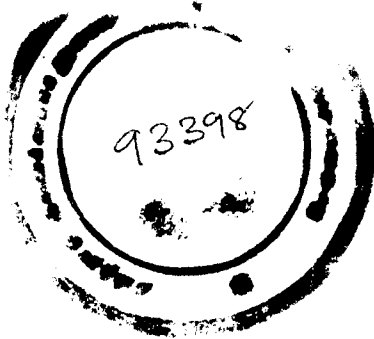
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The Age of the Mahābhārata War

BY

THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

In 1941 the late Dr. Laxman Sarup submitted a paper entitled "Is the Indus Valley Civilization Āryan or non-Āryan" to the Hyderabad meeting of the All-India Oriental Conference, in the course of which paper and in order to show that the Indus Valley civilization was post-Vedic, he stated that the period of the *Ṛgveda* is much earlier than that of the battle of Kurukṣetra and the beginning of the *Kāli Yuga*.¹ So far as I know Dr. Lakshman Sarup's paper has not been published, but a summary of it appeared in the programme of the meeting. The present writer, after studying all the arguments of Dr. Sarup in favour of a post-Vedic date for the Indus Valley Civilization, contributed an article entitled "Were the Mohenjo-Darians Āryans or Dravidians?" to the *Journal of Indian History*.² In this article, after scrutinizing the value of one of Dr. Sarup's arguments, I wrote as follows: "Most likely the story of Yudhiṣṭhira and his enthronement dates from a period prior to the *Ṛgveda* and to the Āryan invasion. Hence, the composition of the *Ṛgveda* very likely took place when the *Kāli Yuga* had already started. Consequently the date of the *Mahābhārata*, which was composed fully within the *Kāli Yuga*, cannot tally with the dates proposed for the Indus Valley Culture and admitted by Dr. Sarup."³

This statement naturally occasioned great surprise among many. How could the period of the *Mahābhārata* war be transferred to a pre-Vedic age when it is evident that the Great Epic was composed in a post-Vedic period? One of those who were amazed at my temerity was Dr. Pusalkar, who, in the course of an article contributed to the *Bhāratha-Kaumudī*, made the following judgment on myself and the question: "The suggestion of Rev. Fr. Heras regarding the dates of Yudhiṣṭhira and the *Ṛgveda*

1. *The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Summaries of Papers*, pp. 122-123.

2. *J. I. H.*, XXI, pp.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

is perhaps due to his comparative not profound acquaintance with Indian traditions."⁴

It is, therefore, high time that these very important facts in the early history of our country should be properly studied and fixed in their true chronological setting. Therefore we shall first study the relative chronology of the *Mahābhārata* and the *R̥gveda*; and then the same relative chronology between the great epic and the Mohanjo-Daro civilization.

I

The Mahābhārata and the R̥gveda

We may first of all recall that the pure Āryan blood of the principal heroes of the poem has for long been doubted.⁵ Some of the customs described in the *Mahābhārata* are so un-Āryan that we cannot hesitate to attribute a Dravidian origin to them. Let the main one be the polyandric system of the family of the Pāṇḍavas fully acknowledged by all. Prof. Weller is also of opinion that the Bhṛiguīds were originally Dravidian.⁶ In the same way the story of the Flood has been described as of non-Āryan origin⁷, and as "a myth of some pre-Āryan inhabitants of India"⁸. The story of Nārāyaṇa also seems to come from Dravidian sources.⁹ The extraordinary influence that the Nāgas exercise throughout the events narrated in the poem also smacks of a very early age. Dhṛtarāṣṭra himself is said to be a Nāga.¹⁰

Yet this might not prove anything to our purpose, for even after the age of the *R̥gveda* many Dravidian families actually

4. Pusalker, "Mohenjo-Daro and *R̥gveda*" in *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, p. 561. I refrain from passing any remarks upon this mode of controverting the views of an author by alleging his lack of sufficient knowledge.

5. Hopkins, "The Princes and Peoples of the Epic Poems" in *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 254.

6. Weller, "Who Were the Bhṛiguīds?", *A. B. O. R. I.*, XVIII, pp. 296-302.

7. Winternitz, "Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvölker," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft (Wien)*, XXXI (1901), pp. 321-322; 327-329; Sukthankar, "Epic Studies", XVIII (1936), p. 30.

8. Peake, *The Flood, New Light on an Old Story*, p. 25. Cf. Periyayagam, "Manu's Flood", *The New Review*, XI (1940), pp. 473-484.

9. Cf. Keny, "The Origin of Nārāyaṇa", *A. B. O. R. I.*, XXIII (1942), pp. 250-256.

10. *Mahābhārata*, *Adi Parva*, 1562.

existed in Northern India and their mutual intercourse and relations with the recently arrived Āryas might well have been the argument of the poem. Yet an independent study of epic poetry in general may help us to find a solution to this problem.

An epic poem by its very nature, cannot be written a few years after the events narrated in the poem have taken place. The protagonists of the epic are not men of common mould, as the men who live around the poet are; they must have grown to the stature of heroes or demigods, and before they pass from the sphere of reality to that of heroic idealism hundreds of years must pass. During the intervening period the figures of the ancient warriors dwell in the memory of several generations and their deeds are narrated by the fireside in the long winter's vespers. Then popular bards, in India the *māgadhas* undertake the singing of their glorious exploits in numberless *nārāsaṁsī gāthās* which soon are memorized and pass from mouth to mouth, always receiving new accretions, always reflecting new lights, always casting new shadows, enlarging, increasing, transforming into new colossal creations of super-human heroism those who in the beginning were but ordinary human figures. Such was the process of the genesis and evolution of the *Iliad* and the *Nibelungen*, of the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Mío Cid*; and the process of the formation of the *Mahābhārata* could not in any way have been different.

It is only after such a prolonged process that an historical argument becomes heroic and epical. And at this point of time the fortunate poet, be he named Vālmiki, Homer, or any other, rises in the midst of the nation piecing together all those loose fragments, tying together all those broken threads, without regard to their respective chronology, for it is not his purpose to write history, but to depict the soul of the nation in all those events which have been sung for centuries and aggrandized and embellished by the nation, while being recorded in its popular folk-lore in the course of a hundred generations. For the soul of the nation knows no age. It is everlasting.

Now there is no doubt that our great epic was finally composed after the *R̥gveda* and in general after the period of the *Samhitās*. The constant tradition of India and the language itself of the poem testify to its later date. The question of the age of the *R̥gveda* does not seem now to be so vague, thanks to the unexpected help received from the treaty between Matiwaza, King of the Mitanni, and Subbiluliuma, King of the Hittites. The names

of the gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas, invoked by the former kings, give us a point of contact and of reference to fix the date of the *Rgveda*, and consequently of the Āryan invasion of India.¹¹ Dr. Berriedale Keith has thoroughly studied this question in all possible aspects, in particular considering the names of the Mitanni gods, and has come to the conclusion that "if we place our oldest hymns in the *Rgveda* at 1300 B.C. we are allowing a generous period for the development seen within that *Saṁhitā*."¹² Keith, therefore, is of opinion that the period of the composition of the *Rgveda* may extend from 1300 to 1000 B.C., although he frankly admits that a later date may perhaps soon be suggested "in face of the evidence of the *Avesta* whose date is placed very late by authorities of weight."¹³

Dr. Pusalker declared in this connection: "The Mittani inscriptions and the recent discovery of Tokharian to the NE. of the Punjab and of Nasili in Hittite Cappadocia show that the age of the Vedas is considerably prior to 2500 B.C."¹⁴ This author does not say how he has arrived at this figure. Perhaps he follows the calculation of Dr. Sarup when he writes: "Discovery of Bogazkoi tablets by Professor H. Winckler shows that 4 Vedic deities were worshipped in Asia Minor in 1500 B.C. These deities could not have migrated through Persia, otherwise the form of their names would have been modified. They must have migrated direct from India. If 4 Vedic deities were worshipped in Asia Minor in 1500 B.C., we can safely assume that *Rgvedic* worship of these deities in India is older, say by 4 or 5 hundred years to account for their migration and gradual establishment in Asia Minor."¹⁵ Even in this case Dr. Pusalker has added 500 years to Dr. Sarup's calculation.

But let us examine the calculations of Dr. Sarup. He admits that the date of the treaty was 1500 B.C. Quite pointedly he remarks that the names of those deities could not have migrated through Iran, for their form would then have been different. They came thither directly from India. But by what way? By sea? The shortest and easiest way seems to be Iran, for besides other

reasons, that route was already known to them. Sarup cannot explain the itinerary of this migration through Iran because the names have not been influenced by Avestic forms.

This difficulty in explaining the non-Avestic influence in these names, if we suppose that they came from India through Iran, may be solved by the adoption of the view proposed by Dr. Keith which is now not unusual among scholars. "The 'Indians' of Asia Minor [who wrote those names] represent bodies of the larger movement which reached India, who moved west when their comrades moved to the Punjab."¹⁶ If that is so, the date of their Indian invasion, and consequently of the composition of the *Rgveda*, would more or less coincide with the date of the Mitanni-Hittite treaty. This is also suggested by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, when he writes: "Some tribes of Asia Minor peoples who became prominent in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. came to India along with the main bodies of the Āryans."¹⁷

All this leads us to conclude that from the time of the final composition of the *Rgveda*, roughly speaking about 1000 B.C., to about 200 A.D. when the epic was already in existence,¹⁸ there is no room for the long period required for the formation of the epic, viz. that long gestation that the historic facts required before they could be converted into real epic facts. Moreover, there is no room for the two great families of the epic to be established in India so solidly as they appear in the poem in the short span of less than 500 years that runs after the composition of the 10th *maṇḍala* down to the rise of the Nāṇḍas. There is, therefore, no other possibility than to place those dynasties and those events in a pre-Vedic period, before the Āryas entered India, in the same way as Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji does in connection with the Purāṇic traditions: "We take into note not the mere possibility but the extreme probability or likelihood of the Purāṇic tradition being with reference to pre-Āryan times—to non-Āryan Dravidian (and Austric) kings and dynasties. This tradition in legends and stories was later on Āryanized; that is, was rendered into the Āryan language, Prakrit and Sanskrit, after the peoples among whom these traditions grew had themselves become Āryanized."¹⁹ This is what this author admits in general terms, with no exception as

11. Cf. Konow, *The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People*, pp. 3—7.

12. Keith, "The Age of the *Rgveda*", in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 155.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

14. Pusalker, "Mohenjo-Daro and *Rgveda*", *op. cit.*, p. 553.

15. Sarup, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

16. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

17. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 51.

18. Cf. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 387.

19. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

pollations of a later period are fully acknowledged. The chapters of didactic character may generally be counted among them; one of them being the *Bhagavad Gītā* which, according to some, is an old Upaniṣad.

Shortly after I had published the article referred to above, wherein I suggested a pre-Vedic period for the enthronement of Yudhiṣṭhira and the Bhārata war, I received a letter from Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on this question. The letter is dated November 22nd, 1942, less than three months before his untimely and lamented death; in fact, it is the last letter I received from the great scholar, and I treasure it very lovingly for the views he sets forth in it. I publish the letter in photograph herewith so that it might be read in its original script. (Fig. 1)

In the second paragraph of this letter and in connection with what seems my rash statement concerning Yudhiṣṭhira, Dr. Sukthankar writes: "You are very likely right in saying that the story of Yudhiṣṭhira and enthronement dates from a period prior to the *Rgveda* and to the Āryan invasion. It is a story that has been adapted from non-Āryan sources."

These words of the great epic scholar consist of two statements, both of great value. In the first he considers that my view about Yudhiṣṭhira's enthronement and story as dating from a period prior to that of the *Rgveda* and the Āryan invasion is *very probable*; and then, as if forgetting my statement and considering the story objectively and without prejudice of any kind, Sukthankar gives his definite opinion on the subject: "It is a story that has been adapted from non-Āryan sources." I hope that Dr. Pusalker is not going to remark that Dr. Sukthankar's view "is perhaps due to his comparative not profound acquaintance with Indian traditions."

II

The Mahābhārata and the Indus Valley Civilization

This is a totally different question from the preceding one. The events narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, though fully within the pale of Dravidian history in the pre-Āryan period, may be located after the period of what is now called of the Indus Valley Civilization or before it. The solution to this problem may lead us to an unknown age in the history of our country.

Sumeriologists are well acquainted with the story of Gilgamesh, a very early King of Uruk, who on his way to the island

of immortality in search of his ancestor Utnapishtim, encounters numerous beasts in the mountains and forests and fights and defeats them with never-failing courage and strength.²⁵ This story must have been very popular in Sumer, for the figure of Gilgamesh fighting with rampant animals and monsters (very likely lions) is the most repeated device on the Sumerian seals (Fig. 2). Such a figure was at a later date also very common in the Mediterranean, where the hero was christened Herakles, in Greek, or Hercules, in Latin. The continuation of this pictorial legend of the Lion-Fighter from Sumer to the Mediterranean and in particular the discovery of two Sumerian seals showing a hero fighting with a several-headed serpentine monster, which seems to be the proto-type of the Hydra of Lemnos of the Herculean legend, have now led classical scholars and archaeologists to acknowledge Gilgamesh as the prototype of the Mediterranean Herakles.²⁶

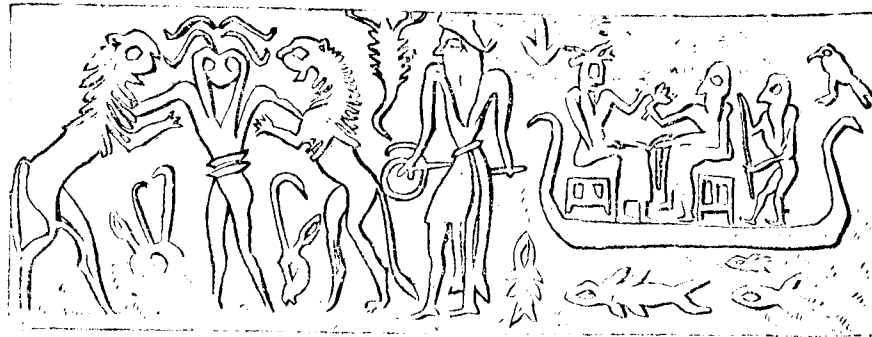


Fig. 2. Gilgamesh fighting with two Rampant Lions.

A seal of the early Dynastic period of Sumer, from Fara, now in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museum, Berlin. (From Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XI, m.)

But now the excavations of the cities of the Indus Valley have yielded no less than four seals wherein the same scenes of a hero fighting with lions (or tigers) are reproduced; the four seals come from Mohenjo Daro.²⁷ Since the present writer has clear evidence

25. Such is the subject of the famous so-called *Poem of Gilgamesh*, recovered from the ruins of Sumerian cities and published in several languages in modern times. Cf. Leonard, *Gilgamesh, Epic of Old Babylon* (New York, 1934).

26. Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIV (1934), pp. 40-53; Frankfort, *Iraq Excavations of the Oriental Institute*, 1932-33. Third preliminary Report, pp. 53-55.

27. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, Nos. 75, 85, 122 and 454.

of the priority of the date of the Indus Valley civilization over the civilization of Sumer, and of the Proto-Indian migrations into the Land of the Two Rivers,²⁸ the discovery of these four seals has led him to conclude that the origin of the legend of Herakles is to be looked for not in Sumer but in India.²⁹ Who, therefore, is this Indian hero who is shown so valiantly fighting these brutes and taming them like sheep? Our imagination runs at once to identify him with the undaunted Bhīmasena, the strong man of India, the hero of a thousand battles, who also is said to have fought with lions and other wild animals in the forests on his way to Kubera's lake, the land of the immortals.³⁰



Fig. 3. Gilgamesh holding a mace and a lion.

(From Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 215, fig. 130)

This tentative identification of the Indian Lion-Fighter with Bhīma prompted me to examine the circumstance of this side episode of the epic and compare it with the poem of Gilgamesh and the legend of Herakles, a comparison which was most successful, as the following chart will show:—

28. This will be shown and fully developed in the author's forthcoming work *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, now in the press.

29. The author delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures in the University of Madras on this subject "The Indo-Mediterranean Legend of the Lion-Fighter" in the month of March, 1945. He expects that he will be able to submit the original of his lectures to the University soon for publication.

30. *Mahābhārata*, Vāna Parva, 11077-11336.

THE STORY OF BHĪMA

THE POEM OF GILGAMESH

THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES

1. Bhīma is the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, King of Indraprastha, on the Jumna.
2. Bhīma is a youth.
3. Bhīma is styled "the powerful" (Sabhā Parva, 2447); "heroic and courageous ...incapable of being vanquished by any enemy by prowess" (Vana Parva, 11385). Describing his strength, the poem says: "Bhīma had gone away looking at his arms, desiring to destroy his enemies" (Sabhā Parva, 2632-2633).
4. Bhīma slays many monsters called *vṛkṣaṣas*: some of them are Hīdimbā (Vana Parva, 569) and Baka (*Ibid.*, 573).
5. Bhīma kills many lions, elephants and other animals in the forest (*Ibid.*, 11115-11116).
6. At the request of Arka, great grandfather of Kunti, Vāsukināga allows Bhīma to drink *rasa*, "in which there is the strength of a thousand elephants." At one breath he drinks the whole vessel. He quaffs off eight successive jars (Ādi Parva, 5030-5033). Just before the death of Jarāsandha Kṛṣṇa says that Bhīma "derives his strength from the celestials" (Sabhā Parva, 927-928).
1. Gilgamesh is a King of Uruk, near the Euphrates.
2. Gilgamesh is young (Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 17).
3. Gilgamesh is called: "almighty bull" (*Ibid.*, p. 4); "matchless in might" (p. 9); "his whole body is full of strength" (p. 11); "the mightiest among men" (p. 32); "the strong one" (p. 69).
4. Gilgamesh fights and kills Khumbaba (p. 26), "frightful to look on" (p. 17), whose "below is a stormwind, his mouth is fire, his snort is death" (pp. 15 and 17).
5. Gilgamesh says: "We seized and slew the bull of heaven; we laid lions low in the ravines of the mountain" (p. 48).
6. On a seal of the time of the first Babylonian dynasty we see Gilgamesh, small of stature, nude, kneeling before a tall god bearded and richly robed, who probably is Ea. From the vessel that this god holds two streams of water issue, and bathe the humble King of Uruk. The effect of this heavenly bath is seen in the figure which appears to the left: it is the same Gilgamesh, but thoroughly transformed, grown to the stature of the gods. Thus strengthened, Gilgamesh is able to defeat lions, and other wild animals. Accordingly the artist represents him in the next stage, not in the act of fighting, but actually victorious: kneeling over a prostrate lion, and
1. Herakles is the son of Amphytrion, King of Thebes and of Alcmena, daughter of Electryon, King of Mycenae (Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 27-56; Pherecydes, *Historiae*, II, frag. 27; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 4, 8).
2. Herakles' exploits are narrated from the time when he is in his cradle. Then he strangles the two snakes that Hera sends against him (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 4, 8). In the early period of Greek art he is always represented as a beardless youth.
3. In Herakles Zeus wants to beget a son who will be "a specimen of invincible force both to gods and man" (Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 29). He is like Zeus in strength (Quintus, *Posthomerica*, VI, 204). He is of fearful strength (Joannes Tzetza, *Antehomerica*, 21). His heart is of copper (Theocritus, *Idylls*, XIII, 5). His spirit is of stone or iron (Moschus, *Idylls*, IV, 44).
5. Herakles kills many animals and monsters, the chief one and the beginning of all adventures being the slaying of the lion of Nemea (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 1).
6. Zeus to make his son Herakles immortal, puts the babe to the breast of Hera, when she is asleep (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, IV, 9).

THE STORY OF BHĪMA THE POEM OF GILGAMESH THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES

carrying another upon his shoulders (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXVIII, k).

7. Bhīma is very skilful in the use of the mace as a war weapon.

7. The mace of Herakles has become proverbial in literature and art.

Though in glyptics we find no mace in the hands of Gilgamesh, in an Assyro-Babylonian carving we see him holding a mace in his right hand while his left lifts a lion by the tail.

(Fig. 3)

8. Bhīma's standard shows the device of a lion (Bhīma Parva, 4307).

After Enkidu's death, "like as a lion, Gilgamesh raised his voice, like as a lioness he roared out" (p. 39).

8. Herakles when young likes to sleep on a lion's skin (Theocritus, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 135). He is always clad in a lion's skin (*Ibid.*, XXV, 63, 142, 175; Philostratus, *Epistolae*, VII, 1). He always carries the lion skin as a prophy of his victory (Pisander, *Herakles*, frag. 1).

9. Bhīma's strength requires a great amount of food. Half the food of the family was put aside for him, the other half being divided among his four brothers and their mother Kuntī (Adi Parva, 6187). Hence he was called *Vṛkodara*, i.e. 'wolf's belly' (*Ibid.* 2451, 5521, etc.)

9. Herakles can consume a whole bull at a meal and drink a whole cask of wine. At Thermidres, in the island of Rhodes, he kills a bull which he takes from the cart of a man. The latter watches him eating the animal and is able only to insult him (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, III, 5, 11). In the

10. When Bhīma reaches Kubera's tank the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas who are watching over the tank try to prevent him from plucking lotus flowers. He kills more than a hundred of them.

10. When Gilgamesh and Enkidu go to Khumbaba's abode, the watchman of Khumbaba, clothed in seven magic mantles, wants to stop them. They overpower him (pp. 23-24).

11. Bhīma is poisoned by Duryodhana, and bound and thrown into the Ganga to die (*Ibid.*, 5000-5030).

11. Herakles is thrown into the sea after his birth (A legend of the city of Megara).

12. Bhīma finds Hanumān lying in his path and checking his advance.

12. Gilgamesh finds the grove of the gods locked up by Siduri, the cupbearer, and impenetrable.

13. Bhīma tried to remove Hanumān from his way: "Bhīma carelessly takes hold of the tail with his left hand, but he cannot move the tail of the naughty monkey. With both his arms he pulls the tail....But the mighty Bhīma fails to raise the tail with both his arms" (Vana Parva, 11184-11186).

The mother of Gilgamesh tells him: "There fell upon thee an image as of Anu, and though thou soughtest to lift it up, but it was too heavy for thee, and thou soughtest to shake it off, but thou couldst not shake it off" (p. 12).

land of Driops he similarly kills a bull of Thiodomantis which is ploughing a field and eats it. (*Ibid.*, II, 77) etc.

Herakles kills all the centaurs of Roloe, quaint beings half men and half horses (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 4).

Herakles on his way to the garden of the Hesperides comes across Cynos, a horse-tamer, and Ares, the god of war. They refused to allow him to continue his journey (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 11). He defeats them.

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14. Hanumān declares to Bhīma the extension, meaning and characteristics of the old *yugas* (ages) of the world (*Ibid.*, 11225-11260).
15. Bhīma is dressed in deer skins when he journeys to the celestial tank (*Ibid.*, 11363-11364).
16. Bhīma's rivalry with Duryodhana (*Adi Parva*, 5275, 5288). Mace fights between both rivals are frequent (*Ibid.*, 301, 5348-5350; *Bhīma Parva*, 2475).
17. Bhīma bathes in the lake when he reaches the end of his journey (*Ibid.*, 11379-11381).
18. While Bhīma is bathing "when he drank the water (of the lake) which was like ambrosia, his energy and strength were fully restored." (*Ibid.*, 11390).
14. Utnapishtim narrates the story of the Flood to Gilgamesh: (pp. 60-69).
15. Gilgamesh makes the journey clad in skins (pp. 71-72).
16. Rivalry between Gilgamesh and Enkidu. They are engaged in a terrible fight. (pp. 14-15).
17. Gilgamesh at the end of his journey bathes in the sea (pp. 71-72).
18. After Gilgamesh has bathed "his body showed beautiful, the band round his head was made new. He became clad in a robe, in a shirt for his nakedness." (p. 72).

19. Bhīma plucks many lotus flowers in Kubera's lake (*Ibid.*, 11389).
20. Bhīma's journey is to the celestial lake of Kubera "where men subject to the laws of earth cannot sport." (*Ibid.*, 11371).
21. During the Pāṇḍavas' exile at Virāṭa's court, Kīcaka, Commander of the Mātṣya royal army and a mighty warrior, falls in love with Draupadī and seized her with evil intentions. Bhīma, hearing of it, slays the offender. (*Virāṭa Parva*, 316-694).
19. Gilgamesh plucks the plant of life from the bottom of the sea. (p. 73).
20. Gilgamesh's journey is to the underworld where Utnapishtim lives an immortal life (p. 42).
21. After Herakles and his wife Dejanira have crossed the river Evenus in the boat of the Centaur Nessus, the latter seizes her with evil intentions. Herakles, hearing her scream, kills the Centaur with an arrow (Apollos, *op. cit.*, III, 7, 6).
22. Gilgamesh in a fit of anger breaks the oars of the boat of Ur-Shanabi, the boatmen of Utnapishtim (p. 50). Then he goes to the forest and cuts new oars (p. 54).
21. After Herakles and his wife Dejanira have crossed the river Evenus in the boat of the Centaur Nessus, the latter seizes her with evil intentions. Herakles, hearing her scream, kills the Centaur with an arrow (Apollos, *op. cit.*, III, 7, 6).
- On the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, one evening when Herakles is at the helm, a sudden strong sea wave breaks the oar. On his arrival in the country of the Missians he goes to the neighbouring forest, uproots a pine tree, and makes a new oar from

Hyllo (Panyasis, *Heraclea*, frag. 163). He also recovers strength after drinking water from a river in Budrasia (Phereids, *Historiae*, III, frag. 36).

