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British Rule and India's Cultural Renaissance

BY

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Now that India has achieved her independence, it may not be inappropriate to attempt a historical review of the influence of British rule on India's cultural heritage. Free India must necessarily take stock of the cultural legacy of British rule so as to be able to formulate her immediate outlook and future goal.

The period when British rule got itself entrenched in this country during the middle of the eighteenth century may be designated the dark age of modern India, for the old order lay prostrate with the disappearance of the Mughal Empire and the resulting vacuum was leading to a kind of cultural anarchy which reacted adversely on the people's morale and self-consciousness. The Company's early administration only aggravated the chaos, for being suddenly uplifted from the unromantic and dull monotony of factory accounts to the dizzy heights of political power, the Company's servants naturally got too much engrossed in personal aggrandisement to be able to think of cultural pursuits. They were out for shaking the pagoda tree, and they had no time or inclination for anything else. The outlook in those early days of British power was indeed gloomy for India, and a feeling of frustration seemed to weigh on the minds of thoughtful people everywhere. Indian vernacular literature of this period, for example, betrays the utter despair and escapism that had crept over the country's inner soul, and its passionately devotional or morbidly erotic notes revealed the temper of an age that was crumbling in the midst of the tinsel artificiality of a dying order.

But India's national culture has been a continuum always, and even in the politically decomposed and culturally disintegrated India of the eighteenth century a complete break with the past, was not possible. Besides, the John Company could count amongst its servants a few who did not blindly follow the principle of

"get-rich-quickly-and-clear-out-of-the-country". These rare individuals in the Company's service had the healthy zeal and determination to study India's religious and secular literature. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, was the most influential among those early European students of Indian culture, and his patronage was of vital importance to the growth of Indological studies in that age.

In fact, Hastings's interest in oriental learning had a potent influence on the cultural life of British India. With his innate sympathy for Indian learning, he became, unofficially, of course, the chief patron of India's old learning. He took an unusual interest in Indian law, Hindu and Muslim, and got it systematised at his own expense. This pioneer work prepared the ground for its ultimate codification, and modern adaptation and simplification. A number of Indian works which were mostly in Persian or Sanskrit came to be produced under the direct patronage of the Governor-General to whom these were dedicated by the authors. Sayyid Ghulam Husain's "Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirin" is a well-known example of this kind. The Calcutta Madrasa was founded by Warren Hastings himself, and the establishment of the great Asiatic Society of Bengal was in no small measure due to his encouragement and patronage. Warren Hastings was such a warm admirer of oriental classics that he even proposed the inclusion of their study in the courses of the University of Oxford. He took a keen interest in painting and other fine arts, and his patronage was responsible for the success of a number of European painters who came to India at this time.

Hastings's example was naturally a source of encouragement to other Europeans who wanted to study oriental languages and institutions. The most distinguished trio among these contemporaries of Warren Hastings were Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and William Jones. These three scholars may be regarded as the pioneers among European orientalists, and their historic contribution to Indian learning is of permanent value to modern India. Mr. Wilkins who was well-read in Persian, Bengali and Sanskrit was the father of Indian printing, for the Persian and Bengali printing types cast by him made printing in these languages for the first time possible in India. In order to achieve success in a country so remote from Europe, he had

to play the role of a metallurgist, engraver, founder and printer—all in one. Apart from printing, he acquired such mastery of Indian classics that he produced the first English translation of the *Bhagwad Gita* which was published in London (in 1785) under the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company. His translation of the *Hitopadesha* appeared a couple of years later. But Wilkins's achievement in the field of Indian epigraphy was no less profound and inspiring. His work, in short, marked the real beginning of Indological studies among Europeans in India. Mr. Halhed was an equally distinguished orientalist, and his 'Bengali Grammar' is a pioneer work of immense value.

Sir William Jones was, however, the most brilliant of the trio, and his place among the European students of oriental learning is memorable in the history of Modern India. He had proficiency in nearly every one of the many European languages, and, what is indeed remarkable, he was master of Hebrew, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. His linguistic and also scientific attainments were a veritable marvel of that age, and it is indeed surprising how in the midst of his arduous duties as a Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court he could find time for his oriental studies. His most historic work was the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the study of the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia. He became its first president as Warren Hastings gracefully declined the honour in his favour. His scholarship and also his expert guidance of scientific and literary studies under the auspices of the Asiatic Society produced results of a high order, and laid the foundations of Oriental research in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal soon became the proto-type of similar learned societies in other Presidencies. Through these societies the portals of oriental learning were thrown open to the West, and Europe and America began to draw some inspiration from the East—a fact which was testified to by such great writers of the last century as Goethe, Schlegel, Emerson and Thoreau. The Indian people's self-esteem which had reached almost the vanishing point under the onslaughts of Western culture had a new and unexpected stimulus in the European appreciation of Indian culture. Thus, "Asiatic" Jones, and his collaborators may well be regarded as the pioneers of Indian renaissance itself.

The work begun by these early pioneers was continued with equal zeal and persistence by Henry Thomas Colebrooke—an

eminent civilian in the Company's service in Bengal. His studies in Sanskrit were as profound as they were extensive, and his researches in Indian philosophy, Vedic literature, mathematics and astronomy entitled him to be ranked as the foremost orientalist of the early nineteenth century. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain which owed its inception to his personal efforts is one of his lasting contributions to oriental studies in Europe.

This enthusiasm for oriental culture was, however, confined to a select few. The Company's government officially took little or no interest in the promotion of oriental scholarship. The Calcutta Madrasa owed its origin to the personal interest of Warren Hastings, and its counterpart—the Sanskrit College of Varanasi was likewise established through the efforts of the local British Resident. The Fort William College for the Company's servants was similarly founded by Wellesley on his own initiative. These Colleges, however, made little progress, for, while on the one hand the Government provided insufficient funds, very few Indians on the other hand, availed themselves of the instruction provided in these institutions. Things came to such a pass that there were often more teachers than students in the oriental colleges. The Fort William College, meant for the Company's junior civilians, did encourage vernacular studies for a few years, but this institution was closed down under the orders of the Company not long after its inception. This failure of oriental education was due, *firstly*, for want of adequate financial support; *secondly*, to missionary opposition and propaganda; *thirdly*, to the new-born craze for English education among the enlightened Indians, *fourthly*, to the recruitment of only English-knowing Indians to the Company's services, and, *lastly*, to the misrepresentation of the Anglicists who had no knowledge of oriental learning and who ridiculed the oriental classics as "*of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank*".

While classical studies languished, modern Indian literatures, however, received powerful stimulus from European missionary enterprise in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Serampore missionaries, for example, did valuable pioneering work in the development of modern Bengali literature, Bengali journalism and Bengali printing through their translations of the Bible and other original works of a useful nature. Of these missionaries,

William Carey, J. C. Marshman, and William Ward formed an illustrious trio whose educational, cultural and journalistic activities are of vital importance to the history of modern India. The Anglo-Indian Press which began its long and historic career with the first English newspaper founded by James Hicky in 1780 made a profound impression on the mind of the educated Indians who along with their Christian missionary collaborators finally laid the foundations of a popular press in India.

One of the noteworthy contributions of the Britishers in the days of John Company was their momentous decision to make the new learning the foundation of Indian education and that through the medium of English. The uninformed criticisms of oriental learning in Macaulay's historic minute would sound ridiculous at the present day, and Macaulay's arrogant sarcasm about "*seas of treacle and seas of butter*", or his impudent boast that a shelf of a good European library was worth the entire treasures of oriental literatures may not matter anything to us now, but the fact remains that the foundations of India's present-day revival as a nation were laid in the cultural movements which issued directly from the fountainhead of English education, or indirectly as an inevitable reaction against the excess of Anglicisation. That English education deeply stirred the depths of the Indian mind and broke up its inertness is an undeniable historical fact. Even the reaction which came against the fast-moving tide of Westernisation assumed an expression which was fundamentally based on a deep study of the Western civilisation. The educational policy of the Government was neither progressive, nor comprehensive, yet it helped to create a large and progressive educated middle class which became the mainstay of India's cultural revival and political awakening.

Secularisation through liberalisation was, however, the main contribution of British rule to Indian culture. The new wine of Western thought produced a natural ferment in India, and it resulted in the growth of a secular outlook on all aspects of life. Even in the sphere of Indian religion, European rationalism had a deep influence, and prepared the ground for a new re-birth. Ram Mohun Roy, who is justly regarded as the father of modern India was, in spite of his unrivalled oriental learning, essentially a rational humanist who was deeply influenced by Western libera-

lism and Christianity. His zeal for reform as well as revival in the spheres of society and religion was much too rational and much too impregnated with Western liberalism to have any direct appeal for the common man. But it gave the newly-educated middle class a spiritual balm in the midst of the destruction of old values and the old way of life. Ram Mohun Roy was a great reformer, but he was more distinguished as the founder of various secular movements in India. He was, in fact, the first modern man in India. But, all his movements—social, educational, cultural or political—owed their prime inspiration to the fount of English education. The movement of social reform and female emancipation was, for instance, a direct offshoot of Western humanism. The abolition of widow burning and slavery, or the legal recognition of widow remarriages reflected a liberalism which came along with the introduction of English education. Even Indian nationalism was the child of Western influences in more ways than one. The wave of cultural reaction which was marked by the Rebellion of 1857 failed to stem the tide of secularisation, and in the ideological conflict that came in its wake, Western liberalism won the day, and finally broke India's cultural isolation as also her intellectual stagnation. The "Rebellion" virtually marked the end of the old order and the old way of thinking.

The complete ascendancy of the New Learning was the keynote of India's cultural history after 1857. But, it was through the New Learning that India redeemed its lost soul. The first phase of this revival was religious and the mighty minds like Ram Mohun Roy, Vivekananda, Dayananda and Keshav Chandra Sen formed the motive force of this awakening. That this religious revival is closely interlinked with India's freedom movement needs no elaboration. In short, a new India had arisen with the impact of Western culture, and the varied religious developments of the post-Rebellion period, such as the re-appearance of orthodoxy among a section of the educated Hindus, the growth of synthetic eclecticism in the Brahmo movement, the intensification of the Muslim reaction associated with the Qadiani and the Aligarh movements, the birth of the neo-Vedantic order of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the inception of the aggressive revivalism of the Arya Samaj, or the philosophic and spiritual latitudinarianism of the Theosophical movement fostered the forces which all served to strengthen and inspire the Indian national movement of our times.

European thought wielded a potent influence on the mind of Young India. The democratic faith of the Victorian age, no less than its positivism and humanism, moulded the thought-currents of modern India; and Comte, Mill, Carlyle, Mazzini, Kant and Fichte inspired new trends in Indian literature and political life. Even Western unbelief led to repercussions in Indian society in the form of intellectual agnosticism and moral epicureanism. Both the orthodox reaction and the modernist rationalism of modern India were thus a product of English education and British rule.

The post-Rebellion period witnessed cultural developments through official agencies in various other directions as well. The Archaeological Department prepared the ground for a renewed Indian interest in the country's art, architecture and epigraphy. The Education Department sought to revive oriental research on modern scientific lines. European scholars in India and abroad patiently reconstructed the missing links of Indian history, and made the Indians conscious of their glorious past. European savants gave a powerful impetus to the study of oriental philosophy and classics. The remarkable efflorescence of the modern Indian vernacular literatures was inspired and shaped by the European cultural influences of this period. Indian poetry, drama, and fiction underwent a process of modernisation, and found a new orientation as a result of the impact of Europe on the Indian mind. The growth of the scientific spirit was also a consequence of the new education that opened the way to the sciences and technologies of the West. This many-sided cultural awakening stimulated progress in all spheres of life—economics, industries, society, art, science, literature and philosophy. In short, British rule, despite its inherently conservative and mundane character, set in motion new creative forces in every domain of our national life. It may thus well be likened to the indispensable burning of the stubble as a prelude to the next crop.

This bird's-eye view of the cultural influences of British rule shows the steady re-orientation of Indian life and thought under the pressure of alien ideas. These influences were both positive and negative, and they operated both in the moral and material fields. The story of these diverse influences sums up the basic trends of Modern Indian history. This history has its lights and shades, for India has been moulded in different ways in different

periods of British rule. The Indians entered the arena of the modern world in a mood of frustration. They began by aping the West. The early products of English education, in their first flush of enthusiasm for Western culture, paid almost fetish worship to all that was glittering in the Western way of life, and this craze for imitation assumed at times ludicrous proportions. The so-called Babu represents this phase of cultural mimicry and intellectual slavery. A reaction against this slavish imitation of the West was not long in coming, for Modern India was soon tired of this new Babu culture, and realised the futility of merely copying the West. Young India began to chafe under the weight of the new shackles of cultural bondage, and gradually sought emancipation therefrom. This feeling of self-consciousness gave birth to aggressive Hindu and Muslim revivalist movements. India then began to denounce the materialism of the West, and became conscious of its ancient spiritual legacy. Political and economic discontent accentuated this cleavage between India and the West, and deepened the cultural conflict between the two.

Divergent sentiments, however, soon dominated the cultural outlook of modern India. One was represented above all by Rabindranath Tagore according to whom the problem of Indian culture is in fact the problem of the world culture in miniature. The India that Tagore envisaged is one which cannot be restricted by the fetters of nationalism or any other *ism*. This India is said to be marching in quest of a higher ideal of universal brotherhood, which shall be for the gain of all humanity. The other school of thought represented by Vivekananda and Dayananda strove for the self-expression of India's own spiritual voice and genius for the salvation of the whole world. This spiritual revivalism has steadily developed since the latter part of the last century, and, re-vivified by the intellectual and philosophic asceticism of Sri Aurobindo Ghose in our own times, forms the basis of an intensely patriotic conception of Indian culture and India's spiritual mission. Yet another school of thought was represented by Mahatma Gandhi through his gospel of peace, moral force and *ahimsa*. Though he was the culmination of India's spiritual re-awakening, he was not communal, parochial or intolerant. His insistence on spiritual faith and moral regeneration marks a way of thought which free India and the world have yet to digest and assimilate. The clash of these conflicting ways of thinking has necessarily created a crisis

in Indian culture which we can resolve in the light of our own traditions and ideals alone. Free India will after all have to stand on her own legs, politically as well as culturally.

The Indian mind which successfully stood the challenge of western culture in the last century is now called upon to bridge the gulf between the old village system and the new technocracy, and between the ancient spirituality and the modern cults of force and real politics. British rule introduced in India the industrial civilisation and commercial culture of the West with all the attendant evils thereof, but it attempted no harmonious fusion of the Indian and the Western ways of life. The inevitable consequence of this failure was a maladjustment of these two, which caused all the ills of separatism, reactionism and communalism. India today is on the threshold of a new re-birth. The cultural problems that lie ahead of her may not be easy of solution, but free India, we all hope and pray, will eventually adjust her age-old culture to modern conditions of industrialism and nationalism, and evolve a synthetic culture which will be her distinctive contribution to world-thought and world-culture.

English : Should it be the — “L.C.M.” of India ?

BY

BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI, F.R.A.S. (LONDON)

The history of English education in India is one of check and balance.

On the occasion of the enactment of the Indian Charter Act in 1833, Lord Macaulay significantly prophesied the role that English was bound to play in the history of development of the destiny of India, in these memorable words :

“It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system : that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history”.

The first proposal of founding a real forum for dissemination of English education appears to take root in the early efforts at the cultural development of India, by the then Christian Missionaries and the first Indian News Paper was: The Bengal Gazette, published by James Augustus Hicky. He sought to give, along with others, persistent fillip to the spread of mass-education in English about as early as 1780.

Curiously enough, the opposition against it was, at the outset, too great; and it was not accepted—lest it should brew up national prejudices—by the Board of Directors of the East India Company who considered the scheme somewhat premature.

The famous despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, soon after the renewal of Charter of East India Company in the previous year, brought up the question once more to the forefront. “Among many subjects of importance”, proclaimed the epoch-making document, “none has a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to

the nation, to be the means, as far as it lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge and which India may, under Providence derive from her connection with England".

In accordance with this declared policy, the foundations of University Education were laid in this country, as per "University Statistics—(1914-43)" of the British administration, quoted below:

Name of University	Number of Graduates
Calcutta (1857)	4,132
Bombay (1857)	2,240
Madras (1857)	1,606
Punjab (1882)	3,091
Allahabad (1887)	1,045
Hindu (Banaras) (1916)	393
Mysore (1916)	465
Patna (1917)	580
Osmania (1918)	181
Muslim (Aligarh) (1920)	354
Lucknow (1920)	501
Dacca (1921)	279
Delhi (1922)	342
Nagpur (1923)	470
Andhra (1926)	447
Agra (1927)	1,147
Annamalai (1929)	136
Travancore (1937)	360
Utkal (1943)	

LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA

Year	Total Literates	No. of Literates per 10,000	Males per 1,000	Females per 1,000
1921	14,998	642	1,275	154
1931	18,072	704	1,403	214
1941	37,016	1,251	not available	not available

NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH INDIA

Year	Number
1920-21	180,380
1924-25	203,232
1928-29	232,429
1932-33	229,771
1936-37	227,940
1938-39	230,526
1939-40	235,489
1940-41	232,766
1941-42	228,053
1942-43	219,342

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN BRITISH INDIA

Year	News-papers	Periodicals	Books (English)	Books (Indian)
1920-21	955	2,917	1,676	9,815
1924-25	1,342	3,018	2,283	14,591
1928-29	1,642	2,781	2,546	14,348
1932-33	1,594	2,693	2,691	13,401
1936-37	2,123	3,046	2,556	14,629
1938-39	2,752	3,301	3,296	13,137
1939-40	2,872	3,113	3,442	14,820
1940-41	2,609	2,880	2,841	14,117

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA

[From: "Indian Census Report—1941"]

Name of country	Percentage of Literary
Japan	96
U.S.A.	95.7
U.K.	92.5
India	14.6

The above data, in brief, then, provide statistically, what may as well be called *mutum in parvo* of a prelude to the history of the progress of English Education, viz., education in the medium of English in India.

But, since the ending of the British rule on August 15, 1947, and after about two centuries' expansion of the public mind of India under its spell, has she, to quote Macaulay, "outgrown that system" now, in the real sense of its context or appearing too unwilling to demand, viz, the "European Institutions"?

Perhaps, sentiment against English, after the advent of Indian Independence, was as irresistibly strong as it was in favour of English in the days of British aggrandisement! This is due to the ultimate logic of events and, in accordance with the natural verdict of history.

But, if "repulsion", according to the Law of the Scientist, Michael Faraday, "is a surer test of magnetization" in material world, does it not similarly prove that this truth holds good also, in mass psychology?

Our present day feelings of "repulsion" against it may therefore be—an inverse measure of our introverted or in-seated psychic "attraction", or rather adoration of the magnificence of the English culture and language—born of what may be called an 'inferiority-complex'?

And, so have not eminent Indian educationists like Dr. Katju, Dr. Bhagwan Das; Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, and other Indian doyens of learning, repeatedly emphasized the urgency of retaining English as a "top" language?

"The English language" to extract, as for instance, a passage from Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's Convocation Address at Utkal University in 1955, "is one of the most valuable legacies that the Britishers have left behind for us. I venture to think that an ability to handle English should be a *sine qua non* for University men who will have to represent their country's intellectual advance before the comity of nation."

Incidentally, we may however, recall that eminent educationists of India have also addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister and the Education Minister of India as well as

to Chief Ministers and Education Ministers of State Governments in August 1952, urging them to keep up an adequate standard of English even after it ceases to be the medium of instruction. The signatories to the letter are:

Messrs. N. J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University; S. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University; R. P. Parija, Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University; P. Misra, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University; B. L. Manjunath, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University; V. S. Krishna, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University;; S. N. Sen, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi-University; C. V. Mahajan, Vice-Chancellor, Agra University; R. P. Masani, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University; A. R. Wadia, Ex-Pro. Vice-Chancellor, M. S. University of Baroda; C. V. Raman, Director, Raman Research Institute; H. J. Bhabha, Director, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research; C. N. Vakil, Director, School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay; V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University; Samuel Matthai, Secretary, Inter-University Board, Delhi; Mrs. Hannah Sen, Ex-Directress, Lady Irwin College, Delhi University; Mrs. B. Tarabai, Directress, Lady Irwin College; T. K. Menon, Dean, Faculty of Education and Psychology, M. S. University of Baroda; C. D. Narasimhaiah, Professor of English, University of Mysore; Leela Desai Dean. Faculty of Home Science, M. S. University of Baroda; etc., etc.

The letter runs as follows:—"There is hardly a day, when the language question in our Universities is not discussed in the press and from public platforms. A good deal of this discussion shows no grip of the real educational questions involved, and we as educationists feel gravely perturbed by the trend of events, and we crave leave to put before you our view-points as briefly, but as cogently, as possible.

"The Constitution of our Republic has laid it down that Hindi shall be the national language of India, but the use of English as heretofore is permitted for the period of fifteen years after the commencement of the Constitution (January 26, 1950), and two Commissions at the end of five and ten years respectively are envisaged to advise the President as to the stages by which English is to be replaced by Hindi. It is the duty of us all, as loyal children of India, to abide by the considered decision of our

Constitution, and it is the duty of every University to fall into line with the new set-up in our country. We were hoping that sufficient time would be left to the Universities to adjust themselves to the new requirements. We have, however, noticed a tendency on the part of some Governments, and some of the representatives of non-academic interests on our University bodies, to hurry this transition, to an extent, which in our humble opinion, is fraught with grave danger to our academic standards, and it is our painful duty to draw your attention to it. We are quite prepared to accept the position that English shall be replaced by an Indian language—national or regional—by the end of fifteen years after the commencement of the Constitution. In the meantime, the question of preparing text-books and translating a certain minimum number of books into Hindi and or regional languages will have to be taken up right seriously. This will naturally take some time, and fifteen years would be certainly more than sufficient, provided the Government of India and or the State Governments are prepared to spend generously several lakhs every year for this purpose, and frame a definite ten years' scheme.

"But as educationists, we see no possibility of our being able to do without some good knowledge of English, for any number of translations will never completely meet the needs of all the subjects taught in our Universities with the exception, perhaps, of subjects purely Indian in their content.

It follows that in the interests of higher education in India, it is eminently necessary to keep up an adequate standard of English even after it ceases to be the medium of instruction. It is from this standpoint that we note with great distress some of the State Governments trying to reduce the quantum and quality of English taught in our high schools.

"It is a regrettable feature of our present-day education in our schools that the standard of English has been steadily going down, which has very seriously affected their study of all subjects, and the low standard of our graduates has become more distressing.

Things are not going to improve by merely substituting Hindi and or a regional language as the medium of instruction, unless side by side we have proper books in the languages concerned,

and our students are sufficiently equipped in English at least to read books in English with ease and understanding.

"If the study of English is killed in our country with an almost indecent haste, the work of a century, perhaps, on the whole, more good than bad, will be undone in a few years, and this will seriously affect the quality of our education. It is our earnest prayer to you to help the Universities to maintain our standards to our satisfaction.

We should also like to repeat that the Universities would be in a position to do away with English as the medium of instruction only after books of the requisite quality have been prepared in the new medium.

"We humbly request your close co-operation in the common task of producing graduates, who can compare favourably with the graduates of the most advanced countries in the West, and we can but look up to the Government of India and the State Governments to evolve a common policy so as to afford sure guidance to the Universities in their work". [From: *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, September 9, 1952]

The above memorial sent in to the Government of India by the "*Education—Britain Trust*", so as to say, of the country, soliciting serious notice of the gradual worsening of the "quantum and quality" of English in the Universities and High Schools of India, reveals, but—then, how matters stand in the Indian Union after winning Independence! Yet, curiously enough, matters of linguistic culture and our education appear now to have been motivated rather—remarkably by political bias and cheap patriotic insularity. And, for obvious reasons the question of free India's national language has been given the full dignity of a top level and controversial issue both in the press and on the pulpit.

But the general opinion on the matter is sharply divided between two diverse groups, each professing to be a stickler for consistency, but conjointly though, adding its quota to the making of the general Babel on our language problems!

And, language zealots in each and every province or State appear to have been all too suddenly seized with a rather patriotic fever in writing text-books in individual provincial scripts and in

coining technical terms in the national language—each suggesting different words for the same matter or thought; and our educationists, say, in dire, hopeless plight, sending across, occasionally, S.O.S. appeals to the powers that be, for halting the so-called captains of national renaissance!

What is worse, again, in the country's crusade of puritanism, it is not—so to say—feeling at all hesitant or apologetic enough in the matter of banishing settled words, which coming from foreign countries or sources, have much added to, and come to stay, as an integral part of the Indian languages!

Again, new terminologies are being minted in the national laboratories and artificially stilted vocables are being manufactured, perhaps, as the country's best innovations in letters and thought. But, is it not—as mentioned before—too precipitate and over-patriotic a move to cast away a treasure-trove acquired from the Empire-Builders through centuries of contact, devotion and diligence, and still cherished by some with the pride of a precious acquisition?

Surely, it is not a mean achievement to be able to attain mastery over a "foreign language", to earn renown as writers and retain communion with the world outside in philosophy, religion and spiritual culture, such as Gandhi, Tagore, Vivekananda and other countless Indian savants and exponents of the Eastern mind, have done so far, to further the bonds of understanding and concord with the West, so long!

Indeed, to be panicky of foreign influence and scared thereof seems to go against the tradition of the country which, like a living organism, inbibed and assimilated words and ideas from others and added them to its stock in all different ages of its history.

When finally, India closes her accounts, she may possibly, however, find her erstwhile conqueror discomfited in his own field and with his own weapons—in the bargain!

If we then face the fact and want to retain our intellectual, economic, political and cultural link with the world outside we must needs have to learn some leading language, at least, of the

same language, i.e., English. And for us, one might think, it would be a wise course to go to the English language.

Its amazing richness is the result of its wonderful genius for digesting and assimilating foreign words, irrespective of climes, origin and philological complexities.

And, perhaps, there will be no gainsaying the fact that it is the acclaimed medium of exchange of thought and ideas of the population who inhabit nearly three-quarters of the land surface of the globe and that in it India has been, so to say,—from the statistical data as mentioned before—instructed almost to a faultless efficiency. Can India forget English which has yet been the official language of the Indian National Congress since 1884, when the Marquess of Dufferin, the Viceroy, and Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a Scotsman, ushered it into being, and created that homogeneous national unity, eventually culminating in the birth of what we find to-day as a sovereign democratic Republic?

A proficiency in this language—for which India's great national heroes like Raja Rammohan, Vivekananda, Surendranath Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, P. Mehta, Ananta Charlu, C. Sankaran Nair, R. C. Dutt; N. G. Chandravarkar; G. K. Gokhale; R. B. Ghose; M. M. Malaviya; S. P. Sinha; A. N. Bose; Motilal Nehru; C. R. Das; M. K. Gandhi; Jawaharlal Nehru; Subhas Bose; etc., etc., have been acclaimed before the bar of history—may not altogether be difficult for the children of her soil—of whom, as per records referred to before, about 14.6 per cent are pretty fairly acquainted, at least, with a smattering of the three R's in English!

That education should be given in mother-tongue is obviously an incontrovertible fact! But that is, surely, no reason why an undue stress, in indecent haste, should be laid on the medium exclusively at the cost of instruction. For, after all, is not instruction of greater importance than the medium? It is again argued frequently that English is a forcible imposition on indigenous education and that real education should eschew all elements of compulsion in it. But compulsion is not, as a matter of course, always harmful!

In fact, some amount of healthy compulsion appears to have been transfused in all systems of education, for the benefit of the learners, particularly at the adolescent stage. It is interesting, again, that when people talk of "One National Language"—in a

land of polyglots—speaking no less than 225 dialects of intriguing characteristics and baffling diversities—nobody is repelled at the idea of imposition! If, for instance, “Bengalees who form the most linguistically homogenous people in India, point out, viz., that poet Tagore won the Nobel Prize in a “Bengali” work; or the “Madrasis” for the matter of that, put forward the counter-claim—arguing that Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, a “Madrasis”, won also the Nobel Prize; and, if therefore, it is pleaded that the *Lingua franca* of India should be either “Bengali” or “Madrasis” in contradistinction to Hindi, the accepted national medium of instruction, as mentioned before—will not this contingent possibility be likely to jeopardise the very independence that India has won after about two centuries of “serfdom”, under British rule?

That is, no doubt, as it should be, because this is the only way to evolve one’s national language! Why, then, should our language worshippers altogether sneer at the thought of imposition of one language for *cultural* reasons and accept another for solely *political* motives—only to accentuate animus against the status quo, born of unbridled “linguarchy”?

And—if not checked in its early career, will not that feeling of hostility, give a death-blow eventually, to India—as per the lessons taught by President George Washington in his “Farewell Address”, viz., in the undernoted language:—

“The Constitution which at anytime exists...is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government. All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberations—are destructive of this fundamental principle and of a fatal tendency” [Spark’s Life of “Washington”, Vol. II].

In free-India, does not sober-thinking, therefore, command the above prophetic lines of the Father of the American Nation as well worthy of acceptance—at the present adolescent stage of our nationhood and, persuade our countrymen to continue imbibing the fruits of an education, we have been pursuing on lines followed so far; and in the accepted medium of traditional instruction since the days of Hicky’s “Bengal Gazette” as far back as

ENGLISH : SHOULD IT BE THE—“L.C.M.” OF INDIA 315

1780? The medium of instruction—as submitted by the great bulk of the India’s “Brain-Trust”—so to say euphemistically in a way—in the aforementioned memorial—no doubt, must needs be, changed to the *mother-tongue*; but this should be done, likewise, in complete accordance with the historic process of “check and balance”, and should not, clash with the uninterrupted study of English for the homogenous development of the country!

So, can there be, any doubt that the abrupt switch-over to the medium of the *regional* languages—without adjusting the matrix of the basic pattern to it—may not only misshapen the entire system, but, likewise disrupt the very constitutional unity on a scale unimaginable and perhaps, far more unprecedented than the “linguistic squabbles” in the East and the West wings of “Pakistan”, the conterminous twins of Ex-British India? As to the major languages referred to below, we had better quote the undernoted data from the Census figures of pre-partitioned India (1941) for the purpose of linguistic study of each province or State:—

Language	No. of persons speaking (in round number)	Name of “State”
1. Assamese	2 million	1. Assam
2. Bengali	50 "	2. Bengal
3. Eastern Hindi	8 "	3. N. India
4. Western Hindi	70 "	4. Do.
5. Marathi	20 "	5. Bombay
6. Tamil	20 "	6. Madras
7. Telugu	20 "	7. Andhra
8. Malayalam	1 "	8. Travancore
9. East Punjab	20 "	9. E. Punjab
10. West "	9 "	10. W. Punjab (Pakistan)
11. Kashmiri	2 "	11. Kashmir
12. Gujerat	1 "	12. Saurashtra
13. Bihari	20 "	13. Bihar
14. Kannada	10 "	14. Mysore
15. Oriya	10 "	15. Orissa
16. Rajasthani	10 "	16. Rajasthan
17. Sindhi	4 "	17. Sindh
18. Kherwari	4 "	18. Pakistan
19. Pushtu	2 "	19. "
20. English	1 "	20. All States

The aboriginals of India, who numbered over twenty-five millions on the basis of the Census of 1941, hail from the following linguistic belts :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Assam | 1. (a) Naga (b) Garo (c) Kachari
(d) Khasi (e) Mikir (f) Lushai |
| 2. Bihar and Orissa | 2. (a) Santal (b) Munda (c) Uraon |
| 3. Orissa | 3. (a) Bhuiya (b) Bhumij (c) Khonds |
| 4. Central Province | 4. (a) Gonds (b) Baigas (c) Kor-kus |
| 5. Bombay and Rajputana States | 5. Bhils |
| 6. South India | 6. (a) Kurumber (b) Kanikar
(c) Irulan (d) Yanadi |

Free India's immediate task, then, lies in a determined attack on extirpating the canker of linguism—Babel!

Anybody—who however, knows anything about the recent history of India—while admiring the leaders of these linguistic movements, of their passion to develop their regional cultures, must needs realize that their move basically represents the very antithesis of the Political System that great men like the late Sardar Patel had visualized and to a degree attained.

When India won Independence and the dominion of Pakistan took away a good slice of her territory, it was surely the integration of the States that gave to the country's map integrity and unity.

The vision and insight of Sardar Patel created a "New India" out of the ashes of partition, giving it an impregnable unity! Therefore, if the demand for linguistic provinces be conceded by the Central Government, it must succeed in putting the hands of the clock back and divert the course of India's natural history along new and hazardous paths.

And worst still, might it not too result in the evil of the multi-Balkanization of India, as also the unleashing of economic trends, *pari passu*, which would, perhaps, sap our vital growth and extirpate the national spirit, for good? Is it not also unfortunate that the authors of the Republican Constitution of India failed to

study the question before it was adopted by the Constituent Assembly?

Surely, it is the constitutional provision for the creation of new States that is effectively sought to be used by the provincial language—'Zealot's, who fail strangely to realize the fact, *inter alia*, that the redistribution of States on the language-basis alone, is bound to rake up old feuds among a polyglot people which have been healed up, so far, through years of ceaseless strivings to achieve political unity and freedom.

Indeed, can the cry for language division and national unity of a country, like India, ever go placidly together? She is a country of fabulous dimensions and once the centre is weakened, the edifice of political unity suffers considerable damage!

Linguism can but succeed in opening a Pandora's Box! The floodgates of inter-State quarrels and litigations on a vast scale will open and overwhelm us.

Moreover, the carving out of States on the basis of languages, may retard the process, as well, of economic developments and choke the growth of agriculture and industry, too!

It also means a huge offtake in the revenue of public-administration and the vesting of authority in a number of State Governments without the financial resources to push through projects for the economic welfare of the people. Then as long as the Centre collects the income-tax, death duties and customs, and the States are over-weighted under the responsibility to run all the nation-building departments like agriculture, public health and education, will not the New States have to carry on with deficit budgets and soaring charges, leading ultimately to insolvency?

And, in consequence thereof, will not these States, too, need millions of money to house officers, assemblies and other administrative appendages!

Again, is not the demand for language-provinces a direct challenge to the Five-Year-Plan and the economic policy underlying them? No doubt, the Plans visualize the development of the national resources, human material or potential, cutting across all artificial barriers of caste, religion and language. But, will this be feasible, once the States are reorganized on a language-

basis? Then, the mighty assets of Nature, like coal-deposits, iron ores, mineral mines and water resources, etc., will have to play second fiddle, to the all powerful mandates of the linguistic—"King Canutes"—so prolific in this ancient soil!

For instance, in case of language States will there be not inter-State frictions over the rights of way, usage, etc., etc., respecting the appropriation and utilization of water resources, hydro-electric powers and irrigation-works? Has it not been evidenced, as a case in point, respecting Tungabhadra River Valley, which is at present conjointly developed by Andhra, Mysore and Hyderabad? For, purely language-States, again, it may be difficult to evolve a unitary national economic policy—much less implement it!

While one State may desire prohibition, its neighbours may follow a wet policy, leading to smuggling and border quarrels. There may, also, in effect, crop up fundamental differences between States in slabs of taxation rates. The Central Government possibly then can never dictate its policy to a single State, since any intervention may be interpreted by an individual linguistic group as a favour conferred upon its neighbour to its own harm!

Further, the cry for "living space" for linguistic States on the model of Hitler's demand, is not only at variance with all the ethics of progressive thought, but is also fraught with such explosive consequences as we have had experienced of late, in sporadic "outbreaks" in Bombay, Bihar, Bengal and elsewhere.

It may be pertinent to mention incidentally, however, that to extirpate the cankers of linguism mentioned before, prominent leaders of Madras held a "Round Table" Conference at Madras on January 29, 1956 to "consider and discuss the Union Language Issue". The Conference which was convened under the auspices of the Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras, was attended, amongst others, by top-ranking representatives of various schools of thought like Messrs. C. Rajagopalachari, P. T. Rajan, etc., etc. It passed a resolution:

"that since all the educated citizens of India had adequate knowledge of English, it should continue to be the *official language of the Union*".

We strongly uphold the Madras leaders' resolution for sticking to English, and we hope that sooner a persistent movement be started in India for her unitarian development in thought, word and deed, just to wash away the floatsam and jetsam of diverse languages, under the life fertilizing streams of a global language like English, the better for us.

No doubt to beginners, English seems a bit of a hard nut to crack with its unreasonable spelling and unphonetic behaviour. But, we feel that there is a definite necessity to-day for rationalizing English, for easy learning in this country, in the following directions:

- (1) The adoption of a standard Roman script. All the Western languages, except German and Russian, in some instances, are written in the Roman script. Turkey has, to wit a case, *inter alia*, adopted it, throwing over-board the old script, in order to enable every one to read Turkish as easily as other languages, to bring Turkish into line say, with the leading languages of the world, and to remove the initial difficulty of the script for all foreign students of Turkish. The Japanese use the Roman script extensively in their scientific journals.

In India, the Roman script would help the study of the miscellany of languages, facilitate their rationalization and render their understanding quicker for the foreigners. The Roman script we conceive of, would be a very near approach to the ideal phonetic script of the Indian philologists!

- (2) Simplification of grammar on principles formulated by modern expert philological researches.
- (3) Reform of hackneyed cliches, spellings, ungrammatical idiosyncrasies in syntax, archaism, etc., etc.
- (4) Adoption of concrete, practical, sensible, intelligible, pictographic, poetic and phonetic words in vocabulary, based on international technique in preference to the usual mode of learning in an unscientific manner of predated fossilised "lexicography"!

In the West, the Scholastic Corporation among others in the field—offers some scope in the instruction of "Practical English"

in preference to a too academic type of Scholastic English—especially in the U.S., now-a-days.

- (5) Introduction of the audio-visual type of instruction in English, obviating all so-called irrationally selected *nonsense* which is often a bugbear to the average Indian pupils, and any of other uptodate means of easy and scientific learning as in vogue in the U.S., the U.K., etc.

It may be, pertinent, however, to mention incidentally that Free-India has recommended the following “Three-Language Plan”, with English as the Compulsory-subject for study in the Secondary High Schools in India, with effect from January, 1957:—

- (1) Mother-tongue or Regional language; or composite course of mother-tongue and classical language; or composite course of mother-tongue and Regional language; or composite course of regional language and classical language.
- (2) English.
- (3) Hindi (for non-Hindi speaking areas); or, another modern Indian language (for Hindi-speaking areas).

As mentioned before, Free India contains about 225 languages and, more than three-thousand ‘dialects’—barring those non-descript varieties of the tribal, aboriginal or transborder racial groups! Can, therefore, the proposed trilingual tongue of a Language, as referred to, expect in any way to meet the multi-purpose of a vast Polyglot Nation—that India is? If that be so, why not our language-planners, for the matter of that—make it a point to keep from importing afresh—the so-called “regional”; “classical”; “maternal” or “paternal” language—denominations according to their roots of origin—so as to create further Babel—rather concentrate upon a basic “One-Language-Plan”, viz., by reforming, improving and popularizing quality English as being the only destined “L.C.M.”, viz, (Language Common Mother?) of the free-realm—just to end that, far good and all?

It may be however, interesting to recall, that almost akin to the “trilingual” plan of India as mentioned above, there appears to be on the move a “bi-lingual” plan, started in 1951 by Jean-Marie Bressand and Mlle. Poulain in France under the name: “The Bilingual World”. “Bilingualism” is thus the latest attempt

to overthrow the language barriers which, contrary to all reason, continue to disrupt intercourse in a world which is, obviously becoming smaller every day, through improving communications and transportation facilities—by “encouraging the whole world to become ‘English-speaking’ or ‘French-speaking’ ” in the bargain!

But, is it conceivable, say, that—supposing all English and French-speaking countries, were one fine morning to speak and write both English and French—“other peoples” also, would likewise be thinking of learning one or other of these twins in addition to their own language?

Or, to speak in other way: would that at all do away with the basic difficulties of learning a “foreign” language sufficiently well, for practical purposes and, say, enable a Russian, for instance, knowing French to communicate with a German who has learned English?