Herakles finds a plant of the shape of the Hydra of Lemnos on the banks of a river in the East, which plant cures him of the wound received in his fight with the Hydra (Claudius Iolaus, *Phoinikika*, I, fragm. 1).

The last adventure of Herakles is to the Garden of the Hesperides, the garden of the gods, wherein he plucked the golden apples of the magic tree (*passim*).

After Herakles and his wife Dejanira have crossed the river Evenus in the boat of the Centaur Nessus, the latter seizes her with evil intentions. Herakles, hearing her scream, kills the Centaur with an arrow (Apollos, *op. cit.*, III, 7, 6).

On the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, one evening when Herakles is at the helm, a sudden strong sea wave breaks the oar. On his arrival in the country of the Missians he goes to the neighbouring forest, uproots a pine tree, and makes a new oar from

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23. Bhīma marries the Rākṣasī Hidimbā by whom he begets Ghaṭotkaca, who becomes a great warrior (Ādi Parva, 5927-6034).

24. Vāsuki, King of the Nāgas, in Patālā, hastens to meet Bhīma and offers him great gifts (Ādi Parva, 5028).

25. Entrance to the city of Girivraja is forbidden to Bhīma and his brothers by its king Jarāsandha (Sabhā Parva, 812-819).

24. Gilgamesh prays to Nergal, the King of Hell, to allow Enkidu to come to him. The prayer is granted (pp. 78-79).

25. Enkidu, at the beginning of his acquaintance with Gilgamesh, bars the door of the latter's house in Uruk and does not allow him to enter (p. 14).

it (Apollonius, *Argonautica*, I, 1164-68).

23. Herakles weds the horrible monster Equidna, by whom he begets three sons Agatyrsus, Gelon and Scyta, the ancestors of the Scythian nation (Richépin, *Nueva Mitología Ilustrada*, II, p. 169).

24. In a Greek vase Herakles is shown being received in Hell by Hades, its King, seated on a throne (Richépin, *op. cit.*, II, p. 189).

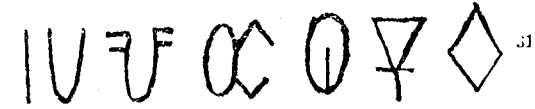
25. Eristheus, King of Mycenae, knowing the strength of Herakles, forbids him to enter the city, and the latter forces him to show the result of his exploits before the city closed gates (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 1).



Fig. 4. Bhīma fighting with two Lions. A Mohenjo-Daro seal.
(Copyright, Archaeological Survey of Pakistan)

This comparative study of the three Lion-Fighters in India, Sumer and the Mediterranean basin will disclose that the identification of the Lion-Fighter of the Indus Valley seals with Bhīma has not been hasty and without foundation; yet all this will not prove the existence of Bhīma at a period prior to the Mohenjo Daro period beyond doubt, for his identification with the Lion-Fighter of the Indus Valley seals does not transcend a mere probability.

Now, of the four seals bearing the representation of this fight one has no inscription at all; two have inscriptions that refer "to the trial" and "the death of the two" (viz. lions), which is an evident allusion to the victory of the hero. The fourth seal, which we reproduce below, bears an inscription without any allusion to the two or to the fight in general, but which is of extraordinary interest for our purpose. (Fig. 4) The inscription runs as follows:



which reads: *il uīr eḍu Orūr urvelī adu ruor*, i.e. "The man who makes noise outside Orūr of the year is the life of the house". Now if this inscription refers to Bhīma, the name of the city of Orūr should, as I expected, be found in the *Mahābhārata*. Yet I vainly looked for it in Sørensen's *Index*. Then the possibility occurred to me that the name had been translated into Sanskrit, as was done in other cases: *Mūnūr* was always spoken of as "*Tripura*"; *Mūnmala* became "*Tripurvata*";³² etc. If this custom was followed in the case of Orūr, this name would have become "*Ekapura*". But this name was not found in Sørensen's either. Yet as I looked for Ekapura, my eyes stopped at the word *Ekacakrā*, a city which was certainly connected with Bhīma.

During their exile the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī lived in the house of a poor Brāhmaṇa in the city of Ekacakrā. This city was much harassed by a neighbouring Rākṣasa named Baka. From time to time this fiend had to be fed by one of the citizens on a cartload of rice, two buffaloes and a human being. It happened that the

31. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, II, pl. LXXXIV, No. 86.

32. Heras, "Mohenjo Daro the People and the Land," *Indian Culture*, III (1937), pp. 710 and 720; "El Descrifamiento de la Escritura Proto-Indica," *Ampurias*, I, p. 68.

turn came of the poor Brāhmaṇa, the host of the Pāṇḍavas, when the latter were at Ekacakrā. Bhīma, being made acquainted with the affair, offered to deal with the monster. He took the cartload of rice and the two buffaloes and set out to meet the enemy in the forest outside the city: but instead of taking the victuals to the abode of Baka, he started eating them himself, at the same time calling out to the *asura* with boldness and noise. Baka sallied from his den and forthwith a fight ensued. Numerous trees were hurled at each other, till Bhīma finally succeeded in throwing his enemy to the ground, and placing his foot on the middle of Baka's back, he bent him double and slew him. Thus the city of Ekacakrā was freed from a great calamity. The epic emphasizes the great noise created by the encounter. The description of the fight is added herewith:—

“The greatly powerful Bhīma smilingly caught in his left hand the tree hurled in anger by the Rākṣasa. Then the mighty Rākṣasa, tearing up various trees, hurled them at Bhīma, and the Pāṇḍava also hurled many on the Rākṣasa... The fight between the man and the Rākṣasa with trees became so fearful that the place soon became devoid of all trees. Saying that ‘He is no other than Baka’ he sprang upon the Pāṇḍava and clasped the greatly powerful Bhīma by both his arms. Bhīmasena also clasped the Rākṣasa by his strong arms. The mighty hero began to drag him violently. Being dragged by Bhīma and dragging Bhīma also, the cannibal was gradually overcome with great fatigue. The earth trembled in consequence of their great strength, and large trees that stood there were all broken to pieces. Seeing that the cannibal was overcome with fatigue, Vṛkodara pressed him down on the earth, with his knees, and he then began to strike him with great force. Then placing one knee on the middle of his back, Bhīma seized his neck with his right hand and his waist-cloth with his left; he then broke him into two with great force. He (the cannibal) then uttered a fearful yell... Then the Rākṣasa, when he was thus fearfully broken by Bhīma, vomitted blood. Baka, huge as a mountain, being thus broken by Bhīma died uttering fearful yells... Terrified by that noise, the relatives of that Rākṣasa with their attendants came out of their houses.”³³ We may imagine what this noise would be from what is said in the epic about similar struggles. Of the fight of Ghaṭotkaca, shortly before his death, we read that the clash produced by the trees “became as loud as the sound of the

33. *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparvan, 6307-6318; (Dutt's transl., I, p. 231).

roaring thunder”³⁴ and at the time of Jarāsandha's death, the poet adds: “The people of Magadha hearing the roaring of Bhīma thought that either the Himālayas were coming down or the earth was being rent asunder.”³⁵

It might have seemed therefore, that the inscription under study, though bearing no reference to the lion-fight represented on the seal was an allusion to the fight with Bakāsura, but for the fact that it takes place outside the city of Ekacakrā, not outside Orūr.

Yet this name is represented in the inscription by the sign ॐ,³⁶ which may also be written (from right to left) ॐ| is one, or; ॐ is city, ūr. But this latter sign may easily be taken for a wheel.³⁷ Accordingly, the Sanskrit-speaking people (without knowing the proper meaning of the sign ॐ, in translating an old Proto-Dravidian MS., would read ॐ “cakra” and consequently the two signs would make Ekacakra, a word which was not new to them as it was the name of the Sun chariot from R̥gvedic times.³⁸

The inscription therefore clearly refers to the episode of the slaying of Bakāsura by Bhīma outside the city of Orūr-Ekacakrā. It is to be noted that the statement of the inscription that “the noise outside the city of Orūr is the life of the house” is perfectly correct, because it was the din created by the fight that saved the life of the poor Brāhmaṇa, who otherwise would have been slain by the Rākṣasa.

The final conclusion we may make from this inscription is of extraordinary importance for the history of India. The people of the Indus Valley were acquainted with Bhīma's fight with Bakāsura, related later on in the *Mahābhārata* as having occurred in Ekacakrā. Bhīma, therefore, and consequently his brothers and wife, existed at a time prior to the Indus Valley period. Therefore the nucleus of the poem, which is concerned with the five Pāṇḍavas, is older than the Indus Valley Civilization. The dwellers

34. *Ibid.*, Droṇa Parva, 8143.

35. *Ibid.*, Sabhā Parvan, 934.

36. Cf. Heras, “El Descriframiento,” *op. cit.*, p. 35.

37. Meriggi, “Zur Indus-Schrift,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, (N.F.) XII, p. 205, identifies ॐ with ॐ and ॐ which are clear wheels.

38. *R̥g.*, I, 164, 2; *Ath.*, IX, 9, 2; 8, 7. Since the names of large cities are always feminine in Sanskrit, *Ekacakra* naturally became *Ekacakrā*.

in the cities of the Indus Valley had heard the account of that great battle and of their ancestors' prowess in their dealings with the aboriginal people of the country, who in their state of lack of civilization and savagery are described as *rākṣasas* of monstrous form and hideous nature. The clangour of their weapons, the thunder of their chariots, and the intermittent hissing of their arrows, aimed at the enemy's heart, rang in the ears of the authors of civilization of the Indus Valley. They were only the successors of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, warrior families of hoary age, surrounded by a halo of mystery and awe, of ages of chivalry and heroism, of knowledge and renunciation, of high spiritual ideals and of realization of material beauty. Without this ancient background, the Indus Valley Civilization cannot be explained: that high state of culture which we wonder at so greatly, did not appear in a flash on the banks of the Indus as an ephemeral mushroom. It had deep roots in the country of the ancient Bhāratas. The ancient glorious deeds sung by the epic are the real foundation of all Indian culture and the seed of the glorious history of India.

Amoghavarṣa I, and Karka Suvarṇavarṣa of Lāṭa

BY

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The powerful Rastrakuta emperor Govinda III died about A.D. 815 leaving on the throne a young boy Sarva Amoghavarṣa I. Sarva is said to have been born in the rainy weather of 802 when Govinda was encamping after a successful campaign in northern India in the city of Sribhavana in the territory of the feudatory Mara-Sarva.¹ Thus Amoghavarṣa was only about 12 or 13 years of age at the time of his accession.

Rastrakuta history was prolific of disputed successions and feudal rebellions, and the tender years of Amoghavarṣa offered great temptation to the feudatories of the empire to raise the banner of revolt. At this juncture the wise policy that Govinda had followed towards his younger brother Indraraja bore fruit and the empire was saved. Govinda himself had had to face at the death of his father and his own definitive accession to the throne a formidable rebellion headed by his elder brother Kambha in which a very large number of feudatories also took part. In that crisis Indraraja stood by the side of Govinda, and the two brothers succeeded in suppressing the revolt, compelling Kambha to reconcile himself to his feudatory position as governor of Gangavadi, thus confirming the choice of Govinda III for succession to the throne by his father and predecessor Dhruva. For his loyal and distinguished service Govinda rewarded his brother by making him the ruler of Lata mandala (Southern Guzerat). Now in a similar crisis at the commencement of Amoghavarṣa's reign, Indra's son Karka Suvarṇavarṣa went to the aid of his suzerain in the same manner.

This fact that Amoghavarṣa owed his throne to the assistance he got from his cousin of the Lata country has been recognised in a general way by all historians, and it finds specific mention

1. Radhanpur plates v. 18, EI. VI. pp. 249 ff.
Sanjan plates v. 26, EI. XVIII. p. 246.

in a verse which occurs in the copperplate grants of the Guzerat branch of the Rastrakutas. But the verse has not been correctly understood because it first came to light in late and rather corrupt readings. It is the object of this note to discuss the readings and contents of this verse and settle its precise import.

The history of the readings of this verse and the interpretations offered of it is represented sufficiently for our purpose by the following references :

1. The Bagumra plates A.D. 867 of Dhruva. v. 29. IA. XII p. 183 with translation by Buhler and Hultzsch at p. 188
2. Bagumra plates A.D. 888 of Krishna II of Ankulesvar v. 18 Ed. Hultzsch, IA. XIII p. 67
3. The Baroda plates of Dhruva II, A.D. 835-6, Ed. Hultzsch v. 10 IA. XIV, p. 199. Translation at page 201.

In this inscription the earliest version of the verse till then known makes a very near approach to the true reading and this did not escape the notice of Hultzsch who observed 'According to the undoubtedly correct reading of this new inscription and of the inscription No. iv Amoghavarsha in stanza 10 must not be taken as a secondary name of Karka II, but must be understood as referring to his cousin and feudal lord Sarva Amoghavarsha (s. 736-99), who belonged to the direct line of the Rastrakutas'. Ibid p. 197. By inscription No. iv Hultzsch means the Bagumra plates of 888 A.D. But in that record the reading of the last quarter of the verse was by no means as clear as in the Baroda plates and it is no wonder that its full significance could not be made out by Hultzsch when he edited the Bagumra plates. The reading of the Bagumra plates is

Yo 'moghavarsa-macirasvapade vydhatta, whereas the Baroda plates give distinctly

Yo 'moghavarsam acirat svapade vyadhata.

It is only with the Baroda reading before us that it is possible to guess the true meaning of the Bagumra variant of it.

4. The Guzerat plates of Dantivarman A.D. 867² where the verse conforms with slight and insignificant variations to the other Bagumra plates of the same date, (1) above.

We are now fortunate in possessing the verse in its undoubtedly original form as it occurs in the Surat plates of Karka-rāja

Suvarnavarsha himself, A.D. 821. In this record³ it occurs as verse 39 and reads as follows :

svecchā-grhita-viṣayān-dṛḍha-saṅghabhājāḥ
prodvṛtta-dṛptatara-śaulkika-rāṣṭrakūṭān|
utkhāta-khaḍga-nija-bāhu-balena jītvā
yo-'moghavarsam-acirāt svapade vyadhata||

Prof. Altekar who edits this record in *Epigraphia Indica* and offers comments on this important verse, which are valuable so far as they go, is content to leave it without offering a fresh translation of it, referring us to the translation of Hultzsch in *Indian Antiquary* XIV. Now, that translation reads :

"By the strength of his arm that wore the unsheathed, sword he vanquished the tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army; and he speedily placed Amoghavarsha on the throne."

A comparison of the translation with the original of the verse shows that there is much scope for improvement here. We have already noted the distinct advance towards the true meaning of the verse made by the discovery of the correct reading of its last quarter in the Baroda plates. Where the later records read.

Yo 'moghavarsa iti rājya pade vyadhata,
the Baroda plates have

Yo moghavarsam acirāt svapade vyadhata.

This reading at once showed that Amoghavarsha was not a title of Karka but the name of his cousin and suzerain, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor of Malkhed. This alone enabled Hultzsch to give a fairly intelligible translation of the verse and a *prima facie* reasonable interpretation of it. But that translation and interpretation are rendered obsolete by the form of the verse as we have it in the Surat plates.

We shall now take the operative phrases in it one by one, and discuss them to the extent necessary for elucidating their true meaning.

First 'svecchāgrhita viṣayān': The last member in this compound reads as 'vinayan' in the Baroda plates. Possibly impressed by the better reading of the last quarter of the verse in those plates Hultzsch accepted the reading 'vinayan' and inter-

2. Ed. By D. R. Bhandarkar v. 29, EI. VI p. 290.

3. EI. XXI. pp. 233 ff.

interpreted it in what now seems to be a rather forced manner by translating "after they had voluntarily promised obedience". But surely with 'viṣayan' put in the place of 'vinayan' the phrase would mean simply "who had captured the 'visyas' (territorial divisions) at their will".

Next "dṛdhasanghabhajah". Apparently this phrase is rendered by Hultzsch into "with a powerful army", a meaning which indeed it is difficult to justify. The phrase is better interpreted as "forming a close alliance or confederacy among themselves."

The next phrase that calls for attention is "śaulkika Rastrakutan." This was understood by Hultzsch as "tributary Rastrakutas" and he explained that by the rebellious Rastrakutas we must understand Govinda IV, Karka's younger brother and his followers. Now the evidence for assuming a rebellion on the part of Govinda IV is very meagre. It has been rightly pointed out⁴ that Govinda issued the Kāvi plates,⁵ A.D. 827, not as a usurper but perhaps simply as a deputy for Karka during Karka's absence in the campaigns he fought on behalf of Amoghavarsha. The omission of Govinda from the later charters of the Guzerat branch is also satisfactorily explained by the fact that he never ruled in his own right but only deputed for his brother for sometime. Now looking closely into the phrase 'śaulkika Rastrakutan' it is not easy to interpret it as 'tributary Rastrakutas' for the word 'śulka' means 'transit duties' and not 'tribute'. In the context I am inclined to interpret 'śaulkika Rastrakutan' as officers in charge of Sulka (transit duties) and administrative heads of the Rastras, the Rastrapatis who are regularly mentioned in all the donative records of the Rastrakuta line. We also know from inscriptions that the collection of Sulka was entrusted to high officials each in charge of a considerable district, like Vatsayya holding the Sulka of Belvola 300 in A.D. 904 (SII. XI. i. No. 24). If now we recall the force of the phrases that have gone before it becomes clear that we have here the record of an extensive and organised rebellion on the part of the officials of the kingdom who seem to have entered into a conspiracy to defy the authority of the boy emperor and declare themselves independent in their respective territorial divisions. This interpretation of the phrase 'Saulkika Rastrakutan' finds strong support in verses 38-41 of the Sanjan plates which speak of Kali, subverting the minds of the feudatories, the

ministers and the relatives of Amoghavarsha, of the prevalence of lawlessness and anarchy in the kingdom, of the setting of the Sun of the Rattas giving occasion to lesser luminaries to shine for a while, and of the subsequent rise once more of the Ratta sun with the aid of an Aryapatolamalla (Karka).

It was indeed a great crisis though which the empire passed in the early years of Amoghavarsha's reign and the trouble evidently lasted for several years and Karka, the loyal feudatory of Lata played a great part in saving the empire from disruptions and seating Amoghavarsha firmly once more on the throne. In the light of the foregoing observations the verse that has been the subject of our discussion may be rendered as follows: "By the strength of his arm that wore the unsheathed sword he vanquished the rebellious and proud Śaulkikas (officials of the Octroi department) and Rastrakutas (rastrapatis), who had seized the visayas (districts) at their pleasure and formed a close alliance among themselves; and he speedily placed Amoghavarsha on his throne."

It may be noted finally that the errors that crept into this verse and obscured its true meaning so long constitute a conspicuous example of the damage suffered by texts in being transcribed from generation to generation. The Baroda plates are hardly 15 years later than the Surat plates and they had got to write "vinayān" for "visayān" in the opening compound of the verse, and about 30 years later the last quarter of the verse undergoes a serious modification which irretrievably obscures its real import.

4. Altekar: *Rāṣṭrakutas* pp. 80-81.

5. IA. Vol. V. p. 144.

An Indian Christian Date, A. D. 317, from Hindu Documents

BY

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I

The dates 52 and 72 A.D. for the coming of St. Thomas to South India and his martyrdom there (as tradition which, it may be remarked, is not found recorded definitely in any document prior to *The Book of the Bee* by Bishop Mār Solomon, Metropolitan of Basrah, says, circa 1222,) have been accepted by many authors since the 19th century as the most reliable or probable among

(a) 50, 51, 52, 52-53, 67, 78, and 84 for his coming, and

(b) 58, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 78, 90, and perhaps 93 also for his death, rejecting even 68 A.D. given in the Latin inscription on the Gospel side of the Mylapore tomb Madras (South India). All these are evidently dates arbitrarily assigned to the two events by Christian calculators according to their own reasoning, since the 18th century.

II

But in three purely Hindu documents of Cochin in Malabar (South India) there was discovered by a Hindu gentleman—Mr. V. K. R. Menon, M.A., M.Sc. (Lond.)—the chronogram *rauravam dēvarājyam*, it being the kali day of the coming of Christians to Cranganore (ancient *Muziris* of the *Periplus*, Pliny, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Ptolemy, and other writers), and their converting the Chera king of that city of Malabar to Christianity. *Rauravam dēvarājyam* (meaning the Kingdom of God—(preached by the missionaries come from Baghdad)—is *rauravam*, the horrible hell of the Hindus) is found in one of the above documents, among about a dozen chronograms relating to ancient Malabar events, and denotes Thursday, 30th Kumbham of the Kali year 3418, or 14th February 317 A.D.

The third of the above palm-leaf documents says, in substance, that in the days of the 7th Perumāḷ (=the Chera King of Cran-

ganore) one or two *Bauddhas* (= non-Hindus) came from Baghdad in a foreign land, landed at Mahōdēvar (= Makotai of Tamil), proceeded to Cranganore (the capital), and made known to him their *Śāstra* (= doctrine), and that the king being converted, insisted that all should adopt this *Śāstra*.

The language of the narrative from which the above passage has been taken is not Tamil of 317 A.D., but Malayalam of about 1700, or 1600. It appears, therefore, that the narrative is a modern record of events found in long-standing Hindu tradition. This is evidenced also by the name Mahodevar, and the words '*Bauddhas*', '*Śāstra*', and '*Veda*'. These are used not in their ancient senses in Sanskrit, but in the general Malayalam senses respectively of despicable non-Hindus (Buddhists, Jews, Christians, Muslims, etc.), any non-Vedic doctrine, and religion. '*Veda*' seems to have been given the sense of 'religion', especially Christianity ('*Satya Vedam*', = true religion, in Tamil) by the Madura Missionary Robert de Nobili (1605-56), and it gained currency in Malabar Christian writings also. Presumably, De Nobili found some fancied resemblance between Sanskrit '*veda*', and Greek *hodos* (= 'The Way', Christianity), or Latin '*fides*' (= 'faith', Christianity) !

The Arab city of Baghdad, we know, was built only in 763 near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, on a very ancient site of the same name, and Bar-Hebraeus (1246-1286) says that Elias, the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, re-established at Baghdad, in 910, the ancient residence of the Orthodox Catholicos, which had been unoccupied since the Nestorian schism (A.D. 432).—(*Chronicon Eccles.*, ed. Lamy, II. 236). Marco Polo (1293) says that the Bishop of the Isle of Males and the Isle of Females is subject to the Archbishop of Socotra, who is under the great Archbishop of Baudas (Baghdad). But Baghdad in the above extract from Malayalam may mean Seleucia, or the Semitic region in general.

And as for Mahōdēvar, it was founded in the 7th-8th century, there being no reference to it earlier, although Malabar Christian tradition and Bp. Roz (1604) assign its foundation to 345, i.e., some months before the 1st of March, 346. See IV *infra*. Much later dates also are given by others (e.g., Do Couto, 811 A.D.; De Barros, 886; a chronogram, 745 A.D.).

III

It may be recalled here that long before the discovery of the above documents in 1940, there was mention of a 'Chera King's conversion to 'Mārgga', in published Hindu records called *Kēraḷōl-*

pattis (= origin of Malabar); and *Mārgga* (= 'Way') was held to be Buddhism, Christianity (= 'The Way', *hodos* of the Gospels), and Islam respectively by the Hindus, Christians, and Muslims of Malabar.

And some forty years before 1928 there was dug up at Nilanpērūr in Central Travancore, a bronze statuette with a cross on its chest, from the earth under the floor of a building believed by the Hindus to have been built over the tomb of a Cranganore (Chera) king known among them as '*Paḷli-vāṇa-Perumāḷ*', i.e., 'the Chera king who (had left his capital, and) resided (after conversion) in a Paḷli', a house of devotion (belonging to any non-Hindu religious community in Malabar). Photos of this statuette were, in or after 1928, published in Travancore, and in Europe by the present writer in the *Kerala Society Papers* (1930), in his *Malabar Christians* (1929), and in the *Bulletin of the International Congress of Historical Sciences*, Warsaw, Poland (1933). It is not unreasonable to believe that this cross-wearing king is the same as the one converted to the 'Baghdad *Bauddhas*' '*rauravam*' (Christianity, orthodox or Arian?) in A.D. 317. For Hindu documents know only the tradition about a single Hindu king who was converted to 'Mārgga', or 'Veda'.