If that be so, as per the “Bilingualism” logic, would it not also hold good likewise the Indian “Trilingualism” Plan: that is, here too, viz, a “*Madras*” knowing “*Malayalam*” to correspond with a “*Gujerati*” who has learned “*Bengali*”—would feel in a like predicament—in the absence of a common medium of expression or “L.C.M. (?)” as mentioned before?

Does not, then, arise here—the need for a “universal” language like that of “*Esperanto*”?

Its votaries, who now number about five-crore (Fifty-million)—in a world of about three-thousand languages as per the U.N.E.S.C.O. Statistics of 1954—emphasize, however, that it is easy to learn because of its simple philological structure and that it is not open to nationalistic questions, because: it is neither English nor French; German or Russian; Sanskrit or Arabic, that is—“not of any one nation’s language” and as such, may become common to all nations! But this does not mean—so to say—viz, that *Esperanto* and a Bi-or-Tri-linguist may clash with each other in the bargain?

Quite unlikely! If, for instance, a large part of the world were to know English, even imperfectly, *Esperanto*, whose five-hundred and odd basic roots are drawn from “Indo-Aryan Family of Languages” would, perhaps, become the “Universal Language”

in due course, with which its advocates hope to end the World-Babel, once for all:

I, for one cannot fail to be struck by the promise of a radiant hope—that great days are coming to this sub-continent, under “Community Development Programme”—fittingly undertaken on October 2, 1952 and sponsored by the Technical Aid of the U.S.A. By it, more than a lakh villages across the land with about seven-and-a half crores village-workers, during three short years—are on the march to prosperity! The Government of India carrying the heavy load of a free country, whose birth about a decade ago was attended with deficit-budgets, soaring natural calamities and rising population, thought it fit to invite American Aid for the supply of agricultural equipments, jeeps, tractors, hospital vans, mobile cinema units and varied kinds of teaching Aids.

And, the heartening fact is this, that under the programmes, the Indian villagers themselves have contributed so far sixty-percent of the total outlay—in land, labour, cash and kind, while the U.S.A. in support of all phases of India’s progress have subscribed through their Government and private sources: “a total of more than half a billion dollars” (The American Reporter, February, 1, 1956).

This has set the villages—the Soul of India—according to Gandhiji—moving—to get together to work and sit together to devise ways and means to their ends—and a march in India now, anywhere: from the rolling foot-hills of Darjeeling to the palm-shaded sandy beaches of Travancore, gives the warm but unmistakable assurance, indeed, that the “Heart of Aryāvartā” is truly on the move—a new Hope bestirs afresh for the one-sixth of mankind!

If that is possible—on the material plane, couldn’t India evolve, *pari passu*, the type of an education—undreamt of, perhaps, by Macaulays, Curzons or Carmichael’s in the improved—“stylised”, “reformed” or “re-activated” version of *Modern English*—that would verily seek to revivify her Soul as miraculously and, let the teeming millions of the soil work together, with head upright and mind straight and fearless—as “Indians First”; “Indians Second” and “Indians Forever”—in the immortal words of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji—the Father of Modern Indian Universities?

Vidura Niti — A Cultural and Political Study

BY

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Vidura Niti (alias Prajāgara Parva: Adi. P., II/60) forms a very important and interesting part of Mahābhārata (Uddhyoga Parva, Chapters XXXIII-XL). It has 588 verses in its northern version and 594 in the southern version, the 6 extra being found in Ch. XXXIII. In the northern version Ch. XXXIII has 123 verses, Ch. XXXIV, 86 verses, Ch. XXXV, 77 verses, Ch. XXXVI, 74 verses, Ch. XXXVII, 64 verses, Ch. XXXVIII, 47 verses, Ch. XXXIX 85 verses and Ch. XL, 32 verses (in all 588 verses). It appears from a close and critical examination of the text that Vidura would have offered simple and straight forward advice to Dhṛtarāstra, his elder half-brother, to settle the family quarrel between the Pāṇavas and Kauravas amicably by returning to the former their kingdom according to the original stipulation to avoid the impending conflict. The present long discourse covering almost all conceivable topics would have been hardly appropriate. So it appears logical to believe that the portion suggesting directly or indirectly peace, being relevant to the occasion, would have been the original nucleus of this discourse. The extra topics, the main burden of the present text, are obviously later additions. Proceeding from these premises one might say that Ch. XXXIII: verses 15-16 and 123, Ch. XXXIV: verses 82-86, Ch. XXXV: verses 39-40 and 75-77, Ch. XXXVI: verses 49-50, 60, 70 and 72-74; Ch. XXXVII: verses 19-21, 42-43, 45 and 62-64, Ch. XXXVIII: verses 46-47, Ch. XXXIX: verses 1-9, 14-23, 26-32 and 84-85, and Ch. XL: verses 30-32, in all 52 verses, suggesting peace, compromise and family adjustment would have composed the original exhortation of Vidura. In other words, the remaining (588-52 = 536) verses are later interpolations. God knows in how many years and by how many hands was this achieved! The existing text is

a baffling mass of multiplicity of topics. The present article is a humble attempt at sorting out this information under suitable headings to churn out the picture of cultural and political institutions at the time of the final compilation of this text and also to find out its time.

* *

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Varnas.

Society was divided into four classes (Varnas), viz., Brahmin, Kshtriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Added to these were slaves.¹ Brahmins had to be deft in the Vedic lore,² treat Vedas as their sole friend,³ remain devoted to worship alone,⁴ control their senses⁵ and visit outside places⁶ (within India ?) but not without purpose⁷ and without the intention of permanent stay there.⁸ Though enmity with Brahmins was regarded as a sure sign of destruction⁹ and even one Brahmin was deemed capable of destroying a whole kingdom,¹⁰ people, in spite of admonition to the contrary,¹¹ pocketed their wealth,¹² insulted,¹³ defamed,¹⁴ beat and even killed Brahmins¹⁵ although they were regarded as non-killable¹⁶ and were not to be held even as an object of anger.¹⁷ Learned Brahmins acted as Purohitas¹⁸ and 'Hotā'.¹⁹ However, some Brahmins, even when lacking in the knowledge of proper recitation of Mantras, acted as Hotā,²⁰ others accepted the condemned office of Grāma-Purohita,²¹ some even married Shudra girls²² and drank wine,²³ while others not only ta ght undeserving persons²⁴ but also

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|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. 33/64. | 13. 34/52; 36/27. |
| 2. 33/34. | 14. 36n27. |
| 3. 34/36. | 15. 36/33. |
| 4. 35/73. | 16. 36/66. |
| 5. 39/40. | 17. 38/30. |
| 6. 33/53. | 18. 33/85. |
| 7. 33/108. | 19. 33/79. |
| 8. 33/89. | 20. 33/79. |
| 9. 33/93-95. | 21. 35/85. |
| 10. 40/8. Cf. Canakya. | 22. 37/12. |
| 11. 36/27. | 23. 35/47-48. |
| 12. 33/94; 36/26-27. | 24. 33/39. |

officiated on Shraddha ceremony without Vedic knowledge.²⁵ Kshatriyas were held inferior to Brahmins²⁶ and the former not only occupied a lower seat before the latter²⁷ but also sometimes washed their feet.²⁸ However, some adventurous princes claimed superiority over their Brahmin preceptors.²⁹ Kshatriyas were expected to learn Vedas, perform daily sacrifices, protect their subjects and die in defence of cows and Brahmins.³⁰ Vaishyas were advised to acquire merit by serving Brahmins and Kshatriyas through money and enjoying the smell of sacrificial smoke³¹ (from a distance). The Shudras were to serve the three upper strata.³² So much rigidity had set in social rules that a prince and a Brahmin could not even sit on the same seat.³³

Caste System.

Functional differentiation of society into castes had taken place.³⁴ Caste-fellows were advised to remain friendly amongst themselves³⁵ and prosper through mutual aid and love.³⁶ They were to work for the prosperity of the whole caste;³⁷ not to quarrel amongst themselves but enjoy co-operatively.³⁸ Members of the same caste were to dine together, talk sweetly and love each other and never to oppose one another³⁹ because success or failure depended upon co-operation or opposition of caste-fellows alone.⁴⁰ Rich were expected to help their poor caste-fellows.⁴¹ People craved for fame in their caste-circle.⁴² Thoughtful people dreaded the rivalry between caste-fellows⁴³ and physical violence to one's own caste-fellow was regarded as a sure portent of fall.⁴⁴

Conception of "Kulīna" (Respectable).

Along with 'Varṇa-dharma' and 'Jāti-dharma' 'Kulīnatā'⁴⁵ (respectability) was also emphasised. It was held that 'Kulīnatā'

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| 25. 38/24. | 36. 38/65. |
| 26. 35/14; 35/35. | 37. 39/19. |
| 27. 35/17. | 38. 39/23. |
| 28. 35/38. | 39. 39/24. |
| 29. cf. 35/15. | 40. 39/25. |
| 30. 40/26. | 41. 39/12. |
| 31. 40/27. | 42. 33/120. |
| 32. 40/28. | 43. 56/58. |
| 33. 35/16. | 44. 36/61. |
| 34. 33/114. | 45. 35/52. |
| 35. 36/60. | |

increased the fame of a person.^{45a} That person alone was "Kulīna" whose good conduct never abated, who did not torment his parents by evil deeds, who followed the injunctions of Dharma with pleasure, aspired to increase the fame of his family through giving up falsehood,⁴⁶ possessed 'tapa' (austerities), controlled sense-organs, studied Vedas, performed daily sacrifices, enjoyed sacred wedlock and possessed a good stock of grains and good manners.⁴⁷ A man with good conduct, even if born in poor family, could rank amongst high born⁴⁸ and not those merely owning cows, servants and wealth but lacking in family (traditional) ethics.⁴⁹ To counteract the pride of persons lacking in good conduct⁵⁰ but priding in accident of birth in a 'Kulīna' family,⁵¹ it is clearly laid down that one who did not transgress the limits of good behaviour, aspired to righteous actions and possessed the feeling of shamefulness and soft temper was above hundreds of mere high-borns ('kulīnas').⁵²

Marriage.

Holy wedlock offered persons a social status.⁵³ Marriage was to be arranged amongst members of families equal in status⁵⁴ because marriage-relation in a notorious family lowered the status of even a respectable one.⁵⁵ Polygamy was current.⁵⁶ The absence of any reference about polyandry, inspite of a clear instance of this institution in MBH,⁵⁷ is intriguing. Possibly, it was given up amongst respectable families by this time. A lady could choose freely between a Brahmin and a Daitya prince.⁵⁸ Illegitimate children were raised⁵⁹ and abortion was practised.⁶⁰

Family Life.

A householder was to treat tenderly⁶¹ and respect his family members,⁶² protect them even if vicious⁶³ and never to insult

45a. 33/99.

46. 36/24.

47. 36/23.

48. 36/29.

49. 36/28.

50. 34/41.

51. 34/44.

52. 39/46.

53. 35/23.

54. 33/117.

55. 35/25.

56. 36/55.

57. cf. Draupadī.

58. cf. Kesiṇī episode 35/8ff.

59. 35/46.

60. 35/47; 38/4.

61. 35/73.

62. 39/19.

63. 39/20.

them⁶⁴ or himself to remain idle.⁶⁵ Though sons were expected to be obedient,⁶⁶ after marriage they were found disregarding their mothers.⁶⁷ None was expected to eat and dress well without distributing these articles amongst his dependents,⁶⁸ who were to be looked after even at the cost of one's own share in eatables.⁶⁹ Even a king, who did not share his wealth amongst his dependents, was to be given up.⁷⁰ Apart from his aged parents,⁷¹ a householder was expected to maintain aged persons of his family, person of respectable family (in trouble), wealthless friend and issueless sister.⁷² Images of gods, goat, bull, sandal wood, lute, mirror, honey, ghee, copper-vessels, conch, image of Padmanābha (Viṣṇu), 'gorocana',⁷³ brass utensils, silver, bow and birds constituted the essential features of a householder's belongings.⁷⁴ Cot was also used.^{74a} A householder could retire into jungle only after matching his marriageable daughters with suitable consorts and engaging his sons in proper professions.⁷⁵

Position of Ladies.

Though the ladies were regarded as Lakshmis of the household because of being honourable, lucky, pious and object of respect in the family and were to be protected,⁷⁶ their sole importance was primarily sexual and procreative only.⁷⁷ Husbands were the natural protectors of their wives⁷⁸ and they disregarded their wives after enjoying them.⁷⁹ Though wives were expected to be amenable and sweet-tongued⁸⁰ some ladies were bitter-tongued and it was enjoined that such whores were to be given up.⁸¹ Desertion on the part of ladies is also reported.⁸² Due to polygamy ladies suffered great mental distress⁸³ and wicked persons sowed seeds of dissensions among them and their husbands.⁸⁴ Sometimes people

64. 37/59.

65. 33/57.

66. 33/82.

67. 33/87.

68. 33/41.

69. 33/118.

70. 38/39.

71. 34/74.

72. 33/70.

73. 40/10.

74. 40/9.

74a. 39/29.

75. 37/39.

76. 38/11.

77. 39/68.

78. 34/38.

79. 34/38.

80. 33/82.

81. 33/80.

82. 34/62.

84. 35/43.

lied for (getting) wives.⁸⁵ The chief duty of a wife was to serve.⁸⁶ Restlessness was regarded as a natural propensity of ladies⁸⁷ and the chastity of ladies was always suspected till old age.⁸⁸ It was believed that the depth of the bad character of a lady could not be fathomed⁸⁹ and that the sexual appetite of wicked ladies was beyond the power of any man to satisfy.⁹⁰ The protection of female apartments was to be entrusted only to one's own father;⁹¹ and fathers-in-law were enjoined not to joke or stay with their daughters-in-law when alone.⁹² Many ladies preserved their honour by covering their beauty with rags.⁹³ Ladies were regarded as non-killable.⁹⁴ However, some beat them,⁹⁵ and it was legitimate for a person to protect himself by sacrificing his wife.⁹⁶ The fact of the absence of any reference to the practice of staking one's wife in dice, once current,⁹⁷ suggests that, possibly, this right was disallowed at the time of Vidura Niti. People were advised not to trust them or be under their control though they were to protect and speak sweetly to ladies.⁹⁹ Undeserving ladies were not to be protected.¹⁰⁰ Ladies could not own any property because whatever they earned belonged to their lord.¹⁰¹ Discussions (of any sort) between ladies and gents was to be avoided.^{101a}

Ladies' Morals.

Some ladies craved for others' paramours¹⁰² and earned money through immoral trade¹⁰³ from persons given to seducing others' wives,¹⁰⁴ even though contact with other's wife was banned as harmful.¹⁰⁵ Even the wife of a Guru was not spared by his students.¹⁰⁶ It was advised that adulteress and widow with young children were not to be trusted in money matters.¹⁰⁷ There were professional prostitutes also.¹⁰⁸

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| 85. 35/34. | 98. 37/57. |
| 86. 34/75. | 99. 38/57. |
| 87. 36/58. | 100. 37/3. |
| 88. 35/69. | 101. 33/64. |
| 89. 35/72. | 101a. 35/43. |
| 90. 40/7. | 102. 33/55. |
| 91. 38/2. | 103. 33/85. |
| 92. 37/5. | 104. 33/108; 35/46; 37/5. |
| 93. 34/40. | 105. 33/65. |
| 94. 36/66. | 106. 35/47. |
| 95. 36/61. | 107. 35/30. |
| 96. 37/18. | 108. 38/45. |
| 97. cf. Draupadi. | |

Diatetics.

People were advised to eat harmless, digestable and beneficial diet.¹⁰⁹ Rich people emphasised on meat, middle class people on milk-products and poor people on oily preparations.¹¹⁰ Though only digestable food was recommended,¹¹¹ the rich ate recklessly and lost their appetite¹¹² by harming their digestive system.¹¹³ Eating frugally was recommended not only for health, long life, strength and pleasure but also for good progeny and avoiding the nickname for gluttony.¹¹⁴ Gluttons were not to be accepted as guests.¹¹⁵ Fishes,¹¹⁶ possibly, supplemented cereals¹¹⁷ in food.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Inequality in wealth.

Functional division of society had frozen society into several castes.¹¹⁸ There were rich and poor. Wealth had made some people proud,¹¹⁹ blind¹²⁰ and extravagant.¹²¹ Sinful means were employed for acquiring riches.¹²² The poor were advised to suffer patiently¹²³ and carried heavy loads.¹²⁴ The rich were advised to trust their servants, not to get angry with them¹²⁵ and not to give them up in bad days.¹²⁶ Earning of slaves belonged to their masters.¹²⁷ The wicked,¹²⁸ the ungentle and the thieves were not to be served¹²⁹ and servants of wicked persons were not to be approached for help under whatever circumstances.¹³⁰ Unemployment was feared.¹³¹

Trade and Professions.

Except salt, cooked food, milk, honey, oil, ghee, "til" seeds, meat, fruits, roots, vegetables, red cloth¹³² and 'soma'¹³³ other arti-

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| 109. 34/14. | 122. 33/42. |
| 110. 34/49. | 123. 33/60. |
| 111. 35/69. | 124. 35/31. |
| 112. 34/50. | 125. 37/22. |
| 113. 34/51. | 126. 33/68. |
| 114. 37/34. | 127. 33/64. |
| 115. 37/35. | 128. 36/6, 20. |
| 116. cf. 34/13, 66. | 129. 36/10. |
| 117. cf. 36/31. | 130. 37/36. |
| 118. cf. 33/114. | 131. 34/52. |
| 119. 34/44. | 132. 38/6. |
| 120. 34/53. | 133. 35/46. |
| 121. 33/92. | |

cles could be sold. Trade was carried on with the help of servants¹³⁴ though agriculture was to be undertaken by oneself and cattle-tending was to be entrusted to people like oneself.¹³⁵ Though cattle-tenders,¹³⁶ barbers,¹³⁶ physicians,¹³⁷ surgeons,¹³⁸ boatmen,¹³⁹ charioteers¹⁴⁰ and weapon-manufacturers¹⁴¹ only are mentioned, it is fair to presume that goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, hunters and others also flourished. Though physicians were to be protected,¹⁴² their's and surgeons' feet were not to be washed. However, as guests, they were to be welcomed.^{142a} Horses,¹⁴³ cows,¹⁴⁴ goats,¹⁴⁵ and bulls¹⁴⁶ were the domesticated animals of those days. Horses were trained.¹⁴⁷ Cows were not to be beaten¹⁴⁸ and dependable persons were to be appointed to look after cattle.¹⁴⁹

Means of Communication and Transport.

Boats were used for crossing rivers¹⁵⁰ and high seas,¹⁵¹ and chariots¹⁵² were used for conveyance across the land. The reference to bull¹⁵³ might suggest that bullock-carts were also, possibly, used. Unharnessed horse might have been used for riding though no specific reference to this effect is made anywhere.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Daily Routine.

Wearing of sacred thread, daily bath, 'sandhya', offering to the manes of the ancestors, study of shastras and distribution of food were to be daily undertaken.¹⁵⁴ Daily bath was recommended for increase in strength, beauty, melodious voice, fair complexion, softness of skin, holiness, delicacy and for obtaining fair brides.¹⁵⁵

- 134. 38/13.
- 135. 38/12.
- 136. 33/79.
- 137. cf. 33/84, 88; 37/58.
- 138. 38/4
- 139. cf. 33/88.
- 140. 34/60.
- 141. 35/46.
- 142. 39/45.
- 142a. 38/4.
- 143. cf. 34/40; 36/61.
- 144. cf. 34/40; 36/31.

- 145. 40/9-10.
- 146. 40/10.
- 147. 34/60.
- 148. 36/61.
- 149. cf. 38/12.
- 150. 33/88.
- 151. 33/47.
- 152. cf. 34/59.
- 153. cf. 40/10.
- 154. 40/25.
- 155. 37/33.

Rituals and other Beliefs.

Offering to the manes of the ancestors,¹⁵⁶ worship of gods,¹⁵⁷ daily offering into fire¹⁵⁸ and pilgrimage¹⁵⁹ were to be made with pure heart and clear mind.¹⁶⁰ Offerings into fire, silence, study and sacrifices, if undertaken without faith, were regarded as cause of fear.¹⁶¹ Similarly, rituals performed by money earned through sin were regarded as fruitless.¹⁶² People believed in life after death where one was accompanied by the effects of his good and bad deeds only.¹⁶³ Worship of Padmanabha (Viṣṇu?) had come into vogue.¹⁶⁴ So also atheism¹⁶⁵ and people were advised not to trust atheists.¹⁶⁶ Some even abused the Vedas.¹⁶⁷ Lust, anger and avarice were regarded as doors of hell.¹⁶⁸ After fulfilling their duties as householders people retired into jungles.¹⁶⁹ Sanyāsins were treated as adorable.¹⁷⁰ A sanyāsin possessed of austerities was supposed to reach the highest spheres by piercing through the solar region.¹⁷¹ However, some Sanyasins indulged in worldly activities¹⁷² and crooked deeds, for which they were condemned.¹⁷³ Saints, though they helped others, were left unhelped.¹⁷⁴

Philosophy.

The finite self was regarded as having emanated from the Infinite.¹⁷⁵ 'Ātmā' was held as a witness of the commerce of the body.¹⁷⁶ The 'body' was regarded as a chariot, wisdom the charioteer and the sense organs horses, who were to be kept cautiously under control.¹⁷⁷ The failure to control them was a sure sign of failure like a charioteer thrown off by unruly horses.¹⁷⁸ Subduing of the mind, intelligence and sense organs was recommended to know the Self which was both friend and foe in turn.¹⁷⁹ Liberation

- 156. 33/35.
- 157. 33/35, 116.
- 158. 33/73, 116.
- 159. 35/2.
- 160. 35/65.
- 161. 35/45.
- 162. 39/65.
- 163. 40/16-18.
- 164. cf. 40/10.
- 165. 39/61.
- 166. 39/73.
- 167. 35/47.
- 168. 33/66.

- 169. 37/39.
- 170. 33/75.
- 171. 33/60.
- 172. verse following 33/52 (found in southern version alone).
- 173. 33/57.
- 174. 34/46.
- 175. 40/21.
- 176. 33/100.
- 177. 34/59.
- 178. 34/60.
- 179. 34/65-66.

was attainable not through charity or Vedic knowledge but by selflessness, detachment, absence of hatred¹⁸⁰ and patience¹⁸¹ which was possible only through subduing lust, anger, greed, attachment, ego and jealousy.¹⁸² It was openly conceded that knowledge of Vedic lore alone could neither wash away the sins¹⁸³ nor win liberation for an aspirant.¹⁸⁴ Thus both the liberation and other worlds are referred to side by side. Belief in 'nothingness' is also reported.^{184a}

ETHICS, MANNERS AND EDUCATION

Truthfulness, charity, activity, absence of fault-finding tendency, forgiveness, patience,¹⁸⁵ wisdom, respectability, control of senses, knowledge of Shastras, bravery, less speaking, charity according to means, gratitude,¹⁸⁶ silence,¹⁸⁷ wearing of good costumes,¹⁸⁸ acting after deliberation,¹⁸⁹ following the footsteps of upright people, observing traditional ethics,¹⁹⁰ daily sacrificial offerings, study, austerity, pity, greedlessness,¹⁹¹ simplicity and tenderness¹⁹² were recommended. Not to give charity was regarded as an ill-use of money.¹⁹³ Rich not spending their wealth in charity were condemned.¹⁹⁴ Charity by poor was praised.¹⁹⁵ After giving away one was not to regret it.¹⁹⁶ However, hospitality from notorious persons was not accepted by learned people.¹⁹⁷ Useless itinerary, contact with sinners, adultery, hypocrisy, theft, complaint against others and drinking wine¹⁹⁸ and dressing like a vagabond were to be avoided.^{198a} Excessive sleep, dozing, fear, idleness and late-doing were regarded as vices.¹⁹⁹ Drinking was condemned,²⁰⁰ and abstinence was recommended for happiness.²⁰¹

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| 180. 36/53. | 191. 35/56. |
| 181. 40/22. | 192. 35/55. |
| 182. 33/83. | 193. 33/59. |
| 183. 35/42. | 194. 33/60. |
| 184. 36/53. | 195. 33/58. |
| 184a. 33/39. | 196. 33/113. |
| 185. 33/81. | 197. 38/3. |
| 186. 33/99. | 198. 33/108. |
| 187. 35/45. | 198a. 33/111. |
| 188. 34/47. | 199. 33/78. |
| 189. 34/19. | 200. 30/101. |
| 190. 34/28. | 201. 34/43; 35/43. |

True friendship was greatly cherished. A friend was to be grateful, religious, truthful, generous, firm, controlled in senses and living within limits.²⁰² One who was proud, dare devil, prone to quick anger and irreligious was not to be befriended.²⁰³ A friend was always to be well treated.²⁰⁴ Ingratitude prevailed in spite of the fact that gratitude was commended.²⁰⁶

A person who had sought protection was neither to be given up²⁰⁷ nor killed.²⁰⁸ One killing such a refugee was regarded as a Brahma-Hatyāra²⁰⁹ and had to undertake expiation for it.²¹⁰

Manners.

People were advised not to come uninvited, speak unrequested,²¹¹ eat alone, decide alone, walk alone, wake alone,²¹² speak harshly, respect wicked persons,²¹³ go at untimely hours to others, stand concealed at the cross-road in night, try for woman cherished by king,²¹⁴ quarrel with,²¹⁵ or insult,²¹⁶ or play treachery on his friends.²¹⁷

Education.

Education was meant to impart knowledge of duties.²¹⁸ Learning had an economic bias.²¹⁹ Along with Vedic lore²²⁰ and elementary science,²²¹ education consisted of training in the art of fluent and parabolic speech, expertness in logic and capacity of discovering the central idea of any book.²²² Though the teacher was to be served with great care²²³ by the students and though he was almost a ruler over his disciples,²²⁴ people not only neglected their teachers after completing their studies²²⁵ but some even committed adultery with the preceptor's consort, an act which required

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| 202. 39/50. | 214. 37/28. |
| 203. 39/49. | 215. 38/38. |
| 204. 36/43. | 216. 39/52. |
| 205. 33/87-88. | 217. 36/32. |
| 206. 35/52. | 218. 39/34. |
| 207. 33/68. | 219. 33/82. |
| 208. 36/66. | 220. cf. 34/36. |
| 209. 35/48. | 221. 33/27. |
| 210. 37/13. | 222. 33/28. |
| 211. 33/36. | 223. 35/27. |
| 212. 33/46. | 224. 35/71. |
| 213. 33/54. | 225. 33/87. |

expiation.²²⁶ Teachers who neglected to teach were to be given up.²²⁷ Many prided in their learning²²⁸ and some assumed airs of scholarship without any learning.²²⁹ It was supposed that learning could become fruitful only by control of the senses²³⁰ and respect²³¹ and service of elders.²³² Anger in elders was to be forcefully restrained.²³³ It was held that even learned persons like Bṛhaspati could not attain Dharma and Artha without serving elders.²³⁴ Still some wicked persons not only did not serve elders²³⁵ but also sometimes involved them in false complaints.²³⁶

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Equipment (both intellectual and psychological) of Kings.

Hereditary monarchy had come into being.^{236a} Kings lived in guarded palaces^{236b} in capitals with walls and gates.^{236c} Though the crown was absolute in its regal powers, the king was required to qualify himself for holding the responsible job of wielding the sceptre. The training of the king was both intellectual and psychological. He was required to know the Shastras and be an expert in all arts.²³⁷ His psychological training consisted in controlling his anger,²³⁷ giving up attachment to ladies,²³⁸ drinking,²³⁹ dice, hunting, severity in speech, extravagance,²⁴⁰ engagement in unjust gains.²⁴¹ He was required to be controlled in anger and pleasure and not to lose the balance of his mind even in most trying circumstances.²⁴² Discriminate enough to distinguish between right and wrong policies, he was expected to bring under his control friends, neutrals and foes through praise, money, punishment and sowing seeds of dissensions. He had to keep his five sense organs restrained and become expert in Sandhi, Vighraha, Yāna, Āsana, Duāidhībāva and Samāshrayarupa²⁴³ and in the

- 226. 37/12.
- 227. 33/79.
- 228. 34/44.
- 229. 33/30.
- 230. 39/40.
- 231. 38/1.
- 232. 39/39.
- 233. 38/30.
- 234. 39/39.
- 235. 36/39.
- 236. 39/3.

- 236a. 34/27.
- 236b. 33/6.
- 236c. 35/32.
- 237. 33/104.
- 238. 33/91, 104.
- 239. 33/92; 34/43.
- 240. 33/91-92.
- 241. 34/28.
- 242. 37/51.
- 243. 34/28.

knowledge of birth, sustenance and decay of things.²⁴⁴ He was required to be discreet enough not to disclose state secrets²⁴⁵ and the cause of his own success.²⁴⁶

A king had also to learn to distinguish between the degrees of circumstances, the avenues of profit and loss, and the condition of the country.²⁴⁷ Under all circumstances he had to avoid being regarded as wicked, ungrateful and shameless.²⁴⁸ He had to learn to punish when angry and reward when pleased.²⁴⁹ Tyrants were not unknown in those days²⁵⁰ though tyranny was regarded as a termination of even hereditary dynasties²⁵¹ or at least a cause of diminution of their kingdoms.²⁵² In general, the people were advised not to oppose their king²⁵³ and to have no contact with his enemies.²⁵⁴ Even an anger in the king was to be forcefully restrained.²⁵⁵

Duties of kings.

The king was expected to love his subjects²⁵⁶ and please them by eyes, mind, speech and actions.²⁵⁷ He was never to be held in excessive fear by his subjects otherwise the latter would desert him.²⁵⁸ Similarly, he was never to be greedy to deprive others of their wealth.²⁵⁹ He was also expected to practise Dharma,²⁶⁰ punish the guilty and act after deliberation and discrimination.²⁶¹ He was not to deceive (his friends), and be spotless, wise and good natured.²⁶² He was to appear like a tree loaded with fruits but difficult to scale for reaching them.²⁶³ He had to learn to reciprocate to others whatever they did to him, i.e., to be crafty to the cunning and good to upright persons.²⁶⁴ Rule of a lady or a child or an addict to dice was as much condemned^{264a} as a kingless state.^{264b}

- 244. 38/25.
- 245. 34/43.
- 246. 33/119.
- 247. 34/10.
- 248. 38/39.
- 249. 34/21.
- 250. 37/29, 57.
- 251. 34/27.
- 252. 34/29.
- 253. 35/30.
- 254. 33/115.
- 255. 38/30.

- 256. 34/23.
- 257. 34/25.
- 258. 34/26.
- 259. 36/32.
- 260. 34/31.
- 261. 38/58.
- 262. 38/37.
- 263. 34/24.
- 264. 37/7.
- 264a. 38/43.
- 264b. 39/76.

MINISTERS OF STATE

Ministers of state were held in highest respect. A faithful minister was regarded as one of the sources of strength of the state.²⁶⁵ The appointment of ministers was preceded by proper tests because both money and success depended upon ministers alone.²⁶⁶ Reliance upon wicked ministers was condemned²⁶⁷ though the minister of the enemy was to be won over to annihilate the latter.²⁶⁸ Though the pay of the minister is nowhere mentioned there are reasonable grounds to suppose that the ministers were paid enough to keep them away from the thought of desertion to enemy for economic reasons.²⁶⁹ Though nowhere the post of Prime Minister is mentioned, it is fair to presume in the light of the testimony of Vaiśakhadutta²⁷⁰ and Bāṇa Bhatta²⁷¹ that there was a post of prime minister. Bāṇa's description of Sukhanāśa^{271a} might be a picture of an ideal prime minister.

SABHA

There was a council of elders called Sabhā to help but its precise functions and composition are not known. It was to consist of elderly persons, who knew the spirit of Dharma, practised truth and were free from craftiness.²⁷² Respect by the king in such meetings was greatly coveted.²⁷³

OFFICIAL SECRETS

The main emphasis of Vidura Nīti lies in advice to keep the secrets undiscovered by any one. The leakage of secrets was regarded as the sure cause of the destruction of the king along with both the State and the people.²⁷⁴ The kings were enjoined not to divulge actions pertaining to religion, accomoda-

265. 37/53.

266. 38/19.

267. 39/37.

270. cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* where Caṇakya attempts and succeeds in getting the services of Rakṣasa as the prime minister of Candragupta Maurya.271. *Kādambarī* (C.M. Ridding Tr.: Jaico pub.), p. 49.

272. 35/58.

273. 35/53; 37/32.

274. 33/45.

268. 39/56.

269. 37/23.

tion and monetary affairs before the purpose was achieved.²⁷⁵ Mountain tops, secluded chambers of the royal mansion or grassless jungle were regarded as suitable places for confidential deliberations.²⁷⁶ And again, those who were not friends, or in spite of being friends who were not learned, or in spite of being learned whose minds were not steady, were not fit to be confided with state secrets.²⁷⁷ Similarly, the shortsighted, the late doers, the hasty and the flatterers were neither to be consulted nor confided with secrets.²⁷⁸ A person to be entitled to participate in such confidential consultations was expected to be conversant with the six *gunas*.²⁷⁹

Though a king was to keep his own secrets studiously undiscovered, he was advised to obtain secrets of the enemy from his enemys' messenger through intoxicating drugs, the absence of knowledge of essentials, incompetence, sleep, and motion of eyes and mouth and also from the wicked ministers.²⁸⁰

Spies and Messengers.

Spies were regarded as the eyes of the king²⁸¹ (which means that they had to watch over the activities of the subjects and enemies alike). The task of a messenger was also very responsible. One without ego, and cowardice, quick in completing his work, generous, pure hearted, not excitable by others, healthy and sweet-tongued alone was to be appointed as 'dūta', i.e., messenger or envoy. An incapable 'duta' was feared because he leaked out state secrets.²⁸² Employment of Brahmin on such errands was condemned.²⁸³

SERVANTS

After estimating the income and expense side of the budget a king was to appoint servants whose salary and duties were to be fixed beforehand.²⁸⁴ Servant who fulfilled his master's purpose, spoke profitably, and who was devoted to his master, upright and

275. 38/16-17.

276. 38/17-18.

277. 38/18-19.

278. 33/69.

279. 38/24.

280. 39/36-37.

281. 34/34.

282. 39/37.

283. 37/13.

284. 37/24.

acquainted with the power of the king was to be kindly treated.²⁸⁵ One who did not respect the command of the king, refused to accept work assigned to him, prided in his own wisdom and was given to talking back was to be given up.²⁸⁶

DEALING WITH ENEMIES

The king who did not oppose his enemies was regarded as doomed.^{286a} However a king was required to be very cautious in dealing with enemies.²⁸⁷ He was advised to avoid fighting the enemy when the latter was strong²⁸⁷ and even submit to him in such circumstances.²⁸⁸ Enemy was to be challenged only under suitable circumstances²⁸⁹ when one's own position was strong.²⁹⁰ The protection of one's own subjects and the conquest of enemy's territory were specially recommended to king.²⁹¹ However, even when weak the king was not to reveal his own weakness and pose as strong.²⁹² The defeated enemy was never to be spared alive.²⁹³

WAR

Though victory through bravery²⁹⁴ and death in the battlefield were cherished,²⁹⁵ only just wars were commended.²⁹⁶ Mercenaries were looked down as socially inferior²⁹⁷ and people were advised to have no monetary transactions with them.²⁹⁸

FINANCE

Income.

Land revenue, possibly, formed the chief source of state income as no tax on merchandise is anywhere mentioned. Speaking about the principles of taxation it is said that like a humming bee who protects flowers while sucking juice²⁹⁹ or like gardener who plucks flowers without uprooting plants, king was to collect land revenue from agriculturists.³⁰⁰ Fine was another recognized source

285. 37/25.

286. 37/26.

286a. 33/53.

287. 33/106.

288. 34/57; 38/29.

289. 33/106.

290. 38/29.

291. 34/30.

292. 34/24.

293. 38/29.

294. 35/69.

295. 33/61.

296. 36/54.

297. 38/4.

298. 37/30.

299. 34/17.

300. 34/18.

of income.³⁰¹ So also was depriving of the wealthy people of their riches though kings were advised not to be too greedy to resort to rob others of their wealth.³⁰² Treasury affairs were to be attended to by the king personally.³⁰³

Expenditure.

Money was to be shared by the king with his servants³⁰⁴ in the form of pay.³⁰⁵ King was never to pocket the entire income of the state³⁰⁶ and the subjects were never to be left to starve.³⁰⁷

JUSTICE

Procedure.

The dispensation of even-handed justice was the chief duty of a king.³⁰⁸ The fact that perverted justice by the king carried his ministers also to hell³⁰⁹ suggests that they were also associated with the administration of justice. In arriving at any decision the king was not to rely on the testimony of palmists, black-marketeers, addicts to dice, enemy or friend of the accused and dancers.³¹⁰ Special discretion was expected from the king in delivering judgment because instances of false complaints,³¹¹ pleading of loss of memory after receiving articles and attempts at proving false things right are reported.³¹² Anti-social deeds, like cheating,³¹³ assault,³¹⁴ abusing others,³¹⁵ quarrelling,³¹⁶ stealing,³¹⁷ adultery, abortion, setting fire to (other's) house, poisoning,³¹⁸ etc., are mentioned. The fact that even murders were committed can be inferred from the assertion that Brahmins, family-members, children, ladies, patron and refugees were not to be killed.³¹⁹ However, one might venture to guess that sometimes even these persons would not have been spared. People could stand security for others.³²⁰ Sometimes upright were also punished with the wicked.³²¹

301. 33/85.

302. 36/22.

303. 38/26.

304. 38/27.

305. 37/24.

306. 38/27.

307. 39/76.

308. cf. 35/29.

309. 35/39.

310. 35/44.

311. 40/3.

312. 37/6.

313. 38/36-37.

314. 36/11.

315. 36/5, 15.

316. 38/31.

317. 33/84, 108.

318. 35/46.

319. 36/66.

320. 33/110.

321. 34/70.

Punishments.

The punishment on proved offences was to be just and convincing to the subjects. Deviation from impartiality in punishment, i.e., giving less or more punishment than the merit of crime, or pardon to guilty were regarded as detrimental to the interests of the king.³²²

Perverted Justice.

In justice lay the strength of king³²³ which kept the wicked under control.³²⁴ King giving wrong decision stood the danger of expulsion from his capital by the subjects³²⁵ and went to hell along with his ministers.³²⁶ One thing a king was always to remember: all mortals have to die and Dharma alone lasts so they were to give up fear, temptation, greed and other weaknesses in administration of justice and other state activities.³²⁷

TIME OF VIDURA NĪTI

For fixing the time of Vidura Nīti the only clue which can help us is that of the evolution of the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu. Elsewhere I have attempted to reconstruct the chronology of this evolution. Kṛṣṇa was worshipped even in the days of Arthaśāstra,³²⁸ i.e., IV cen. B.C. Varāha was added in I cen. A.D. Nṛsiṃha was added about II half of I cen. A.D. or I half of II cen. A.D. Vāmana came to be included about the end of II cen. A.D. or the I half of III cen. A.D. Rāma's inclusion took place about the first quarter of IV³²⁹ or the end of III cen. A.D. at the earliest. In Vidura Nīti only clear reference to the deeds of the incarnations of Viṣṇu is the fall of Bali.³³⁰ The reference to Prahalāda³³¹ suggests that the story of Nṛsiṃha-incarnation would have been also by that time invented. Without Kṛṣṇa the story of Mahābhārata is inconceivable.^{331a} In as much as the existing Vidura Nīti pur-

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ports to describe the moral ideal of life to Dhṛtarāṣṭra³³² and fails to mention even once the example of Rāma, the highest moral embodiment, we may reasonably conclude that this omission is an indication of Vidura Nīti being antecedent to the fact of Rāma's inclusion in the list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. So one might say that Kṛṣṇa, Nṛsiṃha and Vāmana are inferable from Vidura Nīti so far as the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu is concerned. The latest member of this list is Vāmana whose inclusion in this list is placed in cir. III cen. A.D. The absence of any reference to the exploits or name of Rāma places Vidura Nīti before IV cen. A.D. So somewhere after the inclusion of Vāmana but before that of Rāma the time of Vidura Nīti should be fixed. This suggests III cen. A.D. for it. Now one can say that the cultural and political institutions described here are mostly the reflection of the circumstances current in India in III cen. A.D., i.e., the political, ethical and psychological turmoil, anarchy and confusion in pre-Gupta period.

N.B.—All the citations from Mahābhārata are taken from Gita Press, Gorakhpur, edition.

322. 33/105.

325. 35/32.

323. 34/75.

326. 35/39.

324. 35/71.

327. cf. 40/12-14.

328. Arthasastra Bk. XIV. ch. 3.

329. "Viṣṇusahasranāma — A Mythological Study" (To be published in the Journal of Vikrama University).

330. 38/47.

331. cf. 35/14ff.

331a. Adi. P., I/256.

332. cf. 33/11, 15; 35/1.

The Saka Era of Varahamihira — Salivahana Saka

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Introduction

With reference to chronology the word 'Saka' is used in two senses: (1) As a common noun meaning any era (as for e.g., in the terms *Yudhisthira Saka*, *Vikrama Saka*, *Mālava Saka*, *Śālivāhana Saka* etc.) and, (2) As a proper noun to mean a particular era called the *Saka-kāla* or *Saka Era*. Most Indologists believe that the *Saka Era* is the same as what later is generally referred to as the *Śālivāhana Saka* which commenced with the month of *Caitra* occurring in 78 A.D., i.e., at the end of 3179 years of the Kali Era; for it can be shown that all astronomical works and commentaries thereon, wherever they mention a *Saka Era* mean *only* the *Śālivāhana Era*, starting, as mentioned above, from 3179 Kali elapsed. But some like the late T. S. Narayana Sastri,¹ Prof. Gulshan Rai,² Kota Venkatachalam,³ and Prof. V. Thiruvankatacharya⁴ (VT) take the word to mean a certain Cyrus Era or Andhra Era, which they say, started from 550 B.C.⁵ Still

1. Cf. his *Age of Sankara* (Madras, 1918), Pt. I, D, 224ff.

2. Cf. his article, "The Persian Emperor Cyrus, the Great, and the 'Saka Era', *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, (JPUHS), I (1932) 61-73, 122-36.

3. Cf. his *Plot in Indian Chronology* (Vijayawada, 1953) 49-51; 'Indian Eras', *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, (JAHS) 20 (1949-50), 43ff; 21 (1950-52), 61-73, 122-36.

4. Cf. his 'Ayanamsa and Indian chronology: The Age of Varahamihira, Kalidasa etc.', *Journal of Indian History* (JIH) 28 (1950) 103 and 'The Andhra Saka' JAHS, 22 (1952-54) 161-82.

5. In his *Popular Astronomy* (Madras, 1958), pp. 135, 136, VT has changed to 551 B.C. without assigning reasons therefor.

another view is expressed by Sri K. Rangarajan, who takes it to mean an era which commenced from 523/22 B.C. with the first Vice-roy of India appointed by the Persian Emperor.⁶ They also try to show that it never means the *Śālivāhana Śaka*.⁷ What astounds us is that even where there is clear evidence that *Śālivāhana Śaka* is to be taken, (in the shape of statements that 3179 is to be added to the years gone in the *Śaka Era* to get the years gone in *Kali*)⁸ these scholars ignore it implicitly or explicitly as in the case of the *Śaka-kāla* mentioned by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II.⁹ When this is the fate of such clear evidence, we need not be surprised if they identify with their alleged Cyrus or Andhra Era, the *Śaka Era* mentioned in giving the epochs of *Karāṇas* (astronomical manuals) as in the case of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (PS), the *Khaṇḍakhādya* or the *Laghumānasa*, or in giving the date of a work given by the author, as for instance by Bhaṭṭotpala at the end of his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* or in inscriptions like the Aihole Inscription, or in sundry other places as in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* I.13, in all of which cases the identification has got to be made by examining the months and *Tithis* and *Kṣepas* mentioned therewith.

The reason why they want to identify the *Śakakāla* with the so-called Cyrus or Andhra Era is this: They believe that there was a "plot hatched by European Indologists" to post-date by several centuries the ancient events of Indian History, and that most Indian Indologists have become unconscious victims of that plot. They try to show that the *Yudhiṣṭhira* and *Saptarṣi Eras* are everywhere identical, and were actually started 25 years after the beginning of the Kali Era. Using this they try to show that it is Samudra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty that is to be identified

6. Cf. Summary of his paper, 'On the Origin of Saka-kala', *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, Fifth Session, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 164, of which nothing more is known.

7. In the case of Bhāskara II alone, VT concedes that the *Śaka Era* mentioned by him is the *Śālivāhana Śaka*.

8. e.g., Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭa-Siddhānta*, *Madhayamādhikāra*, I. 26; Bhāskara I's *Mahābhāskariya*, I.4, and *Laghubhāskariya*, I.4; Śrīpati's *Siddhāntaśekhara*, I.25; Bhāskara II's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, *Gaṇita*, *Madhyama*, *Kālamāna*, 28.

9. Cf. VT, *Popular Astronomy*, 137; Kota Venkatachalam, *The Plot in Indian Chronology*, Appendix, p. xxx.

with the Sandracottus of the Greeks, and not Candragupta Maurya, which latter identification has been taken by the European Indologists as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, and the chronology of the dynasties before and after that time is established. Now the identification of *Sakakāla* with *Śālivāhana Śaka* stands in their way. Hence their attempt to identify it with the so-called Cyrus or Andhra Era whose very existence is a matter of dispute, there being no evidence for it.

Most historians have not taken these people seriously, thinking that the very extravagance of their claims would be a deterrent to the acceptance of their views. But attempts have been made by Professors Gulshan Rai and VT to give astronomical and mathematical proofs to show that Varāhamihira (VM) belongs to 123 B.C. and not to 505 A.D., (as he is generally believed to be), and thereby that the *Śakakāla* mentioned by VM is the Cyrus or Andhra Era.¹⁰ They also attempt to show that the *Śakakāla* mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala as stated above is the Cyrus or Andhra Era, and therefore the *Śaka* year 888 given by him corresponds to 338 or 339 A.D.;¹¹ which would mean that Brahmagupta, Āryabhaṭa, Bhāskara I etc. must precede this date, as explained below in this article. The present article is intended to expose the hollowness of the above theory and to show that the astronomical arguments adduced in support of it (which to the lay reader may look formidable) are erroneous, and thus knock the bottom out of the claims of this set of writers.

Varāhamihira uses the word *Sakakāla* in two places in his works.

(1) In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* he says:

āsan maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati prthvīm yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatau /
ṣaḍ-dvika-paṇca-dvi-yutaḥ Śakakālas tasya rājñāś ca // XIII. 3

10. JPUHS I (1932) 124-27; and JIH 28 (1950) 103ff and JAHRS 22 (1952-54) 172. Following his change to 551 B.C. as the *Śaka Epoch*, in his *Popular Astronomy*, VT has changed VM to 124 B.C. from 123 B.C. But the arguments for the refutation of 123 B.C. are applicable *in toto* for the refutation of 124 B.C. also.

11. JPUHS I (1932) 73 (date given 338 A.D.), and JIH 28 (1950) 123 (date given 339 A.D. In his *Popular Astronomy* VT has shifted this to 338 A.D. But in his 'Andhra Saka' VT gives this date as 340 A.D. (ib., p. 173).

"The Sapta-r̥ṣis were in the asterismal segment Magha when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling over the earth. Any date by the Śaka Era plus 2526 gives the date in the Yudhiṣṭhira Era."

(2) In his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (PS) the following occurs :

*sapta-aśvi-veda-saṅkhyam Sakakālam apāsyu caitra-śuklādu / ardhāstamite bhānau yavanapure somadivasādye // 1.8 //*¹²

"Deducting 427 from the Śaka Era, at the beginning of the light half of Caitra, which falls near sunset at Yavanapura, beginning a Monday ..."

In (1) a synchronism is found between the *Saka Era* and the *Yudhiṣṭhira Era*. I shall not discuss this synchronism here but rest content with saying that whatever be the *Sakakāla* mentioned in (2), it is highly probable that the same is mentioned by (1). In (2), it is clear, the epoch of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* is given as 427 *Śaka* elapsed, which means the date of the work must be c. 427 *Śaka*, and thus VM's time can be fixed. If as VT and others say the *Sakakāla* meant here is the Cyrus or Andhra Era of 550 B.C., then the date of VM must be 427 years after 550 B.C., i.e., 123 B.C., which Gulshan Rai and VT have tried to establish by their special arguments. If it is the same as the *Śālivāhana Śaka*, then VM's date must be 427 years after 78 A.D., i.e., 505 A.D.

Here we do not propose to go into the question whether there was a *Saka Era* beginning from 550 B.C. or whether it is necessary to postulate such an era in view of the reference in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* śloka quoted above. We shall confine ourselves to showing that the *Sakakāla* of VM's PS is the *Śālivāhana Śaka*, and therefore 427 *Śaka* (elapsed) corresponds to 505 A.D. As we have stated before, we shall also show that the special arguments to the contrary advocated by Gulshan Rai and VT and their conclusion that VM's date is 123 B.C. cannot stand.

12. *Somadivasādye* is the reading as emended by the late Dr. Thibaut and MM. Sudhakara Dvivedi in their edition of the PS. From the two manuscripts of the work available for the edition and from quotations elsewhere, four readings are known: *snūmya-divasādye*, *bhaumya-divasādyah*, *bhauma-divasādyah* and *bhauma-divasākhyaḥ*. On the propriety or correctness of these readings see below.

Internal Evidence for Śālivāhana Śaka

There is plenty of internal evidence to show that the date meant by VM is 505 A.D. and not 123 B.C. It consists of the many *Kṣepas* (values of the Mean longitudes etc. at Epoch) found in the work, and the names of certain authors which it mentions. We shall take the *Kṣepas* first.

In PS I.14, VM gives a *Saura* period of 1,80,000 years or revolutions of the Sun, in which there are 66,389 intercalary months and 10,45,095 Suppressed *Tithis*. From this we can get that there are in this period 2,406,389 revolutions of the Moon and 65,746,575 Civil days. Comparing this with the *Yuga-elements* derivable from the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*¹³ of Brahmagupta (which follows the *Ārdharātri* system of Āryabhaṭa and whose elements are identical with those of a *Paulīśa Siddhānta* quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary of the *Bṛhat Samhitā*),¹⁴ — not the *Paulīśa* of the PS — we find that this is only a *sub-yuga* forming a twentyfourth part of the *Yuga* given by them, and this suggests that the *Yuga-elements* of the original *Saura Siddhānta*, of which the *Saura* of the PS is a compendium, are identical with those of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* etc. mentioned above; these elements, therefore, may also be called hereafter, the *Saura elements*. Now all these systems have arrived at 0° Mean longitude for the Sun, Moon, Mars etc., 3 *rāśis* for the Moon's *ucca* (Apogee), and 6 *rāśis* for *Rāhu's head* (Moon's Ascending Node), at the beginning of *Kali yuga*, viz., midnight at Ujjain, Thursday/Friday, 17/18, February, 3102 B.C. Taking that *Śaka* 427 mentioned in P.S. I.8, refers to *Śālivāhana Śaka* 427, (equivalent to 3606 Mean Solar years after the beginning of *Kali*), we have 1,317,123 days, 3 *nādis* 9 *vinādis* gone in *Kali*, and arrive at 3 *nādis*, 9 *vinādis*, after the midnight at Ujjain, Sunday/Monday, 20/21 March 505 A.D.¹⁵ The *Saura* of the PS takes this midnight as the Epoch for the computation of

13. *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, (Tr. P. C. Sengupta. Calcutta, 1934), I. 3-5, 13, 14; II. 1-5.

14. Cf. *Bṛhat Samhitā*. Ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Banaras, 1895, Pt. I, pp. 28-30.

15. 3606 after *Kali* is not 504 A.D. as some people may think. As there is no zero year B.C. or A.D., we apparently arrive at a date one year later than the correct date. For errors of this kind see Kota Venkata-chelam, *JAHS* 21 (1950-52) 4, 7 etc.; Gulshan Rai, *JPUHS*, ib. 73, 127.

its Star-planets (*Tārā-grahas*), viz., Mars etc. If we compute the Mean Mars etc. for this epoch, using the Saura elements, the results agree with the respective *Kṣepas* given in the PS to the second in the case of Jupiter and Saturn, within 4" in the case of Mars and Venus, and 7" in the case of Mercury. Even this small difference is due to VM having arrived at the *Kṣepas* using the shortcut given by him in the *Karaṇa* and the number of days gone in *Kali* as the *Ahargana* (days from epoch).¹⁶ If we do the same there is complete agreement in the case of Venus also, and the difference is reduced to 2" in the case of Mars. In the case of Mercury there is difference of a few seconds still, which may be due either to VM desiring to give its *Kṣepa* correct to the minute only, or to some defect in the manuscript reading which has omitted the seconds; and one of the manuscripts has actually a reading '*vilīpti*' here.¹⁷ For the Mean Sun and Moon, and the Moon's *Ucca* and *Rāhu*, the epoch taken is the Midday at Ujjain just preceding the epoch of the Star-planets, i.e., the midday of Sunday.¹⁸ Here too, checking the *Kṣepas* in the manner given for the Star-planets, we find perfect agreement in the case of the Sun and Moon, and agreement within 4" in the case of the *Ucca*. In the case of *Rāhu* the available manuscripts are so vitiated that Thibaut and Sudhakara Dvivedi (T-S) have failed to give the *Kṣepa* fully. Using the letters available in the manuscripts, the relevant verse may be read as :

trighanaśataghne navakaikapakṣarāmendudahanaśaṭsahite /
svarayamavasubhūtārṇavaguṇadhṛti-bhakte kramād rāhoḥ //
 IX.6 //

The *Kṣepa* for *Rāhu* enunciated in this verse as reconstructed above, agrees within 1" with its value according to the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* elements.¹⁹

This perfect agreement is the reason why S. B. Dikshit has retained the date March 505 A.D. in spite of the difficulties he

16. PS ch. XVI. (Thibaut and Sudhakara Dvivedi's Edn. Reprinted by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1930).

17. See under PS XVI. 9, '*davo vilīpti*'.

18. PS IX. 1.

19. S. B. Dikshit has arrived at the same result independently. See his article, 'The Original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*', *Indian Antiquary* (IA) 19 (1890) 49, 54.

encountered in interpreting PS I.8 with reference to the *Saura*.²⁰ For, no date, within many thousand years before or after 505 A.D. will agree with the *Kṣepas* in the manner shown above, not to speak of 123 B.C. When such is the case, VT quoting from Dikshit,²¹ a passage, which to those that have not read Dikshit's article in full will appear to involve an irremediable contradiction, says that 505 A.D. should be abandoned in favour of 123 B.C. on account of this. As the manner of VT's quoting²² from the article may create an impression in the readers' minds which Dikshit did not intend, and as VT himself concludes from the quotation that the agreement in the *Kṣepas* discovered by Dikshit is null and void, and as he does not realise (as seen from his remarks under the quotation) that if he gives 123 B.C. for VM, he still has the responsibility to point out that the *Kṣepas* agree with his date, we intend making the discussion a little elaborate so that we may give Dikshit's views in full with some pertinent observations on them.

The *Saura* Epoch occurs before the *True Vaiśākha Śukla Pratipad*, ending on Tuesday. Dikshit wants to reconcile this with the statement in PS I.8, *caitra-śuklādaḥ*. He considers the point that according to *Mean* reckoning, it is '*Adhika*' *Caitra Śukla*, but dismisses it, giving two objections: i. Why does not VM use the term '*adhika-caitra-śuklādaḥ*'? ii. Why should he take the *Adhika Caitra* instead of the *regular Caitra* for the Epoch?²³ Dikshit concludes by saying that '*caitra-śuklādaḥ*' might stand, because *Amānta-Vaiśākha-Śukla* is *Caitra-Śukla* according to *Pūrṇimānta* reckoning. So there is no trouble at all for Dikshit as far as this goes. Therefore there is no need for VT to abandon 505 A.D., go to 123 B.C. and show that the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* of this year occurs on a Wednesday, which weekday also is admissible according to one manuscript reading.²⁴ (Cf. the readings given above). It should be

20. Dikshit, *Ib.*, 45-54.

21. *Ib.*, 46-47.

22. *JIH* 28 (1950), 108.

23. It will be shown below that there is absolutely no weight in either of these objections.

24. If it is 124 B.C., to which VT has shifted in his *Popular Astronomy*, the weekday is Thursday, and this is an additional argument against his date.

remembered that VT can score a point only if the weekday, viz. Wednesday of the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* of 123 B.C. alone can effect the reconciliation, and not the Tuesday of the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* of 505 A.D.

But really speaking, there is no need to reconcile the *Saura* with any part of PS I.8, because it has reference only to the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa*. (If it can be applied to the *Saura* also, as indeed it can, it is good, but we have no right to demand it as Dikshit does.)²⁵ PS I.8-10 give the computation of *Ahargana* according to the *Romaka*; and I.8 and 11 (and perhaps also 12 and 13) according to the *Pauliśa*. I.8 gives the Epoch, which is thus the same for both. The Epoch is the beginning of *Caitra Śukla* which ends 427 *Śaka*, and the exact time is sunset at Yavanapura²⁶ beginning Monday, i.e., 7 *nādis*, 20 *vinādis* after sunset at Ujjain. This is equivalent to 37 *nādis* 20 *vinādis* after Ujjain sunrise on Sunday, 20th March 505 A.D. The *Ahargana* with which to compute the Mean Sun etc. must be reckoned from this point for *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa*, and their *Kṣepas* are for this point. The expression "*caitra-śuklādau*" is an indication that the months gone are to be counted from *Caitra* in computing the *Ahargana*, and the words "beginning Monday" is a check for the *Ahargana*, Monday being stated to be the first day of the *Ahargana*. For, the *Ahargana* got by computation may be a day more or less than the correct one (a fact wellknown to astronomers) because the 'varying' *True Tithi* has got to be used in the formula; and checking by Monday beginning from the Epoch, viz., 0 *Ahargana*, it may happen that one day has got to be added or subtracted. This can be made clear by an example.

Problem: What is the *Ahargana* for Saturday beginning, next to the Epoch? By counting we see we must get 5 days for *Ahar-*

25. *Ib.* IA 19 (1890) 45ff.

26. VT has mistaken (*JIH* 28, p. 108; *JAHS* 22, p. 172) Yavanapura for Romakapura, and giving it a longitude of 90° west of Ujjain implies a *deśāntara* of 15 *nādis* instead of 7 *nādis* 20 *vinādis* which is specifically given as the *deśāntara* for it, in PS III. 13:

yavanāntarajā nāḍyaḥ sapta avantyaṁ tribhāga-samīpuktāḥ |

For an explicit mention see PS XV. 25:

anyad Romaka-viśayād deśāntaram anyad eva Yavanapurāt |

Yavanapura would correspond to Alexandria as calculated from the *deśāntara*.

gana. Let us now compute it. By the *Romaka* or *Pauliśa* (or even *Saura*) almanac, the *Tithi* gone at Saturday beginning is *Caitra Śukla Caturthi*. Using it in the above formulae enunciated in PS I.8-11, 4 is got as *Ahargana*. But counting from Monday, 4 will give only Friday beginning. So we must add 1, and give 5 as the correct *Ahargana* if it should agree with Saturday beginning. We see here the use of the check. This is the purpose for which the weekday beginning the Epoch is given, and not to satisfy the curiosity of the reader. From this we can see that 'Monday' is necessary, and 'Tuesday' or 'Wednesday' will be wrong. So in PS I.8, '*soma-divasādye*' or '*soma-divasādyah*' must have been VM's original reading. '*Bhauma*' must have been a scribal error, or the correction of some revisor who did not understand what was necessary, but thought that the weekday of the *True Śuklapratipada* gone must be given here, and this must have given rise to '*saumya*', a mixing of the two. Here T-S have rightly given the emendation '*soma-divasādye*'. I may venture to give another suggestion, even if it may not appear very convincing to some. The emendation of T-S is not really essential and we can adopt the manuscript reading '*saumya*' as such and take it in the *yaugika* (derivative) sense, meaning 'day pertaining to the Moon', i.e. Monday. Though there is the dictum '*Rūḍhir yogam apaharati*' (the meaning obtained by usage is stronger than that got by derivation), still at such an ancient period as VM's, when the weekdays must have come into use very recently, the word *Saumya-divasa* might not have become *rūḍha* in *budha-vāra* as it is now. Also when other things require the derivative sense, we are permitted to abandon the *rūḍha* sense.

The above discussion has been necessitated here by a desire to remove any doubt created in the readers' minds by Dikshit's dissatisfaction, which may be interpreted as going against the case for 505 A.D.²⁷

We may now proceed to show that the *Kṣepas* of the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa* also, as well as the *Adhimāsa* and *Avamaśeṣas* of their rules for *Ahargana*, agree with 505 A.D. and not with 123 B.C. We have seen that the Epoch for the *Romaka* and *Pauliśa* is 37

27. It is only dissatisfaction and nothing more, and it may be noted that Dikshit himself gives reasons for the adoption of 505 A.D. (*Ib.*, p. 46).

nādis, 20 *vinādis* from sunrise at Ujjain on Sunday, 20 March 505 A.D. (It must be noted that Dikshit does not question this.) The Romaka Mean Sun at Epoch can be seen to be $359^{\circ} 34\frac{1}{2}'$ by taking the *Ahargana* as zero in PS VIII.1, and working with the *Kṣepa* left. This means that 26 *nādis* after Epoch, the Mean Solar month *Meṣa* begins. In the same way we get the Mean Moon at Epoch from PS VIII.4, to be $356^{\circ} 12'$, using the emended reading '*kṛtāṣṭanavakhaika*'; if the reading '*kṛtāṣṭanavakaika*' found in the manuscript and followed by T-S and Dikshit is used, it is $359^{\circ} 19'$ at Epoch for T-S, and $2^{\circ} 24'$ for Dikshit who takes that the Moon is given for sunset at Ujjain. From this we see that the Mean New Moon according to our interpretation will take place at 16 *nādis*, 36 *vinādis* after Epoch, i.e., 9 *nādis*, 24 *vinādis* before the Mean Sun comes to *Meṣa*. According to T-S's value for the Moon, it is 24 *nādis*, 42 *vinādis* before the Mean Sun at *Meṣa*; and according to Dikshit, 32 *nādis*. It must be noted that according to all the three interpretations, the Mean New Moon just precedes the Mean Solar year; i.e., the New Moon end begins the Mean *Caitra* and is very near the Epoch.²⁸ The corresponding *Kṣepas* of the *Paulīṣa* also will be found to give the same result. Thus the word *Caitra* in PS I.8 presents no difficulty, as it is mentioned only in relation to the *Romaka* and the *Paulīṣa*. Also the *Avama* and the *Adhimāsa Śeṣas* of the *Romaka* and the *Paulīṣa* found in PS I. 9-11, agree, within the limits of accuracy, with the time of the day when the respective New Moon occurs, and its distance from the beginning of the Mean Solar year as found from PS VIII and III. From the foregoing facts we see that the beginning of *Caitra* should fall very near the beginning of the Mean Solar year, which it does if we take 505 A.D. If 123 B.C. is taken, it is about 20 days away, and so there is disagreement with the *Kṣepas* of PS I.8-11, and those of the Sun and the Moon in PS III, VIII and IX.

In the case of the *Saura*, an examination of the Sun's and Moon's *Kṣepas* given in PS IX. 1-2 will show that the Mean Solar

28. It may be asked why only the Mean *Caitra* and the Mean Solar year are taken into consideration in this explanation. It is because the word *Caitra* is given in the context of the *Ahargana* rule, whose constants, multipliers and divisors depend upon the Mean Sun and Moon. If we use the *True month* and *Tithi* in the computation, it is because we have no othergo and that is why there has to be the check by the weekday of the Epoch.

year ends at 3 *nādis*, 9 *vinādis* after midnight, Sunday/Monday, 20/21 March, (as we have already shown) and the Mean New Moon falls about 12 *nādis*, 30 *vinādis* after the Mean Solar year. Thus there is a Mean *Adhimāsa* following the Epoch of the Star-planets, i.e., midnight, which can be called *Caitra*, as Dikshit himself has accepted.²⁹ As it is very close to (i.e. only 12 *nādis*, 30 *vinādis* from) the beginning of the Mean Solar year, and as in computing the *Ahargana* the practice is to see whether an *Adhimāsa* has taken place or not in the months gone used for reckoning, and adjust the number of *adhimāsas* got by adding one or reducing the *adhimāsas* by one, by treating a large *adhimāsa-śeṣa* as unity or not counting one just got by computation, no harm will ensue if this *Adhika-Caitra* is treated as regular *Caitra*, taking the previous regular *Caitra* as *Adhika-Phālguna*. And there is the advantage of dispensing with a *Kṣepa* for months gone at Epoch. So even if PS I.8 applies to the *Saura* as Dikshit thinks, the objection which he has to using the term '*caitrāda*' for this vanishes, and there is no need to explain it in the manner he has done.³⁰ Thus all the difficulties raised by Dikshit are answered, and not a trace of any objection for 505 A.D. is left.

We may now proceed to give another piece of evidence to show that the date cannot be 123 B.C. In PS XV we find the following śloka:

laṅkārdharātrasamaye dinapravṛttim jagāda cāryabhataḥ/
bhūyas sa eva sūryodayāt prāha laṅkāyām// 20//

Here is a reference made by VM to Āryabhaṭa and his two works, the well-known *Āryabhaṭīya*, and his less known work referred to by later authors as his '*Ārdharātriṅka System*', manuscripts of which are yet to be discovered, but whose nature is fully given by Bhāskara I (6th-7th cent.) in his *Mahābhāskarīya*.³¹ In the *Kālakriyāpāda* of his *Āryabhaṭīya*, Āryabhaṭa says:

29. The rule giving this is this:
racisaṅkramanād ūrdhvam yo yo māsaḥ prapūryate cāndrah |
caitrādih sa jñeyah pūrtidivite 'dhimāso 'ntyah ||

30. Dikshit, *ib.*, p. 51.

31. *Mahābhāskarīya*, (Ed. T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, Madras, 1957), VII.

21-35. See also the Editor's Introduction to this edition, pp. xlv-vi.

ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir yadā vyatitās trayas ca yugapādāh/
tryadhikā vimśatir abdās tadeha mama janmano 'tūtāh //
10 //³²

This says that at 3600 Kali (expired) Āryabhaṭa had completed twenty-three years of age, and 3600 Kali is 499 A.D. VM's reference is certainly to this Āryabhaṭa as can be gathered from the mention of him as the author of both the *Ārdharātri* and the *Audayika* systems. It follows from this that VM must be later or at least a contemporary of this Āryabhaṭa. So VM can belong to 505 A.D. and not to 123 B.C. Thus all internal evidence—and we have seen plenty of it—points to 505 A.D. as the time of VM.

The *Ayanāṁśa* Argument examined

Now Profs. Rai and VT have advanced an argument based on *Ayanāṁśa* to show that VM must be as early as 123 B.C.³² Being interspersed with mathematics, this argument may seem unassailable to some, unless its hollowness is exposed. Being more full, we may discuss VT first. What VT says may be put succinctly as follows: (i) At the time of VM the Summer Solstice was at the end of the asterismal segment *Punarvasu*, (or what comes to the same thing, the Vernal Equinox had a longitude of 3° 20' reckoned from the Zero Point of the Ecliptic), as gathered from VM's own statements in the PS and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. (ii) Taking the *Ayanāṁśa* (i.e. the total precession) to be zero at VM's time, there is an *Ayanāṁśa* of 28° 15' in April 1909 A.D. (It comes to this: The Vernal Equinox has receded 28° 15' from the original position of 3° 20', and its position in 1909 is 335° 5'

32. There is a suggestion by some to emend ṣaṣṭih into ṣaḍbhiḥ and take Āryabhaṭa to 360 Kali (e.g., Kota Venkatachalam, *The Plot in Indian Chronology*, Ap. III, p. xxi). But with ṣaḍbhiḥ the word ca in the verse becomes meaningless. Also manuscripts of the work give only ṣaṣṭih and all known ancient commentaries explain the verse only with ṣaṣṭih; Cf. Bhāskara I's *Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya*: ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭih, ṣaṣṭirabdāh ṣaṣṭigunāh ityarthah; Sūryadeva Yajvan's *Āryabhaṭaparakāśa*: ṣaṣṭatādhika-trisahasramiteṣu (3600) sūryābdeṣu gateṣu; Paramēśvara's *Bhaṭadīpikā*: ṣaṣṭatādhika-sahasratraya (3600) (Edn. Kern. Leiden, 1874, p. 58); Gārgyakerala Nilakanṭha Soma-yāji's *Bhāṣya*... ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭeḥ... kaler ārabhya ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir gatā... idānim prakṛtistham ayanam (TSS 110, pp. 12-13).

33. Rai, *JPUHS* I (1932) 124-27; VT, *JIH* 28 (1950) 104-06.

from the Zero Point of the Ecliptic). (iii) Using the correct rate of precession (*ayana-calana*) per annum, 50".2585 — $n \times 0''.000225$, where n is the number of years before 1909, for a precession of 28° 15' to take place n must be 2031 years. (iv) This means 2031 years before 1909, i.e. in 123 B.C., the *Ayanāṁśa* was zero, and therefore 123 B.C. is the date of PS.

We admit that if (i) and (ii) are correct, (iii) and (iv) follow automatically. But (i) and (ii) are not correct, as we shall show. Relating (i) there are the following three ślokas of VM, which are quoted by VT also.³⁴

āśleṣārdhād dakṣiṇam uttaram ayanam raver dhaniṣṭhādyam/
nūnam kadācid āsīd yenoktam pūrvaśāstreṣu //

sāmpratam ayanam savituḥ karkaṭakādyam mṛgāḍitāś cānyat/
uktābhāvo(?) vikṛtiḥ pratyakṣaparīkṣanairvyaktiḥ //
Br. Sam. III.1-2 //

āśleṣārdhād āsīd yadā nivṛttiḥ kiloṣṇakiraṇasya/
yuktam ayanam tadā 'sīt, sāmpratam ayanam *Punarvasutaḥ* //
PS III.21 //

"Certainly at one time the turning of the Sun towards the south was from the middle of the *Āśleṣa* segment, and the turning north was from the beginning of the *Dhaniṣṭhā* segment, because this is mentioned in ancient works.

"But now the turnings are from the beginning of the *Karkaṭaka* and *Makara rāśi* segments respectively. If this does not happen (in future, on account of precession), the amount of precession is to be determined by observation". (Br. Sam. III.1-2).

"When the Sun turned away south from the middle of *Āśleṣa*, it was proper for that time. But now the turning away is from *Punarvasu*." (PS III.21).

Now in the śloka from the PS, "from the middle of *Āśleṣa*" corresponds to the same phrase in the quotation from the Br. Sam. III.1; and "from *Punarvasu*" corresponds to "the beginning of *Karkaṭaka*" in Br. Sam. III.2 above, the same phenomenon of precession being described in both. So "from *Punarvasu*" must

34. Ib., p. 104.

be taken to mean a point three quarters from the beginning of the segment, for that is the point corresponding to the beginning of Karkāṭaka. But VT who wants the end of Punarvasu to be the turning point, wants us to shut our eyes to the specific reference to the "beginning" of Karkāṭaka, and take it to mean "somewhere" in Karkāṭaka, giving the reason that the word is found in a mere *Samhitā* and not in a *Karṇa* like the PS. It seems he has not taken note of the many passages in the PS itself that specifies the 'beginning' of Karkāṭaka as the point. For instance, in the śloka next but one, i.e. PS III.23, we find "*meṣa-tulādaṁ viṣuvad*", "at the beginning of Meṣa and Tulā are the Equinoxes". One śloka later we have again:

"udagayanam makarādaṁ rītaḥ śīśirādayaś ca sūryavaśīt/
dvibhavanakālasamānam, dakṣiṇam ayanam ca karkāṭakāt //
PS III.25//

In XIII.10, we have "At the end of Mithuna the Sun revolves at an altitude of 24° at the N. Pole".

Also VT says that *Punarvasutaḥ* can mean only from the "end of Punarvasu". This interpretation is wrong. It only means "from Punarvasu", and can mean any point in it. *Grāmataḥ pattanam pratiṣṭhate* does not only mean 'he starts from the border of the village'. It can mean any point in the village.

Further, the context in which *āśleṣārdhāt* etc. is found itself specifies a point $1\frac{3}{4}$ segments from the middle of *Āśleṣā* and this point is three quarters of *Punarvasu*. In the immediately preceding śloka, VM states that *Vyatīpāta Puṇyakāla* occurs when Sun plus Moon equals 17 asterismal spaces, i.e. $17 \times 13^\circ 20'$, or $226^\circ 40'$, as opposed to our expectation that it should occur at the middle of the 14th (i.e. at 180°) according to the definition given in the Śāstras.³⁵ There is a difference of $46^\circ 40'$ or $3\frac{1}{2}$ spaces that has to be explained. As *Yoga* is obtained from the combined longitudes of the Sun and the Moon, a change of $1\frac{3}{4}$ asterismal

35. See for instance, *Sūrya Siddhānta*, XI. 1-2:
ekāyanagatau syātām sūryācandramasau yadā |
tadyutau maṇḍale krāntyos tulyatve vaidhṛtābhīdhaḥ ||
viparītāyanagatau candrārkaḥ krāntīlīptikāḥ |
samās tadvad vyatīpāto bhagānārdhe tayoṛ yutau ||

segments in the longitudes of each, caused by the shifting of the origin of reference will explain the difference of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ spaces. This shifting of the origin, by the precession of the equinoxes, is mentioned in *āśleṣārdhāt* etc., and this must be $1\frac{3}{4}$ segments as required, and the point at $\frac{3}{4}$ *Punarvasu* follows, for it is this point that is $1\frac{3}{4}$ segments behind the middle of *Āśleṣā*.³⁶

Still another proof can be adduced to show that $\frac{3}{4}$ *Punarvasu* is to be considered as the point in question. If it is the end of *Punarvasu*, the Vernal Equinox is, as I have already stated, at $+3^\circ 20'$ from the zero point from which the longitudes of the Sun, the Moon etc. are reckoned. So to get the declination of the Sun etc., to compute the daylight, the shadow and other things, in short for all work usually given in the *Tripraśnādhikāra* of a *Siddhānta*, we must be instructed to deduct $3^\circ 20'$ from the longitudes got by computation, and use this for the calculation, as the longitudes from the Vernal Equinox are to be used here. In as much as such an instruction has not been given anywhere in the text, we must take it that the zero point and the Vernal Equinox were coincident, which means that the Summer Solstice was at $\frac{3}{4}$ *Punarvasu*. Now in (ii), VT has budgetted for an *Ayanāṁśa* of $28^\circ 15'$. But the above fact will result in a cut of $3^\circ 20'$, and VM will be lifted 240 years from the intended 123 B.C. towards his true place, 505 A.D.

Now we may pass on to consider (ii), viz., VT's statement that in April 1909 A.D. there is an *Ayanāṁśa* of $28^\circ 15'$, taking it to be zero at VM's time, when according to VT the Vernal Equinox was $+3^\circ 20'$ from the zero point. VT makes up the $28^\circ 15'$ necessary for him by piecing together four different quantities: (a) the distance between the Vernal Equinox and the zero point, both referring to VM's time, equal to $3^\circ 20'$; (b) the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's (LDS) calculation of the *Ayanāṁśa* in 1909 to be $22^\circ 25'$ which is the equivalent in degrees of the time from the Sun at the Vernal Equinox of 1909 to its entering

36. For a fuller discussion, see the writer's Introduction to his edition of *Mahābhāskariya*, Madras, 1957, pp. xxv-xxxv. Further, as VT has not brought into the argument either the *Caitra* or the *Dhanīṣṭha Pakṣa* of the zero-point of the Ecliptic, we have avoided dragging them in and confusing the issue

the Sign *Meṣa* in the same year according to *Sūrya Siddhānta*; (c) what VT calls a *Bīja* (i.e. correction) of 2.18 days, equivalent to 2° 9'; and (d) an error of observation equal to 16'. Of these four quantities, we have already seen that VT cannot have (a), by the fact that the Summer Solstice was at ¾ *Punarvasu* and not at the end of *Punarvasu* in VM's time. So 3° 20' is cut off from the 28° 15'. We shall not discuss (d), for we can readily concede his modest demand of 16' as error of observation, except to point out what mischief even this can do. That leaves us (b) and (c) to deal with.

We shall take (b) first. VT uses the *Ayanāṁśa* 22° 25' calculated by LDS in a manner not intended by him. To understand how it is so, it is necessary to make clear the principle involved in the calculation.³⁷ LDS found from the *Nautical Almanac* that at 0.2143 day on the 21st March 1909, the True Sun was at the Vernal Equinox. He found that according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (modern, not the *Saura* of PS), the True Sun reached the *First Point of Meṣa* at 0.9492 day on 12th April 1909. From the difference between the two moments equal to 22.7349 days, using the rate of motion of the sun at that interval, he calculated the *Ayanāṁśa* to be 22° 25'. Suppose LDS had used the time of the True Sun at *Meṣa* (*Meṣa Saṅkramaṇa* as it is called) of some other *Siddhānta* or some other Almanac like the *Drk Almanac* or *Vākya Almanac*, he would have got different *Ayanāṁśas* (for it is a well-known fact that Almanacs vary in their times of *Saṅkramaṇa*). Which *Ayanāṁśa* are we to adopt? Which is the 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa*? By 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa* is meant the total precession in degrees, of the Vernal Equinox, from a specific point on the Ecliptic which we call the Zero Point, during the interval between 1909 and the time when we take the Vernal Equinox to coincide with the Zero Point, in our case the time of VM. According to this criterion none of the present-day Almanacs gives the 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa*. The following is the reason: If the length of the year adopted by an almanac is the correct Siderial year, viz., 365 days, 15 *nādis*, 22.9 *vinādis*, so that at the end of every year the Sun returns to the specified

Zero Point, then this way of finding the *Ayanāṁśa* will yield the 'correct' *Ayanāṁśa*. But the old system Indian Almanacs use instead of the above correct Siderial year, the Siderial year of the *Āryabhaṭīya* (365-15-31-15, adopted by the *Vākya Almanacs*), or of the new *Sūrya Siddhānta* (365-15-31-31, adopted generally by LDS in his *Ephemeris*) and the like, which though called Siderial, are very nearly Anomalistic, being about 8.5 or 8.6 *vinādis* longer than the correct Siderial year. As a result, the *First Point of Meṣa* moves forward leaving the Zero Point behind at the rate of 8.5" per annum. So if we adopt LDS's method of using the time of the True Sun at the *First Point of Meṣa* according to a particular Almanac to get the *Ayanāṁśa*, we must deduct from the gross *Ayanāṁśa* got, the accumulated interval between the Zero Point and the *First Point of Meṣa* of that Almanac, to get the correct *Ayanāṁśa*. (This accumulated interval may be called the 'Procession' of the *First Point of Meṣa* for that Almanac). It is this correct *Ayanāṁśa* that should be divided by the correct rate of precession of 50".2585 etc. to get the year when the Vernal Equinox was at the Zero Point. If on the other hand we use the gross *Ayanāṁśa* got by LDS's method, we should divide it by the gross rate of precession, (which is the correct rate of precession 'plus' about 8.5"), to get the year; for the gross *Ayanāṁśa* increases not by the correct rate of precession but by the gross rate of precession, viz. 50".2585 etc. etc. increased by about 8.5". This is the reason why most Indian systems give nearly 1' as the rate of precession. The reader will find my statement corroborated by sections 64 and 277 of LDS's *Indian Chronology* (Madras, 1911).

This is the reason why LDS divided his gross *Ayanāṁśa* by 58".78 and got 536 A.D. for VM as a first approximation.^{37a} The gross rate of precession 58".78 is got from the rate of procession (viz. 8".52) plus the rate of correct precession, 50".26. for it is at this combined rate of 58".78 that the Vernal Equinox recedes with reference to the *First Point of Meṣa*, per annum. From this we see it is wrong to use for this purpose the actual rate of precession given by the system, if any, as for eg. 54" per annum in the case of the new *Sūrya Siddhānta* or 1' per annum in the case of certain other *Siddhāntas*, and so on; for these

37. See LDS, *An Indian Ephemeris*, Madras, 1922, Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 457-58: "Appendix (ii) Luni-Solar Precession as applied to Indian Astronomy—The year of *Śūnya-ayanāṁśa*, A.D. 533, how determined".