IV

At least two other Hindu chronograms seem to appertain to this king, viz.—

(a) '*Chēramān dēśam prāpa*' (= the Chera king arrived in the land, or at the place—presumably, the place where the above statuette was unearthed). This indicates 25th *Thulam* of *Kali* 3444 = A.D. 343.

(b) '*Bhūvibhāga*' (= the partition of the land—presumably for giving the portion where the statuette was found, to the king). This indicates *Kali* 3444 as before.

Chronograms about this king seem to have been current in 1604 A.D., for Archbishop Roz of Cranganore recorded in that year that a *Perumāḷ* (= Chera king) of Cranganore "died on 1st March, 1258 years before", i.e., in 346 A.D. Was it the above cross-wearing king? Probably it was.

V

The date 317 comes after the following events in the near west:—

(1) A.D. 312 (October): Conversion of Constantine (306-337) on seeing "the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above

the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this: toutō nika" (Greek).

(2) A.D. 313: Edict of Toleration by the same Emperor.

(3) C. A.D. 313: Arius' heretical propaganda began.

(4) A.D. 315: Synod of Papa, first Catholicos of Seleucia—Ctesiphon (280-328), very near the Baghdad of the extract in II ante.

We may suppose that a Bishop from Cranganore (if there were one there at that time) attended this Synod and informed Papa of the condition of Christians in Malabar, and of the conversions of Malabar Hindus to Buddhism. So the Catholicos, with his new-gained dignity and zeal, secured, we may assume, a letter from Constantine the Arian to the King of Malabar, and in 317 sent to him 'one or two Bauddhas', with that letter. They came, they preached, and they converted him (? probably to Arianism) from, say, Buddhism which perhaps he had already embraced. [Bishop 'John of Fars (or Persia?) and Great India' (325 A.D.) was not in Nicæa from Cranganore. See XI infra.]

VI

Now, "about A.D. 295-300, Dūdi (David) bishop of Baṣrah—left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people", says Dr. Mingana in his *Early Spread of Christianity in India* (1926), pp. 18 and 63 of reprint. Granting that 'India' here was not one of the ancient pseudo-Indias (See XIII, Arabia, Ethiopia, etc.) West of Persia, could we imagine that Dūdi was one of those preachers sent to Cranganore in 317? 'About 295-300' is only a rough estimate by Dr. Mingana. We must wait for a definite date for Mar Dūdi's journey.

VII

According to Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* I, 524) Awgin or Eugene (died April 363) came from the Nitrean desert in Egypt with seventy disciples to Nisibis in Northern Mesopotamia, and founded near it, in Mount Izla, a monastery, where he gathered three hundred and fifty monks, and from this two missionaries are said to have been sent to India according to the Syriac work *The Preaching of the Apostles* (which we cannot consult here). Were they the two who came to Cranganore in 317? Probably not. The two disciples from the school of Awgin came very probably to North West India, rather than to Arabia, or Ethiopia, or South India.

VIII

We know that a few years before, i.e., "between 265 and 270", Mār Ammō the Manichaean missionary came to the Kushan country beyond the Hindukush, to the N. W. of India, i.e., "beyond Marv into the former Kusān dominions and reached districts near Balkh, possibly even Balkh itself," as Dr. W. B. Henning says in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* for July 1944 (XI, No. 2), pp. 85-90, and in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1947 (Vol. XII, Pt. 1), p. 49. Did Mār Ammō, "Mani's Apostle of the East" as Dr. Henning styles him (in the above, p. 49), or his successor send to Cranganore the two missionaries of 317 A.D.? Probably not.

IX

Far south of Mār Ammō's region, viz., in the Indus estuary and its neighbourhood called Scythia (= the land of the Indo-Scythians and Scytho-Parthians, 'Sakadvīpa' of Hindu writers) in the *Periplus* (60 A.D.), there seem to have been Manichaeans under Adda, a direct disciple of Mani, in c. 317, our date from the *rauravan* chronogram. For Epiphanius of Judea, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (315-402) says in his Greek work against heresies, *Adversus Haereses*, 374-377 A.D. (Migne, P. Gr.-L., XLII, col. 47) that "Adda went to the further region", i.e., some region east of Persia, or of Manes' own land Babylon. Again *Acta Disputationes Archelai* (Ch. 11) says, 'Adda partes sortitus est Oriētes', and further down, 'Addas vero Scythiae (partis... voluit occupare.)'—Ch. LIII). The original of this *Acta* was in Syriac by Archelaus, Bishop of Casarea (Kaskar) in Mesopotamia, lying on the outskirts of Seleucia. (See Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, pp. 203-11).

The 'further region', 'partes Oriētes' and 'partis Scythiae' mentioned above indicate the Indus estuary and neighbourhood. And Oriētes ('the East') in the Latin translation perhaps stands for the Dravidian (Brahui) country of the Oritae, or Orae immediately to the west of the river Hab now forming the frontier between India and Baluchistan. (See *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 380-81). The Orae are mentioned in the *Periplus* also. They are the Oritai of Nearchus, Horitae of Q. Curtius, Oretes of Pliny (77 A.D.), and Oreitans of Dionysios Periegetes. What the Syriac form of 'Orae' or 'Oritae' was in the Syriac original of *Acta* we do not know. Some years later Theodoret (died 457-8) converted 'Scythia, of the *Acta* into 'Syria', and 'Adda' into 'Alda', in his sentence, "Et Aldam quidem ad praedicandum

misit in Syriam." Greek $\Lambda/\Delta A$ for $\Lambda\Delta\Delta A$ in uncials is, of course, an excusable error. (See Postscript 1 for Dr. Henning's remarks.)

X

From the above Indo-Scythian region Adda could send Manichaeans to Cranganore in 317 A.D., and if they were of Semitic stock they could be described wrongly as having come from Baghdad. We brought Manichaeans into the picture simply because there is a theory (based on the name of *Mānikka-Vāchakar* who is said to have re-converted some Christians of Quilon in Travancore to Hinduism—Saivism—by his sorcery) that Manikka-Vachakar was a Manichaean. And 315 A.D. is the date given in a Travancore Christian MS. of about 1830 for that defection. (Incidentally it may be mentioned that the author of that MS. was visited by Dr. Buchanan, who drew also a picture of that scholar for his *Christian Researches*. Did that scholar get the date 315 from Dr. Buchanan?) Dr. Henning, dealing with two Manichaean magical texts in the *Bulletin*, 1947, Vol XII, Part 1, quoted in VIII *ante*, characterises Manichaeism as wallowing in "the slime of witchcraft and sorcery" (p. 39 of *Bulletin*).

Instead of asserting that the abovenamed sorcerer from the Tamil country was not a Manichaean, we shall leave the problem to be solved after further research, observing that Adda's Manichaeans from the estuary of the Indus could easily come to the Tamil country on the Coromandal Coast through Central India and spread that religion there, imbibing at the same time Saivism and other religious cults found there, and that from the Tamil country Manichaeism masquerading at once as Christianity and Saivism could reach Quilon on the West Coast and cause the secession. The better known Manikka-Vachakar of the Tamil country is certainly not of about 315 A.D., but of a much later age.

It is possible that the man's original designation was Manichee—*Vaśakara* (=Manichaean Sorcerer, versed in *vaśakriyā*, charms, incantations, etc.), and that later on it came to be assimilated to the wellknown title Manikka-Vāśakar (=of ruby-like utterances).

XI

The two "Baghdad Bauddhas" could also be supposed to have come to Cranganore from one of the following quarters:—

1. Antioch in Syria, under which was Seleucia—Ctesiphon, ecclesiastically, for some time.
2. Edessa, where Aphraates (275-345), a monk commonly called 'the Persian Sage,' was Bishop. For Nisibis near it, see VII.

3. Fars in N.W. Persia, with Riwardashir as metropolis, N.W. of modern Eushire. Dr. Mingana (*Early Spread... in India*, p. 61) says "that the Metropolitans of this city had much to do with the bishops of India proper, and probably all the bishops of India before about A.D. 330 were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir." In our opinion Fars had under her only the Bishops along the Persian Coast up to the Indus valley as well as those of South Arabia, and sometimes of Ethiopia, both called India. It is possible, therefore that Mar John who signed himself as 'of Persia and Great India' was in 317 bishop of this Fars and "Arabia Magna."

He must have signed in Syriac (and not in Greek or Pahlavi), and the name must have been *Pares*, which in Syriac denoted either Persia in general, or Fars in particular (*ibid.*, p. 59). We take *Pares* in the restricted sense, and believe that John was of Fars, and his Great India was Arabia Felix, called by the Greeks Arabia Magna extending to the *farthest ocean*. Since Arabia was anciently (wrongly) called India by non-Greek and non-Latin people, Mar John probably put in 'India' Magna, Great India. See XIII. His jurisdiction may, or may not have extended to Ethiopia, which was also (wrongly) called 'India.' "The bishops of the country (of the Katars in Arabia) were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir," says Mingana (p. 58 of *ibid.*).

On pp. 63 and 13 of *ibid.* he says that "Great India is used of Ethiopia and Arabia Felix combined," by Michael the Great, the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch from 1166-99. This combination is probable because (as we know from South Arabian and Ethiopian history) until A.D. 378 or so both Ethiopia and South Arabia were under the same king, ruling from Aksum. So Mar John may have been Bishop of this "Great India" and of Fars in 325, and not of India proper.

XII

Like those coming from Baghdad or Seleucia, those from Antioch, Edessa, and Fars mentioned above in XI, must have come through the Persian Gulf. The question is chiefly whether the two 'Baghdad Bauddhas' came to Cranganore in 317 from Seleucia or from Fars. Personally we are inclined to vote for Seleucia, ignoring even the possibility of their having come from Alexandria (in Egypt), where in 317 Alexander (d. 328) was bishop, with Athanasius 'contra mundum' (300-373) as his deacon.

Alexandria seems to have had no ecclesiastical relations with 'India Orientalis,' 'India of the Brahmins,' 'India in the confines of the world'—i.e. India proper, the India of Bartholomew and Pantaenus being "Citerior India *arherent to Ethiopia*," as Rufinus (C. 368) describes it (*H.E.* 1, 9: "*Aethiopia, eique adhaerens citerior India*"), or as Socrates (5th cent.) translates it, "*India quae Aethiopiae confinis est*—(his Greek word is 'Συνεμμένη')—to distinguish it from 'India of the Brahmins.' Before Rufinus Eusebius had (c. 325) recorded that Pantaenus (A.D. 189-90), according to tradition, went as far as the 'Indians,' which was a vague term used to denote Ethiopians, Arabians, etc., besides the Indians of India proper. It was Jerome (342—420) who, without citing any tradition, or document (see Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 17), and probably without having read Edesius the Phoenician's oral account recorded by Rufinus his contemporary (in *loc. cit.*, *supra*), who gave the wrong lead by interpreting the "Indians" of the tradition noted down by Eusebius—even he cites no Pantaenus document)—as the Brahmins, definitely, in his sentence: "*Pantaenus — — — missus est in Indiam, ut Christum apud Brachmanas — — — praedicaret.*"

XIII

Like most other Latins and non-Byzantine Greeks Jerome very probably had the notion that Indians and India found even in non-Latin and non-Greek records meant the Brahmins and India proper in every instance 'Citerior India' is probably not Rufinus' own term but a quotation of Edesius the Phoenician's term; and there is evidence that the ancient Syrians, Hebrews, and Persians, and the Byzantine Greeks had 'Indias' and 'Indians' west of Persia. (See this *Journal*, 1947, pp. 175-87.)

A

Bevan says: "Spiegel has clearly shown by sufficient references that, at least in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier," (than 226 A.D.) "there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east" at the extreme ends of the Iranian world (*Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 425.).

B

Bishop Mar John the West Syrian (6th cent.) said that "all the regions of Ethiopia" formed India—"Indiam omnem plagam Aethiopiae accepimus." See the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, 58, p. 672. Abdias (c. 600) the Syrian says: "*Indiae tres esse ab*

historiographis asseruntur. Prima est India, quae ad Aethiopiam vergit; secunda, quae ad Medos; tertia quae finem facit." See J. C. Thilo's *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli*, Lipsiae, 1823, p. 113. Here India No. 3 is India proper; No. 1 is Arabia (=Edesius—Rufinus' 'India *adherent to Ethiopia*'). No. 2 seems to be Mesopotamia—Assyria. See XIII D.

C

As for "Indians", Pseudo-Kallisthenes (4th cent.) is the first known non-Semitic (Byzantine Greek) writer who calls the Ethiopians Indians by saying (in 3. 7: McCrindle's *Ancient India --- Classical*, p. 179) that at Auxum "a petty Indian king resided." In the 7th cent. we find that Theophylactus called the Homerites of South Arabia Indians (*Acta Sanctorum, ut supra*, tom. 58, p. 672). Aphrahat the Syrian (275-345) called the Ethiopians Indians.

D

For Indians and Indias of Syriac authors other than those cited above (XIII B and C) see Mingana (*op. cit.*, pp. 11—14), who confesses (p. 11) that "The problem is very complex, and we dare not here attempt to solve it in its various phases and developments." He cites Aphrahat (275-345) the Syrian of Edessa, much earlier than Mar John (6th cent.) or Abdias (c. 600) quoted in XIII-B, to show that he called the Ethiopians Indians (p. 12). Aphrahat is not perhaps one of the writers referred to by Abdias (c. 600) in his phrase "*ab historiographis asseruntur*," quoted above. These historiographers' writings do not probably exist now. (See Postscript 2).

E

Another Semitic writer, one anterior to Aphrahat, viz., the author of 1 Maccabees, written "In the 1st or 2nd decade of the 1st century B.C." also tells us (ch. 8, v. 3) that "the country of the Indians and of the Medes and of the Lydians, some of their best provinces" (i.e., of Antiochus the Great, B.C. 223—187) were taken by the Romans and given to king Eumenes of Pergamum. This India cannot be in India proper. It is probably India No. 2 of Abdias, verging on the Medes ('India *quae ad Medos vergit*?'), although some commentators correct 'Indians' in that verse into 'Ionians,' under the wrong notion that there were no Indians or Indias west of Persia.

XIV

Were there Christians in Malabar before the conversion, in 317 A.D., of the king of Cranganore? We have no evidence. St. Bartholomew (c. 50), and Pantacenus (189--90 A.D.) did not come to Malabar or any other part of India proper. See XII *ante*, and Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 17. As for Bishop Mar Dūdi (VI *ante*), his date and his 'India' have yet to be ascertained.

The earliest documents on Christianity in India may be considered here. They are (besides the spurious 1st century *charitam*, XX *infra*) :—

1. St. Thomas' letters from India (not extant).
2. A genuine *Acts of Thomas* in Syriac (probably the original of No. 3 below).
3. The Syriac Gnostic *Acts* of c. 220 A.D.
4. *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, c. 260, also called *The Edessene Canons*, or *The Canons of Addai*, and quite different from the *Didache* and the *Didascalia*," *ap.* Dr. Burkitt.

Of these four, Nos. 3 and 4 alone are now available for consideration. The latter, *The Doctrine of the Apostles* (of the 3rd cent. according to Dr. Burkitt), by an Edessene author 'who flourished not much later than A.D. 250' (Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 16, a), i.e., in about 260, let us suppose, says definitely that "after the death of the Apostles there were Guides and Rulers in the churches.....(who) at their deaths also committed and delivered to their disciples after them everything.....also what..... Judas Thomas (had written) from India, that the epistles of an Apostle might be received and read in the churches, in every place, like those Triumphs of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read, that by this the Apostles might be known." "The passage seems to have stood originally in the *Doctrine of Addai*," of circa 200 A.D., as Dr. Farquhar says (in *Thomas in North India*, 1926, pp. 27, 33). Perhaps St. Thomas' letters ceased to be read by c. 260 A.D., or c. 200.

XV

The genuine *Acts of Thomas* can reasonably be supposed to have incorporated incidents of the period before the martyrdom, from these letters to Edessa, and those after it from letters written by one of St. Thomas' disciples in Mazdai's kingdom in India proper, e.g., by Sifur the General, Wizan (Mazdai's son); or Xanthippus the deacon, or even Gondophares. And the

Gnostic manipulator had no reason to replace the genuine incidents already well known, for seven generations, by fabrications of his own, his sole object having been the interpolation of discourses, prayers, etc., inculcating Gnostic doctrines. See Medlycott's *Thomas in India*, pp. 291-2, where the conclusion of von Carl Schmidt ("In my opinion a Gnostic romance of the Apostles is a phantom") is quoted. *Vide also Preface to op. cit.*, pp. vii—ix. So we can take the incidents (including the journeys) in the *Acts of Thomas* (c. 220) as reliable.

It is by doing so that we may affirm that St. Thomas came to Gundaphar's (Gondophares') city in the Punjab, N. W. India, whether or not he went to 'Parthia' as *tradition* recorded by Origen in his *Comm. on Genesis*, written between 228 and 231 A.D., says, and even if the 'Parthia' of his tradition (*paradosis*) be not the territory of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares of Taxila (A.D. 19 to 55....). While preaching in that city and its neighbourhood for some time the Apostle (adds the *Acts*) went by land in a bullock-cart to Mazdai's kingdom, and was, after a short period of evangelistic work, martyred at that king's command, by soldiers (and *not by a priest or fowler*). We take this short and last *land* journey (and *not a voyage* in a boat or ship) as having been mentioned in St. Thomas' final letter to Edessa, and therefore, reliable. That means that he died somewhere near (perhaps to the west of) Taxila, and therefore in N. W. India itself. So neither the *Acts* of c. 220, nor Origen, c. 230, tells us anything about Malabar, or about any religion there. *Pace* Dr. Medlycott (*Thomas*, pp. 260-61), there is in the *Acts* no "detail....peculiar to Southern India" (*ibid.*, p. 277), nor any South Indian name like Damirike, Kerobothras, Muziris, Purrhon Mountain, Nelkynda, etc., all these being names found in writings of the first or second century A.D. (Of these Muziris and Nelkynda, i.e., modern Cranganore and Nālkida, practically Niranam, are localities in which St. Thomas is said to have set up crosses and built two of his 7 or 7½ Malabar churches). (See Postscript 3).

XVI

On the other hand, if we agree with Dr. Burkitt and Dr. Sylvain Lévi in regarding the *Acts* as unhistorical, there will be no documentary evidence at all for the existence of Christianity anywhere in India in St. Thomas' days. Dr. Burkitt even affirms that the name Gundaphar of the *Acts* has only the same historical value as Ahasuerus in Esther. See his article on St. Thomas in *Ency. Brit.*, last two editions. Prof. Sylvain Lévi (in his letter to the

present writer, dated 29th April, 1927) said.... "you are right in denying any historical value to local legends" (of South India) "which have nothing to bring to their support." (Vide XX for a first century Tamil chronicle from Niranam in Travancore, and a song 'of 1001 A.D.' based on it). Lévi continues: "What is known from early books points only to North-West India, and no other place, for Saint Thomas' apostolic activity and martyrdom. This is, of course, mere tradition too, no real history." (But see XV). (Levi's letter was published in *The Young Men of India* (Calcutta) for July 1927, p. 402).

Apart from documentary evidence, there is no archaeological evidence for Christianity in India in the earliest centuries, the Taxila cross and other crosses dug up in N. W. India being of uncertain date. For instance Seals No. 108 and 528 b on Plate CXIV in Vol. III of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjodaro* show crosses which are undoubtedly pre-Christian, probably of the 4th millennium B.C. Again, pre-Christian crosses of the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. appear on cast coins also. Vide Allan's *Coins of Ancient India*, Brit. Museum, 1936, Plate XXXV. Another pre-Christian cross, a small red one on white background, on a piece of carnelian, dug up at Taxila, and estimated to be of the 3rd century B.C., was in 1946 presented by Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly to the Indian Red Cross Society.

But the small, equal-armed Taxila cross turned up by the plough in a field on the borders of Sirkap in Taxila in 1935 (Sirkap was Gondophares' new city) may be assigned to the period after the vision of the cross-sign in heaven by Constantine in 312 A.D., or rather after the 'Invention of the Cross' by his mother in 326. It is of dark stone of the same geological nature as that used for small trinket-boxes believed to date "from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D." Unlike the other crosses this has a hole at the tip of its upper limb, which very probably indicates that it was worn as an ornament, or a religious symbol. Though Malabar claims that St. Thomas set up seven crosses, the cross did not come into vogue among Christians elsewhere in the world in the 1st-3rd century.

XVII

We may hold that there were Christians in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the parts of India adjacent to them in about 196 A.D. For Bardaisan (d. 222, converted 179), of Edessa in his *Book of Fate*, also called *Book of the Laws of Countries*, contrasts the habits of Christian and pagan Kaishānāyē, i.e., Kushans, Persians, Parthians, and others. Vide Mingana's *Early Spread... in India*,

p. 16. Bardaisan's Kushans are probably those in the Kushan empire of N. W. India, Afghanistan, and the regions beyond, which lasted from about 50 A.D. to about 230 (if as Sir John Marshall says in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947, Pt. 1 & 2, p. 32, Kanishka's era began in about 128). The Christians among them were probably the descendants of those converted by St. Thomas or his disciple Gondophares (A.D. 19-55....) and other Indo-Parthian and Indian Christians of N. W. India conquered by the Kushans in c. 50 A.D.

Most probably there were Christians in this Indo-Parthian region, both among Parthians and Indians also in c. 196, before Adda, Manes' disciple perhaps visited them in about 317 as supposed in IX ante. But the *Book of Fate* does not mention the customs of the Indian Christians (of c. 196) among the Indo-Parthians and the Kushans of India, probably because by that time they had adopted Persian, Parthian, or Kushan dress, speech, etc., and Bardaisan could not distinguish them in Edessa from the true Persians, Parthians, and Kushans. The features of those Indian Christian visitors to Edessa for ecclesiastical purposes, or on business, as well as their complexion, must have been like those of Parthians, Persians, Greeks, and Kushans owing to about two centuries' miscegenation subsequent to long-time mixture with Persians, Greeks, and other white people in N. W. India. Near it was 'White India.'

Quintus Curtius says: The men of North India "cover their persons down to the feet with fine muslin, are shod with sandals, and coil round their heads cloths of linen.... The beard of the chin they never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished."—(Alex. 8, 9: McCrindle's *Ancient India... Alexander*, p. 188). Accordingly in the *Acts* (c. 220), Act 8, we find Karish taking the *turban* of one of the servants, and putting it round the neck of St. Thomas, and ordering them to drag him along to King Mazdai of N. W. India. Turbans could not have been in use then in South India. (Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 16, however, sees no Christians among the N. W. Indians in c. 196).

XVIII

From this Kushan-Parthian region of N. W. India Christianity could possibly reach the chief ports and marts of the West Coast down to Malabar, Cosmas' Male (two syllables), and some of the chief cities in the adjoining Andhra empire (which seems to have come to an end about 225 A.D.), and thence reach the Madras Coast. All this could have happened before 317 A.D., the date of

the coming of the Baghdad preachers of 'rauravam' (II *supra*). But it is impossible to adduce evidence for it, as for the existence of St. Thomas' Christians, or other Christians in South India in the days of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, c. 260, quoted below.

XIX

The *Doctrine*, which according to Dr. Burkitt (*Kerala Society Papers*, Series 6, Trivandrum, 1930, p. 287, col. 1 of his article 'St. Thomas and His Feasts') 'may be safely dated in the 3rd century A.D.', informs us that "India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostles' hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler in the Church which he built there, and ministered there."

A

By 'India' the author means, of course, India of Gundaphar and Mazdai already assigned to St. Thomas in the *Acts* of c. 220, although Alexandrian tradition called it 'Parthia' in the same period (c. 230). India of the *Acts* and the *Doctrine* (c. 260)—both Edessene works—is the Indus region, and cannot be interpreted as the whole of modern India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, even though in those centuries Greek and Latin writers did call the whole land (*plus even regions to the west of the Indus and to the east of the Ganges*, as Ptolemy, c. 150, did) 'India'. So 'India and all its own countries' are the Indus region of the Parthian Gondophares, and of the Kushans and others who ruled over that region later up to the time of writing the *Doctrine* (c. 260), the land comprising as 'its own', several countries from Kashmir down to, say, the Kushan Satrapies of Maharashtra and Malwa. There may have been Christians in that vast region in c. 260, and the author may have had information about them, but not of people in Malabar.