37a. Using this date LDS gets 533 A.D. as the correct date.

Siddhāntas have found the rates of precession by actual observation of the Sun at the Vernal Equinox, and there is likely to be an error in the observation. According to the error the rates may vary. The nearer their rates are to $58''\cdot78$, the better are their observations.

It is incumbent on our part, in the present context, to answer certain remarks made by VT on the above procedure of LDS. VT remarks:³⁸ "There are the following drawbacks in the whole argument (of LDS):

"(a) It was considered that Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the beginning of Karkataka instead of the end of Punarvasu.

"(b) The fact that the modern tropical year goes on decreasing at the rate of 0.53 seconds per century was not taken into consideration.

"(c) At least at the time of Varahamihira, the Indian Siderial year—so designated at present—was really a tropical year and the value for the precession of the equinoxes must be taken as $50''\cdot2585 - n \times .000225''$ and not as $54''\cdot7505$ as assumed by Swamikannu Pillai".

Of these (a) has already been answered. As for (b), in the 14 centuries considered by LDS the time neglected by him is about 56 seconds, equivalent to $2''$ of the Sun's motion. Is this not negligible in the context? As for (c) this is against the internal evidence of the PS. Excepting the *Vāsiṣṭha* and the *Romaka*, all the other *Siddhāntas* in it give Siderial years. The *Pauliśa* gives 365 days, 15 *nādikās*, and 30 *viṇādikās*, the *Saura*, 365-15-31-30, and the *Paitāmaha* 366 days. By what stretch of imagination can these be called Tropical years, these years that are so far greater than the correct Siderial year that they border on the Anomalistic? As for LDS not taking $50''\cdot2585$ for division, we have answered it by saying that this would be proper only if the correct Siderial year, 365-15-22.9, had been used throughout the period of which we are considering the *Ayanāṁśa*. Secondly, where has LDS assumed a rate of precession of $54''\cdot7505$, and in which context?

38. His article, *JIH* 28 (1950) 105.

It should not be thought that because the modern *Drk Almanacs* use the correct Siderial year equal to 365-15-22.9, the time of the True Sun at their *First point of Meṣa* will give the correct *Ayanāṁśa*. These Almanacs were started recently and they arbitrarily fixed for themselves such *Ayanāṁśas* as would keep their *San̄kramaṇas* within reasonable distance from those of the old Almanacs. The very fact that the *San̄kramaṇas* vary only within a matter of *nādis*, shows this, for considering the difference between the correct Tropical year and the so-called Tropical years of our *Siddhāntas*, even within a period of 420 years there will be a difference of one day, and for the period we are considering, viz. 1400 years or more, there should be a difference of more than three days, the *Drk San̄kramaṇas* occurring earlier. To avoid the hue and cry that would be raised if the *San̄kramaṇas* in their Almanacs are found to occur thus more than three days earlier, the *Drk Almanac* makers fixed for themselves *Ayanāṁśas* that would keep their *San̄kramaṇas* near enough to those of the old system Almanacs.³⁹ The *Caitra* or the *Dhanīṣṭha pakṣa* has come in handy for them to fix their *Ayanāṁśa* in this manner, but these *pakṣas* are contradictory to all schools of traditional astronomy which have adopted the *Raivata pakṣa* alone.⁴⁰

To continue the main argument. As, in the manner already stated, the number of years got to be deducted from 1909 to find the Zero Point should be the same, whether we divide the gross *Ayanāṁśa* by the gross rate of precession, or the correct *Ayanāṁśa* by the correct rate of precession, and as the rates as in the ratio 7:6 approximately, the gross *Ayanāṁśa* found by LDS (by using the time of *San̄kramaṇa* of the new *Sūrya Siddhānta*) should be reduced by one seventh of itself to get the equivalent correct *Ayanāṁśa*, which we find to be $19^\circ 12'$. So VT can have only $19^\circ 12'$ and not $22^\circ 23'$ by (b).

39. In 1925 the Almanac makers met in Conference at Poona and adopted an *Ayanāṁśa* of $22^\circ 40' 39''$ for 1925 proposed by R. N. Apte, M.A., Professor of Mathematics, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, arrived at by taking the True Sun's position at Meṣa *San̄kramaṇa* in that year according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as the zero point. On this see C. G. Rajan, *Rāja Jyotiṣa Gaṇitam*, (Madras, 1933), Section—Conversion of Heliocentric etc., ch. VI, p. 56.

40. C. G. Rajan gives the actual *Ayanāṁśa* according to the *Raivata-pakṣa* to be $18^\circ 56' 45''$. 7 in 1925; see *Ib.*, p. 58.

Now we pass on to (c). What VT says amounts to this: Kali began at midnight 17/18, February 3102 B.C. But most Ephemerides give 0.579 days after sunrise on 15th February as the Epoch of *Kaliyuga*. So there is a difference of 2.18 (2.17) days which must be a *Bija* correction. So we must add 2.18 days to the time of the True Sun reaching the First Point of *Meṣa* in (b), viz. 0.9492 on 12th April. Thus the interval in days is increased by 2.18 days; which means 2° 9' more in *Ayanāṁśa*, which will make up the 28° 15' required. Now what VT thinks to be a *Bija* is really the interval between the times of the True and the Mean Suns reaching the First Point of *Meṣa*. According to Indian astronomy the Sun's Equation of the Centre is about 2° 9' at the time of *Meṣa Saṅkramaṇa*. So the True Sun is in advance of the Mean Sun by 2° 9' and reaches the First Point of *Meṣa* earlier by about 2.18 days. As the Apogee of the Sun has an extremely slow motion according to Hindu astronomy, the 2.18 days practically continue through the ages to be the same. In (b) LDS took for calculation the interval between the True Sun at the Vernal Equinox and the True Sun at the First Point of *Meṣa* which is quite proper. If he had taken the interval between the times of the Mean Sun at Vernal Equinox and the True Sun at the First Point, then indeed we shall be justified in adding 2.18 days; for then the interval first got would have been less by 2.18 days, on account of the Mean Sun reaching the Vernal Equinox later by 2.18 days than the True Sun. If we add 2.18 days, as we ought to now, we get the same interval of 22.735 days. Thus VT cannot have (c).

The error of observation, (d), is possible and may be allowed if required; but it must be remembered that it is arbitrary, indefinite and may be plus or minus. VT has taken (d) as error of observation, not from *a priori* considerations, but *a posteriori*, because this alone will give him, when added to the other quantities and divided by 50''·2585 etc., 2031 years to be deducted from 1909 and get 123 B.C. So the reader is warned against getting predisposed in favour of 123 B.C., simply because 1909 A.D. minus 2031 is exactly equal to 123 B.C., for this particular amount of error of observation has been arbitrarily presumed to get this very result.

In conclusion, we find that in VT's *Ayanāṁśa* of 28° 15', (a) is cut off, (c) is cut off, (d) may be ignored, and (b) is reduced

to about 19° 12'. If we divide this by the correct rate of precession, 50''·2585 etc., we get 534 A.D. as VM's time. It may be noted how far away this is from 123 B.C., and how near it is to 505 A.D.

The *Ayanāṁśa* argument of Prof. Rai (*JPUHS* 1.124-27) is the same as VT's (a) and (b), with the difference that he takes (b) for 1931 instead of 1909. This amounts to 26° 3' 40'' according to him, and committing the same mistake as VT of dividing this Gross *Ayanāṁśa* by the actual rate of precession, he says VM lived 1866 years before 1931, i.e., in 65 A.D. Since this does not take him to the desired 123 B.C. Prof. Rai thinks that this discrepancy may be overcome by assuming an appropriate error of observation, which in this case has to be as large as 2 degrees or so!

With showing that 427 Śaka of VM is 505 A.D. and that the *Ayanāṁśa* argument is fallacious, the main object of this paper is over. It is unnecessary to discuss the ślokas from *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa* quoted by these scholars enumerating the nine gems of Vikramāditya's court (*dhanvantari-kṣapaṇaka* etc.) and the year given therein; for in the light of the foregoing discussion these must be taken as part of a romance, or an attempt at imposture by the author of the work.^{40a} Nobody will take seriously this śloka jumbling men of different ages together, as no one will take seriously the other romance, the *Bhoja Prabandha*, for matters of history.

The Date of Bhaṭṭotpala

Both Rai and VT seek additional evidence for VM's earlier date by making his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala himself earlier than 505 A.D.⁴¹ We shall examine this now. Bhaṭṭotpala says at the end of his commentary on VM's *Bṛhajjātaka* that he finished writing it in Śaka 888 (elapsed) on *Caitra Śukla Pañcamī*, which was a Thursday:

*caitramāsasya pañcamyām sitāyām guruvāsare/
vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite śāke kṛteyam vivṛtir mayā//*

Here VT says that "the weekday does not come out correctly if we take either the Śālivāhana Śaka or the Vikrama Śaka. So the Śaka mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala refers only to the Śaka with

40a. The unreliability of this work will be discussed later.

41. Rai, *JPUHS* I (1932) 73; VT, *JIH* 28 (1950) 103, *JAHS* 22 (1952-54) 173.

550 B.C. as epoch".⁴² This means that if Bhaṭṭotpala's Śaka is taken as given in the Śaka of 550 B.C., the weekday agrees; and so the date referred to is 888 years after 550 B.C., i.e., 339 A.D., (but in his 'Andhra Śaka' he gives 340 A.D., cf. fn. 11 above) and so VM must be earlier still. But we have made the calculations and find that it is 339 A.D. that does not give the agreement; in that year the Caitra Pañcamī falls on Friday, ending at about 35 nādis. In his *Popular Astronomy*, pp. 136-37, VT has changed the date of Bhaṭṭotpala to 338 A.D., in accordance with his changing the Śaka Epoch to 551 B.C. Strangely enough, here too VT asserts that he finds agreement with the weekday, viz. Thursday.^{42a} My calculation here gives Sunday, i.e. three days off, on this date. On the other hand there is perfect agreement with Śālivāhana Śaka 888 (corresponding to 966 A.D.) if Caitra is in the Pūrṇimānta reckoning which was prevalent in Bhaṭṭotpala's time.⁴³

And there is also positive evidence to show that Bhaṭṭotpala has meant only the Śālivāhana Śaka. He has commented on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, who says that it is a representation of the (Ārdharātrika) system of Āryabhaṭa.⁴⁴ This means that Brahmagupta is later than Āryabhaṭa (3600 Kali, corresponding to 499 A.D.) and that Bhaṭṭotpala must be later still. It is not possible to drag down, as VT and others do, both Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta together into the earlier centuries, for the following reasons: The date of Āryabhaṭa is definitely 3600 Kali, as already shown. Brahmagupta gives 587 Śakakāla as the epoch of his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (I.3). Brahmagupta elsewhere states that 3179 is to be added to the Śaka year to get the corresponding Kali year (Cf. *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, I.26). Amarāja commenting on the above verse of *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (I.3) gives the Kali year corresponding to the epoch of the work (Śaka 587) to be

42. *JIH* 28 (1950) 109.

42a. It is an obvious fact that for a particular Tithi in a particular month the weekday cannot be the same in two consecutive years.

43. In certain editions of Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* we find instead of the śloka quoted above, another saying that he finished the commentary on a Thursday in Śaka 888 on Phālguna Kṛṣṇa Dvitiyā. This too gives agreement with the weekday only if 888 is in Śālivāhana Śaka. If in the Śaka starting from 551 or 550 B.C. alleged, there is disagreement.

44. See *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, I.1.

3766 by adding 3179 to 587; and also calculates and verifies the Kṣepas and the weekday of the epoch taking the Kali year 3766, which is A.D. 665,⁴⁵ which therefore must be the time of Brahmagupta. Further Brahmagupta is linked to Bhāskara II (who VI at least admits wrote his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* in 1150 A.D.) by an observed *Ayanāṁśa* of about 11°. He also says that in Brahmagupta's time the *Ayanāṁśa* was so little that it was "unobservable even to that expert astronomer".⁴⁶ So Brahmagupta cannot be dragged too far away from Bhāskara, and this condition will be fulfilled only if his epoch is in the Śālivāhana Śaka. And so his commentator, Utpala's date, Śaka 888, has also to be in the Śālivāhana Śaka.

Prof. Rai advances another argument,⁴⁷ which is his own and not given by anybody else. It is this: *Bṛhat Samhitā*, VIII.20-21, gives a rule from which, by using the Śaka year, the corresponding Jovian year in the 60 year cycle *Prabhava* etc., can be got. He works it out for 1932 using the Śaka starting from 550 B.C., and gets 52 years gone in the *Prabhava* series. Using the years gone in the Śālivāhana Śaka of 78 A.D., he gets the 18th year in the series, viz. Tāraṇa. He finds this Tāraṇa given in North Indian Almanacs. But he says this proves nothing beyond showing that the North Indian almanac-makers have adopted the Śālivāhana Śaka for this rule. But the point at issue is which is the correct Śaka to take. This can be found by working out the year from the Kali years gone till 1932, and seeing which of the two (52 or 18) it agrees with. Prof. Rai works out the Jovian years gone from the beginning of Kali, using the elements of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*,⁴⁸ and dividing the result by 60 gets the remainder 52. Lo! this is the same as the remainder got by using the Śaka of 550 B.C. So, that is the Śaka intended by VM in his *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, he says. The argument seems to be perfect.

45. So VT's statement in his *Popular Astronomy*, p. 137, that only 36 A.D. which date he gives for Brahmagupta, would agree with the weekday and not any other date, is wrong.

46. Cf. his *Vāsanā-Bhāṣya* on his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, under Golādhyaṇa, Golabandhādrikāra, 17-19.

47. *JPUHS* I (1932) 123-24.

48. The *Sūrya Siddhānta*, which Prof. Rai uses, wants actually the years from 'Creation' (i.e. a point 17,064,000 years from the beginning of the Kalpa) to be used for this. But as a whole number of 60 year cycles have gone at the beginning of Kali, no harm will ensue if the Kali year is used as he does.

But this is the fallacy in it: If the Jovian year is to be worked out *a priori* using the *Kali* years gone, the years should be counted from *Vijaya* and not from *Prabhava*. This condition is specified in the very *Sūrya Siddhānta* whose elements Prof. Rai uses for computation and this has been missed by him.⁴⁹ Now counting 52 from *Vijaya*, we get only the 18th year of the *Prabhava* series, viz. *Tārana*, and this agrees with *Śaka* of 78 A.D. and not the *Śaka* of 550 B.C. Thus Prof. Rai's argument fails. If anything, it is only a proof for taking VM's *Śakakāla* to be the *Śālivāhana Śaka*, and discarding the *Śaka* of 550 B.C.

Prof. Rai seeks further support to his theory by stating (ib., p. 71) that, "Albiruni writing in 1030 A.D. not only talks of Bhaskaracharya, but also mentions his book 'Karana Kutuhala' ", that the date of composition of *Karanakutuhala* given in the work itself, viz. *Śaka* 1105, if taken in the *Śālivāhana Śaka* would be 1183 A.D., i.e. 150 years after Albiruni, which is patently impossible, that "Weber in his Book on Sanskrit Literature (p. 262) notices this anomaly, but is unable to offer any explanation" (Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, English Translation, London, 1914), and that "if we take this *Śaka* commencing from 550 B.C., the riddle is solved", for this would take Bhāskara to the 6th cent. A.D., long prior to Albiruni.

The answer to Prof. Rai is given by Bhāskara himself who indicates that he uses only the *Śālivāhana Śaka* for he says that 3179 is to be added to the *Śaka* year to get the *Kali* years gone (Cf. *Siddh. Śiromaṇi*, Gaṇita, Madhyama, Kālamāna, 28). Moreover Albiruni's words in the context do not warrant the name Bhāskara at all, nor does he mention anywhere a work *Karāṇa-Kutūhala* (the work named being a *Karāṇa-Śāra*). It has also to be added that Prof. Rai is not speaking the facts when he says that Weber "is unable to offer any explanation". As a matter of fact, in contradiction to what Prof. Rai says, Weber offers on the very page that Rai refers to (page 262) several explanations: Weber says that "we have scarcely any alternative save to separate Albiruni's 'Bashkar' son of 'Mahdeb', and the author of 'Karāṇa-śāra' from the Bhāskara, son of Mahādeva, and author of *Karāṇa-*

49. Cf. *Dvādaśaghnā guror yātū bhagaṇā vartamānakathā | rāṣībhiḥ sahitaḥ, buddhāḥ śaṣṭyā syur "Vijayādayaḥ" || 1.55 ||*

kutūhala". (Note that none of the three names, neither that of the author, nor of his father, which is really *Maheśvara* and which Weber himself draws attention to in a footnote, nor of the work, tallies). Weber again suggests that his translation of the Arabic words of Albiruni might be wrong, for "Albiruni usually represents the Indian *bh* by *b-h*, and for the most part faithfully preserves the length of the vowels, neither of these is here done in the case of *Bashkar*, where, moreover, the *s* is changed into *sh*", and adds in a footnote that in the passage under discussion "there lurks not a *Bhāskara* at all, but perhaps a *Pushkara*".⁵⁰ Even if the passage refers to a Bhāskara, Weber suggests that "we may have to think of that elder Bhāskara, 'who was at the head of the commentators of Āryabhaṭa, and is repeatedly cited by Prthūdakasvāmin, who was himself anterior to the author of the *Śiromaṇi*'. It is in the face of these facts that Prof. Rai coolly asserts that Weber "is unable to offer any explanation"!

We may add here that the epoch of *Karāṇasāra*, which is mistaken for *Karāṇakutūhala*, is given by Albiruni as *Śaka* 821 (A.D. 899) (*Alberuni's India*, Sachau, I.392), and obviously Prof. Rai's Bhāskara of the 6th cent. cannot write a work 300 years later! So Prof. Rai's argument only goes against his own theory.

Thus nothing can shake the evidence showing that the *Śaka* mentioned by VM is the *Śālivāhana Śaka* and that the date *Śaka* 427 given by him in his *PS* is 505 A.D. Incidentally it has also been shown that the *Śaka* era used by Brahmagupta, Bhaṭṭotpala and Bhāskara II is the *Śālivāhana Śaka* of 78 A.D.

We propose to show in a subsequent article the untenability of certain other claims of these scholars referred to in the Introduction and that everywhere when the word *Śaka* occurs as the name of an era, it is only the *Śālivāhana Śaka* that is meant, and therefore or otherwise there is no case for postulating a Cyrus or Andhra Era of 550 B.C.

50. Weber's doubts about the translation of the Arabic passage are only too well-founded, for we find Sachau translating the passage as: "Further there is an astronomical handbook...by Vitteśvara the son of Bhadatta (? Mihdatta) of the city of Nāgarapura, called *Karāṇasāra*", cf. *Alberuni's India*, E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, vol. I, p. 156.

Aditya and Vikramaditya

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The kingdom of the Western Cālukyas of Vātāpi was at the height of its power and glory under Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642). Even Harṣavardhana of Kanyākubja who had subjugated practically the whole of North India to deserve the title of *Uttarā-patheśvara* had to suffer defeat at his hands. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who visited the Cālukya kingdom and its capital during the reign of this monarch has recorded the prosperous conditions that prevailed in it.

But the reign of this great king ended in a terrible disaster. Narasimhavarman I otherwise known Māmalla, the Pallava king of Kāñcīpuram invaded the Cālukya territory, defeated in battle Pulakeśin II and captured his kingdom. Even the capital city of Vātāpi was occupied by the Pallavas as may be seen from an inscription in beautiful Pallava-Grantha characters found at the place.¹

This event seems to have taken place in circa A.D. 642.² It also appears that the Cālukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas for some time thereafter till the Cālukya power was restored by Vikramāditya I, a son of Pulakeśin II.

Vikramāditya counts the commencement of his reign from Ś 577 equivalent to A.D. 655, as is evident from the Gadval Plates³ dated in the twentieth year of his reign corresponding to

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XI, Bombay -Karnatak, No. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 1.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, p. 101. The actual date has been calculated as Tuesday, 25th April 674 A.D. The Sāvnūr Plates issued on the same day, full-moon *tithi* in the month of Vaiśākha in the twentieth regnal year from the same camp at Uragapura in the *Colika* viṣaya, gives the corresponding Śaka year as 597, (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 20), where it is

Śaka 596. This inscription and his Sāvnūr Plates⁴ dated in the same year, the undated Haiderabad Plates⁵ as also the spurious Kurta koṭi Plates⁶ mention that he defeated the three successive Pallava kings, Narasimhavarman I, Mahēndravarmān II and Paramēśvaravarman I. The last named king Paramēśvaravarman I was the Pallava adversary of Vikramāditya I in his southern expedition in the course of which he was encamped at Māgapura in the Cōla country in A.D. 674. It will be seen therefrom that he had to fight hard with the Pallavas over a fairly long period.

He was not the eldest son of Pulakeśin II. He had at least two brothers Candrāditya and Raṇarāghavarman elder to him. This becomes clear from the Nerūr and Kochre Plates of Vijaya-mahādevī, his queen. Both of them relate to the time after the restoration of Cālukya rule by Vikramāditya I. The Nerūr grant⁷ registers the gift of some land to a Brāhmaṇa by Vijaya Bhaṭṭāraka, the *priyamahiṣi* of Candrāditya. In the genealogical portion, after Pulakeśin II, his dear son (*priyatanayaḥ*) Vikramāditya is introduced and referred to in connection with his re-establishment of Cālukya rule. Then his elder brother Śrī Candrāditya-Prthivī-Vallabhā-Mahārājā is mentioned, as also his queen who made the grant in her own regnal year (*sva-rājya varṣe*). The other, the Kochre grant,⁸ which follows closely the Nerūr grant in other respects, registers a land gift made by her to a Brāhmaṇa on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha in her region. The year or the other astronomical details with which the corresponding date in the Christian era can be calculated are not given. In this inscription Candrā-

taken as the 'current' one while the year quoted in the Gadval Plates is taken as the 'expired' one. But it is to be noted that both these documents were written by the same person. The Talamāñci Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98, 102) dated in Vikramāditya's sixth regnal year, without, however quoting the corresponding Śaka year registers a gift of land made at the time of a solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa. The date has been calculated to be 13th of July A.D. 660.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 20.

5. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 219 ff.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

ditya is given to title *Prthivīvallabhā Mahārājādhirājā*, while his queen is called Śrī Vijaya Mahādevī.

The Honnūr Plates of the sixteenth year of Vikramāditya⁹ mention another elder brother of his, by name Raṇarāghavarman, whose daughter dear to him as life (*prāṇa samadūlitā*) was the wife of the Ganga Prince Mādhava who was the *Vignāpti* for the grant recorded in the Plates.

Vikramāditya had also a brother called Jayasimha, younger to him. This is clear from the Navsari Copper Plate grant of Jayasimha¹⁰ dated in the (Kalacuri) year 421 corresponding to A.D. 671. It registers the grant of a village to some Brāhmaṇas by his son Yuvarāja Śilāditya. The genealogical portion of the grant begins with Pulakeśin II of the Cālukya family, mentions another son of Pulakeśin, named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman "whose (dignity or) prosperity was augmented (or brought about) by his elder brother Vikramāditya (*Jyāyasā bhrātrā samabhi vaddhita vibhūtiḥ*). In the reign of this Jayasimha his son Srayāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja made the grant.

We thus come to know of four sons of Pulakeśin II, Candrāditya, Raṇarāghavarman, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha in the order of their birth. A copper plate grant¹¹ obtained in the Kurnool District mentions an Adityavarman as a son of Pulakeśin II. It records a gift of land made to a Brāhmaṇa in the first year of his reign on the full moonday in the month of Kārttika at the great festival of *Paitāmahi* and *Hiranyagarbha*. The Śaka year is not given in the inscription; nor does it contain other astronomical details with the help of which the equivalent date in Christian era could be determined. The inscription does not mention Vikramāditya. And there is no information in it to show his order of birth among the sons of Pulakeśin.

This Adityavarman is not mentioned in the other records. But he is described in this inscription as "possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth which had been overcome by the strength of his arm and prowess" (*sva bhujabala-parāḥ-kram-ākkrānta sakala-matīmaṇḍal=ādhirājyaḥ*) and also having

9. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1939, No. 30.

10. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 1.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 233. Also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 66.

the title *prthivī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ*. So he has to be assigned to the period after the restoration of sovereignty by the Cālukyas. But there is no indication whether the recovery of the Cālukyas under Ādityavarman took place before or after its restoration by Vikramāditya.

Dr. Fleet¹² was inclined to think that "Ādityavarman was the eldest son of Pulakeśin II" and that he endeavoured to wrest succession from his younger brother "after the Cālukya restoration by Vikramāditya". The omission of the name of Ādityavarman in all the subsequent records of the family was the main reason which led him to that conclusion. The wording in the grant of Ādityavarman would show, according to Dr. Fleet, either that he made the first attempt to restore 'the sovereignty and failed, or else that, after restoration by Vikramāditya I, he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother'. He however felt that the former supposition was less probable than the latter one.

The Kanthēru grant of A.D. 1009¹³ issued more than three and a half centuries later after the restoration by Tailapa II of the later Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī as also a few other records that follow the same draft introduces two generations in the genealogy between Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I, thus making the latter the great-grandson of the former instead of his son. It mentions one Nedamari as the son of Pulakeśin, and an Ādityavarman as Nedamari's son. Vikramāditya has been made the son of Ādityavarman. Fleet thinks that the name of Ādityavarman as the supposed father of Vikramāditya I very possibly owed its existence to his really having had a brother of that name.¹⁴ But it should be noted that this late record contains also some mis-statements based on imperfect tradition, and as such too much reliance cannot be placed on such late records.

A comparison of the record of Ādityavarman with those of Vikramāditya would show that there are some common features in the contents and phraseology among them.

The grant of Ādityavarman describes the royal donor and records the issue of his order in the following words: *sva-bhuja-*

12. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 367.

13. *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 17.

14. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 361, n. 3.

bala-parākramā-krānta-sakala mahimaṇḍalādhirājyaḥ Śrīmad-Ādityavarma-prthivī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ kṛśāli sarvvān-ājñāpayati (11. 12-14). The Gadval Plates after narrating the victories of Vikramāditya mention the issue of the order by him in the following words: *sa parākram ākkranta sakala mahimaṇḍala-adhirājyo Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prthivī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvaro-sarvvān-evam ajñāpayati* (11.22-23).

Ādityavarman is said to have made the grant for the merit of his mother and father and also of himself: *mātāpitṛr-ātmanāś-chapunya āvāptaye udakapūrvvām dattam* (1.18). The specific mention in the grant of the mother and father as the persons for whose merit also the gift was made is rather exceptional and not usually found in the inscriptions of this dynasty. But this is found in many of the copper plates of Vikramāditya e.g., his Kurnool Plates of the third year¹⁵ as also the undated Kurnool Plates of his.¹⁶ In the Navsāri plates of the Gujarat Cālukya Jayasimha referred to earlier Vikramāditya is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father and another Nāgavardhana. (*mātā pitṛ Śrī Nāgavardhana pādāmudhyāta*).¹⁷ Similar expressions are not found elsewhere.

While editing the "Five copper-plate grants of the Western Cālukya dynasty from the Kurnūl District" Fleet opines that the Kurnūl grants of Vikramāditya I (Nos. II and III) and the Nerūr and Kochre grants of Candrāditya's wife give some indication of being amplified in their concluding portions from the version of the Kurnūl grant of Ādityavarman (No. I) which he considers as the standard draft.¹⁸

All the grants of Vikramāditya as also those of others like Candrāditya of the family issued after the restoration of the Cālukya sovereignty by him contain a verse describing how he obtained the paramount power.

*raṇa-śirasi ripu narendrān-diśi diśi
jītvā sva-vamśajām Lakṣmīm
prāpyaca Paramēśvaratam-Anīvārīta Vikramādityaḥ.*

15. *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 237 (No. II), line 21.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 239 (No. III), line 19.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 2, line 7.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 181-82, fn.

"Anivārīta Vikramāditya, who, having recovered at the head of battle the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (*Paramēśvaraḥ*).¹⁹

The title *Paramēśvara* which Vikramāditya is said to have acquired in this manner is found applied to Ādityavarman in his grant.

The expression *Anivārīta-Vikramādityaḥ* occurring in this verse is generally taken as the name of the ruler. It is true *anivārīta* was borne as a title by Vikramāditya II,²⁰ as will be evident from the names of some of his officers, eg. *Anivārītacāri*²¹ *Anivārīta-puṇyavallabha*²² etc. It is likely that it was also a title of Vikramāditya I. But it is also to be taken in the literal or true sense of the word as will be evident from the expression *sarvā-nivārīt-ājña*, "whose orders as unopposed by all men", occurring in verse 10 of the Gadval Plates. Thus the expression *Anivārīta-vikramāditya* is better translated as "Āditya of unopposed (or unrepulsed) valour (or prowess)."

This would make Āditya as the original name and Vikramāditya or Āditya of (unequal) valour as the title, thus making it possible that Ādityavarman was the same as Vikramāditya. It is not therefore necessary to take Ādityavarman as another son of Pulakeśin II different from Vikramāditya. They may be taken as the names of one and the same person. Ādityavarman was perhaps the original name and when he became renowned on account of his victories, by gaining for himself the estate of his father which had been hidden (or obstructed) by three kings (who were probably Candrāditya, Raṇarāghavarman and Narasimhavarman Pallava) he assumed the title of Vikramāditya. The analogy of Kulottunga I the Coḷa Emperor of a later period may be cited as an example. In the early years of his reign he was known only as Rājendra, but only later as Kulōttunga, which name he is known to have assumed in his fourth regnal year.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 103, verse 2.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 15, p. 101, fn. 4.

21. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

22. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

A Unique Martanda Bairava Relief from Rajasthan

BY

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Icons combining in them the features of Sūrya and Śiva are very few in number and one such interesting composite image is now preserved in the V. R. S. Museum at Rajshahi. K. C. Sircar (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, VI, 1930, pp. 465-70) identified the three-faced and ten armed deity therein as "*Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*".¹ Another interesting mediaeval sculpture of four-armed and one-faced *Vivasvān* hails from Konārḱ as described and illustrated by T. N. Ramchandran in *Sarūpa Bhārati*, *Lakshmana Swarūpa Commemoration Volume*, Hoshiarpur, 1954, pp. 280ff., and plate. The Konārḱ relief appears to bear some resemblance with an unpublished early-mediaeval statue (No. 90; 36×21 inches) of the Archaeological Museum at Jhālāwār (Rajasthan). The latter present the 6 armed divinity in the standing pose and holding the weapons of Sūrya and Śiva in the respective hands. A statue of three-faced, *sthānaka* and multi-armed *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* from the Sun Temple at Konārḱ has also been published by C. Śivarāmamūrti in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters), Calcutta, XXI(2), 1955, pl. IX, p. 83. All the three heads therein bear *jaṭā-jūṭa* on the top whereas the one illustrated by Ramchandran (*op. cit.*) presents a typical conical crown on the head of one-faced and six-armed deity. Still more interesting is the discovery of several sculptures of "*four-armed and one-faced Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava in different parts of Rajasthan*". They are of sufficient iconographic interest and may be described in brief as below:—

1. A small niche (17 × 10 inches) in the exterior of the famous Sun Temple² at Rānpur (Rāṇakpur, near Sādaḍi, Marwar)

1. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 549-50 and *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XVI, 1948, pp. 86 ff. Dr. Banerjea has identified the sculptures previously noticed by Hira Lal in *Ind. Antiquary*, xlvii, 1918, pp. 136 ff.

2. For details about this Sun Temple, consult by paper in *Śodhapatrikā*, Udaipur, Hindi, VI (2-3), pp. 1-20.

depicts the four-armed deity as holding two lotuses in the front hands and a trident (*triśūla*) in the left hand.

2. I also discovered an interesting image (24 × 14 inches) lying outside the Gaḍiyā Temple situated in the village of Aṭru, distant about 64 miles from Kotah. The lower two hands of the standing deity are completely mutilated in this relief and so also the weapons held therein. The left and right back hands of course hold the *āyudhas* of Śiva i.e. a serpent and a trident respectively. Besides this, a coat of mail (*kavaca*) covers the chest of the main figure and there appears Piṅgala, holding the pen and an inkpot, near the right leg of the standing (*sthānaka*) deity. This interesting depiction of the combined form of Śiva and Sūrya (*Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*) in the art of the 9th century A.D. has also remained unnoticed as yet.

3. *A Unique Image from Nāgadā*:—The principal back niche of a subsidiary shrine, in the courtyard of the Sāsa-Bahu Temples at Nāgadā (ancient Nāgharada),³ preserves a unique image of this variety. It measures about 24 inches in height and 16 inches in width. The *caturbhuja* deity, therein, takes his seat on an inverted-lotus throne in the *padmāsana* pose in an elegant manner as can be seen in the contemporary image of eight-armed deity from Khajuraho and illustrated by Stella Kramrisch in *Hindu Temple*, II, Calcutta, 1946, pl. VI, p. 373. The meditating pose, two lotus-stalks in the front hands, a trident (*triśūla*) and a skull-crowned mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) in the right and left back hands respectively, a crown (*mukuta*) on the head, *kavaca* (coat of mail) on the chest and other ornaments of the *devatā* in the Nāgdā relief have been executed quite vividly. Infact such a lovely representation of four-armed Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava in the art of Rajasthan and that too in the seated pose is extremely rare. The existing syncretistic relief from Rajasthan is decidedly of immense iconographic⁴ interest. The Konārka reliefs of seated and standing four-armed variety of Sun images no doubt depict two lotuses and a trident in the hands of the deity [Banerjea, *JISOA*, Calcutta, XVI, pp. 83-4; Ramchandran, *op. cit.*] but the utter

3. Distant about 14 miles from Udaipur City.

4. Cf. my paper in *Sodhapatrikā*, *op. cit.*, VIII(4), June 1957, pp. 1-4 and plate for some composite-icons from Rajasthan.

absence of the *khaṭvāṅga* as one of the *āyudhas* therein is to be noted with great interest. It is not possible to regard the Nāgdā (Rajasthan) image as a representation of the *Vivasvat* variety of the *Dvādaśāditya* group. The combination of the Śaiva weapons (i.e. trident and skull-crowned mace) in the back hands therein does not correspond fully with the literary texts on *Visvasvat* icons as recorded by T. G. Rao in *Elements of Hindu Iconograph*, Madras, I (2), Appendix C, p. 86. At the same time, the existing image from Nāgdā presents a happy blending of the solar and Śaiva trends in the art of the tenth century A.D.

A passing reference may also be made to a unique image of *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa*, now preserved as exhibit No. 6 in the Archaeological Museum at Jhālāwār. The same has already been illustrated by me in the *Journal of Indian Museums*, Bombay, XI, 1955, p. 21, pl. VII, fig. 2. It measures 42 inches in height and 33 inches in width and was transferred from Bedālī (tahsil Gangadhāra, Distt. Jhalawar). Infact such a lovely and early-mediaeval statue of this variety from Rajasthan has not been published as yet. The depiction of six arms holding two weapons (i.e. lotuses) of Sūrya and the remaining ones of Viṣṇu, typical crown on the head of the deity and a canopy of serpent-hoods still above, horse-faced *Aśvinī-kumāras*⁵ in seated pose carved on both the sides on the top of the relief, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala appearing below (each in the company of a female attendant).... etc., have been vividly executed. Long boots and the coat of mail on the chest of the standing deity enhance the elegance of the statue still further. A contemporary (8-9th century) icon of this variety but presenting the god as four-armed in an identical pose was noticed by me on the exterior of an early-mediaeval temple at Aṭru (near Kotah). Here too the crown of the main figure is overshadowed by a canopy of serpent-hoods as noticed above. Two lotuses in the back right hands, wheel and the mace in the front left and right hands respectively, *kavaca* on the chest....etc., present a picturesque study of the unified form of Sūrya and Viṣṇu, and that too endowed with four hands.

5. Also depicted as seated near the feet in the *Trimūrti* reliefs from Bargaon as illustrated by Hiralal in *Indian Ant.*, xlvii, 1918, pl. II, facing p. 136. Here the deity bears 6 hands which are completely mutilated and so also the *āyudhas* held therein.

During my exploratory tour at Baḍodā (31 miles from Dūṅgar-pur and ancient *Vaṭapadraka*), I discovered an interesting statue of white stone and depicting the composite aspect of Viṣṇu and Sūrya in the art of the 11-12th century A.D. It measures about 54 inches in height and 24 inches in width. Six letters in the *kuṭila* script of the 11-12th century have been engraved on the pedestal of the relief. The four-armed deity appears in the standing pose and holds two lotus-flowers in the front right hands, the wheel in the left back and the mace in the right upper one. A conical *mukuta* on the head, *kavaca* on the chest and long boots covering the feet have been well preserved in the image. The figure of one horse only and that too near the left leg of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa refers to Sūrya aspect of the figure and enhances the grace of the relief to a great extent. This particular feature is conspicuous by its absence in the sculptures of this group from Jhālāwār and Aṭru as described above. On the other hand, we find the depiction of 7 horses and Aruṇa on the pedestal of a Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa relief from South India and illustrated by T. G. Rao in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, I(2), p. 317, pl. xciv. An interesting image, carved on the pillar of the Someśvara temple at Kirāḍu (Mārwar) presents the four-armed deity in the *padmāsana* pose. The back hands hold the lotus flowers whereas the lower two have been kept in the *vaddhāñjali* pose suggesting thereby the composite aspect of Sūrya and Yoga-Nārāyaṇa. This is really very important in the mediaeval iconography of Rajasthan. The existing sculptures of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa⁶ from Rajasthan are very important for the study of the Brahmanic Iconography of the country. It is earnestly hoped that the afore-said *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* and *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa* icons from Rajasthan will now be duly appreciated by art critics and scholars in their respective works on ancient Indian art and sculpture. It will not be possible to ignore these sublime products of Indian artistic genius when they have come out of age-long oblivion and that too in a published form.

6. In verse 33 of a 12th century inscription of Ajmer Museum, Sūrya has been addressed as the right eye of Viṣṇu:—*Dakṣiṇamīkṣaṇam Murari-pordeva Ravih pātu vah* (Ep. Indica, XXIX, p. 182). This is an important epigraphic reference to close affinity between these prominent divinities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

The Rāichūr Doāb in Deccan History— Re-interpretation of a Struggle

BY

P. M. JOSHI

Importance of the Rāichūr Doāb:—The Rāichūr Doāb can be said to comprise the area between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadra from the fort of Mudgal in the east to the junction of the two rivers in the west. Ever since the foundation of the Bahmanī Empire in the Deccan in 1347 and the establishment of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar about the same time, the Rāichūr Doāb was a bone of contention between these two powerful kingdoms. The break-up of the Bahmanī Empire gave a new orientation to the relations between Vijayanagar and its Muslim neighbours. The sultanates of the Deccan did not pursue a united policy towards the Hindu kingdom till they found that their very existence depended on adopting it. Blinded by mutual jealousy, they sought the help of Vijayanagar to gain their selfish ends. Qāsim Barīd of Bidar was the first to incite the Hindus to make war on Bijāpur which, as the neighbour of Vijayanagar, was the sultanate most immediately affected by its strong power. The struggle between Bijāpur and Vijayanagar which started in the reign of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh ended only with the overthrow of the Hindu power at the battle of Rakshas-Tagdi.

The causes of the recurring hostilities between Vijayanagar and its Muslim neighbours, first the Bahmanī Empire and then the 'Adilshāhī Kingdom of Bijāpur, were economic, geographical and religious. The Rāichūr Doāb round which hostilities centred was not only a fertile tract, but was also rich in mineral resources. There were iron deposits in the Doāb which show evidence of having been worked by Vijayanagar kings.¹ Iron being the most important commodity in the manufacture of arms, both Vijayanagar and Bijapur coveted to possess these deposits and laid claim to the ownership of the Doāb.

1. Major Munn, Director of the Geological Survey of the State of Hyderabad: *Manchester Memoirs* LXIV., No. 5; Cf. *MGSI*, VIII, 265; Gribble I., 27.

Even more important than the iron deposits was the presence of diamonds in this tract. More than one contemporary account asserts independently that there were diamond mines in the vicinity of Rāichūr. In 1470 Nicolo Conti found that diamonds were produced at Rāichūr.² Both Varthema and Barbosa noted that there were diamond mines in the kingdom of Bijāpur,³ though they failed to specify their exact location. It is significant that at the time when these writers made their observations, the Rāichūr Doāb was in the possession of Bijāpur. The 'Adilshāhī boundary extended beyond the Tungabhadra only after the battle Rakshas-Tagdi in 1565. So that the diamond deposits that were mentioned as belonging to Bijāpur before that date, must have been north of the river evidently in the Rāichur Doab. Linschoten further supports these accounts.⁴ Most vital evidence on this point is furnished by the Bijāpur historian, Rafī-ud-dīn Shīrāzī, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk*, who was in royal service Bijāpur from 1560 till the early years of the seventeenth century. He says that there was a diamond mine near Rāichūr which was in the possession of Bijāpur in 1606.⁵ This is further corroborated by an English diamond merchant who visited the Bijāpur and Golcondā diamond mines about 1675 and presented his observations in a paper submitted to the Royal Society in 1677.⁶ He mentions at least two diamond mines in the Doāb near the junction of the rivers Tungabhadra and Krishna.⁷ All this evidence leaves no doubt at all that the struggle for the possession of the Rāichūr Doāb was dictated, among other factors, by the diamond deposits that were scattered in the vicinity of Rāichūr.

Beyond the Doāb near Adonī and Karnūl was the diamond mine of Rāmalkotā, the most important in the Bijāpur group of mines.⁸

2. India in the Fifteenth Century, Conti, 21.

3. Varthema, 118; Barbosa I, 202, II, 221.

4. Linschoten II, 137.

5. TM, 321a.

6. This paper is published in The Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XII (1677).

7. Ibid. 913. MGSI, VII., 106. Also V. Ball: The Diamonds, Coal and Gold of India, 16.

8. Cf. Tavernier II, (Second ed., OUP 1925) 41-43; Philosophical Transactions i.c. 913. Tavernier says that this mine was discovered about 200 years before he visited it.

This mine of course did not come into the possession of Bijāpur till after 1565. But it is interesting to note in this connection the attempt made by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I to capture the stronghold of Adonī in 1537. The conquest of this place would have given him the possession of the diamond mines near Karnūl. But it was strenuously defended by Rāma Rāya who sent almost all his army to drive the Muhammadans back into the Doāb.⁹

Further, the Rāichūr Doāb was a fertile tract of land, situated as it was between the two rivers Krishnā and Tungabhadra. Its soil was and is of the black cotton variety most suitable for rich crops like cotton and wheat. The Doāb, therefore, was a great source of revenue¹⁰ to whoever possessed it.

It had also a strategic importance, especially for Vijayanagar. The capital of the Hindu Empire was situated just beyond the Tungabhadra due south of Mudgal, one of the strongholds which, along with Rāichūr controlled the Doāb. Lying between two rivers, it could serve admirably as buffer territory between the Hindu capital and Bijāpur, and its possession would safeguard the diamond mines to its south near Karnūl. With Rāichūr and Mudgal garrisoned by Hindu troops, the Muhammadans would have triple difficulty in attacking Karnūl or Vijayanagar, they would have to cross two rivers and fight their day past Rāichūr or Mudgal. Thus Vijayanagar's anxiety to retain the Doāb in its possession was dictated by a desire to protect itself effectively from its Muslim neighbours. Once the fords of the rivers were guarded it was easy to prevent the Muslims from crossing the Doāb and approaching Vijayanagar. The importance of this fact became evident in 1565 when the Muslim armies decided to march into the Hindu kingdom. The Doāb was at that time in the possession of the Hindus and the point where the Krishnā river could be forded near the memorable battlefield of Rakshas Tagdi was carefully guarded by an advance contingent of the Hindu army. By clever manoeuvring the Muslims lured the Hindus away from the ford, doubled back and crossed the ford before the Hindus could retake their position. This proved that the Hindus were bad tacticians. With a vigilant defence of the fords of the Krishnā they could have prevented

9. Ferishta II, 51; BS, 53; FA, 64a.

10. Cf. Nuniz, Sewell, 368.

the Muslims from crossing the river. But though they understood the strategic importance of the Doāb their carelessness lost them its advantage.

These disputes which arose out of economic, political and geographical considerations were made more acute by the fundamental religious difference between the rulers of Bījāpur and the rulers of Vijayanagar. Though the idea of a *jihad* against the Hindus never predominated in the mind of any of the 'Adilshāhī sultans, the attitude of the Hindu regent Rāma Rāya towards Islam embittered 'Ali 'Adil Shāh and the other Deccan sultans against Vijayanagar. At first Rāma Rāya helped Ahmadnagar against Bījāpur. Then he suddenly changed his policy and allied with Bījāpur against Ahmadnagar. Behind this apparent inconsistency was the desire to destroy the power of the Sultanates of the Deccan. Rāma Rāya would almost have succeeded in his ambitious design but for his insulting and arrogant attitude towards Islam. It was his threat to the very existence of Islam in the Deccan that brought the sultanates together to crush him. He was no longer the enemy of an individual Muslim state but of all of them. The struggle was no longer a political struggle, it was religious. It was this factor that was responsible for the Muslim confederacy.

Early history of the Doāb: Both Bījāpur and Vijayanagar set high value on the Doāb for its economic resources and strategic position. It cannot, therefore, be wondered at that this important tract was constantly changing hands. In the year 1443 it was a Muslim possession and was invaded by Devarāya of Vijayanagar who was ultimately defeated and driven back by the Bahmanī forces, and the Doab continued to remain as a part of the Bahmanī Empire.¹¹ At the time when Yusuf 'Adil Shāh declared his independence it formed a part of his kingdom. The Hindus would have been too willing to recover it, had it not been for fear of Muslim reprisals. Qāsim Barīd's attitude dispelled this fear. At his invitation they crossed the Tungabhadra and occupied the Doāb.¹² But not for long. Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh took the first opportunity to recover this loss. While he was engaged against Qāsim Barīd, a revolution was taking place in the Hindu capital. After defeating Barīd

11. Sewell, 76-77.

12. Ferishta II., 6; Sewell, 113.

at Naldurg, he at once made for the Doāb. The Hindus raised a defence, but it was unequal to the 'Adilshāhī attack and the Doāb passed into the hands of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh¹³ (April, 1493).

The Hindus lost the Doāb no doubt, but they also learnt that the newly evolved sultanates were no longer united against their traditional foe. Once they perceived this advantage, they were ever ready to make use of it, so that while Bījāpur was disturbed by civil war, during the minority of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh's successor, Ismā'il, they were once again encouraged to attack the Rāichūr Doāb. Further, following the policy of Qāsim Barīd, his son Amīr also instigated them in their adventure. Sometime in 1512 the Hindus surprised Rāichūr and occupied it. The garrison could not hold the fort against the Hindu hordes; nor was Isma'il 'Adil Shah in a position to send succour as due to the treachery of his regent and a palace revolution in Bijapur his very throne seemed, for a time, in danger.¹⁴ When the civil war in Bijapur was over, Ismail decided to punish Amir Barid who was responsible for much of the trouble that had befallen Bijapur during Kamal Khan's regency. Any plan for the recovery of the Doab, therefore, had to be postponed.

Isma'il 'Adil Shah was determined to recover the Doab. But he was unable to do so during the life-time of the great Krishnadevaraya under whom Vijayanagar attained to great strength and eminence. The expedition that Isma'il led in May 1520 for the reoccupation of the Doab very nearly cost him his life and brought on him a disastrous defeat.¹⁵ The Hindus had, for the time being at least, triumphed over Bījāpur. It was the death of Krishnadevarāya in 1529 and the weakness of his successor Achyuta that gave Ismā'il his opportunity. Bījāpur was at peace with Ahmadnagar and Berar, Amīr Barīd, the mischief-maker, had been subdued, the time was in all respects favourable to Isma'il's enterprise. Early in 1530 the 'Adilshāhī army entered the Doāb; its reduction was not a difficult task and both Rāichūr and Mudgal renewed their allegiance to Bījāpur.¹⁶

13. Ferishta II., 7-10; BS, 17-18; HIS, 231; Sewell, 111, 114.

14. Ferishta II., 21, 23, 27-31.

15. Ferishta II., 34-36; FA, 48a-b; Sewell, 140-47.

16. Ferishta II., 44; BS, 44; TM, 35a-b; FA, 53b-54a; Sewell, 165, 367-68.

Rāma Rāya and Burhān: Alliance against Bijāpur: The peace of the Doāb was not disturbed for the next thirteen years. This was because of internal discord in the Hindu capital, where, taking advantage of the weakness of Achyuta, two rival parties were bidding for power. One of these was led by Tirumala, the king's brother-in-law and the other by Rāma Rāya, also a member of the royal family. The policy of Ismā'il's son and successor, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, towards the Hindus at this juncture only resulted in increased hostility between the neighbours. He interfered in the internal affairs of Vijayanagar by giving military support to Tirumala against his rivals.¹⁷ This step, though it brought immediate material advantage to Ibrāhīm in the shape of cash payments from Tirumala, sowed the seeds of hatred in the mind of Rāma Rāya. Both because of his alliance with Ibrāhīm and because of his treatment of his king, Tirumala became unpopular with the Hindu grandees and lost their support. Rāma Rāya, his astute rival, seized his moment and instigated the nobility to overthrow the regent. In despair Tirumala committed suicide¹⁸ and Rāma Rāya became absolute at Vijayanagar.

Ibrāhīm's attempt to capture Adonī in 1537 proved unsuccessful and only aggravated Rāma Rāya's hatred towards Bijāpur. Being engaged in consolidating his position in Vijayanagar, the Hindu regent did not plan immediate retaliation against Ibrāhīm, but waited for a favourable opportunity. This came in 1543 when Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar appealed to him for help against Bijāpur. Rāma Rāya wanted to recover Doāb and Burhān, Sholāpur. Thus a common grievance and a common object — the recovery of very much disputed and as much coveted territory — brought the two together. Burhān's change to the *Shia* creed and Ibrāhīm's adoption of the *Sunni* doctrine widened the cleavage between them and only urged Burhān to enter into this unnatural alliance with the Hindus. Jamshīd Qutb Shāh of Golcondā willingly joined Burhān against *Sunni* Ibrāhīm¹⁹ (1543).

Bijāpur had, at this time, in Asad Khān of Belgaum a devoted minister and an able general. As long as he lived neither Burhān

nor Rāma Rāya was able to accomplish their object. Repeated alliances and campaigns against Bijāpur failed to gain for them the possession of Sholāpur and the Rāichūr Doāb.

Burhān's envoy in these negotiations was Shāh Tāhir, a *Par-desi*. As a brother *Par-desi*, Asad Khān seems to have prevailed on him to advise Burhān to abandon hostilities. Seeing that his ally showed no desire to declare war on Bijāpur, Rāma Rāya also desisted from an attack on the Doāb. Jamshīd Qutb Shāh, who had already advanced into Bijāpur territory, was now left alone. Asad Khān marched against him, twice defeated him in the field, pursued him to the gates of Golcondā and returned to Bijāpur in triumph.²⁰

Rāma Rāya felt aggrieved at the behaviour of his ally and prevailed on him to begin hostilities against Bijāpur. Burhān marched against Gulbarga, but was defeated by Ibrāhīm and Asad Khān.²¹

It was now Burhān's turn to reconstruct the confederacy, and he called on 'Alī Barīd to join him. But the latter refused to wage war against a brother *Sunni*. Burhān then invaded the kingdom of Bīdar and occupied the forts of Udgir, Ausā and Kandhār. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh tried to help Barīd but was defeated in three successive encounters.²²

Burhān's persistent offensive and Ibrāhīm's reverses led the latter to suspect the loyalty of his own officers and he attributed his recent defeats to their treachery. The sultan developed a sudden streak of inhuman cruelty and showed an appetite for carnage unparalleled in the history of the 'Adilshāhī dynasty. The nobility wanted to depose him and place his brother prince 'Abdullāh on the throne. But rumours of the plot reached Ibrāhīm and 'Abdullāh had to fly to Goa to escape the king's wrath. Once again Asad Khān came under suspicion and had to retire to Belgaum. Even though his loyalty was taxed to the utmost, Asad Khān refused to join Burhān Nizām Shāh. But the king's distrust of him broke the great minister's heart and in February 1549 he died,²³ leaving

17. Ferishta II, 50; Nuniz, Sewell, 367-68.

18. Ferishta II, 51; TM, 39a-b; FA, 63a-64a; Sewell, 169-71.

19. Ferishta II, 227; TMQS, 75b. Jamshīd had just then succeeded his father Sultān Quli Qutb Shāh.

20. BS, 59-60; FA, 69a-b; Ferishta II, 55, 332.

21. BS, 60-61; Ferishta II, 55.

22. Ferishta II, 56, 228-29; cf. CHI, III, 441. 'Amīr succeeded his father 'Alī Barīd in 1542.

23. Ferishta II, 56-57; BS, 51-53; FA, 71b.

a reputation and a memory cherished in Belgaum to this day. Asad Khān was not an administrator, but his generalship, his diplomacy and above all his loyalty to the 'Adilshāhī dynasty, give him a place in Deccan history second only to that of Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous Bahmanī minister.

Shāh Tahīr, the minister of Burhān Nizām Shāh had died a few years earlier. With Asad Khān's death the two forces that worked for moderation in the Deccan passed away. Burhān and Ibrāhīm were left unrestrained to carry on their fratricidal struggle.

In 1549 Burhān Nizām Shāh once again adopted the fatal policy of an alliance with the Hindus. At the end of the rainy season he marched towards Kalyāni. Rāma Rāya moved northwards and, defeating an 'Adilshāhī detachment sent to bar his progress joined the Ahmadnagar army. The combined forces of Burhān and Rāma Rāya laid siege to the fort of Kalyāni. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh himself arrived to relieve the fort and encamped within sight of the besiegers. Suddenly Burhān and his Hindu allies surprised Ibrāhīm's camp on the early morning of Ramzan 'Id (Wednesday, October 23, 1549). The Bijāpurīs, engaged in celebrating the termination of the fast, were taken completely unawares. The sultan himself was in a warm bath and had scarcely time to put on his clothes before effecting his escape. His troops fled in confusion. The garrison of Kalyāni was disheartened and surrendered to the enemy.²⁴

But Kalyāni was not Burhān's objective, he wanted Sholāpur. His Hindu colleague agreed to continue the war only if Burhān helped the Hindus to recover the Rāichūr Doāb. Burhān agreed. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh was unable to defend either the Doāb or Sholāpur and both the districts succumbed to the enemy; the Doāb was once again occupied by the Hindus and the Nizāmshāhis made a triumphal entry into Sholāpur.²⁵ (1552)

It seemed as if Burhān contemplated the reduction of the 'Adilshahi kingdom itself. He planned what he considered to be the final campaign against Bijāpur. If it succeeded, he would

24. Ferishta II.

25. Ferishta II.

triumph over his inveterate enemy Ibrāhīm, would oust him from his throne, drive him away from his kingdom and so victoriously plant the Nizāmshāhī standard on the citadel of Bijāpur.

This was not to be. Indeed it turned out to be the last expedition, but in a manner in which Burhān had never foreseen. He laid siege to Bijāpur; the bewildered Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh fled to the fortress of Panala. Expectantly Burhān waited to pluck the last fruit of his ambition. But his frustration was great indeed, for when the 'Adilshāhī capital was within sight of surrender, he was smitten with a fatal illness and was compelled to return to his capital where he died²⁶ on Saturday, December 30, 1553.

Rāma Rāya and Ibrāhīm: Change in policy:—Husain, Burhān's son and successor had Deccani sympathies. The Pardesis in Ahmadnagar, under their leader Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, a Turk, had supported the claims of Husain's step-brother and rival 'Alī. On Husain's accession 'Ain-ul-Mulk fled to Bijāpur. For a time Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh forgot his prejudice against Pardesis and admitted 'Ain-ul-Mulk into his service and at his instance besieged Sholāpur. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was sent to check the advance of Husain on Sholāpur, was defeated. Ibrāhīm's distrust of Pardesis returned and he suspected 'Ain-ul-Mulk of treachery, and his subsequent harsh and uncompromising attitude drove the Pardesi into rebellion. 'Ain-ul-Mulk gained more than one victory over the royal troops and declared for prince 'Abdullāh who was still at Goa. Ibrāhīm was in a sad plight. His strength had been reduced by constant wars and he found himself unable even to quell the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk. In this extremity he appealed to Rāma Rāya, who sent his brother Venkatādri to help him. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was defeated and sought safety in flight.²⁷

Rāma Rāya's policy towards the 'Adilshāhī kingdom had now changed. Hitherto he had made unsuccessful attempts in alliance with Ahmadnagar to destroy the power of Bijāpur. The Hindu henceforward supported Bijāpur in its wars against Ahmadnagar. He believed that Ahmadnagar had become so powerful and Bijāpur so helpless that it might succumb to the stronger power any time. It was no part of his policy to allow Ahmadnagar to

26. Ferishta II, 234; Burhān, 358.

27. Ferishta II, 60-63, 236; BS, 55-56; Burhān, 386.

grow more powerful. The balance seemed too much against Bijāpur. So Rāma Rāya transferred his friendship from Ahmadnagar to Bijāpur. Thus though he shifted his allegiance the principle underlying it was still the same, namely the gradual weakening of the sultanates and finally their destruction. His policy towards the Muslim kingdoms was actuated not by friendship towards any particular state but by self-interest and self-aggrandizement. This is the keynote of the history of the next ten years. As we shall see, the policy did not succeed and ultimately brought ruin to its originator.

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh did not live long to see the results of Rāma Rāya's new policy. The strain of the a war-weary life had told heavily on his health which was further undermined by his intemperate and debauched life. As a result he was afflicted with a complication of disorders. The illness inflamed a nature naturally fierce, so that Ibrāhīm became a terror to all about him. Many physicians unable to cure him were ordered to be trodden to death by elephants. This caused an exodus of the medical practitioners from the capital, and on his death-bed the king found himself without medical aid. This accelerated the end. In September 1558 he departed this life and was buried at Gogi near his father and grand-father.²⁸

The reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I was the darkest period in Bijāpur's history. His difficulties were of his own making. Suspicious, cruel, fanatic, he had alienated almost all his nobility and tried to the utmost the loyalty even of so faithful a servant as Asad Khān. The fundamental differences that divided Burhān and Ibrāhīm caused continuous friction between the two, Burhān's alliance with the Hindus nearly brought about the annihilation of Bijāpur. It was only the death of Burhān and the change in Rāma Rāya's policy that saved the 'Adilshāhī kingdom.

'Alī 'Adil Shāh and Rāma Rāya: *Alliance against Ahmadnagar*:—'Alī 'Adil Shāh and Husain Nizām Shāh, who now ruled at Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar, were as further apart from each other as their fathers. 'Alī signalled his accession by reverting to

28. Ferishta II, 64; BS, 67. Gogi is a village in Gulbarga district, Hyderabad State.

Shiaism and favouring Pardesis in his service.²⁹ Husain on his part was opposed to Pardesis who were now in disfavour at Ahmadnagar. And so religious differences and racial preferences gave edge to an enmity which had separated the two kingdoms so long and which had been assiduously but imperceptibly fostered by Rāma Rāya in recent years.

At the very beginning of his reign 'Alī 'Adil Shāh showed a desire to continue his father's alliance with Vijayanagar. Old grudges against Ahmadnagar had to be paid off, old reverses to be avenged, Kalyāni and Sholāpur to be recaptured. Moreover, Husain Nizām Shāh's attitude was threatening; he had formed an alliance with Golcondā and Berar against Bijāpur.³⁰

Rāma Rāya had already changed his policy towards Bijāpur. He now agreed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with 'Alī 'Adil Shāh provided he first came to Vijayanagar in person.³¹

This was indeed a hard and humiliating condition and was naturally distasteful to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, and independent monarch of equal if not higher status than Rāma Rāya. For the time being he was helpless, an alliance with the Hindus was the only way out of an imminent crisis. But 'Alī never forgot the rancour caused by Rāma Rāya's haughtiness, a rancour which was made more acute by the subsequent behaviour of the Hindu.

Taking advantage of 'Alī's absence at Vijayanagar, Husain, with his ally Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, laid siege to the fortress of Gulbarga in the 'Adilshāhī dominion. Rāma Rāya instantly carried out his declared intention of helping Bijāpur. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was under obligations to Rāma Rāya, having found refuge in Vijayanagar after his unsuccessful rebellion during the reign of Jamshid Qutb Shāh.³² To Ibrāhīm Rāma Rāya sent an admonitory letter, asking him to refrain from hostilities against 'Alī 'Adil

29. Ferishta II, 66; BS, 77; FA, 81a.

30. Ferishta II, 67; BS, 83-84; FA, 81b-82b.

31. TM, 43a. This shows that 'Alī's visit to Vijayanagar was not voluntary. This very important fact is not mentioned by Ferishta or the BS. Rafi-ul dīn Shirāzī was a personal servant of 'Alī for many years and enjoyed his confidence. Hence the value of his evidence in the TM.

32. TMQS, 77a-88b; Ferishta II, 333. Ibrāhīm came to the throne in 1550.

Shāh who was now a friend of the Hindus. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, afraid of incurring the displeasure of so powerful a neighbour as Rāma Rāya, deserted his ally and returned to Golconda. This made Husain Nizam Shah's position precarious. Not only was his strength weakened by the loss of his ally, but his enemy 'Alī threatened to become more formidable by his alliance with the Hindus. He had no choice but to raise the siege of Gulbarga and retire to Ahmadnagar.³³

The next three years (1559-1561) witnessed an almost continuous warfare between Bijāpur and Vijayanagar on one side and Ahmadnagar on the other, aided sometimes by Berar, sometimes by Golcondā. This was the most critical period in Husain Nizām Shāh's reign. Rāma Rāya's star was in the ascendant and it was he who was really benefited by the enmity between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. He dictated terms not only to the vanquished Husain, but to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, and in the end, to his ally 'Alī 'Adil Shāh himself. In a word, during this period, he completely dominated the disturbed political situation in the Deccan. In 1561 Husain was forced to agree to a most humiliating treaty.³⁴ He sent envoys to Rāma Rāya asking for suspension of hostilities. It is significant that he approached Rāma Rāya and not 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, which shows how completely the Hindu had overshadowed the sultans of the Deccan. Rāma Rāya agreed to conclude peace on the following terms:—

1. Restoration of Kalyāni to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. No mention was made of Sholāpur which apparently remained in Husain's possession. This was purposely done by Rāma Rāya to keep open the quarrels between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur.
2. The execution of Jahāngīr Khān, the 'Imādshāhī general who, as an ally of Husain, had been a cause of great concern to the allies.
3. Husain's personal submission before Rāma Rāya.

To all these three conditions Husain agreed. That he consented to put Jahāngīr Khān to death, shows how completely he

33. Burhān, 398-399; *TMQS*, 99a; *Ferishta* II., 68.

34. *Ferishta* II, 244; *TM*, 46a.

had been demoralised by the formidable alliance against him. The submission of Kalyāni resulted in another war and the fulfilment of the third condition merely added to the already bitter feelings of Husain against the Hindus, and paved the way for a union among the sultans in the not too distant future.

Husain's next campaign against Bijāpur was the grossest military folly. His only ally was the unreliable Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. As against this, 'Alī had the support of Vijayanagar. Moreover, Tufal Khān, the regent of Berar, with the shameless murder of Jahāngīr Khān, still fresh in his mind, joined 'Alī and even persuaded 'Alī Barīd to do so. This formidable combination drove Husain to the northern fastnesses of his kingdom. Ahmadnagar at this juncture was very near extinction. But 'Alī 'Adil Shāh had, by this time, learnt the futility and danger of inviting the Hindus to fight against brother Muslims. He even began to doubt whether Rāma Rāya's help was disinterested or whether the Hindu had not ulterior motives of establishing his supremacy by helping the Deccan sultanates to fight one another and weaken themselves. He put forward the approach of the monsoons as an excuse for the suspension of hostilities and the allies returned to their respective dominions.³⁵ (June 1563).

'Alī 'Adil Shāh abandoned his advantage because he was both afraid of Rāma Rāya and disgusted at his attitude towards the Muslims in the recent campaigns. During these campaigns against Ahmadnagar, the Hindus had greatly insulted Islam. They had polluted the mosques, had insulted the book, had dishonoured Muslim women. Nor had they shown proper respect towards the person of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh himself. The Muslim envoys had to endure similar humiliation. When they presented themselves before the Hindu, they were treated contemptuously.³⁶ At first 'Alī 'Adil Shāh had disregarded these petty incidents, but they loomed large against the background of the general attitude of the Hindus towards Islam. 'Alī's cup of bitterness was full. Rāma Rāya's arrogance knew no bounds; but his pride was the prelude to his fall.

35. *TMQS*, 101-b-103a; *TM*, 61a-62b; *FA*, 87a-b; *BS*, 86-88; *Ferishta* II, 68, 245.

36. *Ferishta* II, 69; *BS*, 90; *TM*, 46a; *Sewell* 193-94; *ADV*, 91-92.

After reaching Vijayanagar, Rāma Rāya claimed from 'Alī 'Adil Shāh the districts of Itgīr and Bāgalkot as the price of his friendship and from Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, Kovilconda and Pangal. The two sultans were not in a position to refuse this peremptory demand. At the same time it helped to bring them together and brought home to them the fact that the Hindu was the common enemy of the Islamic states of the Deccan. Rāma Rāya had already secured the Doab. By the occupation of Itgīr on one side and Kovilconda on the other, the natural boundaries formed by the Krishnā, between Bijāpur-Golcondā and Vijayanagar had been destroyed. To Rāma Rāya, therefore, the acquisition of these districts was merely the beginning of an encroachment on the territory of the Deccan sultanates which in the end were to succumb to the Hindu arms. But he was too rash and the Muhammadan monarchs had learnt their lesson. Rāma Rāya was trying to become the military dictator and the arbiter of the destinies of the Deccan sultanates. It was he who had asked Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh in 1558 to withdraw his alliance from Ahmadnagar; it was he who had dictated terms to Husain Nizām Shāh; it was he who had compelled even his ally 'Alī 'Adil Shāh to cede to him the strategic districts adjoining the Doāb. No more proofs of the sinister intentions of Rāma Rāya were necessary for the Deccan sultans. His reckless diplomacy and inconsiderate attitude towards Islam filled their minds with disgust. And out of this was born their hatred towards the empire of Vijayanagar, the source of Rāma Rāya's strength, the symbol of his arrogance. If the sultanates wanted to save themselves from the menace of the Hindu autocrat, their salvation lay in uniting together against him for destroying his military strength and overthrowing the Hindu Empire. And this they proceeded to do.

The Muslim Confederacy: Battle of Talikota:—The idea of the Muslim confederacy originated at Ahmadnagar.³⁷ Husain Nizām Shāh placed it before Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda who approved of it and sent Mustafā Khān Ardastānī, one of his nobles, to Ahmadnagar to complete the negotiations. From Ahmadnagar Mustafā Khān went to Bijāpur for inducing 'Alī to join the league. Husain Nizām Shāh proposed a dual marriage alliance: his

37. TM, 62a; Burhān, 410-411.

daughter Chānd Bibī was to be given in marriage to 'Alī and 'Alī's sister Hadiyya Sultān was to be married to Husain's son Murtazā. Further, the fortress of Sholāpur, which had hitherto been a bone of contention was to be handed over to Bijāpur as the marriage dowry of Chānd Bibī. These were not mere empty promises, false representations or futile negotiations. To allay 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's suspicions Husain even offered to send his children as hostages to Bijāpur.³⁸ But 'Alī did not need this show of elaborate earnestness to persuade him to join the league. He was utterly disgusted with his ertswile ally, Rāma Rāya, and was apprehensive of the Hindu advance beyond the Doāb. He had found out Rāma Rāya for what he was—a professed friend of Bijāpur but the potential enemy of Islam. This anomalous position could no longer continue. To join the proposed alliance was to 'Alī not only a loyal duty, but an essential policy. 'Alī Barīd Shāh was also drawn into the alliance. The confederacy was complete.

It was 'Alī 'Adil Shāh who sent the ultimatum to the Hindu king for the surrender of the districts recently wrested by Vijayanagar from Bijāpur and Golcondā. As was to be expected the arrogant Hindu turned down the demand, declared his intention of resisting it with the force of arms if necessary and drove the 'Adilshāhī envoy out of the Hindu capital.³⁹ The other resident ambassadors of the Deccan sultans also left in sympathy, thus bringing home to Rāma Rāya, in this instance at least, the solidarity of the Muhammadan monarchs.

The volume of mighty events was steadily reaching its climax. War was inevitable. Both sides knew it and were prepared for it. The allied armies had been already mobilised. They left Bijāpur on December 24, 1564 and encamped at Talikota⁴⁰ twenty-five miles north of the Krishna.

38. TM, 62b; TMQS, 109b-111a; FA, 90a-92b; Ferishta II, 72.

39. Ferishta II, 72; BS, 95-96.

40. TM, 63a; TMQS, 111b; Ferishta II, 72-73. For the numbers of the Hindu and Muhammadan armies see Ferishta II, 73, 250, 252; ADV, 200; Sewell, 20-1-02; CHI, III, 448. The final battle which took place on the right bank of the Krishna was popularly known as the battle of Talikota, because the village of Talikota was the first base of the Muslim armies. The villages Rakkasgi-Tangadgi are actually on the left bank of the river.

Rāma Rāya took measures for the defence of the Doāb by sending his brother Tirumala with a strong force to occupy the fords of the Krishna. Another division followed under a second brother, Venkatādri, while Rāma Rāya himself brought up the rear with the main body of his army. The allies, on arriving at the river, found that their only course was to force the ford immediately before them and they resolved to draw their opponents out of their position by a feint. They accordingly marched by the river as if to attempt a passage at a different point, and were followed on the other side by the Hindus. On the third night they suddenly reversed and, gaining the now undefended ford, succeeded in carrying over their whole army.⁴¹ This was a great triumph for the allies who proved that they were superior in military manoeuvres if not in numbers.

The morning of January 25, 1565 saw the two armies confronting each other on the since memorable battlefield of Rakshas-Tagdi on the bank of the Krishna, some 14 miles from Talikota, which stands on the Don. Husain Nizām Shāh was in the centre of the allied armies, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was to his right and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd Shāh to the left. Husain was faced by Rāma Rāya in the centre of the enemy ranks. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh found himself against Venkatādri, and the left wing of the allies confronted the Hindu contingent under Tirumala. The allied artillery was in the centre of the front line under the command of an able Turkish gunner, Chalabī Rūmī Khān.⁴² The Hindu front was protected by a large number of war elephants as well as cannon.

The left wing of the Hindus under Venkatādri was the first to attack and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh who had to bear its brunt was forced to draw back under the vigorous impact. Tirumala too was successful in pushing back the left wing of the allied army.⁴³ But the artillery came to the rescue of the allies. Under its constant fire the Hindus could not come within an easy distance of the allied centre. This saved the centre and ultimately the allies. The artillery under the direction of Chalabī Rūmī Khān caused great

41. Ferishta II, 73; Sewell, 199-200; TM, 63a; BS, 98-99.

42. Ferishta II, 250-51; FA, 95b-96b; Burhān, 423.

43. Ferishta II, 75.

havoc among the Hindu contingents commanded by Rāma Rāya. Taking advantage of this visible confusion, Kishvar Khān, one of the lieutenants under Husain Nizām Shāh, charged the enemy centre with his cavalry.⁴⁴ The destruction caused by Rūmī Khān's gunners was completed by the charge of Kishvar Khān's brigade.

Husain Nizām Shāh followed up this advantage with a general charge of his cavalry and completely routed the centre of the Hindu army. At this juncture Rāma Rāya himself was brought before Husain. The capture of the Hindu was fortuitous. One of the Nizamshahi war-elephants had strayed beyond his line and had come up with litter which carried Rāma Rāya. His body-guard was panic-stricken and fled. The *mahūt* recognised the Hindu king and ordered his elephant to pick him up. Seeing their leader gone, the remaining Hindu army broke up like a herd of stampeded cattle. Husain Nizām Shāh, after delivering one final address of pent-up hatred, ordered the Hindu's execution.⁴⁵

This was the end of the battle. It was also the end of Rāma Rāya's fatal foreign policy, which had spelt for its originator immediate triumph but ultimate disaster. At last, by their unity, the Deccan sultanates had vanquished their traditional enemy and won a well-deserved triumph, a triumph so persistently pursued but never realised by the Bahmanī Emperors.

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TM—Rafi-ud-dīn Shīrāzī: *Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk*. British Museum Manuscript, Additional 23,883.

TMQS—*Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutbshāhī*. British Museum Manuscript, Additional, 6,542.

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The only MS of FA known today is in the British Museum. Its author was at Bijāpur during the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. Rafi-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī the author of TM was an officer under 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpur. He was present at the battle of Rakshas-Tagdi. Copies of TM are available in India though not easily accessible.

Sources of Vijayanagar History edited by Krishnaswamy Iyengar and Further Sources of Vijayanagar History by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya give fully the Hindu source material on Muslim-Vijayanagar relations, but they throw no light on the points mentioned in the first section of this paper and in no way affect my general thesis in subsequent sections.

Orchha Succession, 1837-1842

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Ever since the emergence of the East India Company as the Paramount Power in India, its attitude towards the Indian Princes in matters of succession underwent a gradual change. Succession questions assumed a new meaning and importance. They were used to promote the rights and interests of the Company and to undermine those of the Princes who had come under its virtual guardianship and could be removed by its superior might, whenever it was thought to be necessary. Ordinarily, these problems were purely of internal concern for the Indian Princes with which, legally, the British Government had nothing to do, but, in course of time, the interest shown by the British representatives in India in these issues served as one of the ways of making the Princes and their subjects feel that the princely states were subordinate to the British power which enjoyed superior political status in India. Interference of this nature, although not stipulated in the treaties, gradually developed into a common practice with the changing political status of the East India Company in India, largely because the safety and promotion of British interests depended on the character and capacity of the Princes and their attitude towards the British power. During the process of the formulation of the principles of paramountcy and determination of their scope and mode of application, the first serious casualty was the interest of the Princes and their subjects. It was at their expense that the scope of paramountcy became increasingly more comprehensive. The safety of the interests of the Princes depended mostly on the British benevolence and on their loyalty and submission to the imperial overlords.

In this relationship of a superior and a subordinate and in the circumstances entirely unfavourable to the continuance of the internal sovereignty of the Indian states, disinterested approach to the issues of succession by the Paramount Power was

hardly possible. Without any sound legal basis and most often with questionable right, the grant of recognition to the adopted son and to his right to succeed was assumed as a privilege and a responsibility of the protecting power. The problem of succession, therefore, resolved itself into two distinct questions. Firstly, whether the Princes and chiefs not having natural heirs should be allowed to enjoy a right to adopt a successor to the exclusion of their collateral heirs or to the prejudice of the supposed reversionary rights of the Paramount Power. Secondly, whether the British Government was bound to acknowledge the adoption so made.¹

These questions came up for discussion and decision when Raja Tej Singh Bahadur of Orchha applied to the British Government in 1837 for grant of recognition to his adopted son to succeed him after his death.² He himself had succeeded his elder brother, Mahendra Vikramajit, in 1834, in the absence of his lineal descendant and like him he too had no son of his own to succeed him. Unlike his brother, he had no younger brother or a nephew whom he could have nominated as his successor. He, therefore, adopted his cousin's son, Kunwar Sujan Singh, whom he had cherished as his son since his birth, in accordance with the established religious rites and ceremonies, and requested the Agent to the Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to gratify him in his old age by presenting a *khilat* to his adopted son. He assured him that for this favour his successor would always display fidelity to the British Government as his predecessors had done till then.³

The Political Agent felt that the subject of succession to the chiefships of Bundelkhand was so frequent that it necessitated the formulation of a principle for general application. With this end in view, he pieced together the information he had collected from his office records and other sources and decided to present a comprehensive view of the general issue of succession and to suggest a probable line of policy to be adopted in respect

1. Agra Political Narrative, 31st December, 1837.

2. Translation of a letter from the Raja of Orchha to the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P., forwarded by the Agent in Bundelkhand to his Secretary on 7th June, 1837.

3. *Ibid.*

of succession to the *gaddi* of Orchha.⁴ As the pending issue was concerned with the leading principality of Bundelkhand, a clear exposition of British policy in regard to succession was considered to be most opportune. In making this suggestion his object was three-fold. Firstly, to study the circumstances under which certain principalities and jagirs of Bundelkhand were transmitted in the past to persons not being lineal descendants of their immediate predecessors. Secondly, to find out whether the succession was admitted in those cases as a matter of right or merely as an act of benevolent consideration. Thirdly, to ascertain whether the persons so succeeding were actually entitled to succeed under the customary private law of inheritance.⁵

To accomplish his work, Fraser, the Political Agent, collected geneological tables of the ruling families of the states of Bundelkhand where succession in the past had gone to the adopted sons of the rulers and carefully examined the terms of the treaties or *sanads* relating to them along with the correspondence on the past issues of succession.⁶ A thorough examination of all the available material brought to his notice as many as nine instances in which grounds of claims other than legitimacy were sanctioned by the British Government, but in all those cases no fixed principle of succession was evolved. In the pre-British period, in certain cases, the rights of collaterals were upheld in opposition to the claims of the adopted sons, while in others they were entirely overlooked. In some cases rights altogether new were created and in others rights of a questionable character were confirmed and they were recognized by the succeeding paramountcies.⁷ The only point common to all the cases was that while recognizing successions British obligations were invariably emphasized. Another striking feature was that in most of the cases absence of uniformity of principles was conspicuous.