B

'The farthest sea' is most probably the Arabian (Erythrean) Sea, which Philostorgius (A.D. 423) designated 'the farthest ocean,' or 'the outer sea.' See Medlycott's *Thomas*, pp. 189, 194, and 201. The Syrian author of the *Doctrine* had very probably the Biblical notion that South Arabia was at the remotest end of the earth. For in Matthew 12:42 (c. 100) we find Christ speaking of Sheba (=Arabia Felix, now El Yemen), the land of the Queen of the South, as at 'the very ends of the earth'. And

Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews* (revised in Greek, 93 A.D.) speaks of the Arabians as 'the remotest Arabians'. Again, Tacitus in his *History* (Bk. V, ch. 6) says: 'Terra finesque, quae ad Orientem vergunt, Arabia terminantur' (= 'the land and the ends which lie towards the east are terminated by Arabia'). As we saw in XII *ante*, the tradition about Pantaenus (who came to South Arabia) was that he went 'as far as' the Indians. So the sea laving South Arabia could, quite naturally, be called 'the farthest' or remotest sea at 'the very ends of the earth'.

We can concede also that ancient writers regarded, or could regard, other seas as the farthest. For instance—

1. Hecataeus of Miletus (born c. 540 B.C.)—(a) the Atlantic Ocean at the Pillars of Hercules, and (b) the Bay of Bengal.
2. Herodotus of Halicarnassus (c. 484—425 B.C.)—the Bay of Bengal.
3. Pytheas of Massilia (c. 300 B.C.)—the sea lying north of Great Britain, and laving 'Ultima Thule' of the north.
4. Eratosthenes (276—196 B.C.)—the Bay of Bengal.
5. Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.)—the China Sea.

But the question is whether the Edessene author of the *Doctrine*, c. 260, had any chance of taking one of the above seas as the farthest. It is most probable that by 'the farthest sea' he meant the sea laving Arabia.

And as a matter of fact we find not only Christians, but also bishoprics even in 225 A.D. in and near South Arabia called 'the very ends of the earth'. For instance in—

1. Baith Katraye, the Arabian region on the west coast of the Persian Gulf;
2. Baith Lapat, the metropolis of the above;
3. Hormizd—Ardashir, the town of Ahwaz on the Karun;
4. Pherat de Maishan (Basrah);
5. Baith Huzaye (Khuzistan);
6. Fars, east of the Persian Gulf; and
7. Arabia Felix, Arabia Magna (South Arabia), visited by Pantaenus in 189—90. (*Vide* Mingana, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 58, 59, 61, 63—64 for all the above.)

Moreover, we find about 780 A.D., from Bar—Hebraeus (1246—86) that "the bishops of the province of Fars....used to

say, We have been evangelised by the Apostle Thomas".—Mingana, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. They used to say so from St. Thomas' days, he means. Did S. India say so in that period?

Some 250 years before, the Syriac work *Acta Maris* (c. 520) speaks of St. Thomas' odour (tradition about martyrdom) as having been extant in Fars. Mari (1st cent.), Bishop of Ctesiphon, after having preached in Baith-Huzaye (Khuzistan), north of Fars, 'went down to the southern countries until the odour of Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted to him; and there also he brought a great number of people to the Lord'.—(Mingana, *ibid.*, p. 29; Medlycott, *Thomas*, pp. 36-7). In 'the southern countries', i.e., in the southern parts of Khuzistan, or on the borders of Fars, he heard the fame of St. Thomas and his martyrdom in N.W. India being talked of. 'Odour' perhaps indicates martyrdom; and its tradition spreading from the Indus region to Fars alone and no further would mean that he preached also in those South-Western parts of the Parthian empire.

In c. 230 Origen heard the tradition about St. Thomas' preaching there, and so it was that he recorded that St. Thomas went to Parthia. Of course, this Parthia has been explained otherwise also—as the Parthian Gondophares' region, which also perhaps was meant by the tradition.

We think that St. Thomas met Habbān in Fars, and sailed with him to 'Sandaruk', which we interpret as Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great among the Oritae in Baluchistan. Vide IX *ante*, and *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. I. In St. Thomas' Aramaic letter this Alexandria was probably truncated, and *uk* was added. Thus 'Alexandria', or rather 'Alexander—oikos', or—*oikia* (Greek, meaning Alexander's 'house'; Syriac *baith*, Hebrew *beth* as in 'Bethlehem') became 'Sandaruk'. *Uk* in 'Sandar-uk' may, in the alternative, be a word or suffix of the language of the Sandarukian Oritae. Shortening was usual in Semitic and Indian languages. 'Constantinopolis' has become 'Istambul', for instance; and 'Alexander' has several curtailed forms in Semitic ('Sikandar', 'Iskandar', etc.), and Indian languages ('Alasanda', northern; and 'Alak', 'Chāndy', 'Ökkānda', etc., southern).

While equating Sandaruk with 'Alexandria among the Oritae', we are not unaware that Dr. Farquhar and others have identified it with Andropolis in Egypt, and with other places like Cranganore. In the Greek translation of the 4th century 'Sandaruk' appears as 'Andropolis'—(Alekt-) *sander-uk*=*Andra-polis*.

As shown in the previous paragraphs of this section (B) there were Christians and bishoprics, very early, perhaps in the whole region to the west of the mouth of the Indus, up to 'the farthest sea' laving 'Arabia Magna', i.e., South Arabia. But we find no mention of Christians or bishops in c. 196 in the parts of India other than the N.W., where they probably continued to exist in 225 and c. 260 A.D. So the *Doctrine's* 'countries bordering on India and all its own countries' would be those along the seaboard of 'the farthest sea' (the Arabian) from the estuary of the Indus to Arabia, including Fars, which in c. 780, and before, used to claim *evangelisation* by St. Thomas.

C

It does not, however, mean that all the countries along that region were *evangelised* by St. Thomas himself. The *Doctrine* says only that they 'received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas', i.e. the imposition of hands for Apostolic succession, and not the Gospel (evangel). The hand of priesthood could be received *directly* from him (e.g., in Gundaphar's and Mazdai's regions, and also in Fars); or *indirectly* (in other parts) after his martyrdom, by the imposition of the hands of those on whom he had laid his hands while in Fars and the upper Indus region (but not in Sandaruk).

XX

In XVI *supra* we mentioned a first century Tamil chronicle recording the details of St. Thomas' work and death in *South India*. It is in a Malayalam song on St. Thomas, said to be of 1601 A.D., and generally known as 'Thomas Rampān's song', first published in 1916 that we find the chronicle ('*charitam*', history) revealed as the source of the incidents and dates (Dec. 50, Dec. 51, Sept. 59, April 69, 84 minutes before sunset on 3rd July 72 A.D., etc.) relating to the Apostle. Rampān (= 'monk') had the 1st cent. chronicle before him while composing his song 'of 1601.'

But the existence of the song 'of 1601' before 1892, and of the '*charitam*' of the first century at any time during these 1900 years, has not been proved by their Malabar supporters, or by European authors like Bishop Zaleski (1912), Fr. Rocca (1938), Fr. H. Hosten (after his article on Thomas Cana in *Indian Antiquary*, 1927, Vol. LVI, pp. 180—182, with the present writer's objections), Dr. Farquhar (1926-7), and Fr. H. Heras (1944), who unhesitatingly used the song in their works.

We cannot but regard the first century *charitam* and Thomas Rampān's song based on it as spurious, although the song (wrongly called 'Thōmmā Parvam' by some writers) has been given wide publicity through Fr. Rocca's Italian translation (*La Leggenda di S. Tomaso Apostolo*) inserted in *Orientalia Christiana*, Rome, xxxii, No. 89, 1938, pp. 169 ff. In 1912 Bishop Zaleski published extracts from the song under the name *Carmen Thomae Ramban*, but Bishop Medlycott (1905) had ignored it.

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Postscript 1: About Adda of IX ante Dr. W. B. Henning of Cambridge tells me in his notes dated 3rd March, 1948, thus: "The statement, in the *Acta Archelai*, that Adda was Mani's apostle to the East, has been disproved by the discovery of the original Manichaean Missionary History. ——— The suggestion that the original text of the Acts referred to a nation Oritae ——— is put out of court by reference to the text "in Latin, which was "translated from the Greek text." In both "there is nothing but 'East,' no Oritae"—Greek "*anatolēs*," Latin "*Orientis*" in the translations above.

If the Syriac original, lost, had *Oræ*, or some other strange form, the translator finding no such Syriac word, could possibly take it as *ūrīm* (=the east) borrowed from Hebrew, and translate it as above.

Did no Manichaean missionary come to St. Thomas' East, i.e., N. W. India? The Gnostic Acts of Thomas is said to have been "used by the Manichaeans," says Medlycott (*Thomas*, p. 215, 3). Ammo went towards Balkh.—T.K.J.

Postscript 2: The Latin author of *Itiner. Alex.*, 345 A.D., says: "India taken as a whole ——— is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians." (McCrindle, *Ancient India* ——— *Classical*, 1901, p. 153).—T.K.J.

Postscript 3: Marquart has identified Mazdai with Gōdarz II (A.D. 39-51?), Wizan with Bēshan, and Manashar with Manēshak = Manēsha. See *Bulletin of SOAS*, XII, 1, ante, p. 25, n. 4. All 3 are Parthian names, and not S. India.—T.K.J.

Jainism in the Deccan

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Jainism is not an offshoot of Buddhism. The Jains believe that their religion is eternal and revealed from time to time by prophets or Tirthankaras. The Tirthankara or the arhat is one who has attained omniscience in this world. The first Tirthankara, King Rishabha, is the founder of the Jaina Dharma of the present age. The story of Rishabha occurs in the Bhagawatha Purana, where he is described as an avatara or an incarnation of Vishnu. Rishabha Sumati, Padmaprabha, Suparsva, Chandraprabha, Pushpadanta, Sitala, Sreyamsa, Vasupujya, Vimala, Anantha, Dharma Santhi, Kuntha, Ara, Malli, Munisuvrata, Nami, Nemi, Parswa and Vardhamana Mahavira. Lord Mahavira, the last of the Jain Tirthankaras was an older contemporary of Lord Buddha. His predecessor, Parswanatha was also a historical person who preceded Mahavira by 250 years.

The word Jina means conqueror and refers to one who has conquered the senses, like lust and anger and has attained salvation. The Gods show their appreciation and celebrate his glory by providing the shade of a tree, raining divine flowers, sounding divine music, fanning with chamars, providing a simhasana or lion throne, surrounding his divine body with a halo of light and by creating a triple umbrella, to represent his suzerainty over all the three worlds.

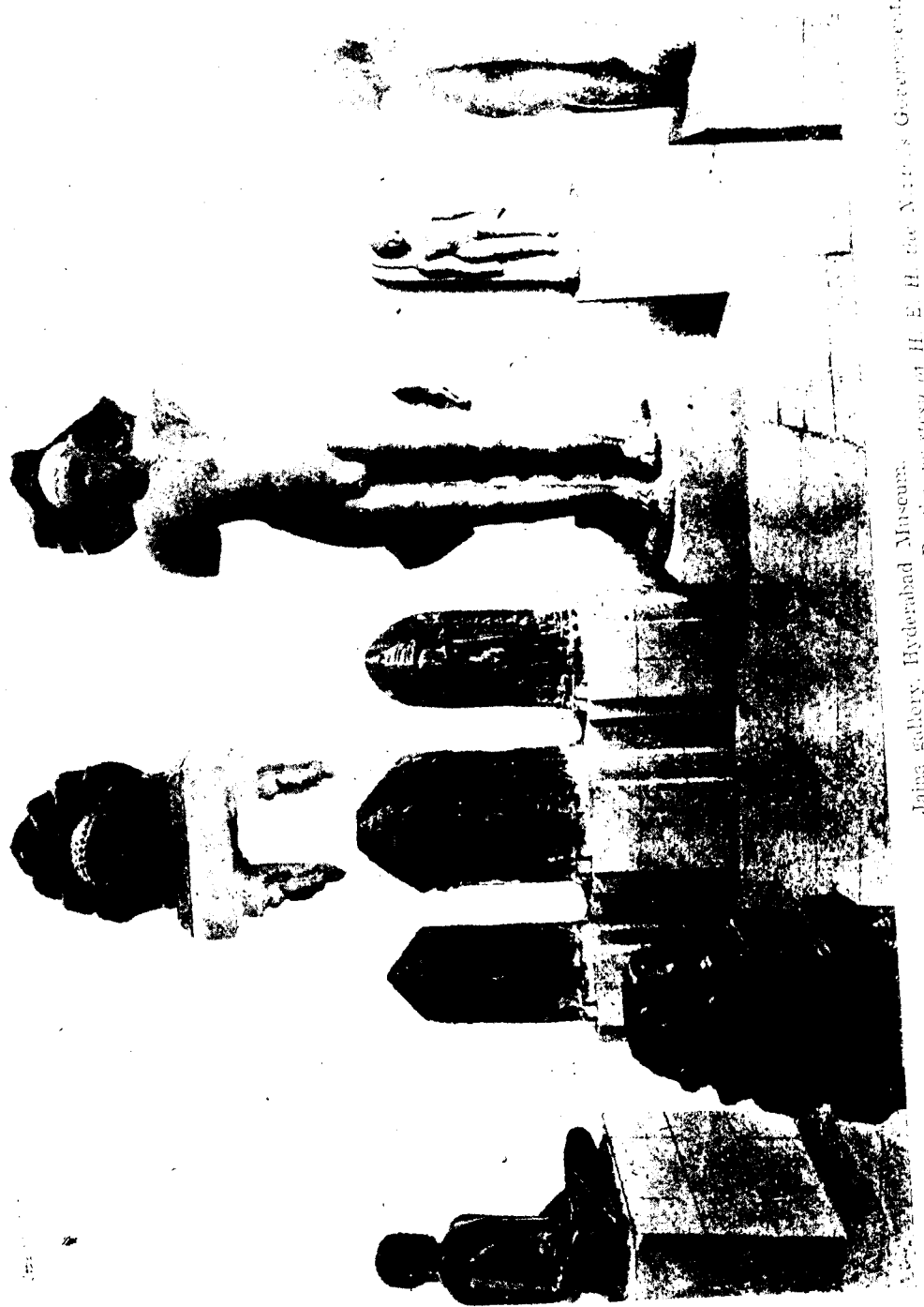
Jainism prescribes three principles known as Ratna Traya or the three jewels of Right belief, Right knowledge and Right conduct, a combination of Bhakti, Jnāna and Karma. The Jain Dharma or path of duty demands the complete elimination of superstition and arrogance. The arrogance of noble birth, the arrogance of superior intellect, the arrogance of physical strength and the arrogance of one's spiritual powers should be completely get rid of. Even an outcaste, if he has right faith, is considered the God of Gods. The greatest contribution of Jainism is its emphasis on the principle of Ahimsa or non-violence to any creature, much less to any human being.

The date of Mahavira is B.C. 599 to 527. There are two main sects among the Jains, the Digambaras, who maintain that absolute nudity is a necessary condition of saintship, and the Svetambaras, who are dressed in white, holding that the use of cloth does not impede the highest sanctity. The Jains worship five kinds of beings as 'representing the ideal in life at different stages of realisation.' They are known as the Pancha Parameshhtins—the Siddha Parameshhti the highest being who has attained the final stage in liberation, the Arhat Parameshhti who reveals for the benefit of the world the path to salvation, the Acharya Parameshhti who initiates all those that seek admission into the Jain Dharma, the Upadhyaya Parameshhti the teacher and the instructor, and the Sadhu Parameshhti with no specific duty but who is an exemplar by his conduct.

The Tirthankaras are followed by a succession of teachers called Ganadharas. Sudharma was the chief disciple of the last Tirthankara, Mahavira. Next to him was Indrabhuti.

The memory of the Tirthankaras was preserved by setting up statues principally in the sacred places associated with their lives. Gradually other gods and goddesses of Brahminical Hinduism were assimilated into the Jain pantheon. Like Mahayana Buddhism, the Svetambaras developed a Tantric system of their own. The distinguishing feature of Jain sculptures are the long arms, hanging stiff with the body, (*Kāyotsarga* pose), two attendants on either side, (*Yaksha* and *Yakshini*), the tree under which the Tirthankaras attained supreme knowledge, a throne seat, trilinear umbrella, aura of a beautiful radiance, drum, showers of celestial blossoms, two chowries and heavenly music. Each Tirthankara is recognisable by a cognizance or *chinha* usually placed below the image. They have also their peculiar complexions or colours. The sign of Rishabha is the bull, of Ajitha, the elephant, of Parswa the hooded snake, and of Mahavira the lion. Jaina images are also represented as seated in the *Padmasana* pose (*Lotus Throne*).

The Hyderabad museum contains a valuable gallery of Jain sculptures, mostly from the Telingana districts of the Dominions. Parswanatha, the predecessor of Mahavira, is represented in different ways in several sculptures. In one of the sculptures in the *Kayotsarga* pose, there is the seven headed serpent, with only one coil. Another standing sculpture, with the seven headed serpent of 5 coils, has the triple umbrella, like the *Kirita* of a God, above the heads of the serpent. His *Yaksha* and *Yakshini* are standing on either side, near his foot. Above his shoulders, on either side,



Jaina gallery, Hyderabad Museum. —By the courtesy of H. E. H. the Nizam Government.

are standing on two lions, chowri-bearers. Above them are small figures of 4 standing and 5 seated jinas. A third standing sculpture has a five headed serpent of six coils, with an aura or prabha round the head, and two chowris on either side above the shoulders. Above the hooded snake is the trilinear Kirita, with a pointed (kalasa) knot at the top. There is an inscription on the pedestal. The fourth is a seated sculpture in the Padmasana pose, with a single hooded serpent, carved over the head, immediately below the trilinear umbrella, with 2 chouri-bearers on either side, jutting out from two lions.

Mahavira, is represented in a marble sculpture, in the standing pose, surrounded by 23 seated Jinas, all round. (Chaturvimsati-pate). There are two chouri-bearers standing below. Above the shoulders on either side are two riders on 2 elephants and two musicians. The Jina has curly hair and long ear lobes. A second standing Mahavira, surrounded by 2 standing and 21 seated Jinas, with a circular prabha behind the head and a trilinear kirita, with a kalasa at the top, has an indistinct inscription on the pedestal.

There are two seated sculptures of Mahavira from Warangal, of highly polished black basalt, one with a circular prabha, curly hair, long ear lobes and the other, without the aura and without curls in the hair. A rare Jaina sculpture in the Hyderabad gallery is the Jaina quadruple, popularly known as 'Choumukhi'. It is known as one that is auspicious from all sides, 'Sarvatobhadra pratima'. It is an obelisk, representing the figure of a Tirthankara on each of the four sides. It is about 4 ft. in height. There are 4 small seated Jinas, with a lion, and a Makara Torana surrounding the figures, at the top of the obelisk. Near the wider base of the obelisk, are four more Jina figures, with 2 chouri bearers on either side and a lion throne and the trilinear umbrella.

The most beautiful sculpture in this collection is that of the goddess of learning or Vidya Devi from Mahur, in the Adilabad district. The image is in a standing position and is well ornamented. On the pedestal is an inscription giving the Samvat date 11 ? C (1178 ?) (13th century A.D.) On the pedestal is the swan, holding a garland ; on either side of the pedestal are two worshippers, a man and a woman. Above the image, on either side are two seated Parswanathas, with seven—hooded serpents. On the top are 3 standing Jina images. The image has four hands adorned with the book, the rosary, the lute and the goad (or Vajra)—Hamsa Vahana, Chaturbhuja, Pustaka, Akshamala, Veena, Abja (goad). There is a disc or chakra round the head.

Patancheru, 18 miles northwest of Hyderabad was once an important centre of Jain worship. A colossal statue of Parswanath nearly 14 feet high, and the head of a Parswanath are installed in the museum at Hyderabad.

Kulpak or Kollipaka, 45 miles northeast of Hyderabad contains several remains. There is a Jaina temple of the three Tirthankaras—Rishabha, Nemi and Mahavira.

Malkhed, the ancient Manyaketa, the capital of the Rashtrakutas, contains a large collection of Jaina sculptures and bronzes.

The village of Ellora, about 14 miles from Aurangabad contains large cave temples belonging to the Jains. The most striking of them is known as the Indra Sabha. Here is a colossal image of Indra, seated on an elephant. There is a tree behind the head and small figures of attendants by the side. The inside of the hall has several fine pillars.

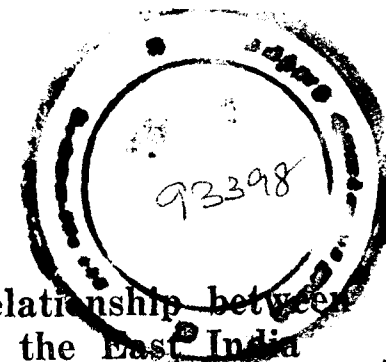
Indra is a minor divinity. He is one of the Dikpalas or guardians of the quarters. His position is subservient to that of the Tirthankaras.

The town of Kopbal was a celebrated Jain centre from the 7th century A.D. It is identified with Konkinapulo of Yuan Chwang. In the Canarese work, Kaviraja Marga of the 9th century A.D. the place is called Mahakopanagara. In the 10th century A.D. it was the capital of the Silahara chiefs. In the 11th century, a Silahara chief Govanarasa was described as the lord of the city of Kopanapura. In the 12th century, a Jaina general of the Hoysala king built many Jaina temples at the Adi-Tirtha, Kopana. Hulla Senapathi, the chief minister of the Hoysala King Narasimha, son of Vishnuvardhana is said to have granted gold for the benefit of the Chaturvimsati-Jina-Muni Sangha at Kopana. The glory of Sravana-Belagola in the Mysore province, another great Jaina centre of South India, was compared to that of Kopana.

One of the inscriptions at Kopbal mentions Chandrasenadeva as one of the great Jaina teachers of the 13th century. Another dated 881 A.D. refers to the religious preceptor, Sarva Nandindra, belonging to the famous Kundakunda line of preceptors, which was commenced in the 5th century. An epigraph of the western Chalukya king Vikramaditya (A.D. 1009-1017) says that the teacher Kalyanakirti, also of the Kundakunda line, built the Jinendra Chaitya on the spot where his predecessor Simhanandacharya performed austerities and departed this life, and consecrated the image of Santinatha at Bichchukundi village. In 1521 Kopana was under

a Nayak, appointed by the Vijayanagar King Krishna Devaraya. Some time after (18th century) the image of Chaya Chandranatha was carved by the orders of Vardhamana Deva. An image of Parswanatha, with 23 Jinas represented in the aureole going round the image was found at Kopbal and is now deposited in the palace of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur at Surur Nagar, Hyderabad. A lay disciple of the royal priest Meghanandi Siddhanta Chakravarthi had the image made and presented to the Basti, belonging to the Desiya gana of the Mula-Sangha. One of the Kopbal Jain sculptures is that of the Pancha Parameshtins, the five Jaina Gurus.

Jainism and Buddhism profoundly influenced the culture of the people and the Bhakti movement of medieval Deccan. The Jain teachers were held in high esteem by the Sultans of Delhi. Simhakirti won renown at the court of Muhammad Bin Tughluk. Visalakirti received reverence from Sikandar Sultan. Vijayasuri, Vijayasena and Jinachandra enjoyed the patronage of Emperor Akbar. Hyder Ali granted villages to Jaina temples. The king of Bijapur was a friend and ally of the Jaina queen Bhairava Devi of Gorsappa.



The Evolution of the Relationship between the Indian States and the East India Company in the 18th Century

BY

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The East India Company's right to wage war, and as a corollary to enter into treaties, alliances and engagements, was conceded in the charter granted to it by Charles II, and the earliest treaty now extant is that in 1723 by the Raja of Travancore and the head of the company's factory at Anjengo, by which the contracting parties agreed to be "in league and united in good friendship."

While these treaties were being concluded, the Company itself was passing through an evolutionary process which can well be called revolutionary. From the position and status of a trading concern it was rapidly transforming itself into one of the most important, if not the most important, territorial and political power in India. The defeat of Siraj-Ud-daula gave the Company *de facto* political status, which was converted into *de jure* status by the grant of Diwani in 1765¹. Through it the Company became one of recognized status in India. This development was powerfully assisted by the reorganization of the internal administration of the Company by the Regulating Act of 1773 and other Parliamentary enactments which followed it.

No less pronounced was the change which came over the Company's power and status in relation to the other Indian States. In the first period it was only a trading company carrying on trade in India through the sufferance of the Indian powers. In the next stage of its growth it became one of these Indian powers, gradually securing a recognition of its equality, which was recognized by Wellesley, but it could not be described as the Paramount Power in India, not even as the *primus inter pares*. But for certain Indian powers and in certain areas the Company was already suzerain. In fact, the Company's political relations with the Indian States at the

1. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties*, Ca 1. 1892, Vol. II, pp. 70, 72.

end of the 18th century were neither uniform nor always consistent. In relation to certain states it exercised *de facto*, if not *de jure* suzerainty.² Oudh was one of them; with others just a suggestion of inequality was creeping in.

In the case of yet others, the company was on a footing of equality, while in respect of the Emperor of Delhi, the Company's status was one of formal inferiority.