Fraser did not favour the existence of this senseless conglomeration of conflicting principles. He considered the idea of

4. Two letters from the British Agent, S. Fraser to the Lt.-Governor N.W.P., 7th June & 7th October, 1837.

5. A letter from Fraser to R. N. C. Hamilton, Officiating Secretary to the Lt.-Governor N.W.P., 7th October, 1837.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

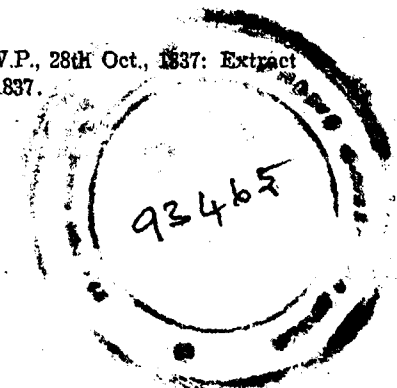
having different principles for different cases as incredible. The use of discretionary authority as law did not appeal to him. He was firm in his opinion that the discretion of sanctioning succession should be more carefully exercised in future and the right of the chiefs to adopt should be admitted only to the extent recognized by the engagements concluded with them.⁸ The words *aulad*, *akhlaf* and *ahfad*, used in engagements, were applicable only to lineal descendants and to no one else. On the soundness of the claims of a successor and his capability would depend the efficiency and good government in the state. He ascribed the lamentable inefficiency in the administration of the leading states of Bundelkhand Agency to 'the authorities devoid of energy, internal dissensions and exhausted resources'. He, therefore, expressed his view that 'before personal consideration towards individuals was allowed to interfere beyond the limits of existing engagements, to the prejudice of the interests of thousands, it deserved grave consideration whether more suitable arrangements might not, and ought not, to be framed'.⁹ He doubted the right of the Paramount Power to overlook the claims of the collateral heirs and felt that it was neither desirable nor wise to do so, as it was done in the cases of Datia and Charkhari under certain contingent circumstances. In accordance with this view, he did not hold the claims of Raja Tej Singh of Orchha, to adopt a son to the exclusion of the claims of his collaterals and to the prejudice of the rights and interests of the Paramount Power, to be valid. He did not find any reason why the right of the latter to resume hereditary territories in the absence of lineal descendants should not be asserted and enforced.¹⁰ However, even if the British Government was inclined to waive its own claims, due to inexpedient circumstances, and to leave successions to be adjusted by local influences, it had no right to ignore those of the collaterals of the ruling families. He was, therefore, of opinion that in the pending case of succession at Orchha the application of the Raja should not be entertained, as the adopted heir was not the next of kin.¹¹

8. *Ibid.*9. *Ibid.*10. *Ibid.*11. *Ibid.*

Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P., did not agree with the views and recommendations of Fraser.¹² He found that the Political Agent had ignored the difference between the two categories of Princes in Bundelkhand, viz., the sovereign Princes and the Jagirdars, or those in possession of the hereditary sovereignties in their own rights and those who held grants of lands or public revenues by gift from a sovereign or Paramount Power. These two kinds of states having different status enjoyed different kinds of rights. The sovereign Princes had a right to adopt to the exclusion of their collaterals and the so-called reversionary rights of the Paramount Power in accordance with the laws of the land. In their cases, the British Government was bound to acknowledge adoptions, if they were regular and not in violation of their customary legal tenets.¹³ In the cases of the second category of states, the Paramount Power was entitled to limit successions according to the terms of the grants which were in general, confined only to the legitimate sons and consequently precluded adoptions. In the absence of male heirs of these Princes, their states could be annexed by the overlord by right.¹⁴

Having thus defined the two categories of states in Bundelkhand, Metcalfe asked Fraser to classify the Princes within the range of his superintendence into the specified categories and to state reasons for assigning them to different classes. If, however, there existed an intermediate category of states whom it might be difficult to assign precisely to either of the two classes, he was asked to state the details of the cases and submit documents in support of his view. In the light of this interpretation, Fraser was asked to report precisely and exactly as to which class of chiefs he considered the Raja of Orchha to belong.¹⁵ To Metcalfe it seemed that he was a sovereign Prince, and being a Hindu, he was fully entitled to adopt a son and successor in the absence of his own. He regarded the adoption made by the Raja as 'an unobjectionable arrangement'.¹⁶ He disputed the statement

12. Minute of C.T. Metcalfe, Lt.-Governor, N.W.P., 28th Oct., 1837: Extract from Agra Political Narrative, 31st December, 1837.

13. *Ibid.*14. *Ibid.*15. *Ibid.*16. *Ibid.*

of Fraser, that the former decisions of the British Government in acknowledging successions in the states of Bundelkhand were incoherent, and said that the one underlying principle, which generally operated on such occasions, had been that of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States by which a succession apparently agreeable to the Prince and the people or to the latter on the demise of the former, was recognized.¹⁷ However, he asked Fraser to study the case of Orchha afresh and submit a revised report to be placed before the Supreme Government for final orders.

For about three and a half years the question of succession dragged on, as the British Government was engaged in the Afghan problem and there was no hurry about succession in Orchha. In the meantime, a political insurrection occurred at Chirgaon, in which participation or connivance of Raja Tej Singh was alleged. The Political Agent, who had already shown disfavour to adoption in 1837, now found an additional reason to reinforce his opposition to it and to work for its annulment. In his letter of the 28th May 1841, he held the Raja guilty of rendering help to his subordinate Jagirdar, Bakhat Singh of Chirgaon, in his rebellion against the British authority, with a detachment of his army under Hirdai Shah of Bigna, the father of the boy whom he had adopted as his son and successor. In the opinion of Fraser, this complicity alone in the absence of any other evidence against him was sufficient to convict him for having directly encouraged the rebel Jagirdar to defy British authority.¹⁸

The Governor-General-in-Council took a very serious view of the matter.¹⁹ There seemed to be strong reasons for believing the allegations to be true. The conduct of the Raja and the attitude of his feudatories, who were notorious for refractory and insubordinate disposition, were considered to be tantamount to direct violation of their obligations to the British Government and open hostility to its power. But Orchha, being a powerful, resourceful, influential and substantive state of great antiquity,

17. *Ibid.*

18. A letter from J. Thomason, Secretary to the Govt. of N.W.P., to T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Govt. of India, 22nd June, 1841, No. 66.

19. A letter from Maddock to Thomason, 19th July, 1841.

commanding respect all over Bundelkhand, and its former ruler, the late Mahendra Vikramajit, being well-known for his creditable fidelity and unflinching adherence to the terms of alliance with the British Government for nearly thirty years, any drastic action against his state seemed to be premature, risky and inexpedient. However, as a preliminary step to any measure or demand of an unpalatable nature, it was thought necessary to give the Raja an opportunity to explain the charge against him.²⁰ Any punishment to be inflicted upon him was to be decided after a thorough enquiry and only when the allegation against him was found to be correct. If, however, at the end it was considered expedient not to punish him, it would be necessary at least to express British displeasure and administer a severe warning for the future, while granting recognition to his adopted son.²¹

The Raja's reply to the enquiry was more of a simple denial than explanation.²² He admitted the presence of Hirdai Shah at Chirgaon at the time of insurrection, but denied the allegation of his participation in the hostile acts of Bakhat Singh. This evidence was not considered sufficient to convince the Political Agent and the Lt.-Governor that the Raja was innocent.²³ He refused to place any credit on his denial and considered his guilt to be sufficiently established. They felt that the Raja's conduct was not unequivocal and unexceptionable. If he had no hostile intentions, he could have prevented or discouraged Bakhat Singh from raising a standard of revolt. In opposition to the wishes of the influential Raja and without his connivance, the rebel leader could not have taken courage to defy the British authority.²⁴ In spite of this conviction, the Lt.-Governor considered any drastic action against him to be inexpedient, as it might create disaffection in Bundelkhand. He, however, suggested that the Paramount Power would be fully warranted in attaching any condition to the grant of sanction to adoption, short of exercising strictly its right of resumption on failure of direct heirs.²⁵

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. A letter from Hamilton to Maddock, 30th October, 1841, No. 110.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

This complicated case was considered so important that it was discussed threadbare in the Executive Council. Mr. Maddock, the Secretary to the Government, wrote a comprehensive note on the status of the Raja, his conduct in the rebellion of the jagirdar of Chirgaon and his right to adopt an heir.²⁶ Minutes were written by H. T. Prinsep,²⁷ W. W. Bird²⁸ and the Governor-General²⁹ before any decision was taken. A brief mention of these is essential for having a clear understanding and a complete picture of the issue.

Maddock felt that, if the Raja's guilt was proved, he should be held responsible for having broken the treaty with the British Government. In this altered state of affairs, the Paramount Power would be fully justified in imposing new terms on him for ensuring peace and tranquillity in Bundelkhand. Unlike Metcalfe, he doubted if Orchha was ever regarded as a sovereign state. He believed that originally its ruler was only a liege-lord under the Mughal Emperors, and afterwards, when Baji Rao Peshwa gained ascendancy over Bundelkhand, he ceded to him a part of his territory and in return secured protection from the Maratha Subedar of Jhansi. This cession of territory was nothing but a price of protection, and Orchha was undoubtedly a protected state under the Peshwa from whom the paramountcy had passed on to the East India Company.³⁰ By the treaty concluded with him, British protection was extended to him and he was placed on the same footing in relation to the British Government as the other Rajas of that region.³¹ In default of heirs, all the states of Bundelkhand were liable to lapse to the British Government. Although Maddock did not suggest this course, he argued against the grant of any indulgence to the state of Orchha which was denied to her by the Mughal Emperors and the Maratha overlords. He did not consider it to be a right course for the British Government to forego its supremacy in giving direction to the states in matters of succession.³² In the pending case of Orchha, he found

26. Note by T. H. Maddock, 22nd November, 1841.

27. Minute by H. T. Prinsep, January, 1842.

28. Minute by W. W. Bird, 12th January, 1842.

29. Minute by Governor-General, 2nd January, 1842.

30. Note by T. S. Maddock, 22nd November, 1841.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

several additional reasons for treating the presentation of a *khilat* as a favour for which an equivalent could reasonably be demanded.³³

Ignoring the stress of circumstances in which the East India Company had entered into treaties with the princely states of Bundelkhand with an object to ensure its own safety, and arrogating qualities of benevolence to his government, Maddock stated that by an excess of liberality the British Government had allowed the chiefs of Bundelkhand to continue to retain their territories and revenues and had granted them protection from foreign invasions and internal turmoils in lieu of a hope that they would work as effective barriers against foreign invasions on the British territory.³⁴ That danger had long ceased to exist and there remained nothing for the states to reciprocate. The protected states of Bundelkhand were, therefore, termed as the most favoured and the most pampered of all the British dependencies in India. Unlike the protected states of other regions, they had contributed nothing either to the financial or military resources of the Paramount Power. Hence, on the plea of the alleged misconduct of the Raja of Orchha, this opportunity of altering the terms of the past engagements with the Bundelkhand chiefs was considered to be the most opportune.³⁵ He, therefore, suggested a scheme of initiating with Orchha the policy of commuting the general duties of the Princes to render military service to the Paramount Power into contributions for maintaining an adequate and efficient military force permanently in Bundelkhand.³⁶ This was intended to be the surest guarantee for the maintenance of tranquillity in that region, and it was considered to be the least that could be required from any class of states. He had no doubts that this much would be attained to with little or no difficulties.³⁷

Besides making these observations and giving indications of the policy to be pursued, Maddock advised that the Political Agent should explain to the Raja of Orchha that the Supreme Government was highly dissatisfied with his conduct and that the tension

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

created by the Chirgaon insurrection had convinced the British Government of the necessity of maintaining a disciplined force in Bundelkhand to be paid for by all the chiefs of that region.³⁸ Hence, as a mark of his repentance and pledge for his future loyalty, he should be asked to pay an annual contribution of one lakh of rupees in lieu of military service to the Paramount Power, if he desired the restoration of British favour and friendship to himself and grant of recognition to his adopted son to succeed him to the throne. Maddock was quite sure that the Raja of Orchha would not offer any serious objection to this requirement, as his military resources were too insignificant to enable him to express resentment and risk his possessions by an indiscreet armed opposition to the British power.³⁹

After a careful perusal of the relevant documents and realizing the adverse results of direct intervention, Lord Auckland considered it inexpedient to adopt a drastic policy towards Orchha for the alleged participation or connivance of its ruler in the resistance offered to the British authority at Chirgaon by one of his dependent jagirdars.⁴⁰ He ruled out the idea of lapse and refused to accept the doctrine that the British Government should not observe scrupulously the terms of its engagements with the states of Bundelkhand in view of material alteration in the circumstances in which they were signed.⁴¹ In support of his contention, he recalled the preamble to the treaty with Orchha, concluded on the 23rd December, 1842,⁴² which clearly defined the status of its ruler whose ancestors had been holding the state since ancient times without paying tribute or acknowledging vassalage to any other power. The treaty was designated as one of friendship and alliance by which the state was guaranteed to its ruler and his heirs and successors. In view of these clear terms, Lord Auckland considered it impossible to raise any doubt as to the status of the Raja and decided to regard him as a sovereign Prince who was entitled, as suggested by Metcalfe on the 28th October, 1837, to make an adoption which the British Government was legally

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. Minute by the Governor-General, 2nd January, 1842.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements & Sanads*, Vol. V, pp. 85-86.

bound to recognize, provided that the adoption was regular and 'not in violation of the Hindu Law.'⁴³ He was opposed to the idea of mixing up the two separate issues of the recognition of the right of the Raja to adopt and the punishment to be inflicted on him for his unwarranted opposition to the British power.⁴⁴

As regards the alleged guilt of the Raja, Lord Auckland found sufficient presumptive evidence to establish the charge. But he felt that the assumption of Chirgaon and the adoption of other contemplated measures for strengthening the British hold over Bundelkhand would be quite enough to meet the grave situation. They would weaken his position so much that infliction of any other punishment on him would be too severe and its repercussions would not be in British favour. Any drastic action might result in the adoption of measures which might completely alter the terms of his engagement and create dissatisfaction in the state.⁴⁵ He, therefore, decided to ask the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P. to admonish the Raja strongly that by his conduct he had laid himself open to suspicion of the British Government, and warn him against the repetition of an offence of that nature, which might result in the annulment of the treaty and the withdrawal of protection from him.⁴⁶ Besides this, he endorsed the suggestion of Maddock and decided to use this occasion as the best opportunity to commute the general obligation of the dependent allies in Bundelkhand to render military service to the Paramount Power into a specific stipulation to contribute for the maintenance of a strong military contingent disciplined and commanded by British Officers. In the achievement of this object, cautious approach was enjoined and due regard was to be shown to the financial condition of the states and to the reactions of the Princes who were to be affected by it.⁴⁷

W. W. Bird subscribed to the views of Lord Auckland and saw no reason to depart from the well-established policy. He suggested scrupulous adherence to the terms of the treaty and strongly recommended that the two issues should be dealt with separately.⁴⁸

43. Minute by the Governor-General, 2nd January, 1842.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. Minute of W. W. Bird, 12th January, 1842.

H. T. Prinsep was of opinion that the states of Bundelkhand in their relations with the British Government were not better than the protected states of other regions. Among them, Orchha belonged to a superior class like the ruler of Rewa in Baghelkhand. Having no natural heir, the Raja provided for succession and he had every right to do so even to the exclusion of the claims of his collaterals.⁴⁹ Being an old inheritance, neither of British creation nor a product of the Peshwa's bounty to whose rights the company had succeeded, the British Government was not entitled to claim the Raj as a lapse on failure of a direct heir to the prejudice of his right to adopt or of the rights of his collaterals to succeed.⁵⁰ He treated this case as quite different from that of Jalaun which was only a jagir and a subordinate province of the Peshwa to which only direct descendants from the first *Subedar* could have a just claim to succeed.⁵¹

The views of Lord Auckland, W. W. Bird, H. T. Prinsep and C. T. Metcalfe were more or less the same, while those of Fraser and Maddock were different in several respects. However, the recommendations of Maddock were almost akin to those of the Governor-General and the members of his council. Hence, the views and recommendations of Fraser were rejected and those of the Governor-General were communicated to the Lt.-Governor as decisions of the Supreme Government to be carried into effect.⁵² Thus the right of the ruler of Orchha to adopt was formally acknowledged, provided it was regular and in accordance with the Hindu Law of succession.

Soon after this decision was taken, Raja Tej Singh became seriously ill and infirm in health. When Fraser paid him a visit on the 21st March, he placed his adopted son before him and sought British protection and favour for him. Fraser warmly shook hand with the boy and the Raja gave assurances of his fidelity and attachment to the Paramount Power.⁵³ Two days after,

49. Minute by H. T. Prinsep, 12th January, 1842.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. A letter from T. H. Maddock to R. N. C. Hamilton, 17th January, 1842, No. 108.

53. Translation of a letter from the Raja of Orchha to Fraser, 23rd March, 1842.

when due to a sudden attack of malignant fever, the Raja became despondent of his life, he formally placed his adopted son on the *gaddi*, abdicated in his favour and solicited a *khilat* for him in token of British recognition to his succession.⁵⁴ Before the receipt of this communication, the Political Agent reported to the Lt.-Governor of N.W.P. the existence of two parties in Orchha of which the principal one was in favour of adoption made by the Raja while the other one openly disputed it on the plea that the right of the widow of Dharampal Singh (son of Mahendra Vikramajit) to nominate a successor was superior to that of Raja Tej Singh, whom it accused of having obtained the *Raj* fraudulently. In this state of affairs, Fraser advised cautious approach to the issue and considered any premature step to be risky and full of dangerous possibilities.⁵⁵ To the Raja's letter he gave no reply in writing, but made it clear to his *vakil* that the British Government had no intention to interfere in the matter of succession. On the 30th March, he suggested to the Lt.-Governor to allow the things to take their natural course and to hold the recognition of the claims of Sujan Singh in abeyance, till it was clearly ascertained whether he was acceptable to the influential persons in the state.⁵⁶

On the same date Raja Tej Singh expired. His adopted son, Sujan Singh, communicated the melancholy event to the Political Agent and asked his *Mukhtar* to solicit British support for him.⁵⁷ Fraser refused to oblige him even with a formal letter of condolence on the plea that his claims were not undisputed. He stated that the British Government might review all the circumstances before giving a final decision which would be influenced largely by the views of the leading personalities of the *Raj*.⁵⁸ This attitude of Fraser evinced a doubt whether the majority of the chiefs of Orchha would accord recognition to Sujan Singh.

When the affairs at Orchha were at this stage and Fraser was reinforcing his opposition to Sujan Singh's succession, the

54. *Ibid.*

55. A letter from Fraser to R. N. C. Hamilton, 24th March, 1842, No. 62.

56. A letter from Fraser to R. N. C. Hamilton, 30th March, 1842.

57. A letter from Raja Sujan Singh to the Lt.-Governor of N. W. P., received on April 1, 1842.

58. A letter from Fraser to Hamilton, 7th April, 1842.

Lt.-Governor of N.W.P. communicated the orders of the Governor-General to him that the right of the late ruler to adopt a successor was unquestionable and instructed him to discourage any agitation in the state which might create doubts in the minds of the people of Orchha about the legality of adoption made by him in 1837 without any opposition.⁵⁹ Raja Tej Singh was supposed to have legitimately succeeded his brother and his succession was duly recognised in 1834. Similarly, the proceedings relating to the adoption of Sujan Singh and the details of the case reported in 1837 by the Political Agent never indicated that his adoption was irregular and against the established legal procedure. Since no objection was raised to his adoption for four years, there was no reason to question its legitimacy.⁶⁰ Hence, it was considered impolitic to postpone recognition to adoption which might create demoralizing effect on the ambitious minds and result in complications. Formal recognition by the British Government would give stability to administration and put an end to wild speculations about the British attitude towards the principality of Orchha. No further delay was, therefore, permitted and Fraser was asked to follow a definite policy of granting unqualified recognition to Raja Sujan Singh.⁶¹

In accordance with this instruction, Fraser addressed a letter to Sujan Singh recognising him as the ruler of Orchha and asked him to abide by the advice and instructions of the Paramount Power, to strengthen the existing bonds of interests by an uniformly steady and impartial administration and secure the good will and confidence of his subjects.⁶² This letter was perfectly in accordance with the views of the Supreme Government and was approved by the Lt.-Governor.⁶³

In this case of succession, the approach of the Political Agent was swayed by prejudices against Raja Tej Singh and his adopted son Sujan Singh. In his desire to prevent the son of Dewan Hirdai Shah, the supporter of the rebel jagirdar of Chirgaon, from suc-

59. A letter from Hamilton to Fraser, 7th April, 1842.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. A letter from Fraser to Raja Sujan Singh, 11th April, 1842.

63. A letter from the Secretary to the Govt. of N.W.P., to Fraser, 16th April, 1842.

ceeding to the *gaddi* of the leading principality of Bundelkhand, Fraser postponed the grant of recognition to him on all sorts of pleas. But ultimately the principle of expediency determined the decision of the Governor-General-in-Council who was not disposed to risk British interests by causing annoyance to the Indian Princes whose confidence in the British sense of justice was shaky. Orchha being the oldest and the most influential and respectable state in Bundelkhand, it was considered essential to discourage the growth of political tension which might imperil British interests in topographically the most difficult region in India. The loyalty of Mahendra Vikramajit of Orchha had been so greatly helpful to the British cause in Bundelkhand since the conclusion of the treaty of friendship and defensive alliance in 1812, that postponement of recognition to the adoption made by his successor was most likely to be interpreted differently by the turbulent and sensitive Bundelas. That is why the wishes of the man on the spot were overruled and a diplomatically expedient policy was pursued.

Although the British Government treated this question of succession to be a closed issue, peace did not prevail in the royal palace. Failure to grant prompt recognition to Raja Sujan Singh had its effect. His right to succeed was disputed by the widow of Dharmpal who came to be known as the *Larai Rani*. She claimed for herself the right to adopt a successor to the state. Her pretensions led to some tension and disturbances in the state. But, as the adoption of Sujan Singh was quite regular and it was already recognised by the British Government and acquiesced in by the neighbouring chiefs, the British Government effected a happy compromise by appointing the Rani as Regent till Sujan Singh attained his mature age.⁶⁴ The issue of succession thus became a closed chapter.

64. Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 9.

The River Nerañjarā (Nairañjanā) of Buddhist Fame

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Designation.

The Nerañjarā was a famous river of Ancient India. It was also known as Nairañjanā and Nirañjanā.¹ It was known to the Chinese as Ni-lien-shen,² Ni-len-shan³ and Ni-len-shan-na.⁴ According to the *Shui-ching-chu*⁵ it was named as Ni-lien-ch'an. The Greeks knew it as Errhenysis.⁶

Location — Two tributaries of the Phalgu river.

The river Nairañjanā flowed through the city of Gayā. According to the *Shui-ching-chu* this river flowed to the south into the river Ganges (Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu*, p. 49). It was visited by the Buddha.⁷ It may be identified with the modern Phalgu river. Nīlājanā and Mohanā are the two branches of the Nairañjanā. The united flow of these two hill-streams Nīlājanā and Mohanā is called the Phalgu. The name of Nīlājan or Nīlājan is restricted to the western branch which joins the Mohāni, 5 miles above Gayā.⁸ The two hill streams meet together above Bodhgayā, which is situated at a short distance to the west of the Nīlājanā or Nairañjanā or Nirañjanā, which has its source

1. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Mediaeval India*, p. 135.

2. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 522.

3. Beal, *Life of Hsuen Tsang*, p. 103.

4. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 138.

5. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-chin-chu*, pp. 48-49.

6. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Ed. S. N. Majumdar, 97.

7. *Buddhacarita-Kāvya*, Bk. XII, v. 88.

8. Cunningham, *Ancient Geo.*, p. 524.

near Simeria in the district of Hazaribagh.⁹ The river Phalgu receives two tributaries, one in the district of Patna, and the other called the Kiul in the district of Monghyr.

Two distinct rivers, Phalgu and Nerañjarā.

Dr. Barua holds that the Phalgu river and the stream further north were somehow just the continuation of the Nerañjarā.¹⁰ According to the *District Gazetteer of Gayā* (p. 8), the river Nerañjarā flows north and south and intersects the district. The Phalgu impinges on a high rocky bank. It runs in a north-easterly direction for about 17 miles and opposite the Barabar hills. It takes the name of Mohanā¹¹ and divides into two branches flowing into a branch of the Pūnpūn. The Sarasvatī-Viśālā at Gayā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*¹² is, according to Pargiter, probably modern Līlājān which flows past Bodh-Gayā.¹³ According to Bohtlingk and Roth the Nerañjarā is known as the Phalgu. The Pali Canonical texts keep the two rivers distinct. The *Udāna*¹⁴ mentions that the Jaṭilas of Gayā proper bathed in the Gayā or Phalgu river. The *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*¹⁵ refers to the Jaṭilas bathing in a different river, the Nerañjarā.

Uruvelā

Uruvelā is found in Buddhist literature¹⁶ as invariably associated with this river. It was visited by the Buddha many times where he saw nicely looking trees, pleasing lakes, plain grounds, and the transparent water of the Nerañjarā river.¹⁷ The Uruvelā division on the banks of the Nerañjarā contained Senānigāma or Senānigama (identified by Bloch with the present village of Urel) and Nala, the native village of the celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa.

9. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 135.

10. Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, p. 102.

11. It is Magona according to Ptolemy (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S.N. Majumdar Ed.), p. 97.

12. *Salya Parva*, XXXIX, 2188-89 & 2205-06.

13. Pargiter, *Markandeyap. tr.*, p. 297.

14. *P.T.S.*, p. 6.

15. *P.T.S.*, p. 31.

16. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, *PTS.*, p. 1; *Udāna*, p. 10; *Mahāvastu*, II, 123; *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann Ed.), p. 311.

17. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 123.

Phalgu frequently called a mahānadi. Nerañjarā, a tīrtha, more sacred than the Ganges. Phalgutīrtha — its sanctity.

Gayā, one of the holy places of Ancient India, comprised three divisions, all located along the left bank of the Nerañjarā and Gayā rivers: Uruvelā, Nadī (meeting place of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadi) and Gayā.¹⁸ The *Manorathapūraṇi*,¹⁹ the commentary on the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, mentions a Mahāgaṅgā which was either the confluence of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadi or Soṇa river. The *Mahābhārata* (Vānaparva, Ch. 87) refers to the holy river Phalgu, which is frequently called the Mahānadi.²⁰ The river Nerañjarā is mentioned as a tīrtha (holy spot).²¹ The Nerañjarā or Nairāñjanā or the Phalgu river was more sacred than the Ganges.²² The Phalgu-tīrtha was the best of all holy spots.²³ A person obtains greater merit by performing religious rites at Phalgu-tīrtha than one who performs 1000 times 1000 *Āsvamedha* sacrifices.²⁴ The *Agnipurāṇa*²⁵ mentions the Phalgu-tīrtha among many holy places. It says that after bathing in the Phalgu river one should perform *śrāddha* ceremony at Gayāsira. By taking a bath in the Phalgu river and seeing Gadādharaśiva one saves himself according to the *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ch. 49.19). A person after a bath in the Phalgu river should perform *tarpaṇa*²⁶ and *śrāddha*²⁷ with *piṇḍas* on the bank of the river Phalgu.²⁸ In the *Vatthūpama sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* we read that the Phaggu or Phalgu is always for the holy. The holy rites have their origin in the pure deeds of the holy.

18. Law, *India as described in the early texts of Buddhism & Jainism*, p. 47.

19. Sinhalese Ed., II, 761.

20. Cf. *Agnipurāṇa*, 115.25.

21. *Mahāvastu*, II, 413.

22. *Vāyupurāṇa* (*Bibliotheca Indica Series*), Ch. 49.15.

23. *Ibid.*, Ch. 49.12.

24. *Ibid.*, Ch. 49.16.

25. *Baṅgavāsi* Ed. pp. 421 and 246.

26. Satisfying gods and deceased persons by offering to them libations of water (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 440).

27. *Śrāddha* is a ceremony in honour and for the departed relatives. (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 1097).

28. *Vāyupurāṇa*, Ch. 49.17; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, IV, 664.

Description—Big forest on the bank of the Nerañjarā, extensive sālagrove—The Nerañjara in flood.

The Nerañjarā was graced occasionally by the bathing beauties of the Nāgas.²⁹ It flowed like a multitude of jewels, showing the bathing places with gradual descents of steps.³⁰ The water of this river was transparent, cool, mudless and pure (*vimalanīla-sītala-salilam . . . suparisuddham nikkaddamam*).³¹ The river Nerañjarā had sand scattered appearing like a silver plate with plenty of fish and tortoises. It was charming (*manoñña*), easy of access from neighbouring regions (*gocaragāmāni nātidūrāṇi gamanāgamanasampannāni*) and the alms for the monks were easily available (*sulabhapiṇḍam*).³² It was in this river the Bodhisatta bathed and cooled his limbs (*gātrāni sītalikritvā*).³³ There was a big forest on the bank of this river.³⁴ According to the *Mahābodhi-vamsa*³⁵ there was an extensive sāla grove on its bank. The water of the Nerañjarā was perfumed by the scent of the flowers tied to the locks of hair of the beautiful women of Magadha. The bank of the Nerañjarā was full of reddish yellow coloured flowers fallen from the trees standing on it.³⁶ The beautiful river Nerañjarā was adorned with flowers (*ramyā . . . kusumehi samākulā*). The Nerañjarā was not dried up during hot summer for it is said to have been forded on the full-moon day of Vesākha.³⁷ The bank of this river having pure water (*saccodakam*) was adorned with trees and shrubs (*drumagulmairalaṅkhitā*).³⁸ The river

29. *Lalitavistara*, p. 269; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 264.

30. *Papañcasūdanī* II, 173—*sandamānañ ca maṇikkhandhasadisa Vimalanīlasītala-salilam Nerañjaram nadim anupubbagamabhīrehi sundarehi titthehi upetam*.

31. *Ibid.*, PTS., II, 173; *Lalitavistara*, p. 311; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 123—*sucisampannatoyam*.

32. *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 173-74; *Majjhima*, I, 166-67; *Mahāvastu*, II, 123; *Lalitavistara*, p. 248; Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, pp. 103, 162.

33. *Mahāvastu*, II, 264; *Lalitavistara*, p. 269.

34. *Dhammapada Commy.*, PTS., I, p. 86; *Mahābodhi-vamsa*, PTS., p. 8.

35. PTS., p. 28—*Magadhasundarikesapāsāgarudhūmakusumasurabhisalīlāya Nerañjarāyanadiyā tire*

36. *Mahābodhi-vamsa*, p. 29—*taṭaruḥaparigalitakusumareṇupīṇjaram Nerañjarātīram*.

37. Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, p. 125.

38. *Lalitavistara*, p. 248; Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, 123—*vrikṣamūlāni*.

Nerañjarā flowed calmly and had beautiful bank.³⁹ The *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* (p. 33) points out that the hair, the braids, the bundles on the carrying poles, and the implements for fire-worship, swept away by the current of this river, were seen by Nadikasapa. The Nerañjarā was in flood. Kassapa (Sk. Kāśyapa) and his two disciples hastened in a boat to the rescue of the Buddha.⁴⁰

Antelopes on the bank of the Nerañjarā.

The two Caṇḍālas went to a forest and took up ascetic life. After death they were re-born in the womb of a female deer on the bank of the Nerañjarā river. They were shot dead by a hunter.⁴¹ The Caṇḍālas belonging to the town of Ujjenī in the kingdom of Avantī, were also re-born as antelopes on the bank of this river.⁴²

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's visit. His account.

The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., travelled from the Silabhadra monastery 40 or 50 li south-west and then reached Gayā after crossing the Nerañjarā river.⁴³ He relates that Uruvilva Kāśyapa, Gayā and Nadī Kāśyapa were the three brothers, who were great scholars and magicians and who were worshippers of the element of fire. They had many disciples. Their home Uruvilva was on the Nairañjarā (Phalgu) river. The offering of rice-gruel was made in the neighbourhood of Uruvilva near the Nairañjanā river.⁴⁴ One offering was made by Sujātā who was a married lady at an early period of Siddhārtha's asceticism. Another offering was made by the daughters of Senāni named Nandā and Balā, when his mortifications were over.⁴⁵

In a wood to the east of the Bodhi tree and on the other side of the Nairañjanā river there was a tope and to the north of it there was a tank.⁴⁶ Hiuen Tsang records that Uruvilva Kāśyapa went to the Buddha. He with his 500 followers received religious

39. *Mahāvastu*, II, 123. 40. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 629.

41. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, p. 392.

42. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 397.

43. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 110; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 112-13.

44. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 111-12, 127.

45. *Ibid.*, II, 127.

46. *Ibid.*, II, p. 140.

instructions from the Buddha who asked him to keep aside his leather garments and fire-sacrificing vessels. His disciples threw their articles of worship into the Nerañjarā river (Ni-len-shan-na) in obedience to the command of the Master. Nadi Kāśyapa saw them following the current of this river.⁴⁷ Hiuen Tsang further says that he came to the Bodhi tree which was protected by high and very solid brick walls; the wall stretching east and west is long but narrow from north to south. The principal gate faced the east, looking towards the river Nairāñjanā.⁴⁸

Three Jaṭila Brothers.

The three Jaṭila brothers (matted hair ascetics) named Uruvela Kassapa (Sk. Kāśyapa), Nadi Kassapa and Gayā Kassapa lived at Uruvelā or Uruvilva.⁴⁹ Kassapa of the river Nerañjarā also called Nadi Kassapa was the leader of 300 matted hair ascetics (*tiṇṇaṃ Jaṭilasatānaṃ nāyako hoti—Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., p. 24). On the bank of the river Nerañjarā the Buddha spoke to Uruvela Kassapa that he would stay for a day only in the fire-hall,⁵⁰ if not inconvenient to him. Uruvela Kassapa replied that it would not be inconvenient to him, as he was anxious for the comfort of the Master.⁵¹ On cold nights at the time of the snowfall between the eighths (eighth day after fullmoon) the matted hair ascetics plunged themselves into the river Nerañjarā then emerging and repeatedly plunging in and out. Then the Buddha created 500 fine vessels, just where the matted hair ascetics having come up from the Nerañjarā river, warmed themselves.⁵²

Uruvela Kassapa, the most important convert to Buddhism.

The Bodhisatta Siddhārtha went to the south side of the mount Gayā, to the village of the school of Uruvilva Kāśyapa and took up his abode at the foot of a tree near the bank of the lovely

47. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 130.

48. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 103.

49. The hamlet Urel represents the name of Uruvilva (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, XI, pp. vi, 147).

50. Cf. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 41.

51. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, p. 25—*Aggissāla* (*Agyāgāra*, p. 24).

52. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, pp. 31-32—*tena kho pana samayena te Jaṭilā sitāsu hemantikāsu rattisu antaraṭṭhakāsu himapātasamaye nājjā Nerañjarāyaṃ nimujjanti pi ummujjanti pi ummujjantimujjaṃ pi karonti. Atha kho Bhagavā pañcamattāni mandāmukhisatāni abhinimmiṇi, yattha te Jaṭilā uttaritvā visibbesuṃ*. Cf. *Udāna* (PTS), p. 6.

Nerañjarā and there he continued his mortifications making them more and more severe.⁵³ The Buddha thought that the most important convert he could make in Magadha was Uruvela Kassapa who was then aged 120, a man greatly revered throughout the land. He was regarded as an *arahat* (elect) who with his disciples was then stopping on the bank of the Nerañjarā.⁵⁴ His two brothers, each having 250 disciples, were living on the bank of this river a little lower down the stream.⁵⁵ Uruvela Kassapa and the member of his family came to know about the great miraculous power possessed by the Buddha. When they were trying to bring water, they could not see the water-pot. They thought of the Buddha and found it. They went to the Nerañjarā river but the water-pot could not be filled up. It was full of water when they remembered the Buddha's influence.⁵⁶

Kassapa brothers' nephew.

Upasena, a nephew of Kassapa brothers, lived in a hermitage with 300 disciples (*trisata parivāro*) on the bank of the Nairāñjanā. He acquired four stages of mystic meditation (*catur-dhyāna*),⁵⁷ five supernatural faculties, (*pañcābhijñā*)⁵⁸ and great miraculous power.⁵⁹

Sujātā, daughter of the headman Nandika. Her offering of milk rice to the Bodhisatta—The golden pot thrown into the river Nerañjarā—Svastika Yāvasika met by the Bodhisattva—The great serpent Kāla met the Bodhisattva on the bank of the Nerañjarā—Kāla saw Buddha preaching.

Sujātā was the daughter of the headman named Nandika of the Senāpati village at Uruvilva.⁶⁰ The Bodhisatta Siddhārtha

53. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 28.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

55. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 40-41.

56. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 427.

57. For details, R. C. Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 169; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 37ff.

58. They are possessed by *arahats* or elect e.g. *iddhividhā* (different miraculous or magical powers), *dibbasota* (the divine ear), *paracitta-vijānaṃ* (knowledge of the thoughts of others), *pabbenivāsānussatināṃ* (knowledge of former existences) and *dibbacakkhu* (the divine eye).

59. *Mahāvastu*, III, 431.

60. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), p. 267—*Nandikagrāmikaduhiṭṭā*.

partook of 49 morsels of the milk-rice offered by Sujātā⁶¹ early in the morning on the full-moon day of the month of Vesākha on the bank of Nerañjarā after taking his bath⁶² in this river. He brought the golden vessel down to the river according to the general practice of the former sambuddhas. He threw it in the river saying, "If I be the Buddha today let it go against current."⁶³ He then repaired to the great Bo-terrace where he sat in uninterrupted or undisturbed meditation. Really speaking the Bodhisatta spent the day in various degrees of ecstatic meditation in the great forest on the bank of the Nerañjarā after having made the golden pot float in this river.⁶⁴ The Bodhisatta did not accept the kingdom of Magadha and he went to meditate in the extensive sāla-grove on its bank.⁶⁵ On his way between the river Nerañjarā and the Bo-tree the Bodhisatta saw Svastika Yāvasika carrying a bundle of straw (*triṇarāsilaṃcakaṇṇi*) as a gift.⁶⁶ When the heroic Bodhisattva came to the river Nairāñjanā, Kāla, the great naga, began to reflect thus: "How does this great earth resound like a beaten pan of metal? No doubt a great hero is to appear in this world". The great nāga when he looked out, saw the peerless supreme man like a blazing fire-brand or like lightning among the clouds. The Bodhisattva went to the river Nairāñjanā unhurried and undisturbed, bright like sacrificial fire. The great nāga Kāla extolled the Bodhisattva and said thus: "From the way you remove your robe and from the way you go down to the cool Nairāñjanā river, there is no doubt that you will become the Buddha today".⁶⁷ On the day of the attainment of enlightenment on the

61. Cf. *Thūpavamsa* (PTS) Ch. I, p. 5; *Buddhavamsa*, II, v. 64; *Jāt.*, I, pp. 15, 68ff.; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 86; *Sāsanavamsa* (PTS), p. 2—All of them refer to partaking of Sujātā's rice-gruel by the Bodhisatta on the bank of the river Nerañjarā.

62. Bodhisatta cooled his limbs—*Mahāvastu*, II, 264; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 54.

63. *Jinacarita*, V. 211; Cf. *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 183—*Bodhisatto Nerañjarāyatīraṃ gantvā suvaṇṇathālaṃ tīre thapetvā nahātvā paccuttharītvā ekūnapannāsa piṇḍe karonto pāyāsaṃ paribhūñjitvā sacāhaṃ ajja Buddhobhavissāmīthālaṃ paṭisotaṃ gacchhatūti khipi*. Cf. *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 2.

64. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, p. 86.

65. *Mahābodhivamsa*, PTS., p. 28.

66. *Mahāvastu*, II, 264.

67. *Mahāvastu*, II, 397-98—*Yathā cīvaranikṣepā yathā ca avagāhasi Nairāñjanāṃ sītakālāṃ adya buddho bhaviṣyasi*.

bank of the Nerañjarā the Bodhisatta left the bowl which he himself rejected on its bank for Mahākālanāga.⁶⁸ Kāla saw the Buddha on its bank preaching the path of immortality, suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation.⁶⁹

The Bodhisattva on the bank of the river.

The Bodhisattva whose every effort was pure, fixed his habitat on the pure bank of the Nairāñjanā, as he was bent upon having a lonely dwelling.⁷⁰ Here he gave himself to meditation.⁷¹ It so happened that due to extreme exhaustion he could not rise after bath from the river Nairāñjanā.⁷² The *Buddhacarita-kāvya* (Ch. XII, v. 105) informs us that the Bodhisattva slowly came up its bank after bath with the help of the trees standing on it, which he held by his hand on account of his bodily weakness. The congregation of monks cleaned the pots by putting them on the water of the Nairāñjanā.⁷³

The Bodhisatta (Bodhisattva) was very much emaciated by his mortifications and austerities. He passed his life subsisting on one sesamum seed and one jujube fruit for the emancipation of the whole world. Daily he used to take his bath in the Nairāñjanā.⁷⁴

Bodhisatta practising severe austerity.

The Bodhisatta visited the wood on the Uruvilva bank of the Nairāñjanā river.⁷⁵ Here he practised severe austerity for final emancipation from the chain of births and deaths. He stayed like a fearless lion at Gayā after his bath in the Nairāñjanā river.⁷⁶

68. *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 157; *Therīgāthā Commy.*, PTS., p. 228.

69. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 309-10. Four noble truths (*cattāri ariyasaccāni*).

70. *Buddhacarita-kāvya*, Bk. XII, v. 88.

71. Beal, *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, S.B.E. 142.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

73. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 431—*Bhikkhusaṅgho nadyāṃ Nairāñjanāyāṃ pātrāni nimajjetvā sodhenti parimāryanti*.

74. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 4—*ekatilakolabhakkho*.

75. *Ibid.*, II, p. 208.

76. *Ibid.*, I, p. 4—*Nadiye Nairāñjanāye snāyitvā agrapure Gayasāhvaye niside siṃho va asaṃtrastho*.

First five disciples on the bank.

Five monks named Aññakondañña (Aññātakondañña) Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, and Assaji, who were in search for truth met the Bodhisatta on the bank of this river.⁷⁷

Māra visiting the Bodhisatta on the bank of the river.

Māra came to the Bodhisatta while he was engaged in severe austerities in a forest at Uruvelā on the bank of the Nerañjarā. He tried to induce him to give up renunciation, which it would be very difficult for him to achieve.⁷⁸ The Bodhisatta told Māra, the sinner, thus, "recollection (*smṛiti*), vivacity (*vīrya*) and meditation (*samādhi*) must exist. I shall attain salvation by leading the life of a mendicant. I shall destroy Māra's army by my wisdom." Māra then left him. Māra again approached him here and said, "what will you gain by this striving? Go and live at home. You will be an universal king. Perform great sacrifices, horse-sacrifice, human sacrifice etc. If you perform these sacrifices, you will rejoice in heaven after death. Striving is difficult. To live a life of chastity means the loss of blameless merit." The Bodhisatta replied, "I have no use for the deeds of merit."⁷⁹

The Bodhisatta stopped for a moment after coming to the Nerañjarā. With the even soles of his feet he made the earth to tremble. On that occasion the great earthquake was terrifying and hair-raising. By this earthquake the great system of three thousand worlds was made level. The great oceans were violently stirred.⁸⁰

77. *Jātaka*, I, p. 67. Bodhisatto mahāpadhānaṃ padahitukāmo uruvelaṃ gantvā....tattheva vāsaṃ upagantvā mahāpadhānaṃ padaḥi. Te Koṇḍañña-pamukhā pañca pabbajitā gāmanigamarājadhānisu bhikkhūya carantā tattha Bodhisattaṃ sampāpunimsu. Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., pp. 12-13.

78. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 237—prahānaṃ ca duṣkaraṃ durabhisaṃbhaṇaṃ.

79. *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 238-39—nāhaṃ punyārthiko iha gataḥ.

80. *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 300-01—Bodhisattvo yena Nairañjana tenopa-saṅkramitvā muhūrtaṃ asthāsi. Samehi pādālehi dharāṇim prakampesi. Atha khalu tasmim samaye mahāntaḥ prthivīcālo abhūsi bhīṣaṇo saromahar-ṣaṇo, yena prthivīcālena iyaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasrā lokadhātu samāṃ abhūsi....mahāsamudrāśca saṃkṣubdhā abhūsi.....

Buddha preaching dharma. Bimbisāra and his chief brahmin priest.

The Buddha preached along the bank of the Nerañjarā the norm (*dharma*) whereby all might be saved from suffering.⁸¹ The chief brahmin priest of the Magadhan king Bimbisāra used to repeat to him in detail the 32 signs of a great man (*mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇāni*) every morning. The king listened to his chief brahmin priest and felt to see the Buddha who was then at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the Nairañjanā.⁸²

Buddha and Māra on the river bank.

On the bank of the river Nerañjarā⁸³ the Buddha exerted himself and engaged himself in meditation for obtaining *nibbāna* (perfect beatitude). Māra came and spoke to him thus, "You are lean and pale. Death is near you. It is better to live, by living you will be able to do meritorious deeds. Difficult is the way of exertion, difficult to pass and difficult to enter upon." Māra stood near the Buddha uttering these words. The Buddha said to him thus, "You are a friend of the indolent, you are wicked. Why have you come to me? I have faith and energy. There is wisdom in me. While the blood is drying up, the bile and the phlegm are dried up. While the flesh is wasting away, the mind becomes all the more full of faith; my recollection, wisdom and meditation become more firm. While I am thus living after having felt the extreme sensations, mind does not care for sensual pleasures. Look at the purity of a being. Lust (*kāma*) is your first army, discontent (*āraṭi*, Pali *arati*) second, hunger and thirst (*khuttipāsā*, Pali *Khuppipāsā*) third, craving (*triṣṇā*, Pali *taṇhā*) fourth, sloth and drowsiness (*sthānamiddhaṃ*, Pali *thīnamiddhaṃ*), fifth, cowardice (*bhīru*), sixth, doubt (*vicikitsa*, Pali *vicikicchā*) seventh, and hypocrisy and stupor (*mānārtho bhoti aṣṭamā*, Pali *makkho thambho*) eighth.⁸⁴ Oh Māra, I will crush with understanding your invincible army. I shall wander from realm to realm and train listeners with mindfulness well-established, and determination well-controlled. Those who are earnest and resolute

81. *Therīgāthā*, v. 306.

82. *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 436-37.

83. *Suttanipāta Comm.*, PTS., p. 386.

84. Cf. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann Ed.), p. 262.

in my instruction, shall go to the place where they will not mourn." Māra followed the Blessed One step by step for seven years and found no fault in him.⁸⁵ He came here to tempt the Buddha but being disappointed disappeared (*antaradhāyi*).⁸⁶ Māra again approached the Buddha and said thus, "Formerly by the side of the Nerañjarā river after accomplishing your true and steadfast aim, you said that you would pass at once to *nirvāṇa* (perfect beatitude). Now you have done all what you have to do. You should pass to *nirvāṇa*.⁸⁷

The Buddha, while he was at Uruvelā (meaning a great sand bank) under the Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjarā, was again met by Māra who asked him to attain *parinirvāṇa*.⁸⁸ The Master replied that he would not pass away until the monks, nuns, male and female lay disciples would not become learned, wise, well-trained, correct in life and walk according to precepts.⁸⁹

The Buddha further said that he would not attain *parinibbāṇa* (*parinirvāṇa*) until his pure religion should have become successful, prosperous, widespread and popular.⁹⁰

Not performing austerity by which people are purified, one who is not pure, thinks himself to be so, and he is guilty of the path of purity. This was told by Māra the satan to the Buddha. The Buddha replied that virtue (*sīla*), meditation (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*) should be considered as the path for enlightenment. The Master obtained excellent purity and Māra was struck down.⁹¹

Māra, desirous of making the Exalted One feel dread and horror, turned himself into the likeness of a king elephant. The

85. Satta vassāni Bhagavantam anubandham padāpadam otāram nādhigacchissam Sambuddhassa satimato (*Suttanipāta*, v. 446).

86. *Suttanipāta* vs. 425-49; Cf. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), 260-63; *Mahāvastu*, II, 238ff.—*kriṣo tvamasi durbaṇṇo santikemaranam tava*.

87. Beal, *Fo-sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, S.B.E., Vol. XIX, p. 267.

88. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 202—*parinirvātu Bhagavān parinirvāṇakālasamayam sugatasya*.

89. *Digha*, II, p. 112—*Na tāvāham pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti viyattā vinitā visārada bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhammapaṭipannā....*

90. *Digha*, II, 112ff.

91. *Samyutta*, I, p. 103.

Blessed One knew him to be Māra the sinner and said thus, "The world is a long road taking good and bad forms. Enough of you, Oh sinner, you are struck down. Those who are well-restrained in body, speech and mind do not come under your influence; they are not your pupils." Māra disappeared.⁹²

On another occasion Māra came to the Buddha on the bank of the Nerañjarā and said thus, "The root of suffering is an obstacle or hindrance. Not being sorrowful I meditate cutting off everything leading to the desire for existence; being free from sins I meditate being a friend of the indolent."⁹³

Sakka willing to see the Buddha.

Sakka, the king of the Tāvātimsa heaven, finding it difficult to approach the Buddha who was then in deep meditation under the Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjarā, sought the aid of heavenly musician named Pañcasikha who sang in praise of the Awakened One, the truth, the Arahant (elect) and the Love. The verses uttered by the heavenly musician were addressed to a lady named Bhaddā, the daughter of King Timbaru, by one who received no return for his love for her, as she was then in love with another named Sikhaddi, son of Mātali the charioteer.

The Buddha and Pañcasikha, the heavenly musician.

The song put into the mouth of the heavenly musician is clothed in words conveying a double meaning, one applicable to the Buddha and the other to the lady. The Buddha being moved by the music, talked with the heavenly musician who informed him of the advent of Sakka.

Sakka's conversion to Buddhism.

Then Sakka came forward and paid homage to the Buddha. He put several questions to the Buddha and received satisfactory replies. He was then converted to the Buddhist faith.⁹⁴

92. *Samyutta*, I, p. 104—*Samsāram digham addhānam, vaṇṇam katvā subhāsubham alan te....pāpima, nihato tvam asi antaka, ye ca kāyena vacāya manasā ca susamvutā, na te Māra vasaṇugā na te Marassa paccagū*.

93. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 122ff.—*chetvāna sabbam balalobhajappam anāsavo jāyāmi pamattabandhu*.

94. *Digha*, II, 267ff.

Buddha's meditation at Uruvelā on the bank of the river.

While the Buddha was meditating alone at Uruvelā on the bank of the Nerañjarā a thought arose in him which was as follows: 'Suffering lives in the man who does not show respect nor obeys.' The Buddha addressed the monks saying that for the perfection of sum total of virtues still imperfect, for the perfection of the sum total of concentration still imperfect and for the perfection of the sum total of wisdom and emancipation still imperfect, he would dwell doing honour, obeying, reverencing, and paying respect to a recluse or brahmin but not in this world with devas, Māras and Brahmās. The Buddha said that it was his wish and proper for him that the *dhamma* (norm) well comprehended by him, should be honoured, revered, obeyed and served.⁹⁵

Buddha preaching four things.

Here on the bank of the Nerañjarā the Buddha referred to four things necessary to become a *thera* (elder). They are as follows:—“A monk is virtuous, perfect in the obligations, restrained, perfect in the practice of right behaviour, seeing danger in faults. He is taught in precepts, learned, is replete with learning, is a hoard of learning (*sannicaya*). The doctrines which are good at the beginning, in the middle and at the end, both in the meaning and letter of them, which preach utterly complete and pure holy life; such doctrines are much heard, borne in mind, repeated aloud, pondered over, and well penetrated by vision. The four stages of meditation (*catunnaṃ jhānānam*) which are of the clear consciousness, and which are concerned with the happy life in this very world, these he wins easily. By the destruction of sins (*āsavas*) he himself realises the emancipation of mind and wisdom in this world, being free from sins.”⁹⁶

The Buddha and Brahmā Sahampati

Brahmā persuaded the Buddha while he was here to preach the Norm. After reaching perfect enlightenment the Buddha did not wish to preach the norm for others might not acknowledge

95. *Anguttara*, II, pp. 20-21.

96. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 22-23...*āsavaṇṇaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭheva dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati.*

him. Out of compassion for the worldly beings Brahmā Sahampati entreated the Buddha to preach the norm (*dhamma*) by following which people might not suffer from worldly sorrows. After much deliberation the Buddha acceded to his request.⁹⁷ Here arose in the mind of the Exalted Buddha the four stations of mindfulness while he was meditating in solitude. Brahmā Sahampati, reading with his mind the mind of the Buddha, appeared before him and said “The only way leading to the purification of beings lies in the four stations of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*).”⁹⁸ Here also arose in his mind the thought of five controlling faculties of faith (*saddhā*), energy (*virīya*), recollection (*sati*), meditation (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*), while he was meditating in solitude. The Buddha had this thought also in his mind that these five controlling faculties, if cultivated, would ultimately lead to immortality.⁹⁹ Brahmā Sahampati reading with his mind this thought of the Blessed One appeared before him and said, “the five controlling faculties, if cultivated, would lead to immortality.”¹⁰⁰

The Buddha experienced bliss of release on the bank of the river.

Once the Master sat on the bank of the Nerañjarā for seven days in one posture and experienced the bliss of release (*vimutti-sukhaṃ paṭisamvedi*). After the lapse of seven days he aroused himself from the concentration of mind during the first watch of the night, and gave close attention to causal uprising in direct order. He explained what led to destruction of the mass of ill.¹⁰¹

Buddha and a brahmin.

A certain brahmin of a carping nature (*huhunṅkajātiko*) came to the Master on the bank of the Nerañjarā and greeted him courteously. The Exalted One when asked said thus, “A brahmin, who is free from all evil things (*bāhitapāpadhammo*), who has no stain, who has controlled himself, who is versed in the *Vedas*

97. *Samyutta*, I, pp. 136ff.

98. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 167-68; 185-86—meditation on the impurity of the body, on the evils of the sensations, on the evanescence of thought and on the conditions of existence.

99. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 232-33.

100.*amatogadhāni honti amataparāyanāni amatapariyosānāni.*

101. *Udāna*, PTS., pp. 1-3.

(vedantagu), who leads a happy life and who has faith in Brahmā, has no passion, hatred, delusion and false view".¹⁰²

Buddha and the serpent king Mucalinda.

The Buddha stayed at Uruvelā on the bank of the Nerañjarā at the foot of the Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*). At that time appeared a great black cloud out of season. Rainy weather, cold winds, and overcast skies did not annoy the Blessed One, as his body was encircled by the serpent king, Mucalinda, with his coils, and the serpent king stood placing his great hood over the Master's head.¹⁰³ Then Mucalinda seeing that the sky was clear and free from clouds, unwrapped his folds from the Exalted One's body.¹⁰⁴

Buddha looking at the sufferings of worldly beings.

Here on the bank of the Nerañjarā the Buddha looked over the world with the Buddha-eye and saw how beings were being tortured by diverse torments and how they were burning with diverse burnings with the fires of passion, hatred and delusion.¹⁰⁵

102. Ibid., p. 3. Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., p. 3.

103. *Jātaka*, I, p. 80; *Buddhacarita*, XV, v. 52—*rarakṣa nāgarājo'sau phandvēṣṭitavigrahaṃ*; *Lalitavistara*, Ch. 24, p. 379; *Vinaya*, I, p. 3; *Dāthā-vamsa*, Ch. I, v. 56.

104. *Udāna*, p. 10; Cf. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, PTS., p. 3.

105. *Udāna*, PTS., p. 32....*Buddhacakkhūnā lokam vilokeṣi*.

The Development of the Music of Mithilā¹

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Mithilā seems to have had no special 'Maithila-deśī-rāgas' till we get a reference in Nānyadeva's (1097-1133 A.D.) monumental work called *Sarasvatīhridayālamkārahāra*.² It is a very extensive commentary on the *Vācīkāmśa* of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, written after the conquest of Mithilā³ by Nānyadeva. He does not even hint at the existence of any maithiladeśī-rāgas, though he refers to 'Karnāṭa-bhāshā-deśīrāga' and other rāgas. Nānyadeva and his 'Karnāṭabhāshāviduh' — musician followers gave tremendous impetus to music in Mithilā and probably encouraged the use of 'bhāshā' or vernacular of the land in music. Only some two hundred years later, at the court of Maharaja Harisimhdeva (1296-1323/4 A.D.) a music centre was founded at Mithilā.⁴ Nānyadeva quotes from Mātāṅga Viśākha, Dakṣaprajāpati (praised by Yājñavalkya) and Yaśṭika who reconciled the *mārgas* (classical) with the "deśī" (popular) rāgas. He is best on saptagītis and dhruvas. He has treated about 160 rāgas in detail. His somefold rāgas were based upon Abhinavagupta who defines yāti as a source of rāgas, viz. Śuddha, bhīma, gauḍa, sādharāṇabhāshā and vibhāshā. In these first five are the divisions adopted by Durgā school while Yaśṭika has only three bhāshā, Vibhāshā and Antarbhāshā. Kohala treats all rāgas as bhāshās. The terminology was abandoned by the 16th century and a new muemoic scale was introduced to simplify the older system. There are also details of the operations

1. I am grateful to my brother Dr. J. K. Mishra, D. Phil., Professor of English, University of Allahabad, for allowing me to use his book 'History of Maithilī Literature' here and there in this paper.

2. *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 55-63. the Ms. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and a copy of it is in the University Library, Allahabad.

3. Cf. His use of the epithets 'Maithilendra'. 'Mithileśvarena' etc.

4. See 'Gītavidyā Kathā' in Vidyapati's *Purushaparīkṣhā*.

behind the stage to regularise the action, entrance, exit etc. on the stage. The *deśi-rāgas*, he describes, are generally referred to *Karṇāṭadeśa*, and are:

Kaiśika, Śuddhashāḍava, Panchama, Abhirikā, Dakṣiṇānyām, Saurashtrī, Gurjarī, Bangālī, Saindhavī, Varuṇāhu (or Vanāvahu?), Kauśikī, Bhinnakaiśika, Gaṇakeśavarūpakam, Gāndhārī-dhaivatī (Prankhaka), Mālava-Panchama, Shāḍava, Gāhidola, Mālavesarī, Gauḍī, Kāmbolā, Chhedārikā (or Chhevāḍī), Mālava-kaiśika, Mālavesarī, Mālava (or Madhurakhā), Tārabhandrā, Nyāsām (śa)graha, Shaḍganyā Bagrahāsaka (atha sādharāṇagīti-rāgāh) = Gāndhārikā, Gāndhārapanchamah, Hāsakah (Hāsa-punah), Kandādi (or Kandarpa? 7 varieties?), Nartarāga, Panchamashāḍava, Kubhakaiśika, Shaḍgkaiśika, Prasava, Nadanā-(nī)rāyaṇa, Rūpakālāpasampada, Āmrāpanchama, Deśākhyā, Mandratākhyā (?) ranjikā, Arīti, Tāḍikā, Prathamamanjarikā Mal-lāri, Tusthikā (Tuchhikā?), Bhogavarddhinī, Stambhapatrikā, Kālandī, Bham(am?)nthālī (?) (iti bhāshā prakaraṇam.), = Bhinnavalitā, Kiraṇāvalī, Vaśavalitā (or Sakavalitā?), Devakriti, Trinetrakriti, Svabhāvakriti, Dhvanikriti (or Dhanyakriti?) =

(Among Gāndhāra Grāmarāgas) — Kosalā, Rudrahāsah, Gandharvāmodatah, Vīrahāsah, Jimutarāga, Vāghashāḍava, Pijarī, Chanda, Gāndhārashāḍava, Tumburupriyāh, Shārada, Vega (da)-madhyama, Gāndhārālitā, Drāviḍī, Sardulī, Dhatrāstrī (Dhanāsi?), Sindhuvalitā (kā?), (Note —) Manjarī Chūtamanjarī (?), Hima-kriti, Svabhāvakriti (from the 7th Adhyāya).

The joining of vṛtta (chhanda metre) with rāgas is not peculiar to Locana only, Nānyadeva also has it: e.g. 'Vaitālī Chhandasamyuktā tathā pālalikāpatā prācyavrittistapādicya vrit-tirvaucāruhāsini aparāntikatribhedāvaitāliya nāthah. Atrā vritte prayajñvyam ca tu vadanagīta rūkharīdipanchakai = yatravat = ||' or 'etāni deśimataśītakāni athokta vrittaivāyatāla ogāt vritte matālena vā.'

Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* is not probably Maithila work, but it had great influence on Maithila music and therefore cannot be unnoticed. Jayadeva assigned a definite Rāga and a definite Tāla to each of his twenty-four songs or prabandhas. His rāgas were:

Mālava, Gurjarī, Vasanta, Rāmkarī, Mālavagaṇḍa, Karṇāṭa, Deśākhyā, Daśadivārādī, Gauḍakarī, Bhairavī and Vibhāsa.

"But can any one of the modern singers either in North or South India sing at least one of the 24 prabandhas in the Rāga and Tāla assigned by him? There was neither the notation to record the songs and transmit them to successive generations nor any scientific treatment in it whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them."⁵ Kumbha of Mewar, a musical authority says, besides, that the music of Jayadeva in the original was "bad" and he was forced to improve it — this was as early as the 14th century. Whether intelligible today or not, Jayadeva's tunes were perfect and inspire Maithilas, among others, with a new kind of musical poetry. There were numerous Maithila commentators and imitators, the greatest of whom was Vidyāpati.

We next hear of musical activity in the reign of Harisimha-deva (1226-1323/4 A.D.). He was himself a great expert of music and in the *Nṛtyavidyā Kathā* of *Purushanariksā*, a Maithila musician says that either Hara or Hari-simhadeva alone could judge his worth. His court had such expert musicians as Jyotir-eśvara,⁶ who gives a very elaborate description of musical activities in 14th century Mithilā. In the 6th Kallola of his work '*Varṇaratnākara*' he gives "an elaborate description of a Bhāṭa or court bard, panegyrist and genealogist as well as emissary of kings. He was a high dignitary, and his costly dress was in keeping with his status. He was a scholar too, and a list is given of the works on Sanskrit and Prākṛit Grammar, rhetoric and prosody that he had to study, together with the languages (Prakritic) that he must know. His mental qualities are stated; and the kingly state in which he travels is described.... The Vidyāvautā, a professional singer and music-master, a person who is commonly known as a kalāvanta or kalawat at the present day, is described, and his date and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more exalted Bhāṭa. In this connection the names of the rāgas, of the Śrutis as well as the seven kinds of *gāyanadosha* or defects of singers and the 14 kinds of *gītadosha* or defects in singing, are mentioned."⁷

5. Krishnamachariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 849.

6. He describes himself in his *Dhūrtasamāgama nāṭaka* and *pancha-sāmaka* as versed in the art of music.

7. Dr. S. K. Chatterji: *Introduction to Varṇaratnākara*, p. XXIX-XXX. *Vidañyota āsthāna vaiśu. Anantara kaisana bhau. Tāra ghora madra*

More interesting than these is the description of dancing, and there are three sections describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing, viz., *Nrityavarṇā Pātranrityavarṇā* and *Preranrityavarṇā*. The ten qualifications of the drum player (*muraḥi*) are mentioned, also the ten kinds of drummen (*muraḥavādya*) made blocks or in it, the time beats (*tāla*) the ten rasas, the thirty *vyabhachārībhāvas*. The *Pātra* is a dancing girl, who is well practised in thirty-two kinds of *chārī* (merits) and thirty-two kinds of *kulaka* (graces). The *Preraṇā* is a male dancer. The various kinds of dance, they execute are described. Finally, there is a list of twenty-seven kinds of *Vṇās*.

After the flight of Harisimhadeva to Nepal, the centre of music also shifted. The next few centuries saw great development of music by Maithilis in Nepal.⁸ The first writer, about whom we know, is 'Singha Bhūpāla'.⁹ Bhūpāla may be identified

tiniha suratānti milita sāriva vainava duha nāda karuaha. Yantraka gayana palautau ṭipasārini. Kataravāṭa. Anga virāṭa. Sukalā, sarāghāta. Sams-thāpana pra bhriti yantraka gaena palanirvāhi sūrala pusau. Tadanantara Kasmiraka tāla dui hātha karu. Gatraka gaena pana upakramu. Aka. Śuddha sālanga, Sikirṇa trividha vāna chārī ha/lu. Ya (sha) dja. Madhyama, Gāndhāra, Nishāda, Rishabha, Vai (dhai) vata, Panchama, Sātaha svare sam-yukta. Hāthi vohi samchārīti. Nirga (ma?)sthānake samyukta. Lilakampita. Sphurita. Tribhinna. Tiripa. Hātha ta. Andolita satao ye gamaka ten sam-purna. Shātaji. Arasuti. Kolaki. Gāndhāri. Vajja. Madhyaraktagāndhāri. Gāndhā rodichyā Madhyamā. Madhyamodichyā. (58K) Gāndhārapanchamī prabhritiashtadaśao ye jāti ten alamkrita. Nādi chālaviraga. Vasa. Samukhi-chitrā. Vichitrā. Ghanā mātaṅgi. Sarasā. Madhukarī. Amritā Mādhavi. Śivā. Sāngakhī Viśa/lā./Mālā, Alāyā. Kalā Kalakhā, Mātrū./ Vāvisao ye śruti ten sampūrṇa. Lalitā Madhyā. Vichitrā. Pohṇi. Sauviri Khajja. Madhyā. Matsyari. Śuddhamadhyā. Śuddhāntā. Kalāvati Tivṛā. Rau-dri. Nādavati viśāta Vaishanvi. Shecharī. Surā ekavisao je murchhanā ten alamkrita Chhavi opakalākānti Anujāya. Uchita. Anākalita. Oja. Manjāra. Ojā ra chhadala. Patana. Ghatana. Didha achumbuita. vakāti. Kālāra. Laola. Karaṭi Alati Konita je geyaddharmma ten samyukta. Tela. Tāla. Sara. Pāta. Viruddha. Pada Chhao je lunga ten a/lankita. Vitāna. Kapila. Kākī. Sitakāri Sānūnāsika. Avyavastha. Prasāri. Sātao ye Gāyana ten parityukta. Kampita. Bhūtaavyakta. Anūnāsika. Śirogata Kākarava.

8. 'Singha Bhūpāla' Singh p. 107. Aufrecht Vol. I, p. 415 and p. 686. The work has been translated now into English by the Adyar Library. Adyar.

9. Cf. Introduction to *Rājānīratnākara* by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 24 f.n. 2. 'The Maithila tradition ignores him except for what we may infer from the Panji verse.'

Śāstā nānyapatirbahhūva tadann Śrīśāngadevanripastatsunurnarasimha-devanripati Śrīrāmaśingha Bhūpālavyastatatah yatra Śrīharisimhaedva....

with Bhūpāla Simha, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Nepal as having been a Maithila ruler after Śakti (Śakra) Singh and Harisimha. He was a contemporary of King Pratap Rudra of the 14th century. His *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*¹⁰ is a short treatise on poetics. Mallinatha invariably quotes from his work in all his commentaries. His only other work is the *Sangīta-ratnākara-Vyakhyā*, a treatise on music.¹¹ The next reference we have is of Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara Damayanti. He is the famous Maithila Commentator on *Mālatī-Mādhava* and other plays. His date is certain; a Manuscript of a commentary on Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* by Jagaddhara himself has been found as dated in La. Sam. 355, i.e., C. 1474-5 A.D.¹² He wrote *Sangītasarvasva* which is quoted profusely himself by his commentator on the *Veṇīsamhāra* and by Ruchipati Upadhyaya and Raghavabhatta.¹³

The rulers of Nepal were great scholars and patrons of music and Jagajyotirmalla (C. 1617-33 A.D.) was himself a great musician. He composed in N.S. 746 *Sangītasārasamgraha*—an abstract of all the work on music, dancing and acting known at his time. He further brought Abhilāshā's work on music *Sangīta-chandra*¹⁴ into Nepal for Southern India and he with the assistance of Vanśamaṇi Jha wrote a commentary on it entitled *Sangīta-bhāshkara*.¹⁵ The last work is interspersed with vernacular (Maithili?) translation of important passages by the Royal author. Among his other works are *Svarodayadīpikā*, *Gītapañchāśikā* and *Sangītabhāshkara* (?).

His son and grandson were interested in fine arts (especially poetry) and at the instance of his daughter's son Ananta, one Ghanśyāma wrote a commentary on *Hastamuktāvalī*, a work on dancing.¹⁶

10. Krishnamachari: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 85 3 f.n. 1.

11. *JBORS*. Vol. XIV p. 2; Nepal Cat. p. 15 No. 447.

12. Krishnamachari p. 863.

13. Nepal Cat. p. 263. No. 1478.

14. Nepal Cat. p. 262 No. (2) 222.

15. Nepal Cat. p. 262, No. (2) 222.

16. Krishnamachariar p. 869. For all this account he refers to the Introduction to *Nirgāsarvasya* ed. by Shri Tanusukharāmsarma.

We have now come to one of the most important works in the Mithilā school of music, Śubhankara Kavi's famous work *Śrī-Hastamuktāvalī*.¹⁷ Works on dramaturgy have been very few in Mithilā, hence it is a unique treatise. It is a hand-book of the motions of hand in dancing. It is based on one of the chapters on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, supplemented by *Kāmasāstra*, the work is explained by a commentary by Ghaṇśyāma dated 1675 A.D. *Hastamuktāvalī suvarandonritikā*.¹⁸ It is fairly comprehensive. It deals at 212 varieties of band poses. Śubhankara has been wrongly identified by Mr. B. K. Barua.¹⁹ His identity has been given with some Assamese, who lived with one kavi Chakravartī. He was a Maithila and yet there are doubts expressed about the authenticity of his dates, even ignored by the author of the other theory. It is true that the work was very popular and it was more commonly used in Assam—there it was translated into vernacular. It is probable that the large number of Assamese words not current in Assamese may be Maithili words. The translation is very early,²⁰ and knowing the contact with Assamese life and literature.

Śubhankara was the son of Maharaja Maheśa Thakkura and was known as Śubhankara Kavi,²¹ who ruled over Mithilā during 1584-1619 A.D.²²

Śubhankara is also reputed to be the author of *Saṅgītadāmodara*²³ in seven chapters. The treatment of music and dancing in

17. Nepal Cat. pp. 270 and 272, printed with translation in English in the *Journal of Kamrupa Anusandhāna Samiti* Vol. VIII New Series 1941, No. 2, p. 62 ff. MMC II, p. 170 wrongly described as a manual of āchāras but nearer the original MS.

18. Nepal MS.

19. JARS. Vol. VIII p. 71 N. S. No. 3, Mithila Notices.

20. *Journal of Kam. Anu. Samiti* Vol. VIII N. S. No. 3 p. 71-6.

21. Ramadāsa-Anandavijaya (Raj Press Edition).

'Kavitva karmasudhāsamudrah Śubhankarah.' p. 7 and note that he calls himself Śubhankarakaviḥ in all Mss. of *Śrīpātrapuṅgakaviḥ*, verses 113 and 115.

22. Vide *Bakshi-Mithila Bhāshāmaya Itihāsa*.

23. Krishnamachariar p. 865, Mitra notices, p. 219, a fragment in Oriental Ms. Library, Madras and the work is very popular in Mithila and Locana quotes from it. The author's name is given in *Saṅgītānārāyaṇa* III. *Saṅgītadāmodarabhiḥ kaviḥ*.

their various aspects in relation to heroines and sentiments and being quoted in *Saṅgītānārāyaṇa* must be earlier than 17th Cen. A.D. It is curious that one of the Manuscripts mentions the śloka very much similar to the one at the end of *Hasta-Muktāvalī*—a proof of their being very identical persons.²⁴ I have noticed two more works on music by Śubhankara at the library of the late Hemarāja Śarma, Rājguru of Nepal. Locana and Rāmadāsa speak of him as one interested in poetry and arts.

The time and identity of Ghaṇśyāma is easy to determine. The name of a famous singer Ghaṇśyāma is given by Locana²⁵ (circa 1861 A.D.) and the manuscript of Ghaṇśyāma is dated as 1675 A.D. This shows likelihood of the two being identical.

This age was the golden age of Maithilā music. In Nepal and Mithilā proper, Maithilā musicians and poets were popular. We know of one Śrī Manikara of *Sonriā* village in La. Sam. 388 (+ 1119/20 = 1507 A.D.) copying out *Varṇaratnākara*. From two MSS. and one Buddhana Miśra (fictitious?) going to Bengal (in latter half of the 15th Cen. A.D.), like the Tīrabhukti musician in Vidyāpati's *Nrityavidyā Kathā* to Gorakṣapura (Gorakhpur?),²⁶ and Śankaradeva carrying music and drama from Mithilā to

24.

*Khyāto yah kaviḥ chakravartī madato vidyābalairamchitah
Saubhadre yamimam ya arjuna yāsāḥ soajjanat śrīdharah
Tasya Śrīlaśubhankarasya bhaṇite saṅgītadāmodareh
Śābhogah stavakah prapachitarasah śrīmānāyam panchamah.*

The one from Assamese Edition (JARS VIII N. S. No. 3, p. 74).

('Vikhyāta ityādi' only Mithila Edition—MMC II p. 172).

*Vikhyātaḥ kavichakravartī padavisangena saṅgītavit
Sadbham—rachanā nītānta chaturah sattarkalīlākarah
Śrīmān esha śubhankaro vyarachayat Śrīhastamuktāmaḥ
Tatrāyam vyāmanmano harataḥ khyātaḥ patākah karah.*
Mitra Notice No. 389.

25.

Etasya vatateshu ghaṇśyāmmāstu gāyakah . . . Sudisagāyākāḥ Ghaṇśyāmasutatryah.

(P. 38 R.T.)—who were also had grown up in the lifetime of the father.

26. *Seka Śubhodayah* Chap. XIII (See also IV All India Oriental Conference Proceedings p. 517) by Halayuddha Miśra (should not be the famous Maithilā of this name?) giving many popular legends of the day. The books have been printed now.

Assam—these stray things show the fame of Mithilā as an important centre of music.

A very authentic account of the history of Mithilā school of music is given by Locana Śarma (circa 1681 A.D.) in his *Rāgataranginī*.²⁷ He was respected as an authoritative musician in other parts of the country also.²⁸—at Allahabad and possibly at Bundelkhand. He does not mention Śārangadeva, but he seems to have known a number of books on music—especially *Bharata Hanumat*, (Sangīta)—*Damodara* (of Śubhankara Thakkura) and *Tumburu*.²⁹ The controversy for particular time for particular Rāgas is touched upon by Locana and he gives orthodox ideas of timing from *Tumburu nāṭaka* and also the popular idea (arvāchināstu), Locana refers to another music work of a *Sangītasamigraha*.³⁰

27. See below.

28. *Vishwa Bharati Quarterly* Nov.-Jan. 1943-44. K. Sen, pp. 251 ff. mentions MSS in Allahabad and as far as Bundelkhand.

29. Mr. Sen seems to regard *Tumburu Nāṭaka* as having been produced in the Eastern provinces, because there is mentioned in it of the festival of Durgā Pujā. There is also mention of invocation songs to be sung in the morning during the fortnight preceding the festival,

Indrotthānam samārabhya yāvaddurgā mahotsavam. Geyā tāvadudhat-nityam mālastrī śāmanodarā

(quoted in *Rāgataranginī*, p. 131 Raj Press Edition Darbhanga) *Tumburu Nāṭaka* finds up the timing of different rāgas not according to Śāstric injunction but according to the suitability of notes and tunes—

Yathākāle samārabdham gītā bhavati ranjakam. Atah svarastha nityā-drogaapiniyamah kritah.

(p. 132 Raj Edition). Of course on festive occasions songs for morning, evening or night have to be selected in conformity with the occasion. At court functions too, it may depend mostly on the royal wish. Hence festivities and royal courts are exceptional cases where ordinary timing cannot hold good.

Rangabhumau nripājñāyāyām kāladoshō na vidyate.

(Rt. p. 132) *Tumburu Nāṭaka* also say that there is no end to Rāgas and an exhaustive list of Rāgas cannot be given because they change in course of time.

Deśabhāshā vibhedāscha rāga sansvana vidyate. Na rāgāṇām na tāla nāmaah kutrāpi vidyate. (p. 132 R.T. Raj Edition).

Yatkrita rāgasangīta samhāleanveshṭavyah. (p. 36. R.T.)

Locana is respectful to Śubhankara (the musician) proving thereby that he was the author of the music works referred to above:—

Sunustasya Maheśathakkarasya sudhāsamudralaharīsūkt ih kalānāyakaū,
Vikhyātaḥ kavītālātā hridigato hāro naroktomsakah.
Asichahhāsita durjanah promudito nityamprasanneśvara,
ssatyārithena Subhankarah kritimatāḥ nāmnādhārādhīśvarah.

Indeed he is very much conscious of the facts that the kings of Mithila were patrons of music and that Maithilas had a distinct school of music. He refers to Mahinatha under whom he flourished, but he praises even more Narapati Thakkura, the heir apparent, the younger brother of the king, who was particularly expert in *Dhvani* (-),³¹ as he is called *Dhunigānasindhu*.

He describes the primary rāgas (or musical modes of sound) as *Bhairava*, *Kauśika*, *Hindola*, *Deepaka*, *Śrīrāga*, and *Megharāga* according to *Hanumanmataḥ*³² (this indeed is Maithila *mata*); the wives of *Bhairava* as *Bangāla*, *Madhumādhavī*, *Varadī*, *Sendhavī*, *Bharavī*; the wives of *Kauśika* as *Todī*, *Khammāvatī*, *Gaurī*, *Kukumā* and *Gunakarī*; the wives of *Hindola* as *Velaola*, *Desarava*, *Rāmākārī*, *Lalitā* and *Patamañjarī*; the wives of *Deepaka* as *Kēdārā*, *Kānari*, *Deśī*, *Kāmoda* and *Vihagarā*; the wives of *Śrīrāga* as *Basanta*, *Mālawa*, *Mālaśrī*, *Dhanaśrī* and *Asābharī*; the wives of *Megharāga* as *Malārī*, *Deśākārī*, *Bhūpālī* and *Tanka*.

The description of the origin of the Nādas, Swaras and Murchhanas follow. Then he divides *Gīta* into two kinds (a) instrumental and (b) vocal. He further divides them into 'nibaddha' (controlled) and a-nibaddha' (uncontrolled) and defines them

31.

Tasyānujoapi nijavīradalodbhatānām.
Nyakkārakārī dhanurdayatapungkhakāṇḍah.
Chandrāmāno narapatiddhunigānasindhuh.
Rāvīrbabhūva guṇirājya ganāikabandhuh.

32. The importance of *Hanumanmata* is clear if we see the following—

"Yashtika reconciled the mārgas (classical) with deśī (popular) rāgas (i.e. the older forms with the developments in various provinces in course of time). He taught Añjavenya in Kadalivana probably in the district of Tanjore, who then introduced a number of Deśī rāga with the modification of Śrutis (J. Andhra Historical Society, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 57ff.).

thus and refers for details to his work *Rājasangītasamgraha* (now lost?)

*Nivaddhamanivaddhamēka gītanvividhimuchyate
Anivaddham bhaveddītam varṇādi niyamairvinā,
Yadvāgamaka dhātvanga varṇādi niyamairvinā
Nivaddhmcha bhavedgītam tāla-māna-rasāmchitam,
Chhandogamaka dhātvanga varṇādi niyamai kritam
..... eteshām prapanchastu matkrita sangīta samgrahanvesh-
tavyah.*

They are further classified into *mārga* and *deśī* (classical and popular) music. The *mārgas* are sung by the Gandharvas, etc., and the *deśīs* by the particular provinces. First he describes the *deśīs* (provincial popular) music and only at the end of the book touches the *mārgas*. Among the *deśī* music he calls his own country's (Mithila's) as very beautiful and hence they are shown in detail.³³

He gives a legendary origin of the art in Mithilā, apparently he did not know the part of the Kārṇāṭa kings in developing music in Mithila. He says that there was one Bhavabhūti (= yogi? or the famous Sanskrit poet who is sometimes identified with Maithila (?) Maṇḍana Miśra (?), who was born in the family of Brahmanas and was endowed with learning; he pleased the deity and was successful in creating Kāvya and the Purāṇas. Having studied his fame at the court, Sumati (by name), the son of Kāyastha, skilled in art became a Kathaka (lit. a narrator, a singer or minstrel). His grandson³⁴ Jayata was appointed by Maharaja Sivasimha (1413-16 A.D.) for the poet laureate Vidyapati.³⁵ These experts of music were able to determine numerous new types of melodies (rāgas). Jayata was the leading musician in the king's court, who could sing the *dhruvas* (padas). His son Vitriṣṇā was as great in skill in the various arts and music as he was verily a Kriṣṇa among the musicians of the court.

33.

*Deśyāmapī sudeśiyatvātpathamam mithilāpabhramṣa bhūṣaya Śrīvidyā-
pati*

kavinibaddhāstāstā maithilagīta gatayah pradarśyante. p. 36.

34.

cf. *Sumati sutodayajanmājayatah.*

35. Vidyapati himself seems to have been a great musician.

Then followed Harihara Mallika, the Great, in singing tales, fables and songs. He had three sons Khaḍgarāṇia, Ghanaśyāma and Kallirāma. Of these Ghanaśyāma (1675 A.D.)³⁶ was a musician. He had three sons, who were all good singers — Lachirāma, Rāghavarāma and Tikārāma — they seem to have been contemporaries of Locana.