The main driving force behind the development of the Company's relations with the Indian states was search for security, both commercial and political. This is truer even of the Subsidiary System which began as a method of defence without expenditure. But this led almost inevitably to the establishment of the paramountcy of the Company over the other Indian powers. The possibility of such an existence of political power was present in the mind of Warren Hastings, who wrote in 1777 to Alexander Elliot:

"You are already well acquainted, however, with the general system which I wish to be empowered to establish in India, namely, to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote from the possessions, without enlarging the circle of their defence or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements, and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as shall due to be enlisted among the friends and allies of kind of Great Britain....."

"On this footing I would replace the subaship of Oude. On this footing, I would establish an alliance with Berar. These countries are of more importance to us than any others from their contiguity to ours, and therefore it is of consequence to settle their connection with us before that of any other. But the same system might be rendered more extensive by time, and the observances of a steady principle of conduct, and an invariable attachment to formal engagements."³

Through a variety of circumstances Warren Hastings could not put his idea fully into operation, but the evolution of the relationship of the Company with the Indian States continued along this line under Cornwallis and even under Sir John Shore. In spite of the policy of non-intervention the latter intervened in Oudh, and made the Nawab-Vizir almost a vassal of the Company. Although

certain Governor-Generals were more responsible than others for the extension of the Company's power and influence in India, the motive force of the process was supplied more by the nature of the situation than individuals. Even unenterprising Governor-Generals and Governor-Generals who preferred a policy of peace could not, in certain circumstances avoid being committed to wars. The difference which individual personality made was one of degree and not of kind. The result of this long series of burdens is best described in the language of Mr. Mill who speaking of the treaty of 1798 says: "The transaction had one attractive feature, that of gain to the Company; and it received the most cordial approbats of the powers ministerial and directorial at home."⁴

There is only one other point which needs mention here. It has been seen that throughout the 18th century the Company's power and influence was in a state of growth and that its political relations with the Indian States were undergoing rapid changes. The process had not fully unfolded itself by the end of the 18th century, and there was not the slightest reason to assume that the position had become static. The famous clause in the Act of 1784 and 1793 by which it was declared that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation," was not intended as a guarantee of the territorial possessions and political status of the Indian States like that paragraph of the Queen's proclamation by which the Indian princes were reassured about their rights and possessions. It did not concern the Indian States at all, but applied only to the internal constitution and policy of the Company. It conferred no rights on the Indian States, but was meant solely as a check on the Governor-General in the event of his desiring to involve the Company in conquests and the expenses and debts consequent thereupon which the Directors of East India Company feared and disapproved of most. It was really an expression of the Mercantilist attitude towards colonies and overseas possessions.⁵

On the contrary the tendencies inherent in the political traditions, both of India and of Europe, towards the end of the 18th century were such as to warrant the conclusion that the sovereignty of the innumerable States into which the Mughal Empire had disintegrated would not and could not be a permanent feature of the

2. Hale, *The Oude Question*, Lond. 1857, p. 21.

3. Letter dtd. Jan. 12 Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750—1921, ed. A. B. Keith, Vol. I, pp. 88—90.

4. Mill's History of India. Boah, VI, Chap. 7.

5. On this subject another article entitled "Was Wellesley's policy consciously planned" will follow.

political growth of India. From very ancient times the political organization of India has alternated between centralization of power under a great and powerful dynasty and disintegration of the unity of India, as a consequence of which each of the component units claimed to possess full sovereignty. But in neither of these two conditions was there any respect for the sovereignty of the component States. Whenever a state was powerful enough it always claimed and asserted its suzerainty over the others. In fact, in every epoch of Indian history, from the age of the asvamedhas down to Mughal times, search for hegemony has been the permanent and invariable feature of the political evolution of India. A system in which the various component units of India were recognized as full sovereign States, and the various states respected each other's sovereignty was never seen in India. The idea of such a conglomeration of equal and independent states existing in stable equilibrium was totally foreign to the political thought of India. In India the sovereignty of the component states was always uncertain. It was the result of the balance of power between the disruptive and the unifying forces. The emergence of any great military power or conqueror always put an end to it, sometimes wholly, and at times partially.

Nor was there any guarantee of the sovereignty of the component States in the international law of Europe as it had developed to the end of the 18th century. Europe had, of course, proceeded very far in the process by which the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire and of a unified Christendom of the Middle ages had been replaced by the ideal of separate sovereign nations and states constituting only a geographical entity known as Europe. Since the Renaissance, these individual sovereign states and nations had become well-established in Europe. But even then there was no other guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of any state except its own military power, and no respect for it except from consideration of expediency. Thus in the actual practice of international politics in the 18th century, the dominating force was reason of state and the dominating object aggrandizement of each sovereign state. "He who does not gain loses," wrote Catherine II. The idea of the grandeur of the state was intimately connected with the territorial extent of the state. The position was tersely summed up by Montesquieu when he said: "The spirit of the monarchy is war and aggrandizement."⁶

6. *The Spirit of laws*, Book IX, Ch. ii.

The methods of diplomacy were perfectly consistent with this purpose. Force was the principal arbiter between the states and nations as was shown by two typical instances of 18th century politics—the war of Austrian Succession and the Partition of Poland. In this political order the only guarantee for the observance of engagements was the interest and the power of the States. A noted authority on international law of these days, *Biefled* wrote: "In the matter of politics, one must disabuse oneself of the ideas which common people entertain about justice, equity, moderation, truth and all the other virtues of the nations and their leaders. Finally everything reduces itself to power."

These remarks were not made in denunciation of the spirit of the 18th century but in the course of a matter of fact exposition in a practical hand-book. In greater or lesser degree all European states and all European Statesmen of the 18th century were imbued with this spirit. Of course, new ideas of international justice perpetual peace, and equality among nations had made their appearance, but these ideas had not as yet fundamentally altered the practice of politics.

Thus whether one looks at the matter in the light of the Indian tradition or in that of contemporary European international law, there was no reason to think that the relations between the East India Company and the Indian States, or between the Indian states themselves would remain stationary. They were in a process of ceaseless change. In this process the deciding factor was the relative military and political capacity of the different states.

Rai Durlabh

BY

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA

Rai Durlabh¹ was the son of Raja Jankiram, Chief Minister of Nawab Aliverdi Khan.² His father was entrusted first with the administration of Bihar³ in 1748 by Aliverdi. The former, a trusted friend⁴ of the Nawab repulsed the attempt of Sirajuddaula to seize the governorship of Bihar in 1750.⁵

About Rai Durlabh's family history, we can say this much only that he was a Bengali Kayastha.⁶ He had a son named Raja Rajballabh who held the new office of *Rai Raian* for the first time created in 1772 under the recommendations of the Committee of Circuit.⁷

Rai Durlabh was among the most loyal and faithful servants of Aliverdi Khan. It was only a batch⁸ of able Hindu officers including Rai Durlabh that contributed largely to the success of Nawab's government. Aliverdi recognised Rai Durlabh's abilities in his (Rai Durlabh's) early years. He was appointed the *peshkar* of the Deputy Governor of Orissa in 1741.⁹ And when Abdul Nabi Khan replaced the previous Deputy Governor of Orissa in 1743, the services of Rai Durlabhram were continued.¹⁰ As Abdul Nabi Khan, being a rough soldier, understood very little of administration, Rai Durlabh was asked to attend to all the business of the Orissa Government under the title of his *Pishcar*.¹¹

1. Durlabhram and Rai Durlabh are the same person, '...ram' being the suffix; just like his father, 'Janki-ram'.

2. Ghulam Hussain: *Seir Mutaqherin*, Cal. Ed., Vol. I, p. 406.

3. K. K. Datta: *Alivardi And His Times*, 1939, p. 141.

4. *Seir*: supra, Vol. II, p. 509.

5. Datta: supra, p. 112.

6. Datta says that Jankiram, Rai Durlabh's father was closely related to Chintaman Das, a Bengali Kayastha. *Ibid.* p. 55 f.n.

7. *Cambridge History of India*, 1929, Vol. V. p. 416.

8. Prominent Hindu Officers were: Biru Datta, Darpanarain, Durlabhram, Gokulchand, Jankiram, Kyretchand, Ramnarain, Ramram Singh, Umid Ray. *Seir*: supra, Vol. II. p. 833.

9. Datta: supra, p. 54.

10. *Ibid.* p. 79.

11. *Seir*: supra, Vol. I. p. 406.

During his *peshkarship*, Durlabhram was captured by the Marathas. In the first Maratha invasion of 1742, Bhaskar Ram, the Prime Minister of Raghuji Bhonsle, overpowered Shaikh Masum Khan, the then Deputy Governor of Orissa and made his *peshkar*, Rai Durlabhram a captive.¹² Probably, Rai Durlabh escaped somehow from the captivity and joined Nawab Aliverdi at Murshidabad, in defending the city against the forces of Bhaskar Ram, who were marching in right earnest towards it after ravaging Orissa. When the Marathas plundered Murshidabad in 1742, they again captured Rai Durlabhram along with Murad Ali Khan, a son-in-law of Sarfraz Khan and Mir Shujauddin, Superintendent of the 'Bajutarah (Pachotrā) Sair' duties (customs).¹³

In 1745 Mustafa Khan, one of Aliverdi's generals rebelled and invited Raghuji to invade Bengal again. Abdul Rasul Khan,¹⁴ who had succeeded Abdul Nabi Khan as Deputy Governor of Orissa, also joined Mustafa in raising the standard of rebellion.¹⁵ Nawab Aliverdi, learning the news, at once sent 'the Patent and Insignia of Governor' to 'Durlabhram, son of Raja Jankiram'.¹⁶ The new Governor was unfit for such an office. 'Scrupulously attached to his religious practices, he was much addicted to the company of Brahmans and Sanyasees or Gentoo Fakyr, who entirely governed him; whereas he seemed averse to the company of his military officers, most of whom were Mussalmen; and it is observable that most of those sanyasees were Ragho-dji-bhoslah's spies, who thereby receiving frequent intelligence of Durlabhram's contemptible conduct, and of the weakness of his Government, erected his scheme upon that knowledge.'¹⁷

12. Muzaffarnamah of Karam Ali...Copy of the MSS. in Oriental Public Library, Patna (O.P.L.), MS. No. 609, f. 41A.

13. Datta: *supra*, p. 67.

14. The author (Ghulam Hussain Salim) of *Riyas-us-salatan* (English Translation published by Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) on p. 346 states wrongly that Deputy Governorship of Orissa was conferred upon Abdul Rasul Khan a nephew of Mustafa Khan, after Shaikh Masum Khan. Abdul Rasul Khan was a son of Abdul Nabi Khan and later on succeeded his father as Deputy Governor of Orissa after his death. See Seir: *supra*, Vol. II. p. 534.

15. Datta: *supra*, p. 94.

16. Seir: *supra*, Vol. II. p. 2. It seems that the distinction between a Governor and Deputy Governor did not exist in those days as clearly as we have in later times. The same man was styled in a particular year as Governor and Deputy Governor in the next year. This confusion was bound to happen.

17. *Ibid.*

Ghulam Husain continues the amazing narrative. The Maratha Prince, Raghuji, marched towards Orissa (as invited by Mustafa Khan), 'whilst Durlabhram meanly busy with his sanyasees on the shore of the river was kept in so gross an ignorance, that the enemy was so close upon him, before he had suspected anything of the matter. . . . Being arrived at Dulobram's door, he (one of Rai Durlabh's faithful generals) found that he was asleep yet and knew nothing of the Mahrattas; and a full hour more was spent in waiting for his rising. It was then (a general uproar in the city of Catec), and not sooner that Dulobram being awakened, came out half naked and without a turban.'¹⁸

Bewildered at the sudden approach of the enemy, he first shut himself up in the fort of Barābati for about a fortnight. After this period, he once visited Raghuji in his camp where he and his followers were taken prisoners. He was taken to Nagpur where in September 1746, he approached Visāji Vikāji to persuade the Peshwa to mediate for his release.¹⁹ Meanwhile his father, Jankiram, ransomed him in December of the same year by paying three lakhs of rupees to Raghuji.²⁰

But when Aliverdi Khan recovered Orissa in May, 1749, he asked Rai Durlabh to become the Deputy Governor again. But he refused to hold any post in Orissa under the apprehension of a report that 7,000 or 8,000 Marathas,²¹ who had concealed themselves in the neighbouring jungles, would return after Aliverdi's departure.²² The Nawab had to appoint another man in that place.

In 1750, Aliverdi fell ill. The Marathas took advantage of his illness at old age. And they fell upon Midnapore, which could not be protected because of the sheer tactlessness and cowardice of Nawab's two generals Durlabhram and Mir Jafar.²³ After his recovery from illness, Aliverdi transferred Durlabhram to another department. Here due to the influence of his father, Jankiram, Durlabhram was engaged as deputy *Dewan* of the military depart-

18. Seir: *supra*, p. 3.

19. G. S. Sardesai and others: *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 20, letter No. 37.

20. *Ibid.* letter No. 46; also Seir: *supra*, Vol. II. p. 547.

21. Yusuf Ali Khan: *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal's Collection MS. f. 97.

22. *Ibid.* f. 97; Muzaffarnamah; *supra*, f. 55B etc.; Seir: *supra*, Vol. II. p. 579.

23. Datta: *supra*, p. 113.

ment of the Nawab's government.²⁴ When in 1752, Ramnarain took over as Deputy Governor of Bihar, Durlabhram was elevated to the office of *Deewan* of that very department in which he was deputy and was appointed also as *rakil* of Ramnarain at the Murshidabad Court.²⁵

In Bengal, Sirajuddaula soon succeeded his grandfather, Aliverdi. Rai Durlabh like other officers of Aliverdi was won over by presents by the new Nawab.²⁶ After this, Sirajuddaula ordered Rai Durlabh to seize the fort of Murshidabad, which he complied with immediately.²⁷

At the Nawab's court, through the advice of Rai Durlabhram and Mohanlal, the French had recourse to Sirajuddaula in important affairs.²⁸ M. Law, the Chief of Cossimbazar, writes: 'Rai Durlabhram, the other *Diwan* of the Nawab, was the man to whom I was bound to trust most.'²⁹ But he could not keep his balance in favour of the French when he had to side with the latter against the English. He is said to have beaten them.³⁰ But since he shared the defeat at Chitpur, he never thought of fighting with the English again.³¹ And after this affair, he feared nothing so much as to have to fight the English. This fear disposed him to gradually come to terms with the Seths, of whose greatness he was very jealous.³² And this also induced him not to speak boldly on behalf of the French at the court. 'The fear of the compromising himself made him decide to remain neutral for the present, though firmly resolved to join finally the side which appeared to him to be the strongest.'³³

And the consequence was that Rai Durlabh was afraid to assist the French in the siege of Chandernagore.³⁴ When the French asked for reinforcements from Nawab Sirajuddaula in the siege, (Law writes—) 'his forces were ready to start, the soldiers have been paid, the commandant³⁵ waited only for final orders. I went

to see him (i.e. commandant) and promised him a large sum if he succeeded in raising the siege of Chandernagore. I also visited several of the chief officers, to whom I promised rewards proportionate to their rank. I represented to the Nawab that Chandernagore must be certainly captured if the reinforcements did not set out at once and I tried to persuade him to give his orders to the Commandant in my presence. And intelligence arrived that the Chandernagore Fort³⁶ was now holding out,³⁷ and Rai Durlabh was ordered to advance, but he never got further than five leagues from Murshidabad. Again there came a false report that the Fort had fallen, Law knew that Rai Durlabh was a coward, and his whole reliance was on Mir Madan,³⁸ 'a capable officer and one who would have attacked the enemy with pleasure,' to whom Law appealed to advance his forces.

Rai Durlabh's advance to Chandernagore was also checked when he received an open injunction from Clive. 'I hear you are arrived within 20 miles of Hughly. Whether you come as a friend or an enemy, I know not. If as the latter, say at once, and I will send some people out to fight you immediately. . . . Now you know my mind.' Nand Kumar, the Faujdar of Hughly passed the information of the capture of Chandernagore to Rai Durlabh and the Nawab with the malicious addition that if the Fort (of Chandernagore), if it had not already fallen, would fall before Rai Durlabh could reach it. This put an end to all chance of the Nawab interfering.⁴⁰

Sirajuddaula and Rai Durlabh had no cordial relations from the very beginning. Sirajuddaula detested Rai Durlabh (though he bribed him on his accession liberally), while the latter thought the Nawab encroaching upon the freedom which he enjoyed under his predecessor. The Nawab ill-used Raja Durlabhram also as well

not have freed him from the fear he felt at having to fight the English. He had with him as his second in command a good officer, Mir Madan, the only man I counted upon' (Law). See Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, p. 90. 3d.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. p. 94.

38. This Mir Madan is said to have been a Hindu convert to Muhammadanism. Native poems still tell of the gallantry with which he commanded the Hindu soldiers of the Nawab. He was one of the first to fall at Plassey, and though it cannot be said that his death caused the loss of the battle, it is certain that it put an end to all chance of the victory being consented. Ibid. p. 95.

39. Orme MSS, India XI, p. 2750, No. 83.

40. Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, p. 39.

24. Ibid. p. 165.

25. Seir: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 593.

26. S. C. Hill: *Bengal in 1756-57*, p. xxx.

27. Ibid. p. lviii.

28. S. C. Hill: *Three Frenchmen in Bengal 1703*, p. 68.

29. Ibid. p. 88.

30. Ibid.; Hill: *Bengal, supra*, p. clxiv.

31. Ibid. (*Bengal*) p. clxiv.

32. Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, *supra*, p. 88.

33. Ibid.

34. Hill: *Bengal, supra*, pp. clxxxiii, cxci, cxcii.

35. 'This (commandant) was the boaster Rai Durlabh Ram, who had already received much from me, but all the treasures of the Universe could

as many others, all commanders of character, all deserving the utmost regard, and all thoroughly estranged from him by his harsh language.⁴¹ 'He (Rai Durlabh too) hated the Nawab, by whom he has been ill-used on many occasions.'⁴²

Rai Durlabh and Mir Jafar, both had become indifferent to the Nawab. The latter's pride and vanity as well as his natural perverseness and ignorance, instead of recovering their hearts, tended to matters worse confounded. 'Nor did he feel in himself vigour enough to seize their persons by open force, and to exile them from the regions of life and existence; nor was there any one amongst those new Ministers, favourites and Generals of his (everyone of whom was incapable and as thoughtless as himself) that had courage enough to acknowledge his own unfitness for such important concerns, and to advise his master to alter his system of conduct; and instead of consuming himself with cares, anxieties, Ministers and Generals formed by Aaly-Verdy-qhan, to gain their hearts by a condescending behaviour, and to entrust them with the management of his affairs... They ought to have said with a common voice: "My Lord, to complete our wishes, and to fill the measure of our ambition, is an easy matter. Whenever you are yourself powerful, and honoured, some beams of your own glory shall surely be reflected on our own persons; but now think only of putting at the head of your affairs those old Generals and Ministers that have already a character"'.⁴³ But he ordered cannon to be planted against Mir Jafar's house. Raja Durlabhram was no less dissatisfied and difficult to manage; he would not hear of submitting to Mohanlal's superiority.⁴⁴ And it is undeniable that Mohanlal's death was caused at the instance of Rai Durlabh⁴⁵ as a consequence of the above. Probably Mirza Mehdy's (younger brother of Sirajuddaula) murder too had much to do with the dissension between the Nawab and Rai Durlabh.⁴⁶

And the hatred turned into a conspiracy with the English to overthrow the Nawab. 'A formidable Confederacy was formed against him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of

41. Seir: supra, p. 193.

42. Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., p. 88.

43. Seir: supra, p. 224.

44. 'Mohan Lall, Chief Dewan of Siraj-ud-daula' was the man 'who had his confidence and was capable by his own firmness of fixing the irresolution of the Prince'. See Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., supra, p. 87.

45. Seir: supra, p. 240, also f.n. No. 127, p. 240.

46. Ibid. p. 252.

finance, Meer Jaffer, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India.⁴⁷

But these intrigues of Rai Durlabh were only at the last stage of his disgust with the Nawab. Prior to that, he showed signs of loyalty to the Nawab. In a letter to the Nawab regarding the trade abuses of a *gumasta* in Sylhet, he says: '...but now Mr....and Chundermun and Coja Muscat English *Gomasthas* having brought a large quality of salt into the aforesaid Chukla, oblige my *Gomasthas* by force and oppression to purchase it at an exorbitant price; and having by violent means taken the butty wood trade into their own hands, they have put a stop to my business, whereby I suffer a great loss: yet the Fougedar has oppressively exacted from me the usual rents from my home and *Gomasthas* by reason of the oppressions of the English *Gomasthas* and the rigour and the violence with which the *Malguzaree* is exacted, have taken to flight.'⁴⁸ But such conduct of his changed soon with the behaviour of the Nawab.

Clive got a chance and began to intrigue with Rai Durlabh and his party. He threatened the Nawab that he would submit their disputes (between the English and the Nawab) to the arbitration of Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh and Jagat Seth and others who were totally against Sirajuddaula and who were sure to give the decision in favour of the English.⁴⁹

And as soon as the Nawab heard of the treaty with Mir Jafar, he knew what was inevitable and it had come at a moment when he had disbanded half of his army unpaid and the other half was grumbling for arrears.⁵⁰ He now thought of begging the two—Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh—to be reconciled, but neither of these could do so.

'Everything was now in a fairway; the Placis army broken up and put into quarters, and Meer Jaffer, after having consulted with Roydullub, concluded the...treaty with Mr. Watts'.⁵¹ Mir Jafar

47. Macaulay's Lord Clive: Smith Ed. p. 45.

48. Translation of a letter from Durlabhram to the Nawab. Original Papers Relating To The Disturbances In Bengal From 1759—63, Vol. I. 1765, p. 203.

49. Scafton: Reflections, p. 88.

50. Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., p. 107.

51. 'The original was supposed to have been subsequently destroyed by Colonel Clive for his own protection when he was accused of having forged Admiral Watson's name.' See Indian Records, 1870, p. 6—8.

was the Nawab after the battle of Plassey. Rai Durlabh was made his First Minister and the centre of all transactions.⁵² But the relations between the two rather became hostile in later years.⁵³ Rai Durlabh refused to accompany Mir Jafar in his Bihar campaign as he was afraid to trust himself to the Nawab's camp.⁵⁴ He was charged by Mir Jafar, the new Nawab, to have incited Oglusing to rebellion in Purnea.⁵⁵ It is alleged that Durlabhram was obsessed with a feeling of jealousy that his own colleague in the conspiracy of the great Revolution of 1756-57 has now become the Nawab. 'No wonder then he should now prove too high-minded to bear Mir-djafer-qhan's assumed superiority, and too incensed, to submit to his sway'.⁵⁶

The Company throughout protected Rai Durlabh's life from the coercing attitude of Mir Jafar. Miran's (Mir Jafar's brother's) attack on Rai Durlabh was repulsed by the Resident of Calcutta.⁵⁷

During the reign of the next Nawab, Mir Kasim, we find this intriguing⁵⁸ Rai Durlabh again approving the activities of the English to overthrow the rule of Mir Kasim.⁵⁹ After this event, there is no trace of Rai Durlabh.

On the whole, Rai Durlabh was a man of character in his early years. But afterwards he proved to be a disloyal servant to the Nawab of Bengal due to rich and lavish gifts of the English. But one thing: he is a figure, very conspicuous, although not known so, in the political history of Bengal in the forties, fifties and the sixties of the eighteenth century.

52. Seir: supra, p. 237.

53. K. K. Datta: History Of The Bengal Subah, Vol. I. 1936, p. 102.

54. Camb. Hist.: supra, p. 152.

55. B. D. Basu: Rise of the Christian Power in India, 1931, p. 104.

56. Seir: supra, p. 252.

57. Camb. Hist.: supra, p. 153.

58. He had a habit of intrigue. In the first Revolution, he intrigued with Omi Chand. See Hill: Bengal, supra, pp. clxxxiii, cxoi, cxcii.

59. Basu: supra, p. 121.

A Treaty Proposed by Sikh Leaders to Maharaja Bijayasingh of Jodhpur

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH RUE

Jodhpur

Maharaja Bijayasingh of Marwar ascended the throne of Jodhpur in 1752 A.D. In 1779 A.D. he helped Maharaja Pratapsingh of Jaipur against Sindhia, who came to install Rajkumar Mansingh on the throne of Jaipur. In this battle, Madhoji Sindhia was defeated at the village of Tunga and the Maharaja took possession of Ajmer.

As there existed a treaty between Maharaja Pratapsinghji of Jaipur and the Khalsaji (Sikh leaders), Khalsaji proposed a similar treaty for the approval of Maharaja Bijayasinghji of Jodhpur. But whether it was ratified by the Maharaja or not is not known.

Treaty

That as there exists acknowledged friendship and concord between the Khalsaji and Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajendra Shri Maharaja Savai Partap Singhji, in the same manner there exists hearty harmony with Maharajadhiraj. And their friends and foes are common to both. And whatever new territories are captured in collaboration with the Sarbat Khalsaji, the share of Sri Satguruji shall be taken after deducting the expenses of the armies of each party. The Rakhi (protection tribute) in the new territories shall be of the Khalsaji. And between both the Maharaja and the Khalsaji there is no discord whatsoever. In this the great Satguru and the Mighty Sword are in between. There shall be no disagreement from any side. And if the enemies of the Maharaja create disturbances, Khalsaji shall join him, and, with an army of two thousand horse of their own, without any remuneration and living upon their own resources, they shall stand by him. And, after the completion of the work, whatever is gladly offered shall be accepted. The pay of the extra army from three thousand to fifty thousand shall be charged at the rate of eight annas per horse. The friends and foes and honour of the two shall be common.

These few words are written by way of an agreement and a treaty to serve as a document for the present.

Written on the 27th of Shauval (Shravan vadi 13, 1345) Vikrami= (31st July 1788 A.D.).

The document bears the seals of the following 10 Sikh leaders in two rows along with the words

“Akāl Sahaya” above the names:—

First row:—(1) Baghelsingh, (2) Ramsingh, (3) Raja Divansingh, (4) Raisingh, (5) Gurudattsingh.

Second row:—(6) Naharsingh, (7) —singh, (8) Khushalsingh, (9) (10) Tarasingh.

The document also has a mark of the sword in saffron colour on its top.

The Substance of Ramanuja's Sri Bhashyam

(Continued from page 341 of Part 3, Vol. XXV)

BY

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VI

The opening Sutra was interpreted as meaning that the consideration of the nature of the Brahman must follow that of karma. Now, the second (Janmādyasya yatah) reveals the distinguishing characteristic (lakshana) of that Brahman, who is the subject matter of the study. Before we can claim to have definite knowledge of anything we must be able clearly to distinguish it from other things. We must know it through its lakshana. What distinguishes the Brahman from everything else is called the Brahmalakshana. To create dissolve govern and the entire Jagat is the peculiar prerogative of the Parabrahman, says Vyāsa in “Janmādyasya yatah”. The Upanishad itself expresses this fact in the vākya, “Yatova imāni bhūtāni jāyante, ena jātāni jivanti, yatpratyabhisamviśanti, tadvijijnāśasva tadbrahmeti”. “He from whom all the jagat has taken its birth, by whom it is sustained,¹ in whom everything lies dissolved at the time of Pralaya, and to attain whom in Moksha everything proceeds,—who is short is the cause of the beginning, being and end of all—know such to be the Brahman.” Functioning as the cause of universal creation is, therefore, an attribute of the Brahman, which again means that the Brahman is savishesha.

The next sutra is “Śāstra yonitvāt”, and it expresses that we know of the Brahman through the Pramāna of the śāstras. The śrutis are the means by which we get to know of the Brahman. But the Śrutis do not reveal that which can be known through other pramānas, nor do they contradict the others. Is the Brahman such as could not be known by pramānas other than the Vedas? That is not so, argues the Naiyāyika, who proceeds to show that by mere inference (anumāna) we may know of the Brahman. Anything

1. Taittiriyaopanishad.

that is composed of parts (avayavas) must be of the nature of a product. A product implies a producer, an agent, who functions as its cause (karta). This world of experience is composed of many parts. It is of the nature of a product (or effect), a created thing. When we consider its vastness and the wonderful variety of objects in it, we realise not only that it must have a cause but that the cause must be one of infinite wisdom (sarvajña) and infinite power (sarvaśakta). The karta, whose existence is thus inferred is no less than the Īśvara. Has not Anumāna (inference) then led us to the existence of the Brahman? Vyāsa's answer to this objection is contained in the sutra, "Śāstra yonitvāt." True, Anumāna establishes that the jagat must have a cause, that there must be a karta (or creator) responsible for its existence. But it is not Anumāna that can adequately show that the karta is no less than the Supreme Īśvara, with infinite wisdom and infinite power. It could very well have been created by one like the sage Viśvāmītra, who having acquired wonderful powers through great penance could claim with confidence, "Anyam indram karishyāmi" ("I shall bring into being another Indra"). And did he not create another world of surpassing wonder? Then, if we rely on Anumāna alone and infer that the vastness and wonder of this world must imply a creator of great wisdom and power, Viśvāmītra could well have been the Creator. That the creator of this jagat is no other than the Paramātmā, who is Sarvajña and Sarvaśakta, cannot be established by Anumāna pramāṇa. The Vedas alone reveal this fact. Hence in order to know of the Parabrahman the Śrutis are the only pramāṇas. The sutra tells us that we know of the Brahman through the Śrutis. The attribute of being revealed through the Śrutis belongs to the Brahman, and the Brahman is, again from this point of view, Saviśeṣa.

"Tattu Samanvayāt" is the fourth Sutra. It contains the answer to the Purva Mimāṃsakas, who hold that the Vedānta Vākyas cannot be the pramāṇas that reveal the Parabrahman. The previous sutra was in answer to the Naiyāyikas, who maintained the same position from a different angle. Now the Purva Mimāṃsaka argues as follows:—Vākyas like "Sadeva Somyedam agra āseet,"² "Satyam jñānam anantam Brahmā"³ cannot convey knowledge about the Parabrahman. Only those vākyas, that indicate certain injunctions and prohibitions (pravṛtti and nivṛtti), together with the acts that form the object of the injunc-

2. Chāndogya Upanishad, 6.

3. Taittiriya Upanishad.

tions and prohibitions and their resultant fruit, would convey real knowledge, for right knowledge ought to be useful in the attainment of a result. "Yajeta Svarga kāmah," "Nakalanjam bhakshayet"—these mean "perform sacrifice in order to attain Svarga," "do not eat forbidden things," and they lead to definite results, such as the attainment of heaven or the avoidance of hell. The vākyas quoted from the Vedānta do not show the way to such fruits as these do, and are, therefore, valueless.

Vyāsa's reply to the argument has been expressed by Rāmānuja as follows:—It cannot be maintained that vākyas like "Satyam jñānam anantam" do not lead to the attainment of a fruit. Happiness, in some form or other, is the goal of all human endeavour, the primary object of all human effort. Now, the Parabrahman, is itself the highest form of happiness and bliss. (Ānanda swarūpa) and the Vedānta vākyas that describe it do themselves give us a taste of the blissful experience. A vākyam like "Yajeta svarga kāmah" leads to the attainment of a fruit gradually and through a sequence of causes and effects, while one like "Satyam jñānam anantam Brahma" reveals the blissful Brahman directly, and gives us a glimpse of the experience by itself. To say that what indirectly and through several stages reveals the goal is capable of conveying useful and real knowledge, while that which directly furnishes experience of the fruit is useless cannot stand to reason. But, it may be asked, if the Upanishad vākyas do themselves directly produce the experience of the Ānandarūpa Brahman, where is the necessity for such sādhanas as Bhakti, that are said to be the means for the attainment of the highest experience? The experience of the divine bliss arising from Vedānta vākyas is śābda bodha; it is of the form that results from hearsay. The very words that describe the Parabrahman and its excellences are a source of joy. Their potency is so great that they stir us deeply and lift us to the heights of ecstasy. They give but a sample of the delight that is divine, a foretaste of what is in store, but even such an experience is sought after as a precious object. Having heard of the Brahman and its infinite excellences, and tasted the divine joy through the spoken word, one would yearn for a fuller and more intimate experience, to attain which Bhakti and such other sādhanas are adopted as the means.

In the sutra "Tattu Samanvayāt," there are three distinct words, tat, tu, and samanvayāt. "Tu" tells us that the doubt raised by the Mimāṃsaka is baseless. It is an expression which conveys the force of reassurance against possible objections. "Tat" here refers to the immediately preceding sutra and implies

"Śāstrayonitvam" or the characteristic of being rooted in the śāstras (and consequently being revealed through them). It means "that the Parabrahman is revealed through the Śāstras is a fact." It is reiteration of the significance of the previous sutra, but the grounds on which the assertion stands here are different. "Samanvayāt" express the reason that is adduced in this sutra to show that the Parabrahman is known through the śāstras. (Samyak, anvayah—Samanvayah; tasmāt, samanvayāt). "On account of the relation between the Vedānta vākyam and the Parabrahman, which is bliss-incarnate" we say that the Parabrahman is known through the Śāstras. The relation is bodhatvam, that is to say it is the Brahman that is being spoken of or revealed by the vākyam, while it is the vākyam that speaks of or reveals the Brahman. The one reveals, and the other is that which is revealed. This is how the vākyam and the Parabrahman, to whom the vākyam refers, are related. What the sutra, therefore, says in effect is that Vedānta vākyas directly give us the experience of the Ānandarūpa Parabrahman, and thereby reveal the nature of the Brahman.

In revealing the Parabrahman the Upanishads show it to be the cause of the jagat. The Vyāsa sutras that express this Upanishadic idea fall under two heads. From the sutra "Ikshatēnā śabdām" to the end of the sutra which says "Jīva mukhya prāṇa lingān etc." Vyāsa shows that in the light of certain Upanishad vākyas the attribute of being the cause of the jagat (or Jagat-kāranatvam) necessarily belongs to the Brahman, and then beginning with "Sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt" and going up to "Ētēna sarvā vyākhyātā vyākhyātāh" he shows on a similar Upanishadic basis that the attribute of jagatkāranatvam does not vest in anything other than the Parabrahman. The first set of sutras show that the attribute really belongs to be Parabrahman, while the second proves that it exclusively belongs to it. The emphasis in the two sets varies, but their significance is one-pointed.

In "Ikshatēnā śabdām" is contained the reply to the objections from the Sāṅkhya school, which takes its stand on the position that a cause and its effect must be substantially identical. There must be an underlying identity between the Upādāna and the Upādeya, such as there is between a clod of clay and a finished pot. The substance of clay is the substance of the pot. If, therefore, we say that the Brahman is the Upādāna Kāraṇa or the material cause of the Jagat, there must be such a substantial identity between the two. But what do we actually find? The Brahman and the Jagat are so different from each other—the

Parabrahman being Sarvajña and Sarvaśakta and the Jagat being composed of nonsentient and sentient things, that have only limited powers of understanding and thought—that they cannot be taken to stand related as cause and effect. The Vākyas that speak of the Cause of the Jagat cannot refer to the Brahman. They refer only to that which Sāṅkhya calls "Prakriti." Prakriti is original matter, and the Sāṅkhyan contention is that out of this original matter has evolved the Jagat. Prakriti is the basic stuff out of which the Jagat has evolved, and can therefore be rightly regarded as its Upādāna Kāraṇa.

Rāmānuja expresses what he considers to be Vyāsa's reply to the Sāṅkhyan objection in his commentary on the Sūtras contained in the "Ikshatēyadhikāraṇam." If we refer to the Upanishads relating to this question we find there that, having revealed that which is the cause of the whole jagat, they state that the jagat-kāraṇa (the cause of the jagat) resolved upon creation and expressed its resolution in the form, "I shall become the manifold jagat." The expression "Tadaikshata" clearly brings out this fact. To resolve upon a course of action or to carry out the resolution is a mark not of Prakriti or matter, which is non-sentient, but of that which is sentient and intelligent. Prakriti cannot be the original cause of the jagat, in as much as it lacks the quality of forming or carrying out a resolution of its own. The original cause of the jagat must, therefore, be different from Prakriti.

It may here be contended that the Vākyam "Tadaikshata" does not imply that the original cause literally resolved upon creation, and that the expression "Sankalpa" used in relation to the cause is just a metaphorical expression. We say, for instance that the crops in the fields are athirst and eagerly await the rains," but do we literally mean that the capacity for eager expectation, which is a distinct mark of sentience, is in the crops? No; the use of such words in the context merely reveals an attempt at vivid expression. That the original cause resolved upon self-manifestation must, therefore, be understood in a metaphorical sense. It means no more than that the original Prakriti was in a state of readiness for such manifestation.

Rāmānuja's answer to this line of objection is that the cause of the jagat is further described as the Ātman. "Sa ātmā," says the vākyam. The same section also contains the declaration that he, who meditates on the original cause of the jagat, the Ātman, who is also the Soul of his soul, has to wait for his Moksha until such time as his body lasts. (Tasya tāvadevaçīram). These

vākyas clearly prove that the original cause of the jagat is not only different from Prakriti but that its resolve (Sankalpa) must be understood literally and not metaphorically. If the cause were none other than Prakriti, what is the value of the injunction that we ought to meditate on that which is the cause? Prakriti is just matter, which is not even sentient. It is of a much lower order than the Parabrahman, who is—Sarvajna, Sarvaśakta etc., and there is no point in the suggestion that one ought to meditate on what is but of subordinate importance in the total scheme of the universe. Even Sāṅkhya does not assert that meditation on Prakriti could bring about Moksha. It is again in this section that we are told of that basic knowledge which means and comprehends knowledge of the whole jagat. If Prakriti were the cause of the jagat, how could it be maintained that by knowing the one (Prakriti) we know all including the sentient things? How could the part contain or cause the whole? The cause of the jagat, which is made up of both sentient and non-sentient things, cannot be Prakriti, which is only non-sentient. Only if we admit that the Brahman is the cause of the jagat can we maintain that by knowing the one we know all.

In other Upanishads as well it is clearly stated that the whole jagat originates from the Ātman. "Ātmana ākāśassambhūtaḥ" etc. We should read the different Upanishadic statements in a consistent manner, for they all lead up to the same truths and there can be no real divergence between one set of Upanishads and another. In the particular section of the Upanishads under consideration the vākyas clearly express that it is from the Ātman that everything has issued.

For these reasons it must be maintained that in "Tadaikshata" the expression "Aikshata" is not merely metaphorical but refers literally to the act of resolution. That which resolves upon creation is Parabrahman and not Prakriti. The essential thought of this adhikarana or section in the Brahma Sūtras is that the cause of the jagat is different from any non-sentient thing, for it must have the ability to resolve upon creation.

The next sūtra, "Ānanda mayobhyāsāt" and the following ones in this adhikarana are based on certain vākyas in the section known as Ānanda Valli of the Taittirīyopaniṣad, and establish that the cause of the jagat is different from the jivātman. The

4. Taittirīyopaniṣad.

Upanishadic section first describes the nature of the Brahman (tattvam), and in so doing states that the Parabrahman, unlike the sentient and non-sentient things, never undergoes any real change in its substance or nature, that it always shines in the undimmed brilliance of the highest jñāna, and that being present in all places and at all times, it has all the sentient and non-sentient things as its śareera, in a manner which admits of no rival comparison. (Satyam-Jñānam-Anantam Brahma).⁵ Then the section speaks of meditation on such a Parabrahman and unswerving bhakti as the means (hitam) leading to the Highest. He who enters on the path of Bhakti reaches the highest state, the Paramapada, through divine grace and there enjoys the infinite excellences of the Parabrahman. This is the fruit attained, the highest aspiration realised (Purushārtha). Having thus revealed the tattva, hita and purushārtha, the Upanishads proceed to state that from the Parabrahman have issued Ākāśa and other elements, whose origin and cause it is. In order to enable us to know the Brahman clearly and definitely the Upanishad vākyas lead us step by step through statements describing the Brahman as Annam, Prānam etc., and finally it is referred to as Ānandam or bliss; and here we read the vākyam "Tasmadvā etasmāt vijnāna mayāt anyontara ātmānanda mayah."⁶ In interpreting this vākyam the Sāṅkhya contends that the expression "Ānanda mayah" refers to the jivātman. He adduces several reasons to support his contention; (1) If, as it was argued in the last adhikarana, Prakriti or Matter could not be the original cause of the jagat, owing to its inability to resolve upon creation, the jivātman being fundamentally different from Prakriti could very well possess the capacity to will the creation of the jagat and therefore be its cause. (2) There is no real difference between the jiva and the Brahman, for is not their identity clearly expressed in "Tat tvam asi"? (3) In this Upanishadic section there is a distinct reference to the Brahman's association with śareera or body, and association with body can happen only to the jiva. (4) The expression "Ānanda mayah" means "Ānandapraçurah" and indicates the preponderance of Ānandam, (rather than its absolute purity) which provides room for a little admixture of unhappiness as well. Such an admixture is what may be found in the jiva and not in the Brahman.

5. Taittirīyopaniṣad.

6. Taittirīyopaniṣad.

These and such other arguments constitute the basis for the Sāṅkhyan contention that it is the Jivātman that is referred to as Ānandamayah, but they may all be easily answered. (1) Although the capacity to will or resolve may ordinarily belong as an (attribute) to the Jiva, "tadaikshata" implies the specific resolve to *Create the entire Jagat*, and the Jiva is too limited an entity to be capable of such a mighty resolve. (2) That it is not the absolute identity of the Brahman and the Jiva that the "Tattvamasi" expresses has already been shown. (3) The Paramātman does possess a śareera or body, but His association with the body is not as a result of karma in the form of merit or demerit (punya or pāpa). The Śāstras reveal that the whole jagat is His Śareera. The four adhyāyas or chapters of the Brahma Sūtras are themselves known as "Śāreeraka Mimāṃsa". The very expression implies that the Paramātman has Śareera. (4) "Ānanda praçurah" need not necessarily involve an admixture of unhappiness or sorrow. The statement "Praçura-Prakāśassavitā" for instance means that the Sun has "a great deal of light", but do we on that account take it as conveying the idea that there is some darkness as well in the sun? No. "Praçura-Prakāśassavitā" expresses that there is no other body than the sun, which has such an amount of light. Our interpretation of "Ānandamayah" must be in the manner of this illustration. That no other being than the Parabrahman has such a plenitude of Ānandam is what the expression seeks to convey.

Let us turn to the positive grounds for maintaining that "Ānandamayah" refers to the Parabrahman and not to the jiva. (1) We have seen that in describing the Brahman the Upanishad-vākyas lead us step by step, first naming it as Annam, then Prānam, Manas, vijñānam and finally call it Ānandamayah. This is in accordance with the procedure known as sthoola-Arundati Nyāya. The star "Arundati" is not easily visible to the naked eye, and in order to locate it our attention is first drawn to some other star easily seen in the neighbourhood, and with that as a landmark we are enabled to detect the "Arundati". The brighter star is not in itself the object to be pointed out. It just serves the purpose of locating the other. Similarly, Annam, Prānam, Manas and Vijñānam are all mentioned only to be eliminated one by one. What stands finally as a true description of the Parabrahman is "Ānandamayah" alone. "Vijñāna" implies the jiva, and it is also one of the particulars eliminated. That the Ānandamayah is something distinct and different from Jivātman is thus clearly seen. (2) The Vedas reveal an attempt at measuring the ānandam of the "Ānan-

damayah". Beginning with human happiness (such as can be had by one, who feels nothing wanting here, on earth) they ascend stage by stage in the scale of happiness by a process of progressive multiplication, hundredfold at each step, and arrive at the Ānandam of the four-faced Brahma, the creator of the fourteen worlds. Multiplying this again a hundredfold the Vedas seek to determine accordingly the Ānandam of the Ānandamaya, but in vain. The highest Ānandam transcends all computation. The Parabrahman alone has such Ānandam, and only to Him does the expression rightly refer. (3) In the Upanishadic section under consideration it is said that the Paramātman is the cause of the jivātman's Ānandam (Eshahyevānandayāti). He, for whose Ānandam the Paramātman is said to be the cause, must be different from the Paramātman Himself, who is the cause. Hence it follows again that the Being spoken of as Ānandapraçurah must be the Paramātman, who causes the Ānandam of the jiva. (4) At the beginning of the section we find it said that he, who knows the Brahman, attains the Highest (Brahmavidāpnoti param), which undoubtedly implies that the individual who attains and the Supreme being, who is the object of his attainment are different from each other. It is this difference which is emphasised by "vijñāna mayāt anyah" in the vākyam already quoted. Hence the Brahman, who is referred to as Ānandamayah being different from the jiva must be no other than the Parabrahman. (5) Another vākyam in the section says, "Sokāmayata, bahusyām prajāyeya", which clearly indicates that the great, unique resolve, which is responsible for the creation of the jagat cannot belong to anyone other than the Parabrahman. Thus again it is evident that what is referred to as "Ānandamayah" must be different from the jivātman. In the statement, "anyontarātmānanda mayāt" the difference is itself unambiguously expressed. (6) There is a further implication in the expression "Sokāmayata" quoted above. It reveals that when the Paramātman creates the jagat He does so without any extraneous assistance, without even the assistance of a body. When the jiva functions as the cause of anything he cannot but depend on the aid of his body. The Parabrahman, on the other hand, creates the universe by the mere fiat of His will. The cause of the jagat must, therefore, be no less than the Paramātman described as "Ānandamayah". (7) Lastly, there is yet another reference in the section to the difference between the Paramātman and the Jivātman. It speaks of the Paramātman as a Rasasvarūpa, one who is of the very essence of Bliss, and when the jiva attains Him he attains Bliss Divine. That is why He is "Ānanda mayah".

Thus in the *Anandamayadhikaranam* it is stated that the *Para-brahman* is different from the *jiva*, that He is the cause of the *jagat*, and that He is rightly described as *Anandamayah*, everyone of which proves that the *Brahman* is *Saviśesha*.

The Upanishadic section known as "*Anandavalli*" further states that the *Paramātman*, who is *Anandamayah* resides in the centre of the solar region (*Ādityamandala*) and the *Chāndogya* Upanishad also expresses the same idea in the *vākyam*, "*Ya eshontarāditye hiranmayah purusho driśyate, hiranyasmaśruḥ, hiranya keśah, āpranakhāt sarva eva suvarṇah, tasya yathā kapyāsam pun-dareekam evam akshini*". The substance of this *vākyam* is that there resides a *purusha* in the centre of the sun, and he is of a beautiful bodily form with beautiful eyes. Now, the question arises whether all this description does not really refer to an ordinary *jiva*. "A golden hued body with beautiful eyes, arms and feet" is a description applicable to one, who is associated with body, with eyes, arms and feet. It is to the *jiva* that such a body can belong, and may we not, therefore, take the *Purusha*, who resides in the centre of the solar region to be a *jiva*? Of course, he may be one superior to the ordinary *jiva*, who inhabits the mundane sphere. He may well be a *Brahma* and function accordingly as the cause of the *jagat*. If the *vākyam* in the *Chāndogya* Upanishad refers to the *jiva*, that in *Anandavalli*, which refers to the Original cause of the *jagat* as *Anandamayah*, must also stand for the *jiva* and not the *Parabrahman*.

It is in reply to the above contention that the next two sutras are framed. They state that the *Purusha* residing in the *Ādityamandala* is different from the *jiva*. A bodily form of surpassing beauty and brilliance may well belong to Him, for that He has a *divyamangala* *vigraha* is expressed by the *śrutis* themselves; only His body is not got as a result of *karma*. The human body or the body of a *jiva* in general is a *karmic* body. The *Paramātman*'s *śareera* is a non-karmic, non-prakritic *śareera*. Its unique excellence is expressed in the term "*divya-śareera*". The same Upanishadic *vākyam* states that the *Paramātman* has a unique and distinguishing attribute, known as "*Apahatapāpmatvam*", which means that He remains personally unaffected by any kind of sin. It follows that the reference in the Upanishads is distinctly to Him, who has both "*Apahatapāpmatvam*" and a divinely beautiful *śareera*. Such a being can be no other than the *Paramātman*.

Then turning to the *Antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa*, we find in it a *vākyam*, which runs as follows: "*Ya āditye tiṣṭan, ādityāt*

antarāh, yam ādityo naveda, yasya ādityaśāreeram, ya ādityam antaro yamayati". It speaks of Him, who resides in the sun, whom the sun does not know, whose *śareera* is the sun, and who commands and rules the sun. These expressions clearly bring out the difference between the sun and the Supreme Being, who resides in the sun. It is thus evident again that He who is spoken of as enthroned in the *Ādityamandala* must be the *Paramātman*.

In a previous section we have been led to the inference that the original cause of the *jagat* must be different both from the sentient and the non-sentient things, for, while the one lacks the attribute of immeasurable *ānandam*, the other is incapable of an act of will. But there are certain *vākyas* in the *Chāndogya* Upanishad that leave some room for misinterpretation, and that state that "*Ākāśa*" and "*Prāṇa*" are the cause of the *jagat*. The *jagat-kāraṇa* is spoken of by them in terms of *Ākāśa* and *Prāṇa*, and these expressions are well-known as denoting the non-sentient things of ether and the vital breath. But neither *Ākāśa* nor *Prāṇa* can be the original cause of the whole *jagat*, for these are themselves produced by that which is the One ultimate cause of all. What is itself but an item in the scheme of created things cannot be the cause of the totality of creation. It is to the *Brahman* that the *Srutis* attribute the unique quality of *jagatkāraṇatvam* (being the cause of the *jagat*). The expressions "*Ākāśa*" and "*Prāṇa*"⁷ contained in the Upanishad *vākyas* refer only to the *Paramātman*, for the *vākyas* indicate a *dharma* which exclusively belongs to the *Paramātman*. It is this fact that is expressed in the two sections known as *Ākāśādhikāraṇa* and *Prāṇādhikāraṇa*; and further strengthened by the two subsequent *adhikāraṇas*, viz. the *Jyotirādhikāraṇa* and *Indraprānādhikāraṇa*.