Locana then gives a detailed analysis of those Rāgas that became peculiarly Maithila by his day —

*Śrīmadvidyāpatikavayituh kāvyavarṇānuvaddhām,
stātātāprāyanatha tadanugakhyātāgītāhnnivardhāna
Rāgānebhyaḥ kathamapi tathā vartulikritya dhīmān
Premā śrīmanrpati rato Lochanastām lilekha.*

Te cha

*Bhekhyatha barāḍī cha kauśikah kasyachinmatah,
Deśākhah sukhadā rāmakarī cha lalitā tathā.
Kedāraschāpi kāmōdah Śrīrāgoathamadhustathā,
Mālavāschāsavarī malarī yadirekshaṇā.
Bhūpalī gurjarī chai va shatatrīṣṇādrāga madhyagāh,
Tīrabhuktauḥ vijātyāngatimāsādyā samsthitāh
Tīrabhuktyanyadeśebhyastīrabhuktau vilakshanāh
Svaramedātparam nāmnā tene tennaiva viśrutā.*

The last two lines are important. The names of many of the Rāgas are not different but their use in Mithila is different from

other parts of the country. Locana says —

Bhedabudhyerthameteshām deśigīteshu kalpitāh.

Chhandobhiḥ kriyate koapi niyamoyamamānakah. (RT. p. 39).

This means that for marking out the differences between the Rāgas, he has given metrical rules as well. He also gives rules for understanding the *gaṇas*.

He defines a Rāga as that which pleases the culture (not *pāśvara*'s) and says that it is combined with *Tāla* and *Svara* (RT. p. 40) and by the use of the term Rāga, he understands as Jayadeva and Sangīta Dāmodara understands Rāganis also.

36. A commentary on *Hastamuktavali* written by him was found in Nepal. He seems to have been at the court of Śubhankara Thakkura.

It includes certain Muslim Rāgas, e.g., *Iman* (p. 5, 7, 19) and *Firodasta* (p. 49) in its Bombay and Poona recensions; these rāgas in particular were introduced during the time of Amir Khusroe (1295-1316 A.D.). It is just likely, as Dr. Subhadra Jha is wrong in pointing out that the portions of the work dealing with these Rāgas are not available at present in Mithila recension, which is incomplete.

It has been noticed that Locana does not refer to Śārangadeva. He is particular in pointing out that he considers both classical (*mārgas*) and popular (*deśī*) melodies in his *Saṅgītasamgraha* (which we have not been able to unearth as yet) and that the present work discusses the popular ones only and there too, he will first discuss the melodies in his own country:

Gītantu dvividham proktam yantragātra vibhedtaḥ . . . Prateyakametodapi dvividham nivaddhamanivaddhamcha . . . anivaddham bhavedgītam varṇādi niyamairvinā. yadvāgamaka dhātuvanga varṇādiniyamairvinā. Nivaddhamcha bhavedgītam tālamāna rasamchitam. Chhando gamaka dhātuvanga varṇādi niyamaiḥ kṛitam.

Gamakāḥ kampitādayaḥ, dhātumnādaḥ, angāni, padāni, tena virudādīnitālāsachcha putamcha putādayaḥ, mānantu prasiddham rasā śringārādayaḥ, chhandānsi elā jhūba tālādīni eteshām prapanchastu matkṛite 'Rāgasangītasamgrahē' anveshṭavyaḥ tādrīśamapi gītam dvividham 'Mārgadesi vibhedena gītantu dvividham mataḥ' it Gukteḥ margastu gandhrvādīḥ gītagatayaḥ, deśyaścha tadrāgāśrītās-tattaddeśagītagatayaḥ. Iha tu mārgā bhāvānnoda. Tāste agena kvachidudārttavyaḥ. Deśāmapī su (sva?) deśiyatvātprathamam Mithilāpabhraṅśabhāṣayā Śrividyaḥpati kavi nibaddhāsttāstā maithilagīta gataḥ pradarsyante (RT. p. 36-37).

This section is the fullest in the exact recension of the book.

Locana refers to large number of works such as *Hanumān* (p. 3), *Dāmodara* (p. 40), *Jayadeva*, author of *Gītagovinda* (p. 40), *Tumburu Nāṭaka* (p. 40).

The discussion on *svarasamjñā* and *samsthānasamjñā* is according to Mr. Sen an exhaustive study of the subject. The controversy for arranging particular tune to particular rāga was afoot at the time of Locana. He gives orthodox idea of time for Tum-

buru Nāṭaka and the moderns. The *Tumburu Nāṭaka* is liberal in its views. It says that a language takes up numerous forms according to slight dialectal changes likewise rāgas too reveal proleant forms with slight change effected in course of time. One cannot give an exhaustive list of rāgas in his *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*.³⁷ Mr. Sen says that *Tumburu Nāṭaka* appears to have been produced in the Eastern provinces because there is mention in it of the festival of Durgā Pūjā. There is also reference of invocation songs to be sung in the morning during the fortnight preceding the festival. This *Tumburu Nāṭaka* fixes up tune not to Śāstric injunction but all to the suitability of noting tunes—*yathā kāvye*.

Thus considering all the divisions and sub-divisions the number of Maithila Rāgas are to be known according to Locana as 97, and so many are also the kinds of Maithila Gītas (songs).

He gives the mixture of Rāgas (Rāgasamgarā's) and indicates the modern and ancient views on the time suitable for singing the various Rāgas.

In the end he discusses the Janaka (original) and Janya (derivatives) rāgas (Nāyaka and Nāyikās). "It would appear, as if, he is referring to South Indian view. But Dravidian culture is inseparably mixed up with that of Bengal (and mediaeval Mithila). The Sen kings of Bengal (and the Simraon kings) originally hailed from the Carnatic. Hence there is nothing unusual in finding South Indian views in his book. (Indeed) the Kirtaniyā tālas of Bengal do not conform to those of Northern India."³⁸

"It is only because Locana was a native (of Mithila) . . . that he quoted with so much care the Āgamana tunes sung in the Devī Paksa or the fortnight, during which the Durgā Pūjā festival is held."³⁹

In the history of music Locana is the greatest landmark, and he defines well beyond doubt the Maithila school.

Vidyāpati's songs are preserved in three manuscripts (1) Śivanandana Thakkura, (2) Ramanatha Jha and (3) Nepal Mss.—

37. Vide Krishnamachariar's Index. *Damodara* was probably a Maithila. (cf. also one *Damodara Upadhyaya Maithila* etc.).

38. *Vishwabharati Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 251 & p. 254.

39. *Ibid* p. 255.

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which give the following rāgas: (i) (Śivanandan Thakkura)—*Mālava*, *Suhab*, *Gurjarī*, *Vasanta*, *Ahira*, (*Ahirānī?*), *Srirāga*, *Dhanachhi*, *Varālī*, *Kolāva* (*Kolāra?*), *Sāmari*, *Kānala* (*ra*), *Lari* (*li*) *ta*, *Vibhāsa*, *Abhogya*, *Manāri*, (*Manāvi?* *Malārī?*), *Malāra*, *Narita* (*Lalita*), *Sārangī*.

(ii) (Ramanatha Jha) *Bhūpālī*, *Kānarā*, *Kolāra*, *Mālava*, *Suhaba*, *Rāmakarī*.

(iii) (Nepal Mss.) — *Mālava*, *Dhanachhi*, *Asāvarī*, *Malārī*, *Sābharī* (?), *Mālavi*, *Ahirānī*, *Kedārā*, *Kolāra*, *Sārangī*, *Gunjarī*, *Baralī* (*Barādī?*), *Lalita*, *Lalitā*, *Naṭa*, *Vibhāsa* and *Vasanta*.

(Dr. Subhadra Jha could not find⁴⁰ some rāgas current in Mithila such as *Varālī*, *Sārangī*. But as we might see from referring to the preceeding account *Varādī*, *Gunjarī* (or *Gurjarī*) and *Sārangī*). This is second big music anthology and since songs are arranged according to Rāgas, may well be called after *Rāgataranginī* — the next important music work which gives Vidyapati's Rāgas.

Maithili Literature in Assamese uses three Rāgas — the experts like Śankaradeva, Madhavadeva were great musicians of their time: —

(i) (Ankiā Nāṭ) — *Asovarī* (*Asāvarī*), *Ahira* (*Ahirānī?*), *Beovara* (*Velāvalī?*), *Bhatiyā* or *Bhatiālī*, *Dhanāsrī* *Kalyāna*, *Kāmoda*, *Kanada*, (*Kanara?*), *Kānarā*, *Gaurī*, *Śrīgaurī* (*Suhab?*), *Śyāma*, *Baḍāri*, *Bajāyi* (?), *Mālava*, *Nāṭa* *Mallāra*, *Rāgaśrī* (*Raga*) *Śripati*.

(ii) (*Baragīta*) - *Asāvarī*, *Dhanāsrī*, *Gaurī* *Suhāyi* (*Suhaba?*, *Vasanta*, *Śrī* *Bhūpālī*, *Ahira*, *Kalyāna*, *Payāra* and *Panchālī*.⁴¹

During the last phase of the Maithila music, we have *Umāpati*, *Govindadāsa* and *Harṣanātha*. *Umāpati*'s rāgas are: *Nāṭaka* (*Naṭarāga?*), *Mālava*, *Vasanta*, *Asāvarī*, *Rājaviyaya*, *Krodāva* (*Koḍāra?*), *Vibhāsa*, *Kedāra* and *Lalita*.

Govindasa's rāgas are - *Rāmakalī* (*Rāmakarī*), *Dhanāsrī*, *Sohanī*, *Bhūpālī*, *Kāmada* (*Kāmoda?*), *Sindhu* or *Gandhāra*, *Barādī*,

(*Sri*) *Gandhara*, *Sohara*, *Vibhasa*, *Dhanāsrī*, *Suhaha*, *Kedāra*, *Vihāga*, *Gurjarī* *Lalita*, *Paraja*, *Suhara* (*Sohara?* *Suhaba*) *Deśa*, *Jayajayanti* (?) *Vasanta*, *Pilōō*, *Sohanī*, *Soratha*, *Dhanāsrī*, *Mal-lāra*, *Naṭa* *Bhairavī*, *Barahamāsā*, *Sindhuḍā*, *Dakṣiṇātyaśrīrāga*, *Pahādī*, *Bālādhanāsrī*, *Karunakāmoda*, *Paṭamanjarī*, *Śrīrāvakhakhemaṭā*, *Mallāra*, *Vilābala*, *Belāor*, *Nāṭikā*, *Kalyāna*, *Śaranga*, *Vasantaholī*, *Dhupadabhairava*, *Toḍi*, *Gaurī*, *Malasi* (*Malakrosa*), *Mayura*, *Kaharava*, *Imānkalyāna*, *Sankarabharana*, *Bhatiyari*, *Kanhada* (*Kanda*), *Khemata*.

Harshanatha's Ragas are—*Imana*, *Vasanta*, *Kalyāna*, *Kandhāra* (*Kanāra?*) *Sohanī*, *Paraja*, *Kālagaḍā* (*Kanaṇa*), *Mālava*, *Jhajhorī*, *Jogiya*, *Deśa*, *Khambhaicha*, *Kedāra*, *Soratha*, *Kalyāna*, *Multanī*, *Lalita*, *Naṭa*, *Lādanī*, *Chumaona*, *Aratī*.

In modern times Chanda Jha repeatedly mentions in his *Rāmāyana* as—*Mithilāsangitānusāreṇa* or *Rāgataranginīmithilāsangitānusāreṇa*.

40. Seeker. April 1942, p. 29.

41. Journal of Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti, Vol. X, Pts. 3-4, p. 1ff.

Reviews

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR FELICITATION VOLUME, issued under the auspices of the Dr. S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume Committee. Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Publishers and Book-sellers, Banaras, 1958, pp. XXXIII + 321.

This volume which is dedicated to Dr. Shripad Krishna Belvalkar, one of the foremost Indologists of our country contains thirty-one original papers bearing on Indology written by his friends, pupils and admirers from different countries of the world to felicitate him upon the completion of his seventy-fifth year. The services of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar to the cause of Indological and Sanskrit studies are too well known to need any detailed mention. He was largely responsible for the inception and subsequent growth of the All-India Oriental Conference. His name deserves to be remembered for the services he has rendered for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and the launching of the project of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* of which he has been the general Editor since 1943. But he is best known to the scholarly world through his prolific writings on Indological subjects. It was therefore really appropriate and good that the Belvalkar Felicitation Volume Committee with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as its Chairman decided to honour him with the presentation of the Felicitation Volume under review.

The thirty-one learned papers in the Volume are grouped under six sections, namely: (i) Vedic and Iranian Studies, (ii) Grammar and Linguistics, (iii) Classical Sanskrit literature, (iv) Pali and Prakrit studies, (v) Religion and Philosophy and (vi) Archaeology, History, Geography and Technical Sciences. In a short review like this it will not be possible to refer to all the papers which are all uniformly learned and informative; but mention may be made of a few:

Prof. H. W. Bailey of Cambridge shows in an article entitled 'Analecta Indoiranica' how some isolated words found in the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda have widely attested equivalents in the Iranian texts. Prof. T. Burrow supplies in an article some

lexicographical notes on a few Sanskrit words. Dr. M. A. Mehendale examines in a paper the relation between the Vedic *Akh-khala* and Pali *Akkula*. Prof. P. E. Dumont explains in a note on the *Tittiriya-Samhitā* and the *Śatapata-Brāhmaṇa* the succession of ideas that led to the choice of the tortoise for performance of the rite prescribed in the *Agnicayana*; in a critical and exegetical study of the ritualistic sūtras Mr. C. G. Kashikar suggests corrections in certain parts of *Mānava-Srauta-Sūtra* and the *Kaṇṣika-Sūtra*. Dr. Surya Kanta Misra discusses in a paper the meaning of the terms *Kikaṭa*, *Phaliga*, *Paṇi* and *Sūdra*. Prof. P. Thieme discusses in a paper Nagoji Bhaṭṭa's "method of historical criticism".

Dr. Edgerton explains in a paper that the 'specifying' *ka* "is probably the only strictly new development in the use of the suffix *ka* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (and Pali) as compared with Sanskrit". Dr. George Morgenstierne lists in an article some Sanskrit words found in Khowar, the main language of Chitral. Dr. V. S. Agrawala interprets in a paper some difficult *Mahābhārata* passages. Dr. Ruben examines in a paper the different accounts of the Indra-Vṛtra fight contained in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Ludwi K. Strenbach analyses in a paper the stanzas borrowed in the *Hitopadeśa* from the *Dharmaśāstra* sources other than the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*. Dr. S. K. De gives in a paper a select bibliography for the textual study of Kālidāsa's *Meghdūta*. Professors K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and S. Ramachandra Rao show in a paper how Kālidāsa has succeeded in holding up Duṣyanta's mind as a model for the future generations of his countrymen to follow. P. K. Gode deals in an article with the history of the art of capping verses which is current in some parts of India. Dr. Maheshwar Neog gives in an article an account of Subhankara Kavi and his works on music and dance. Vittore Pisani discusses in a paper on the origin of Prākṛitism and Pāli as language designations and expresses the view that *Pāli bhāṣa* represents a Prākṛitism for the Sanskrit word *Pāribhāṣa*. Discussing the sexual change in Buddhist monks or nuns mentioned in Buddhist literature Prof. P. V. Bapat says "they mean change in the secondary sexual characteristics which include even the external genitalia". Dr. K. C. Varadachari explains in an article the mystic experiences of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār. Dr. H. D. Sankalia describes in a paper a unique realistic paint-

ing of a dog on a sherd from Nevasa and belonging to the Chalcolithic period. Dr. G. Yazdani shows in a paper that the Buddhist art of Ajaṇṭā exercised considerable influence on the art of the Middle Asiatic countries and China. In an informative paper Dr. B. C. Law identifies the famous Kurukṣetra of the *Mahābhārata* with Thaneshvara and gives an account of it. Dr. A. S. Altekar discusses in an article "The riddle of the Vikrama era" and shows how it came to be so called only in later times. Dr. M. Rama Rao proves in a paper that numismatic and epigraphic evidence shows that the empire of Gautamiputra Śatakarṇi consisted of more or less the entire Dekkan and that it was not confined to the narrow limits of northern Maharashtra, Kathiawar, Gujarat and eastern Rajputana as is commonly supposed. Discussing the epoch of the Ganga era in a paper Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that it must have been founded about the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The Felicitation Volume on the whole is worthy of the scholar to whom it has been dedicated.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS OF BIHAR by Prof. Radha Krishna Chowdhary, Head of the Department of History, G. D. College, Begusarai (Bihar) with a Foreword by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Published by Smt. Shanti Devi, C/o R. K. Choudhary, P.O. Madhipura, Saharsa (Bihar), 1958, Price Rs. 10-50 nP.

Bihar is one of the States in India which is rich in inscriptions, the importance of which for a study of its early history can hardly be gainsaid. The inscriptions in the State range in date from the days of Asoka to the period of the Palas of Bengal, and belong to different dynasties which ruled over the area, besides a number of miscellaneous ones. These have been published in different volumes; but they are not easily available. Hence a handy volume containing the inscriptions, at least the more important ones among them, giving also references to the volumes in which they were originally published is a hard felt need; and that is supplied by the book under review. The selection of inscriptions has been done with great care and is representative of

the different dynasties that had connection with Bihar. The Foreword by Dr. D. C. Sircar and the Introduction by the author add value to the publication. One very much wishes that at least the select inscriptions from every sizeable unit or area in India are published in this manner. That is bound to help very much the study of regional history in our country.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF NEPAL (C. 750-1480) (Serie Orientale Roma X) by Luciano Petech, Published by Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed. Estremo Oriente, Roma. 1958. pp. XI+238.

The history of Nepal is difficult of satisfactory reconstruction. It can be roughly divided into four periods: those relating to (1) Licchavi and their Successors (C.A.D. 400-750); (2) the Thakuri and early Mallas; (C. 750-1480); (3) the three Malla Kingdoms (C. 1480-1768) and (4) the Gorkha dynasty (from 1768). The main sources for a study of Nepal's history are inscriptions, *vamsāvali* (Chronicles containing genealogical lists of kings) and Chinese and Tibetan evidence. Some spade work has been done on the subject by a few scholars of whom particular mention must be made of S. Levi (*Le Nepal*, Vol. II), and C. Bendall (*J.A.S.B.* LXXII). Thus there was much scope for further original work on the history of the country. The present book is the result of such work by Luciano Petech who collected fresh material on the subject in Nepal in 1956 and did additional research in Calcutta, Cambridge, London and Paris.

The book gives a fairly connected account and a revised chronology of the second period of the history of Nepal. It contains five chapters dealing respectively with the sources, chronology, the Thakuri dynasty, the Mallas and a general consideration of the social and administrative conditions in Nepal during the period. Nepal then used the Newari Samvat Era whose starting point was in S'801. The origin of the era is however obscure. The author thinks that the dates in the era were calculated according to the Bhāradvāja system (p. 22). There is a gap in the early history of the country after the Pasupati Nāth Inscription of Jayadeva and very little of its history is known till about A. D. 1000; and much

of our knowledge of it is based on the evidence of the chronicles which are often contradictory. The beginning of the period of the Thakuri kings was marked by the appearance of the institution of *Dvairājya*, the system of joint rule by two kings. After the collapse of the rule of this dynasty about A.D. 1200, the Malla dynasty of which Arimalla was the first ruler, came to power. One of the most powerful of its rulers was Jayakṣamalla who expanded the kingdom of Nepal on all sides and conquered even Mithila and Gaya. He entrusted the guardianship of the national shrine of Pasupati Nath to the Bhaṭṭa Brahmans from South India. The beautiful temple of Dattātreya at Bhatgaon was built by him. But he weakened the kingdom by dividing it among his three sons, and thus gave rise to the kingdoms of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Banepa.

The main body of the book is followed by six appendices throwing further light on its main theme, genealogical tables and a useful index. This book published by the Istituto Italiano per Il medio Ed Estremo Oriente under the presidentship of Giuseppe Tucci, which has a number of publications bearing on Indological subjects to its credit is a distinct contribution to a very little known, but important period, in the history of Nepal.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

A HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT (Being the story of Muslim struggle for the freedom of Hind Pakistan) 1707-1947—Vol. I (1707-1831). Prepared and published by the Board of Editors, 30, Karachi Housing Society, Karachi, 1957, pp. XIII, 630. Price Rs. 25/-.

Sponsored by Government, serious attempts are being made in India to bring out authentic accounts of freedom movements in the country leading ultimately to the attainment of her independence in 1947. And by now a few volumes have been published on the subject by some States. Similarly the Government of Pakistan constituted a Board of Editors in 1947 'to prepare an authentic History of the Freedom Movement of Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent covering the period from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the establishment of Pakistan in 1947'. It was decided to write the history of the movement in four

volumes, dealing chronologically with the periods 1707 to 1831, 1831 to 1905, 1906 to 1936 and 1937 to 1947. The Editorial Board is said to have been guided by two considerations: "the part played by the Muslims in the struggle for freedom, and the objectives which had motivated them were to be dealt with in detail, while the historical setting to complete the picture and maintain historical continuity was to be discussed only in outline" (viii). This is as it should be, and may be evidenced more and more in the other three volumes. But the present volume, being the first in the series, has probably to devote more space for an account of the main features of the political history of the country from the death of 'Alamgir in 1707. However, one does not know if the account should be commenced from such an early date, for if the freedom movement was directed against the English, they had not become a political power in the country till 1757, as, according to the authors themselves, it was only in that year that "the Company emerged definitely as a political and territorial power. The years between 1742 and 1757 were the period of this transition. The change was again brought about against their will". (p. 385)'.

The book is divided into twenty chapters of which the first fifteen are historical, and give a very readable and good outline history of the country from 1707 to 1831 under different heads. In the first chapter, which is introductory, a running account is given of the forces that brought about the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims which ultimately resulted in the coming into existence of Pakistan. The decline of the Mughal empire was the result of complex factors working over a long time. Though the weak personalities of the rulers during the period were to a large extent responsible for the decline of Muslim rule in Hind—Pakistan, the deteriorating standards and the unfavourable atmosphere contributed much to its ultimate end. We have been given a good insight into the part played by the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Nawab Wizers of Oudh, Asaf Jah of Haiderabad, Shah Abdali, the Rohillas, the East India Company in Bengal, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in the history of this period. About the achievements of Sivaji, it is said, "By his daring and skilful leadership he had converted them (law-less elements of his country) into a compact mass of ardent followers attached to his person. His second contribution was the lowering of the morale of his victims,

many of whom being repeatedly deprived by his men of the fruits of their labour, lost the values of honest life and joined his gang to earn a livelihood by plundering others", (p. 166) a view that can hardly be accepted as a fair estimate of him. But a fitting tribute is given to the work of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I when it is said that "when the Empire declined this Turanian statesman, a strong imperialist of the school of 'Alamgir, restored and re-established imperial authority in the Deccan by checking the rising tide of Maratha aggression. By his tact, courage, wisdom and beneficent administration, he put down anarchy and established law and order" (p. 234). The chapter on the administrative reforms of Tipu Sultan is one of the best in the book.

Chapters XVI to XX are devoted to an account of the way in which "a spiritual basis" was provided for the "building of a nation". The political disintegration during the period being "mostly the result of spiritual confusion", a religious system had to be worked out in which all but the extremists could agree; and that was done by Shah Waliullah (b. 1703) who by his prolific writings and academic work as also by all that he did for the foundation of a fresh school of thought wanted "to establish a socio-political structure on the lines and traditions of early Islam" (pp. 511 and 525). The period also saw the rise of a "political consciousness" among the Muslims of Bengal, and the religious-political movement known as Indian Wahabism and of which Sayyid Ahmed Shahid (b. 1786) was the founder.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN BIHAR, in three volumes, by Dr. K. K. Datta. Published by the Government of Bihar. Vol. I. July, 1957. Pages x and 670, illustrations: 33. Vol. II. July, 1957. Pages xii and 529, illustrations: 31. Vol. III. Jan. 1958. Pages x and 478, illustrations: 37. Price Rs. 20/- per volume; Rs. 50/- per set.

In the midst of World War II, a month after the 'Quit India' mass *satyagraha* was started, Mr. Amery complained in the House of Commons: 'The disturbance was particularly violent in Bihar, a vitally strategic area'. And Bihar has given India its first President after she became an independent Republic under a consti-

tution framed by a Constituent Assembly whose deliberations were also guided by him as its chairman. Earlier, in the crisis of 1857, Bihar produced Kunwar Singh, one of the foremost leaders of the revolt, who has been recognized by English historians along with the Rani of Jhansi and the Maulvi of Fyzabad, as 'one of the most interesting and perhaps attractive personalities on the opposing side'. And Patna was the headquarters of the half religious, half political Wahabi movement from about 1825 to, say, 1868, and the treacherous arrest in 1857 (June) of the Wahabi leaders by Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, was an indelible blot on the character of British Indian administration. Again, it so happened that Champaran in Bihar provided the first considerable occasion in India for Mahātmā Gandhi to try out the effectiveness of the weapon of Satyagraha he had forged in his South African struggles. The Bihar Government have thus good reason to be proud of the contribution of their State to the cause of Freedom, and the three sumptuous volumes before us are meant to be a permanent record of the role of Bihar and Biharis in the great national movement. Fortunately for the early fruition of the government's plan, they had ready to hand a competent historian in Professor K. K. Datta of the Patna University, already well known for his scholarly work on modern Indian history and for the soundness of his method and sobriety of his outlook as a historian.

Dr. Datta states that when the Bihar government asked him to undertake the work, he sought and obtained permission 'to prepare this work as a student of history, according to the scientific methods of historical research'; for four years and more he 'dedicated', himself 'to this sacred task with the conscience of a student of history'. 'I must confess', he adds, 'that for me it has been the fulfilment of a mission, a great education too. I have tried to write the different chapters of this book in the background of what happened not only in other parts of India but in different countries of the world'. Readers of these volumes will readily recognize that Dr. Datta has done his best to produce a narrative as objective as it could be made at the present moment when events have not yet fallen into their proper perspective which can happen only with the lapse of time, when despite the best efforts all the evidence has not yet been gathered and assessed, and when many of the persons who were actors in the drama are still alive. They will not fail to notice the change in the character of writing as

the narrative approaches the most recent stages of the Freedom Movement. The volumes start from 1857 and the first three or four chapters of the first volume are good sound history written from an Indian standpoint. It is a moot question whether the rising of 1857 should be included in a history of the Indian Freedom Movement; on the one side it is argued that there was nothing in common between the aims and character of the reactionary effort of 1857 to go back to a semi-feudal order and restore the Great Anarchy of the eighteenth century, and the modern nationalist Freedom Movement informed by the revolutionary ideals of a political and social democracy and its stress on the well-being of the common man; on the other hand it is felt by some that there is a common aim underlying all attempts to overthrow foreign rule, that India never reconciled herself to the rule of the Company or the Crown, and that all attempts to resist the spread of British rule or its establishment should in essence be taken to be of the same class as modern nationalism. The second view overlooks the large fact that for some decades at least a good part of the intelligentsia in India represented by the Indian National Congress and such leaders as Surendranath Banerjea, Pherozeshah Mehta, and G. K. Gokhale held that the advent of British rule in India was, with all its disadvantages, on the whole such a blessing for the country as to be regarded as part of a Divine Plan for the political salvation of India. It also puts under the same bracket Kāṭṭa Bomma, Tipu Sultan, Kunwar Singh and Mahātmā Gandhi. But these volumes have been prepared on the basis of the second view.

While the first volume which stops with 1928 reads on the whole more like a history especially in its first half, the remaining volumes on the periods 1928-1941, and 1942-1947 constitute more documentary prolegomena to the history of the time than history proper. The author has necessarily followed the method of choosing the most significant documents and presenting them *in extenso* with a minimum of connecting links and comments; sometimes even documents which make poor reading have been included as for instance the police report of Mahātmā Gandhi's speech at Buxar (pp. 225-6 of Vol. II). Mr. Datta occasionally gives expression to his own views in strong terms especially in dealing with the suppression of the 'quit India' demonstrations: In Darbhanga 'even women were at some places stripped of their

ornaments and their honour was at stake at the hands of the soldiers, whose ruffianism would have put even devils to shame' (III, p. 119). In the Monghyr District when two military planes crashed and the villagers did away with the survivors and looted the arms and ammunition, 'the reprisal against them by the military was terrific... Men and women left their hearth and home and ran away to other places to escape dishonour and molestation at the hands of the troops, whose recklessness and brutality knew no bounds' (*ibid.*, p. 151). When the Government of India published the pamphlet '*Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*', Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he was not prepared to accept the Government version regarding the origin and responsibility of the August disturbances any more than that of the Congress, and that the only way of arriving at the truth was to subject the whole matter to investigation by an impartial commission or tribunal (*ibid.*, p. 296). Such a tribunal was never appointed, and there is legitimate room for doubt in the mind of the reader about the extent to which Dr. Datta's devotion to scientific methods has been affected by his avowed dedication to his sacred task.

There can, however, be no doubt about the inestimable value of the close-up views of many aspects of Bihar's effort offered by Dr. Datta in the course of these volumes. We get full lists of the names of all leading participants, and the pictures of many. There are helpful glossaries, full bibliographies, and the excellent Indexes. Only the first two volumes are replete with printing errors and the long errata lists are by no means exhaustive; the third volume is better and though it is not altogether free from mistakes, an errata list could be dispersed with in the case of this volume. Dr. Datta and the Bihar Government deserve to be congratulated on this authoritative record to the Freedom Movement in their State which will doubtless go far to aid the current task of writing the general history of the movement for all India.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE HISTORY OF THE GURJARA-PRATI HARAS—by Dr. Baij Nath Puri, M.A., B.Litt (Oxon.), D. Phil (Oxon); Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University.

The outcome of the author's thesis for his D.Phil. Degree of the University of Oxford, this book constitutes a systematic study of the Gurjaras, who played a prominent part in the history of India for some centuries. The Gurjara-Pratiharas, one of the royal clans of this stock, carved out a powerful empire and were thereby able to keep at bay the Muslim invaders for a time. The later disunion among the rival dynasties of the Gurjara-Pratiharas was greatly responsible for the collapse of the Hindu resistance to the foreign enemies.

Beginning from the dawn of this century, when Hoernle, Buhler and Vincent Smith, among others, associated the Gurjaras with the race of the Hunas, the origin of the Gurjaras and the determination of their nationality have persisted as controversial problems. Though some others also have recently argued in favour of an indigenous origin of the Gurjaras, Dr. Baij Nath Puri now clinches the issue and adduces evidence in support of their origin in the region of the Arbuda mountains. In all probability, the Gurjaras were a tribe representing people of different castes and were originally living in obscurity in Rajputana, from where they emigrated and established themselves at different places, which subsequently came to be named after them (pp. 6-7).

The gradual rise of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the growth of their empire are treated at length in three chapters. The zenith of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire was attained during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., when Bhoja who ascended the throne about 836 A.D. and his son Mahendrapala who succeeded him about 890 A.D., were at the helm of affairs. Both of them were monarchs of remarkable ability, and through successful wars and an efficient organisation of the administrative system, they built up a strong edifice. Mahendrapala was not only a talented administrator but also an enthusiastic patron of literature. Rajasekhara, the great poet and dramatist was his *Guru* or spiritual preceptor.

After the reign of Mahendrapala the process of disintegration set in, and the empire became enfeebled on account of weak successors, disputed successions and above all on account of the steady growth of the adversaries. Ultimately, the Gurjara-Pratihara empire was razed to the ground by the Turk invaders on the one hand and the Chandellas and their local allies on the other.

The treatment of political history is followed by a study of the administration at the central, provincial and local levels. In addition, the economic, social and religious life of the time, and the progress of literature and education have all received the attention they deserve. The conclusions drawn from the sources are well balanced. Perhaps a critical investigation into the progress of art as exemplified by the numerous monuments which had arisen during the palmy days of the empire would have enhanced the value of the book. A map showing the extent of the empire and several useful Appendices are provided. In particular, those Appendices which furnish a list of the Pratihara inscriptions of Kanauj, a note on the Gurjara-Pratihara coinage and a list of the Gurjara-Pratihara monuments are valuable. The production of the book is, however, capable of considerable improvement. The exceedingly close printing of the matter and the niggardly margin provided are some of the defects which could have been avoided.

K. K. PILLAY

SIDE-LIGHTS ON AUCKLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY—by
K. Sajun Lal, M.A., Osmania University (Hyderabad, Dn.).

Mr. K. Sajun Lal reproduces in this volume some of the News-letters which throw light on the much-disputed Afghan policy of Lord Auckland. Dr. Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, Pepsu State, Patiala, who writes a foreword to the book, states that Mr. Sajun Lal has in his possession not only a vast collection of News-letters but also of old and printed newspapers. They deserve to be published for the benefit of students and scholars of history.

Not all the News-letters and extracts from old newspapers are bound to be of historical interest; nor are all of them quite reliable as sources of history. News-writers consciously or otherwise allow their personal predilections and prejudices to be reflected in their accounts. Deliberate omissions and wilful fabrications are not unknown among their letters. Despite these possible defects, News-letters constitute, more often than not, valuable corroborative sources, particularly by virtue of their contemporary character.

In the book under review ten confidential News-letters of the year 1841 are reproduced, and they show how the Central Government was furnished with up-to-date information about affairs in and outside India by their respective Agents and Residents. These News-letters also contain extracts from the cotemporary English and Urdu newspapers. On the whole, they provide a detailed day-to-day information which throws light on the foreign policy of Lord Auckland in relation to Afghanistan, Qandahar, Iran, Kalat, the Punjab and Sind.

Mr. Sajun Lal writes an introduction in which an outline of the events which occurred in Afghanistan, Herat, the Punjab, Nepal and Kelat during 1841 is furnished in order to help the proper understanding of the contents of the News-letters. But, in addition, a brief note or key to each one of the News-letters could have been given with advantage. A select Bibliography, a glossary of Indian words and expressions and an Index are provided.

K. K. PILLAY

THE INDIAN REVOLT OF 1942: By Amba Prasad, M.A., A.M.
(Stanford), Ph.D., Reader in History, Delhi University.

This small book on the Indian Revolt of 1942 is the author's dissertation for his Master's Degree of the Stanford University, U. S. A. The author himself is aware that his sources of information are incomplete. He admits that "the available materials are too scanty to enable a complete picture to be presented." The Despatches of the Government of India and the Secret Correspondence should obviously throw a flood of light on the events and personalities connected with the rising. The Board which was appointed by the Government of India to write the 'History of the Freedom Movement' had collected valuable material on the revolt of 1942 as well; but, at present, this vast mine of information lies somewhere in the National Archives and is not available for research scholars. Consequently, the author has based his account on the other available sources like the Parliamentary Debates and Parliamentary Papers, Periodicals, Magazines, Newspaper reports and a number of secondary works.

Examining the underlying causes of the unrest in India, he shows how the basic factor was that the British Government, wedded to the principles of gradualness, was reluctant to concede Dominion Status in 1935 or even in 1942. The outbreak of the Second World War and its consequences on India, the episode of the Cripps Mission and the 'Quit India' revolt organized by Gandhiji are traced in succession. The course of the revolt, the arrest of the leaders, the development of the rising into a student-peasant revolt and its ultimate suppression are all treated at some length. The Moslem League was critical of the attitude adopted by both the Congress and the Government of India. Other minorities, too, like the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsis were generally opposed to the movement. But, unfortunately, there appeared a reaction in England and the U. S. A. against the British policy, and despite the immediate failure of the revolt, there is little doubt that it paved the way for the ultimate transfer of power from the British hands. Though the author has attempted to present a lucid and impartial account of the rising and a balanced estimate of its causes and results, the incompleteness of the source material used, remains a standing weakness of the work.

K. K. PILLAY.

DUTCH-ASIATIC TRADE 1620-1740: By Kristof Glamann.

This is a factual study of the Dutch East India Company's trade with the Asiatic countries between 1620 and 1740, the period which saw the heyday of that commercial relationship. The account is based on the vast material available in the archives of the Western countries, particularly in those of Holland. Though the Dutch East India Company's activities had been studied from various points of view like the political, financial, naval, military, colonial and religious, its commercial history had not been systematically investigated so far. It need hardly be emphasized that commerce was the backbone of the Company; dividends constituted always the real aim of its activities.

The original constitution of the Company was embodied in the Charter adopted by the States General in 1602. According to it the central management was entrusted to the Court of Directors, which worked with the co-operation of a number of local com-

mittees. Stock holders were at times dissatisfied with the policy of the Company. This led, among other things, to the appointment of several subsidiary committees which attended to different branches of administration. Thus, four departments came to be distinguished: one for receipts, a second for equipment of ships, a third for accountancy and a fourth for commerce.

It is notable that unlike in the case of the English East India Company, 'interloping' did not play any appreciable part in the Netherlands for a considerable time. What commodities were carried to the Netherlands behind the back of the Company were smuggled in besides the regular cargoes in the very ships of the Company themselves. But during the second decade of the 18th century, interloping developed from Ostend in the Austrian Netherlands. However, thanks to the conjoint efforts of the Dutch, English and French, the Ostend Company was contrived to be suspended in 1727. Excepting for this interlude, practically the Company enjoyed commercial monopoly.

The book contains a comprehensive account of the articles of trade, the conditions of purchase and sale, the periodic fluctuations in the volume of trade and the results of competition in the field from other European Companies. This competition often led to wars, diplomatic negotiations and to certain administrative difficulties. But the earnest endeavours of the Company's officials helped them tide over the crises. It was sometimes thought by outsiders that the Dutch Company was "an ever-green pagoda tree whose golden fruits the Court of Directors had a monopoly of shaking into its turban at suitable intervals, from which it was only prevented by fraudulent, lazy and incompetent officials". But this is hardly a true picture of the actual position. In fact the difficulties were often formidable, and the Company's officials had to strain every nerve for promoting the commercial interests.

The book is the product of patient study and a careful utilisation of all the available source materials. The account constitutes a distinct contribution to knowledge, although the fact that the present work is a translation from the Dutch into English is frequently noticeable. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to Appendices which furnish statistical and other details relating to the trade. The main manuscript sources as well as the secondary

authorities used in the preparation of the book are indicated. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY.

HISTORY OF BIHAR: By Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary.
Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 12-50.

The author of this book seeks to provide a connected account of Bihar's history from early times to the present day. Bihar has had a chequered history. At times, she rose to great prominence as the home of new religions like Jainism and Buddhism, and as the seat of mighty empires like those of the Mauryas and Guptas, while at other times she fell under the sway of foreign invaders and languished in misery. Nevertheless, the history of Bihar has presented certain interesting features. Bihar was the meeting place of Aryan and non-Aryan and later of the Hindu and Muslim civilisations. The social history of Bihar shows the result of mutual assimilation. Costumes, language, manners and customs of life, all bear the imprint of this compromise. Moreover, as Sister Nivedita has stated: "It has doubtless been this close contiguity of highly diversified elements within her boundaries that has so often made Bihar the birth-place of towering political geniuses."

In the pre-historic age, Bihar, and particularly Magadha was a centre of pre-Aryan civilisation. While adequate evidence is lacking for connecting the ancient Magadhan civilisation with that of the Indus valley, the discovery of terracota figurines in the region indicates that it was the stronghold of a pre-Aryan, probably of Munda civilization. The Aryanization of Bihar, at any rate, of a large part of it, was a very slow process.

In respect of the early history of the region the author of the book has relied far too much on the myths and legends embodied in the Epics and Puranas. It is, however, undeniable that Magadha emerged as a powerful state in the 6th century B.C. The rise of the Saisunagas, Nandas, Mauryas and later of the Guptas constitutes brilliant chapters in the history of Bihar. The fortunes of Bihar through the subsequent ages under the Palas and Senas, under the Afghans and Mughals and still later under the British are all traced stage after stage. The book is mainly, as the author

himself states, 'a catalogue of political history'. But brief descriptions of the social, economic and cultural developments at different epochs are provided. The famous Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila have received the attention they richly deserve.

The history of the modern epoch deals with the Bengal renaissance, the struggle for national independence and the contributions made to social progress by certain outstanding sons of the soil, who are described as the makers of modern Bihar. The Appendices provide a chronology of kings, dynasties and governors who ruled Bihar, another chronological record of the principal events of history and a bibliography of books and journals. Some of the interesting works of art are reproduced in 32 Plates. But a map of Bihar showing the principal places of historical importance is a desideratum. Typographical errors in the text are numerous; the language, too, is capable of considerable improvement. An indiscriminate use of the article 'the' is noticeable.

K. K. PILLAY.

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