VII

The last chapter has shown that distinct from sentient and non-sentient things there is a cause, which brought into being the whole *jagat*. In the second, third and fourth *pādas*, that constitute the remaining portion of the first *adhyāya*,⁸ the position that the sentient *śetana* as well as the non-sentient *prakṛiti* cannot be the cause of the *jagat* is elaborated. The *sutra* with which this part of the discussion commences is "*Sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt*" and it has for its background certain *vākyas* in the *Chāndogya* Upani-

7. "*Prāṇa*" here stands for that which is the *Prāṇa* even of *prāṇa*, the life of all life, the *Paramātman*.

8. The entire ground of the *Brahma Sūtras* is covered by four *adhyāyas* or chapters, each of which consists of four *pādas*.

shad, such as, "Sarvam khalu idam Brahma—Tajjalaniti śānta upāseeta; Sakratum kurveeta etc.," which state that having acquired calm selfcontrol (i.e. being śāntas) we ought devoutly to worship the Paramātman, the Soul of the universe. Here arises a doubt, whether what is referred to by the expression "Brahman" is the Paramātman or jiva, and it is indeed a significant question, for the answer to it materially affects our conception of the jagatkāraṇa. If that which is indicated as the object of worship and devotion in the Upanishad-vākyam cited is only the jiva, it is the jiva that must have been the cause of the jagat, for the Upanishads lay down that the original cause of the jagat it is that must be the object of our meditation and worship. In support of the contention that the expression "Brahman" in this connection means only the jiva three reasons are advanced; (1) In the vākyam "Sarvam khalu idam Brahma," the words "idam sarvam" ("all this") refers to the jagat as a whole, the world of experience, and it is said to be the Brahman. The vākyam asserts the identity between the world and the Brahman. If the "Brahman" stood for the Paramātman, we should say that the Paramātman, who is infinite in His wisdom and power is identical with the jagat, with its many shortcomings and limitations. It would be absurd to hold such a position. But when we try to grasp the significance of "idam sarvam Brahma" the identity between the Brahman and the jagat would appear to be quite undeniable. If "Brahman" stood for Paramātman there would be difficulty in admitting the identity, but where is the difficulty if we take the expression to mean the jiva? (2) The expression "Brahma" literally means that which is great or large. Although the jiva is not great like the Parabrahman, there is an important sense in which greatness can belong to the jiva. In mukti, that is after the release from the shackles of the karmic body, the jñāna of the jiva attains the level of omniscience. We may, therefore, regard the jiva to be as great as the Paramātman in this respect, and take the expression "Brahma" to stand for the jiva. (3) Speaking of the Paramātman the Upanishads state that He is unassociated with Prāṇa or Manas. But in the section under reference the vākyas attribute the qualities of prāṇa and manas (life and mind) to the Brahman. It follows, therefore, that the vākyas refer only to the jivātman and not to the Paramātman.

Vyāsa's reply to the foregoing contention as expressed by Rāmānuja may be summarised as follows: (1) The "Brahman" in the vākyam refers only to the Paramātman. If we consider the expression "Tajjalaniti" it would become clear that the "Brahman" refers to that Being from whom this jagat has originated,

to whom it returns, and by whom it is protected and sustained. In the words "sarvam khalu idam brahma", the expression "khalu" signifies a well-known fact (prasiddha) and conveys the meaning that the Brahman is the ātman or soul of all jagat as a matter of popular śāstraic knowledge. It is, therefore, the Śaree-rātma (body-soul) unity between the jagat and the Brahman that is expressed in the vākyam, and there is no reference to the jiva whatever. (2) It is certainly more appropriate to say that the word "Brahman" with its implication of greatness in every respect stands unconditionally for the Paramātman than to argue that because of the jivātman's acquisition of omniscience after its Mukti it can be considered as great as the Paramātman. (3) The expressions, "manomayah" and "prāṇa sareerah" mean respectively "one who could be known by a pure mind," and "one, who has the prāṇa, the very vital force of the jagat, as His śareera." These attributes can belong only to the Paramātman and not to the jivātman.

Further, in the same Upanishadic section the "Brahman" is pointed out as the object of attainment by the jiva, and the jiva as the subject, who attains the Brahman. The vākyas also state that the Paramātman in His infinite mercy and goodness has taken His divine seat in the heart (hridaya) of the jiva himself so as to be easily accessible to him for worship and devotion. The expression "Brahman" does, therefore, mean the Paramātman, and no other. Though residing in the human body, enthroned in the heart of the finite individual, the Paramātman experiences neither pleasure nor pain, which the jiva occupying his karmic abode must necessarily experience. Karma and its consequences of pleasure and pain leave the Paramātman absolutely unaffected.

The expression "Bhokta," which literally means the enjoyer or generally, the experiencing subject, has been understood and interpreted in two senses, viz. (1) one who experiences the fruit of one's own puṇya and pāpa, and (2) one who is the destroyer and consumer of all the worlds. It is obvious that only the Paramātman, the Lord of Creation, can be a Bhokta in the second sense, while the jiva or the finite individual may be said to be a Bhokta of the first category. Overlooking the alternative interpretation and adhering to the first alone the Purvapāksha maintains that where the Upanishads contain a reference to a Bhokta they mean only the jiva and not the Paramātman. The Vyāsa-sutra, "attā-ṣarāṇa grahanāt"⁹ is framed in reply to such a contention, and

is based on the Upanishad vākyam, "Yasya brahmaṇa kshatranṇa ubhe bhavata odanah, mṛtyuryasya upaseṇanam Kaitthā-veda-yatra Sah,"¹⁰ which speaks of that being, for whom the whole jagat is like a morsel of food (or annam) and by whom even Death, the instrument of universal destruction, comes to be consumed. In this vākyam there is an indication of a Bhokta through the reference to annam or food, and the Purva-paksha maintains that the Bhokta is the jiva. Rāmānuja bringing out the real significance of the sutra quoted already says that the whole jagat is the object of the Paramātman's saṁhāra or destruction. The destroyer of all the worlds can be no other than the "Supreme Lord," and Death (Mṛtyu) is not only an instrument of destruction for Him, but is himself finally consumed by Him. It is the Paramātman that is referred to at the beginning of this Upanishadic section (vide: "nāyamātmā pravaṇena labhyah etc.")¹¹ and it would, therefore, be but consistent to understand the suggestion of a Bhokta in the vākyam under consideration as a reference to the Paramātman. Dispelling all possible doubt on this point Rāmānuja cites the sutra, "Guhām pravishṭāvātmānouhi,"¹² and says that the reference throughout the section is to the Paramātman. It is stated that both the Paramātman and the jivātman reside in the hridaya (literally the heart) and that the one offers bhakti to the other. The jivātman is the bhakta or the devotee, while the Paramātman is the object of his devotion. Through bhakti the former attains the latter; one is the subject and the other the object of such attainment. Hence these two are referred to as the bhoktas in "ritam pibantow" in the same text. As the individual directly experiencing the fruit of karma the jiva is a Bhokta; and as the supreme Lord controlling and guiding the jivātman in the experience from within, the Paramātman is the Bhokta in the ultimate analysis.

In the next adhikarana the dialectical objector draws a contrast between the Kaṭopanishad-vākyam, "Kaitthāveda yatra sah," which means that the Paramātman cannot be easily seen or known, and the Chāndogya Upanishad vākyam, which speaks of a Purusha seen in the pupil of the eye. The Paramātman being one, who can not be seen easily, he, who is seen must be the jiva. Vyāsa's reply to the argument is contained in the sutra "antara upapatteh."¹³

10. Kaṭopanishad.

11. Kaṭopanishad.

12. Brahma Sūtras 1:2.

13. Br. Sūtras 1:2.

He who is said to be visible in the eye (ya-eshokshini) is no other than the Paramātman. "Driśyate" refers to the fact that He is seen by the Yogis, while "Kaitthāveda yatra sah" conveys the truth that He is not seen by others, those who are ayogis. Moreover, in this Upanishadic section is told the story of Jābāla, who imparts to his disciple Upakosala the knowledge of certain extraordinary qualities belonging to the Parabrahman, and the qualities enumerated there are such as can belong to none other than the Paramātman. It is, therefore, the Paramātman who is revealed as residing in the pupil of the eye. In the Upanishadic narrative we read that, when Jābāla was away, the gods whom Upakosala was worshipping in obedience to his teacher's instructions, observing his genuine thirst for the highest knowledge taught him about the Paramātman, the Immeasurable Bliss Divine, adding that further and fuller knowledge would be obtained directly from Jābāla himself on his return. The rest of this Upanishadic section contains Jābāla's teachings, and it is to that context that the Vākyam under consideration belongs. The reference in the Vākyam is, therefore, to the Parabrahman. The word "Purusha" in "Yaeshokshini purusho driśyate" refers to the Paramātman, as the inner source of light, but for whose presence no knowledge, no perception and no vision of any kind would be possible.

It is the universal immanence of the Paramātman that forms the subject of discussion in the next adhikarana, the Antaryāmi-adhikarana. This section proves that He, who is the Antaryāmin or the Immanent Lord of All is not the Jiva but the Parabrahman. The discussion is based on the Antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, which speaks of that one, who resides in Prithvi and other elements, who remains unknown by them, who has them as his Śareera and who rules them from within. He is the Ātman, and He is of a uniquely blissful nature. The point of view of the Purvapaksha that the immanent being referred to is the Jivātman cannot be sustained, because the reference in the following few vākyas to one, who sees, hears, and thinks does not necessarily imply one, who has the ordinary physical organs of perception and understanding. The Inner Ruler, the Lord who governs from within has no need for any of the common, physical organs of sensation or perception, and yet He can be seer, hearer and thinker in a very real sense, says the Upanishad. Further in the section we read that the Immanent Lord of Creation also resides within the ātman. The vākyas speak of Him, who is the Ātman, who is not known by the ātman, for whom the ātman is śareera and who rules the ātman. These attributes cannot belong to the Jiva.

The next "Adriśyatvādhikarana" relates to the Mundakopanishad. "Atha parā yayātadaksharam adhigamyate etc." is the Upanishad vākyam considered here, and in this section we meet with such expressions as adreśyam (that which is not the object of direct sense perception) and agrāhyam (that which is not grasped by inferential knowledge). The reference is clearly to the Paramātman, who is beyond sense-perception and inference; and this becomes clear beyond doubt when we grasp the import of expressions like "yassarvajñassarvavit,"¹⁴ and "aksharāt paratah-parah"¹⁵ in the same Upanishadic section.

In the Dyubhvyādhikarana, with which the third quarter of the first adhyāya opens, it is the Mundakopanishad vākyam, "yasmin dyauh prithivī antariksham" etc. that is considered. Here the expression "yasmin" indicates an entity, who is the sustaining ground of the three worlds. That this entity is the jiva is the contention of the Purvapaksha, and in support of that position three reasons are stated:—(1) In the same Upanishadic vākyam we read the association of Manas (mind) as well as of the five kinds of prāṇas to that which is referred to by the expression, "yasmin." Such an association can be true of jiva rather than of the Brahman. (2) In the next vākyam a similar association with the pulse or the arterial throb is also spoken of; and this again can happen only to the jiva. (3) Further on in the vākyam we meet with the statement "bahudā jāyamānah," which refers to being born in the various orders of creation, such as those of the devas and the human and sub-human species. It is the jiva who takes such births.

These arguments are answered in the following manner:—

- (1) The vākyam states that the being referred to is the ground, which sustains the three worlds of dyu, prithivī and antariksham. The Parabrahman alone can be such a ground. (2) The vākyam further points out that that which supports and sustains the worlds is no other than the Ātman, which is also the means, " (sādhana) for the attainment of the deathless state of Moksha (Amrutasya esha setuh), and it cannot imply anything but the Paramātmah. (3) In the same section we read of the object attained by the Mukta, the liberated jiva, who (it is said) having freed himself

14. He who knows all substances and all attributes.

15. "Akshara" means Prakriti or matter. That which stands on a higher level is the Jiva, and that which is still higher (Paratahparah) or is the highest is the Paramātmah.

from the bondage of merit (Punya) and demerit (pāpa) attains and becomes equal to the Paramātmah. (4) It speaks on the other hand of "the dyubhvyātmah," on obtaining the glorious vision of whom the jiva gets cleansed of all sorrow and suffering. Such an auspicious being can be the Paramātmah alone. (5) The vākyam is from the Mundakopanishad, which even at the outset sings of the one changeless Paramātmah, whose nature and identity remain throughout immutable; and the reference in it by means of the expression "dyubhvyātmah" must necessarily be to the Parabrahman. (6) The section further contains an allegory, which beautifully illustrates the distinction as well as the relation between the jiva and the Parabrahman. Perched on the tree of the body are two birds, Paramātmah and Jivātmah; the latter tastes (experiences) the fruits of karma, while the other remains untouched by them. The whole section refers mainly to the Paramātmah. The Paramātmah may well be the ultimate ground both for Manas and the Prāṇas as well as for the arterial throb. Although the Paramātmah does not take birth as the result of karma, he does incarnate out of pure grace (anugraha) and for the purpose of the redemption of suffering humanity, and the statement "bahudā jāyamānah" may rightly apply to Him.

Passing on to the section known as Daharādhikarana in the same quarter we find Rāmānuja expounding Vyāsa's idea discusses the meaning of the expression "Daharākāśa" with reference to the vākyam, "Atha yauidam asmin Brahmapure daharam pundareekam veśma daharosmin antarākāśah tasmin yaquantah tadanveshtavyam tadvā vijijnāsitavyam,"¹⁶ and the object of the discussion is to establish that the reference here, as in the preceding sections, is only to the Paramātmah. The vākyam conveys the following sense: In the innermost recesses of the jivātmah's being there is a place of residence for the Parabrahman. Hence the body of the jiva is known as Brahmapuram or the city of the Brahman. The Paramātmah's abode in this sacred city is literally a small place, in the region of the heart. This *sanctum sanctorum* resembles a white lotus (pundareekam). In that lotus of the heart there shines what is called the "daharākāśa." The daharākāśa together with what inheres in it ought to be thought about, understood and meditated upon.

The purvapaksha advances the argument that, because "ākāśa" primarily indicates only the bhūtākāśa or one of the five

16. Chāndogya Up. 8.

elements, and "dahara" conveys the idea that it is small or circumscribed, the expression daharākāśa does not represent the Paramātman, but simply means a kind of limited, ethereal region, not different from the ordinary ether. Vyāsa's reply to the argument is condensed in the sutra, "dahara uttarebhyah."¹⁷ In determining the meaning of the Vākyam, "Atha yadidam asmin Brahmapure" etc. We have necessarily to answer the question whether it is only that which is in the daharākāśa that is pointed out as the fit object of meditation or it is both the daharākāśa and what inheres in it that ought to be sought after and attained. It is necessary to remember that in this Upanishadic section the duty of dhyāna or meditation is prescribed for those who aspire for Moksha. At the end of the section there is a conclusive statement, which expresses that those who meditate on the Atman together with the guṇas inhering in it will attain Moksha. The object of dhyāna is not a bare, contentless, abstraction, but one with a plethora of guṇas; it is of the nature of a substance in organic association with its attributes. Taking his stand on this significant Upanishadic assertion Rāmānuja interprets the words, "dahar-osmin antarākāśah tasmin yadantastadanveshtavyam" as meaning that both the daharākāśa in the heart and the unique cluster of rare excellences inseparably associated with it ought to be the object of meditation and realisation. Moreover, the vākyam was expressed by an Ācārya to his disciples, and it clearly conveys the instruction that the daharākāśa together with what is in it ought to be known and meditated upon. With a view to dispelling a doubt in the minds of the disciples, who were at first unable to realise how one could meditate on anything admittedly so small as to occupy the central regions of the heart, the Ācārya proceeded to draw a comparison between the bhutākāśa and the daharākāśa. This makes it obvious that the brutākāśa, though similar to the daharākāśa, is different from it. Comparison expresses similarity, but it cannot mean identity.

As we proceed further in the section we read that the daharākāśa is the ground or ādhāra for the entire jagat, and that it is a source of incomparable delight to the devotee. These qualities cannot belong to the ordinary bhutākāśa. It is also stated that the daharākāśa is the Ātman, that it is subject to no essential modification or change, that it is absolutely unaffected by sin and has innumerable excellences. There are other vākyas in this section that

17. Brahma Sutras 1:3.

explicitly refer to the Paramātman, such as those that say that he attains liberation, who does his duty, guided by right knowledge, and meditates on the Paramātman and His infinite excellences. Thus in the entire context we find no direct reference to the bhutākāśa at all.

In some of the remaining adhikaranas of the third pāda Rāmānuja takes up certain vākyas from the Upanishads—for instance, the Kaṭopanishad—and shows that in order to bless His devotee the Lord, having assumed a very small form, of the size of a thumb, chooses to reside in the hridaya or heart of every jiva. Rāmānuja then proceeds to establish that He, the Īśvara, is different from both the bound (baddha) and the liberated (mukta) jivas.

In the last quarter of the adhyāya the most important argument is that which contains the answer to the objections of the Sāṅkhyan school on the question of the ultimate cause of the jagat. Vyāsa has taken up for consideration in the Sutras only some of the many Upanishadic texts, in revealing the nature of the ultimate cause. He, therefore, concludes the first adhyāya with the statement that, without traversing the whole ground he has only shown the way the Upanishads have to be interpreted, and that in deciding the question of Jagatkāraṇatvam, the ultimate cause of the Jagat, we have just to follow the method indicated by him in these Sutras for the interpretation of the other texts as well. "Etena sarve vyākhyātāḥ vyākhyātāḥ."¹⁸

[To be continued.]

18. Br. Sutras 1:4.

Reviews

INDIA IN KALIDASA. By B.S. Upadhyaya, with a Foreword by Dr. E. J. Thomas. Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1947. Pp. xvi+385. Price Rs. 25/-.

Scholars of Historico-literary research would feel highly gratified if they peruse the pages of the book under review, '*India in Kālidāsa*' by B. S. Upadhyaya, which contains a comprehensive and critical study of India in all aspects as revealed in the poetic and dramatic works of Kalidasa, the prince among Sanskrit poets. The book shows the author's indefatigable industry and the extraordinary patience with which he has studied in entirety the problems, which no scholar either in India or abroad has so carefully and assiduously tackled. It is, therefore, a matter of pride and satisfaction that an Indian scholar has attempted for the first time to study critically all the works of one of the greatest poets of India from different angles of vision. It is a pioneer attempt and a model to others for similar studies of our other ancient poets.

The work is divided into seven books. Book I is devoted to the geographical divisions of India; Book II deals with the state and the king and his administration as the true representative of the people; Book III describes the social life of India; Book IV analyses the development of fine arts particularly poetry, drama, music and dancing; Book V treats of economic life including the chief exports and imports in India; Book VI deals with popular technical education; Book VII treats of religion and philosophy. All these topics are dealt with by the author in a very elaborate manner giving apt quotations from the poet's own works which are also well supplemented by relevant passages from contemporary literature.

A close study of these chapters would reveal the following important ideas of the great poet Kalidasa: (1) India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is one undivided unit; (2) The king who is an embodiment of good qualities is the sole representative of the people and he should carry on the administration according to the will of the people; (3) All people of the state are to be educated freely by the state and they are also to be provided with suitable work according to their abilities; (4) The state has also to patronise the fine arts and other branches of learning both

popular and technical, and the king is expected to have personal acquaintance with fine arts as well as state-craft and other branches of knowledge quite useful for the administration of the country. We also find that the poet is not a sectarian. He is a firm believer in dharma. His descriptions of many Gods and Goddesses, particularly the *Trimurtis*, reveal his firm faith in the *bhakti-marga*, and above all, his spirit of compromise, as explained in the *Gītā-śāstra*, to practice *karma* without motive or attachment, to attain the supreme knowledge of *Atman*. In short, he is to be considered one of the foremost *advaitins* who hold the view that all diversities are only the passing phases of *Reality* and that the real truth is unity or oneness (of *Atman*).

The author has not fully discussed the date of Kalidasa, though in Appendix A he summarises a few well-known views of scholars in India and abroad on the topic. He asserts that Kalidasa has borrowed a few verses from Asvaghosa and adds that our poet's omission of *Sakas* from his works, the calm times and the sense of luxury during his life-time, his frequent mention of puranic traditions, and his descriptions of a good number of images of Hindu Gods point to the posteriority of Kalidasa to Asvaghosa who lived in the first century A.D. And he concludes that since our poet clearly refers to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmaśāstra* (which he dates to 300 A.D.), Kalidasa must have flourished about 400 A.D. during the time of the Guptas, particularly Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta. This view is also accepted by the Western orientologists. Many Indian scholars, however, hold the other popular view that our poet flourished in the first century B.C., when the Vikrama era commenced (in the year 56 B.C.). It is argued that the very selection of king Agnimitra as the hero of *Malavikāgnimitra*, and the closing of the reign of king Agnivarna who is a contrast to the other solar kings described in *Raghuvamśa*, indicate respectively that our poet might be a contemporary of the Sunga king Agnimitra whose story in living memory the poet wanted to dramatise, and that our poet might have lived in an age when monarchy was in a hopelessly decaying stage which was well represented by the reign of Agnivarna and which contains also a note of warning to all royal families of his age. These and many other well-known facts would show that our poet might have flourished in the first century B.C. This is still an open question which is to be finally settled by specialists. The author is to be congratulated for his excellent work which is no doubt a valuable addition to the printed literature on the subject.

V. A. Ramaswami Sastri.

OUR HERITAGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. By S. R. Sharma. Pp. X + 202 with six half-tone colour illustrations—Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, Rs. 6/8.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE. By the same author. Hind Kitabs. Rs. 3/-.

These two valuable books interpret Indian culture and bring out its significance. The first book appears to be written for the general reader and the second one specifically for the college student.

"Our Heritage" is divided into eleven chapters. The first chapter deals with the features of our country, but a South Indian gets the feeling that 'Āryāvartaḥ puṇya bhūmiḥ madhyam Vindhya Himālayōḥ' (p. 12) is in the author's mind, as the chapter is written. Chapter II begins with a fine quotation from Professor Joad where he observes that "India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness to effect a synthesis of many different elements." Alas! If only the Muslims today brought forth more "willingness" to the Hindu "ability" for the 'Synthesis'! As we read the second half of this chapter dealing with the blending of Hindu-Muslim cultures, written so well, a pang of regret passes through us, and the section now seems to be almost unrealistic. Chapter III is a sort of "Foreign Notices" of India from Magasthenes to Bernier. Chapter IV deals with the Philosophical speculation of India and its attempt at the realisation of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness in life. The next chapter brings in the concept of 'Dharma', and the seventh chapter surveys the democratically organised, effective political institutions of ancient India and their ability to enrich 'local life by additions to its amenities, social and cultural' (p. 99). The next chapter is devoted to a survey of greater India. The "monuments of greatness in brick and mortar", in "civic organisation," in personalities like Aśoka, Akbar and Shivāji are also illustrated in the next chapter. The later chapters show that India does not lag behind in material greatness, in applied sciences, and in utilitarian riches, and yet she has the depth of the inward culture which can offer valuable light to the various conflicting problems of the present world.

The essence of the greatness of India is brought out very learnedly and very readably. The exposition of our Heritage is so convincing and lucid that we would echo that sentiment, the epitome of Indian culture, so well set in that Kashmiri Lyric (p. 199).

"Ferryman, lead me and my countrymen"
To that land where

.....all the good things of life are shared by all."

Just a word may be mentioned about the spelling of Sanskrit words: Many of the words are given without diacritical marks and sometimes in their Hindi forms like Kosha, Shiva, Shastra. This could be given up for a more uniform Sanskrit spelling. However this is borne in mind in the second book. It simply is an excellent book for all—not merely for the college student. It is scholarly yet simple, clear and concise and bears out all the experience of Professor Sharma in the educational field, in its fine narrative.

There are three maps at the end of the book and the last one on 'Greater India' could have the ancient Indian names as the rest of the two, instead of the modern ones.

Professor S. R. Sharma could well be proud of these two little volumes.

N. V. R.

THE MATRIX OF INDIAN CULTURE. (Sri Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Foundation Lectures, Nagpur University, 1946). By Dr. D. N. Majumdar, (published for the Nagpur University by the Universal Publishers, Lucknow—1947—pp. 242.

Dr. Majumdar, a forceful scholar of the growing science of Anthropology, analyses the principal features and factors in its development, stressing the viewpoints of the evolutionary and diffusionist schools and the importance of applied or practical anthropology today. He surveys the stages in the development of Indian anthropological studies from the days of Jones and Buchanan-Hamilton. Risley and the workers of his and the succeeding generation have comprehended in their labours, racial anthropology, culture-contacts, kinship and blood-group investigation, and folk-culture, besides serological investigations. The third chapter on Tribal Demography reveals the defective nature of the data available about Indian primitive tribes. We read therein how the decline of some tribes is not due to their lower fecundity but to conditions of life which can be easily remedied or made good. Tribal demography would enable the understanding of the tribes' mind and the discriminating maintenance of tribal morality and authority, as it would not do to eradicate tribal superstitions wholesale. The tribes have been supplying a growing reservoir of

surplus material to swell the exterior castes, as soon as they wean themselves away from tribal life and become economically dependent upon neighbouring groups. Thus cheap money and dissipation have dissipated tribal morality among the Mundas; and missionary activity has encouraged detribalisation and disintegration of tribal beliefs and practices. The question of tribal rehabilitation has been ably dealt with by the author in Chapter VI, in respect of (1) the causes of the contacts of primitive tribes with civilisation, (2) the results of such contacts and (3) the process through which tribal cultures are usually transformed or modified, like simple adoption, acculturation and assimilation. When a tribe adopts alien traits of culture the adoption must be selective and not prove injurious to its growth. Acculturation of an alien trait depends upon the temperamental, as well as the social condition of the group.

The study of the race basis of culture requires a thorough grasp of social history and of all factors that stabilise or disaffiliate race strain. Race mixture can be stabilised by space fixation and there is an intimate race relationship between high and low groups in the same geographical area. Finally are treated problems of anthropological significance arising out of migration, immigration of cultural and linguistic minorities, etc. In India each geographical region has produced a particular type of blend which has adjusted itself for centuries, but at the same time particular physical characteristics can be improved by selective mating and careful dieting. The problem of population is governed by its supreme test, good quality.

The author is to be congratulated on his instructive, suggestive and multifaced treatment of anthropological problems.

C. S. S.

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. K. L. Daftary, (The Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectures, 1944). Nagpur University—1947.

The ten lectures delivered by the author have the general aim of demonstrating the continuity of society as the objectives of Dharma as stated by the law-givers of ancient India and urge that the institutions of Ancient India, being those of an adult society, can and do offer lessons for us at the present day. The author interprets that Varahakalpa was started by Ananda Brahma, 3102 years before the beginning of the Christian Era and the four Yugas occupy 1000 years between them; and we are now in the Krita

Yuga of the 6th Mahakalpa revolution. A Manu and Saptarishis were appointed every fourth year in every ordinary *Kalpa*; and they selected men for the various *varnas*; they enacted laws by unanimous voting, in respect of Yajna, occupation, punishments, progeny, *Varnas* and *Asramas*. The public Yajna, named *Aswamedha*, was performed every fourth year; and the *Asramas* of *Vanaprastha* and *Samnyasa* were not then in existence. After the death of Ananda Brahma, head of the State of Brahmvarta, there arose confusion; and after a period of 300 years the people made Svayambhuva Manu their Leader and King, in *Kalpa* era, 432, i.e., B.C. 2670. The laws as to *Varnas* and *Asramas* were reduced to writing by Manu. About 1000 *Kalpa* era, Vaivaswata Manu established new colonies outside Brahmvarta in Ayodhya, Bihar and Kurukshetra. The performer of the new *Aswamedha* could claim to be the Suzerain King in the extended Aryan world. Redistribution of *varnas* was made and extended to people of all Arya states. Gradually new *Mantras* ceased to be composed; and the *Brahmanas*, including the *Upanishads* were composed, and the credit for this should go to the institution of the *Saptarishis*. In *Kalpa* Era 1800 and 2400 (i.e., between 1302 B.C. and 702 B.C.) the *Vedas* and the *Manusmriti* were challenged by new reformers, and the counter-claim was made that they were absolute, unchangeable authorities. After *Kalpa* 2400 began the downfall of the Arya society in India. *Varnas* and castes became rigid with separatist tendencies; and spurious *Upanishads* were composed. The *Manusmriti* ceased to change and other *Smritis* were composed, while greater restrictions on marriage, were brought in.

Our author gives the *Saptarishis* the same qualities and qualifications that are given by the author of the *Harivamsa*. He would urge that modern Hindu Society should be reformed on lines similar to those adopted by Manu and the *Saptarishis* of old.

C. S. S.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DOUBLE DATES, ANDU AND EDIR-ANDU IN THE REGNAL YEARS OF CERTAIN CHOLA, PANDYA AND OTHER KINGS. By Sri S. Subrahmanya Sastri, B.A., Late Devasthanam Archæologist, Tirumalai-Tirupathi Devasthanam, Tirupathi

One of the intricate problems arising out of the study of South Indian epigraphs, is the interpretation of the regnal dates contained in the Pandya, Chera and Chola inscriptions, and those

coming from the Telugu country dated from the 10th century A.D. onwards. These present a peculiar difficulty as they refer to the regnal years in the double dates—*x* years opposite *y* years—(Tamil, *Āndu* and *Edir-Āndu*). There are also inscriptions with triple and quadruple dates as well. Hitherto the attempts of scholars in solving this rather naughty and intricate problem did not bear satisfactory results; however, the period covered by these double dates (for example இரண்டாண்டின் எதிர் நாற்பத்திரண்டு) was taken to refer to the actual period of rule constituting a reign of 42 years of that king and the chronology of the dynastic history was thus worked out. Nevertheless the meaning of the double dates was made neither clear nor intelligible and such double dates are still a mystery.

The double dates were interpreted to refer to the Parasurama and Barhaspatya cycles by Sir Walter Eliot and Dr. Caldwell, respectively; and Dr. Burnell, the author of *South Indian Paleography*, interpreted that in double dates the first *Āndu* (year) might refer to the regnal year of the king and the second might refer to his age. Dr. Hultsch, one of the pioneers in the field of South Indian epigraphical research, suggested that the first and second (opposite: '*Edir*') years might refer to the dates of appointment as heir-apparent of a king and his actual reign period respectively. This was accepted and followed by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya and others. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao suggested that the first and second years referred respectively to the actual regnal year of the king and to the date counting from the coronation of the previous ruler and added that this method was usually continued till the ruling prince was crowned. The foregoing views regarding the interpretation of the double dates will show the importance assumed by the subject in the past and the inconclusive nature of the various interpretations. The last view is that of Mr. C. V. Narayana Ayyar, who suggested that the date opposite to which other dates follow, must be constant in the case of the same king. Even this reading was not helpful for some of the epigraphs of the same king do not have the first year remaining constant throughout.

But in spite of these incertitudes, the method of adding up the first and the second (opposite) years as referring to the whole reign period of a king, is found plausible and the only convincing solution and this is amply justified by a few Sanskrit epigraphs of the times. For example the larger Sinnamanur plates of Rajasimhavarman and the Tiruppuvanam Grants of Kulasekhara Pandya, which are dated in 14+2

years and 13+12 years respectively have their equivalents mentioned in the Sanskrit parts as "Shodasērajye" and "Vatsare Panchavimsē" for the above two rulers. The interpretation by Dr. Hultzsch of the Tamil word 'Edir' (opposite) as meaning 'after' is thus justified by the contents of the Sanskrit records and thus it will be seen that the actual period of rule of a king at one stage is to be ascertained by arriving at the sum total of these two dates by the simple process of addition. Sometimes, instead of the *Edir-Āndu*, the number of days are given and in such cases the year is worked out by converting the days into years. This method has been followed in the interpretation of regnal periods of kings.

What this entry of double dates, means is still unsettled. Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, Epigraphist to the Tirumalai Tirupathi Devasthanams has attempted in the following pages to interpret the *Āndu* and the *Edir-Āndu* as referring to a period of interregnum in the reign of a king and his subsequent restoration to the throne. Mr. Sastri has taken for his critical study the Trivendipuram inscription of Rajaraja III, 1216-1246 A.D. which contains the double dates 15+1 years. The reign of Rajaraja III was a most trying period in the fortunes of the later Cholas and it was then that serious attempts were made to overthrow Chola supremacy by the rebellions Kadava Kopperunjinga, whose imprisonment of the Chola Ruler at Sendamangalam, led to the intervention of the Hoysala ruler, Vira-Narasimha in 1231-32 A.D. on behalf of the Chola and his restoration to the throne. The break in the reign and the subsequent restoration are interpreted as the reason for the institution of the double dates in the epigraph, and Mr. Sastri has tried to establish his interpretation of an interregnum and restoration as an explanation for the incorporation of the *Āndu* and the *Edir-Āndu* and of universal application by analysing and studying the Chola and Pandya epigraphs of Kulottunga III, Rajendra III, Varaguna Pandya (acc. 862-3 A.D.) and Maravarman Sundara Pandya I. He has brought into relief the troublous political conditions of the times as studied and gleaned from the contemporary epigraphs and literature in order to show that there was either a civil war or *coup de etat* resulting in the overthrow of royal authority. The cessation of rule is thus indicated by the employment by the *Āndu* and *Edir-Āndu*, and the latter will show only the re-instatement of the ruler to the throne. It has also been shown as a result of a very exhaustive analysis of a number of epigraphs that the regnal year (*āndu*) would remain constant unless there is a second dethronement. The year that is constant

is taken to refer to the period of deprivation and the year that is progressive refers to the continuity of rule. The reference to more than one *edir-Āndu* is interpreted by Mr. Sastri to refer to the frequent breaks and restorations to the throne. Thanks are due to Mr. Sastri for his scholarly attempt in interpreting the mystery of these double dates.

However one is tempted to cast a doubt regarding the propriety of such stately rulers in allowing the scribes to record the breaks in their reign periods. If it was a policy what was the authority that sanctioned it? Mr. Sastri says that there must have been some recognised authoritative sanction for the use of these dates. These points require further exploration and elucidation. The regions from where such inscriptions hail must be studied with reference to the extent and domain of the restored rulers before and after their restoration with a view to finding out the clue for the wide use of these double dates. In other words whether the regions housing these records formed part of the domain subsequent to the restoration or not. If it was not so, perhaps it might lend some clue for the use of the above dates by others not connected with the home administration. As Mr. Sastri puts it, his interpretation of an "interregnum" must be made definite and unassailable by further study and research.

V. Vridhagirisan.

ISLAMIC POLITY. By Dr. P. Saran, Pub. Students' Friends, Allahabad: Benares. Crown octavo pages 170+19. Price Rs. 3. Date of publication not mentioned.

Dr. P. Saran, the author of this little book, is already familiar to students of medieval Indian history who have read his excellent treatise on "The Provincial Government of the Mughals", and other research contributions published in various learned journals. In the publication under review he has "attempted to present in a brief readable form the latest researches of other scholars as well as mine on the various aspects of Muslim institutions." This modestly stated aim has been eminently fulfilled by Dr. Saran, although "Islamic Polity in India" might have been a more appropriate title, since his treatment—but for 12 pages of introductory observations on "The Origin and Development of Islamic Polity"—is confined to India. However, within the scope thus indicated, the author has most skilfully brought together vast materials—both descriptive and critical—which illustrate his mastery over

the subject of his exposition. The reader is struck at once by the comprehensiveness of grasp, accuracy of details, and lucidity of presentation that Dr. Saran has achieved within the brief compass of a bare 170 crown pages. These include two Appendices: I on Jiziah and II on a Glossary of certain technical terms. A masterly sense of proportion between the theoretical and actual aspects has been maintained throughout, holding the balance even between the idealistic and realistic viewpoints.

Chapter I describes very pithily the religious, social and political beginnings of Islam, and particularly dwells on the Genesis of the Caliphate and its transformation, clearly bringing out the nature of the administrative organization and the principles governing it under changing circumstances. The rudiments enunciated by the Prophet, the Arabic aspect of the Umayyads, and the Turko-Persian character of the Abbasides—in the Byzantine setting, as well as the problem of defining the relations between the Faithful and the *Zimmis*, and the ultimate outcome of all these, have been adequately dealt with as providing the necessary background for the main theme, viz. "Islamic Polity in India".

Chapter II deals with the Political Institutions of the Sultans of Delhi, and the next three chapters are devoted to the Mughal period up to and including the reign of Akbar. Here in India, the Turks and Afghans were confronted with new problems, inasmuch as they could neither fully convert nor completely wipe out the vast infidel populations representing an alien creed and very ancient civilisation. The theories of Islam could not be applied wholesale, even in the modified form of the Turko-Persian *milieu*. Further adjustments were thus forced upon the protagonists and instruments of Islam. These have been considered in three stages: (i) during the period of the Sultanate, (ii) during the transitional period of the first two Mughals and the Surs, and (iii) under the wholeheartedly liberal policy of Akbar. One cannot help pointing out the important omission, in this analysis, of the pre-Turkish Arab phase in Sind and Multan. Likewise, one wishes that the study had also covered the post-Akbar period which constituted the real testing time of the noble and heroic experiments made by that unique statesman. These limitations, however, do not qualitatively detract from the critical and lucid treatment of the topics actually dealt with.

Considering the unity of the structure of the above scheme, chapter VI, which deals with "Land Proprietorship under Muslim Rule", might as well have gone with "Jiziyah" into a separate

Appendix. When a second edition of this very useful book comes to be published—as I feel certain it will be—I venture to suggest that "escheat" may be included among the terms discussed in the Glossary; and the nature of the controversy alluded to in the text in connection with the significance of "*zat* and *sawar*" ranks in the *mansabdari* system also elucidated in an Appendix. Considering that the present publication has been intended for the use of college students, printers' errors like "Turushkadauda" for Turushkadanda (p. 27), "Paranti" for Parauti (p. 112), and "swearred" for swore (p. 142), might have been pointed out in an "Errata."

Turning to the substance of the book, I have little hesitation in commending it to those for whom it has been written. There have been so far special monographs on topics covered by single chapters in the present work; but this is the first attempt that I have come across in which a synoptic survey of the subject as a whole and in all its aspects has been made. This is very helpful for the student as it conveys to him a sense of proportion and perspective. In doing this Dr. Saran has nowhere indulged in mere generalisations without reinforcing his views with authentic illustrations. In the expression of opinions—particularly where he differed from the old veterans—he has been unequivocal. He has avoided the extremes of idealisation on the one side, and unsympathetic and unimaginative cynicism on the other. He has shown great discrimination in assessing the contributions of dynasties like the Tughlaqs and their predecessors, and individual statesmen like Sher Shah and Akbar. Unlike many a Muslim writer, he has not been hampered by a desire to harmonise everything with the *Shariat*; where there was obvious necessity of breaking away from the old and creating new traditions based on fresh experience—as the Indian Muslim rulers more and more felt obliged to do—Dr. Saran has clearly and fearlessly pointed out the conflict between reactionary orthodoxy and liberal heterodoxy. In all such cases—as for instance in his note on the *Jiziyah*—his judgment has been consistent with historical veracity and sense of fairness in criticism.

Earlier scholars like Lane-Poole and Blochmann, as well as later critics like V. A. Smith and W. H. Moreland, missed much on account of their racial and political bias. Some Indian writers were provoked by their unsympathetic—almost cynical—criticisms into going to the other extremes of painting the past in unhistorically glowing colours. Dr. Saran has succeeded in giving us a truer picture of Islamic Polity—in theory and practice—which should serve as an admirable introduction and guide to the academic

student, while at the same time it provides a lucid and attractive bird's-eye view of a very important aspect and phase of India's administrative history before the advent of the British, for the uninitiated lay reader.

S. R. Sharma

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

1. *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1946-47.
The Earliest French Activities in Eastern Waters
 By J. C. De. A.D. 1503 to 1665, from Madagascar to Sumatra. English, Spanish, Venetian and Dutch activities mentioned incidentally.
Maritime Traditions of Ancient Kerala
 By K. R. Pisharoti. Mentions voyages between the West Coast of India and Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Alexandria from 3000 B.C., retaining old, doubtful identifications of Cottonara, Nelcynda, and Bacare. Colonies of Hindus in Indo-China & Sumatra, &c., are referred to, and a list of terms used in Malayalam, and relating to the sea, backwaters, or rivers, as well as to rafts, boats, or ships, is added.
2. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore City*, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 3 & 4, January and April 1947.
The Growth of the Independence of the Kādavarāyas
 By K. S. Vaidyanathan. These Pallava Kādavarāyas of Kūdal, near Kānci, formerly under the Colas for four or five generations, became independent in about 1230 A.D.
3. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. V, No. 2, October 1947.
A New Interpretation of the Nataraja Concept
 By O. H. de A. Wijeskera. Discusses "the possibility of the celebrated mystico-aesthetic symbolism of Nataraja being a historical development from the Rigvedic conception of a dancing Indra."
Some Points on Pali Literature
 By A. P. Buddhadatta. Corrects certain errors in the books on Pali Literature by Prof. Geiger, Dr. B. C. Law, and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, published in 1937, 1933, and 1928.
4. *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, Vol. XV, Part III (March 1946), and Vol. XVI, Part I (Sept. 1946).
March 1946. Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla, Date of Accession Reconsidered
 By N. Venkitaramanayya. "The initial date of his reign must be placed in A.D. (795-65) 730, and not in 726 as concluded

in his previous article in *JOR* VIII, pp. 1-8. "Instead of taking the reigns of Nandivarman II and his successors in a regular consecutive order, provision must be made for the partial coincidence of successive reigns."

March 1946: *Silappadikāram*

By Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. Tamil *Silappadikāram* and *Manimekalai*, "the so-called twin-'epics' must have been composed later than this date," viz. 5th century A.D. of the Buddhist logician Ninnaga's *Nyayapravesa*. They are of the 8th century. But the synchronism of kings Senkuttuvan and Gajabahu, and the date of the 3rd Tamil Sangham, all three of the 2nd century A.D., remain unaffected.

Sept., 1946: *The Language of Ramacaritam* (Malayalam)

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. This south Travancore work "has linguistic features neither so old as those of *Kautaliyam* nor so 'late' as those of *Lilatilakam*," which he assigns to the 14th century. He contends that "a frontier dialect or mixed Tamil-Malayalam speech cannot be traced anywhere." Note: Further study of old South Travancore works like *Iravikkutti-pillaiappor*, which Tamil scholars do not regard as Tamil works, is a desideratum.

Sept. 1946: *Cultural History from the Periyapurānam*

By Vid. M. Rajamanikkam Pillai. During the period of the 63 Nayanmars (circa 300-900 A.D.) the chief cultural centres were Tiruppadirippuliyur, Tiruvarur, Tiruvottur and Mylapore (all Jaina), Bodhimangai (Buddhist), and Kanci (Vaishnava, Saiva, Buddhist, and Jaina).

5. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XVI, Parts 2 & 4, September 1947, and January 1948.

Sept., 1947: *Illustrated Mss. of Bilvamangala's Balagopala-Stuti*

By Dr. M. R. Majumdar. "Cumulative evidences tend to the identification of Lila Suka with the second Bilvamangala (of Kerala), and therefore his date might be the middle of the 13th century A.D.", as he was a favourite disciple of Madhvacarya, 1199-1295.

Sept. 1947: *Abolition of Persian as Court Language in British India* (in 1837).

By Dr. J. K. Majumdar. It was done "more on political grounds than on the alleged economic one."

January 1948: *King Sudraka—An Historical Study*

By Dr. B.A. Saletore (continued from July 1947 issue). Sudraka the dramatist was king Sivamara I (life, 625-725 A.D.) of the Ganga royal house; wrote the first four Acts; the rest was by his great-grandson Sivamara II (reign, 797-815).

6. *Adyar Literary Bulletin*, Vol. XI, Parts 1 to 3, Feb., May, and October 1947.

February 1947: *The Cradle of Indian History* (concluded).

By C. R. K. Charlu. It is necessary to begin the history of India or the Hindu race with the pre-Vedic patriarchal (i.e. prajapatya) period and carry the account through the Aditya-Deva period (of Indra, Agni, Yama, Vasu, &c.) and the Asuras, Danavas, &c., and the puranic dynasties, down to the Maurya period.

Feb. to Oct. 1947: *Origin and Spread of the Tamils*

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (continued in parts 2 & 3) "The Dravidian element is not to be found in Indian culture alone, but is largely traceable in Cretan, Aegean, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Polynesian and other cultures of the ancient world." (part 3).

7. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXVII, 1946, Parts III-IV, published 1947.

The Vikramaditya Problem

A fresh approach, by K. B. Vyas. Did Vikramaditya, king of Malwa, flourish in the middle of the 1st century B.C. or was he Chandragupta II, c. 400 A.D.? "The existence of a powerful ruler in Malwa (whom we conjecturally identify with the Vikramaditya of tradition) in the middle of the 1st century B.C. . . . is authenticated and confirmed by accepted contemporary history" and Jaina and Brahmanical traditions. He fell in a battle with Satavahana (Salivahana of the legends) about 28 B.C.

Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period (1200 B.C. to 500 B.C.) and in Ancient China in 1121 B.C.

By P. K. Gode. Vedic references are not detailed, but a Chinese text of 1121 B.C., English translation 1852, describes the manufacture of carriages in detail.

8. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, Dec. 1946; issued August 1947.

Presidential Address by Dr. A. S. Altekar. There is no doubt the coins of the Indo-Bactrian series are extensively forged.

The only certain proof of genuineness would be their discovery in archaeological excavations in the appropriate strata.

New Discoveries, 1946: (1) Punch-marked coins bought from a coin dealer from Lucknow, with two new symbols—Arrow strung to the Bow, and knob with dots all round, (2) Hermaios-Kadphises I coins indicating that "We have to give up the view that those two rulers were contemporaries", (3) the Kasarwad (Ujjain) coins of the early centuries of the Xtian era, c. 200. (4) coins of the Sebaka or Andhra-Bhrtya dynasty which flourished after the downfall of the Andhras, (5) a Satavahana coin of the new Kausikiputra Satakarni, (6) rare Indo-Sassanian coins with short cryptic legends in front of the face of the king, relating to Scuthern Rajputana in 7th-8th centuries, (7) a new hoard of Gupta gold coins in Bharatpur State.

"It is very urgent that the number of workers in medieval and south Indian coinage should increase considerably," says Dr. Altekar.

NOTE

A hoard of 120 coins (12 gold, and the rest silver) was discovered at Eyyāl in Cochin in 1945. "All the gold coins and more than half of the silver coins had impressions of the busts of early Roman emperors, with writings in Roman Script" (and not in English as in the case of JULIAN incised on the Travancore Elikkulam punchmarked piece noted on p. 359 of this *Journal*, 1947). "About 20 to 25 of the silver coins had punch marks on them, while a few were plain, carrying no marks or impressions at all," says the Cochin Government Archaeologist in his Annual Report for 1945-46, p. 2. The Roman gold coins are of Tiberius (8), Claudius, (1), Nero (2), and Trajan (1), photos of 5 of which he gives on Plate VI, with a description of all the 12 on p. 7.

9. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati*, Vol. VIII, No. I, January-June, 1947.

Introduction to the Purana Pancalakshana, translated into English from Willibald Kirfel's book.

By P. V. Ramanujaswami—continued from the previous issue. Sarga, Pratisarga, Vamsa and other traditional *lakshanas* of the Puranas are dealt with the detail.

10. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIII, Parts I and II, March-June 1947.

Pushkari

By G. Ramadas. Pushkari of the Puranas; probably Purika the first seat of the Vakatakas under Pravara Sena I; modern Pedagadh in Umarkot Tama, Jeypore, is the site of ancient Pushkari, the capital of Kosala, the nucleus of the Maha Kosala.

Some Aspects of Mithila Culture

By Jaya Kanta Mishra. Before 1000 B.C. King Janaka's Mithila was the great centre of Vedic and Upanishadic lore—it was the age of Janakas and Yajnavalkyas. Then followed (1000 B.C. to 600 B.C.) the philosophers Gautama, Kanada, Jaimini, Kapila, and Vyasa. From 6th to 3rd century B.C. the town Vaisali became a renowned stronghold of Jaina and Buddhist Logic and Philosophy.

The India of the Greeks and Romans of B.C. 326 to 641 A.D. By T. K. Joseph. During the period there were pseudo-Indias like Ethiopia and Arabia, called 'India' by nations other than Greeks and Romans. John Bp. of Asia, a West Syrian, 6 century, called Ethiopia India.

See *JIH* (Trivandrum) for August 1947, pp. 175—187, for ancient Pseudo-Indias of the Persians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Byzantine Greeks, and Hebrews, and p. 44 ante, P.S. 2 for a Latin's pseudo-India, 345 A.D.

Some Images of Sarnath Museum

By Adris Banerji. Some images previously described under the generic term Avalokiteswara are more precisely identified as Khasarpana Lokeswara, Lokeswara being a variant of Avalokiteswara. "From about the 9th century Sarnath became a stronghold of Khasarpana worship, along with that of Tara."



Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P. O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajamundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.