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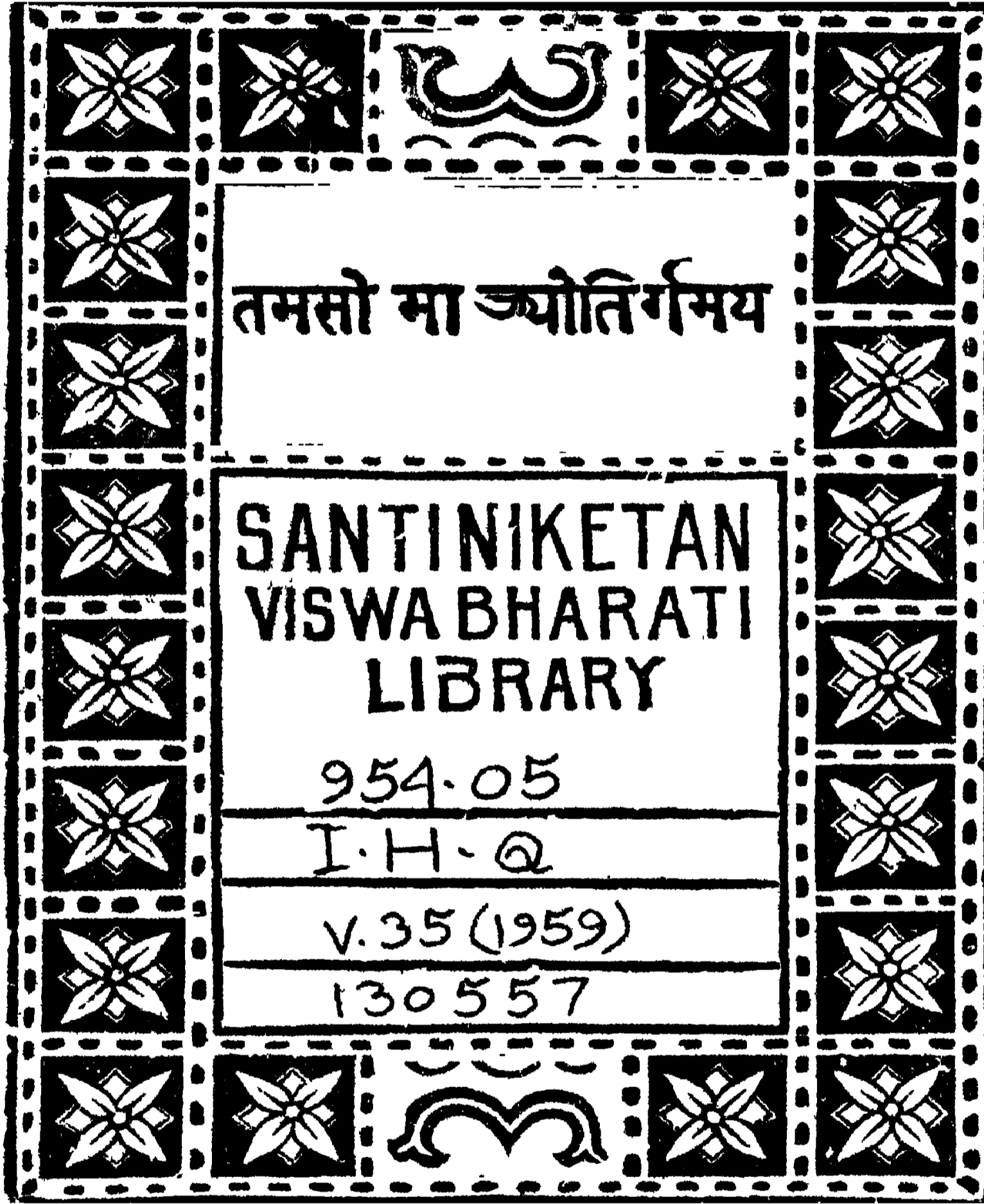
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Vol. XXXV

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No. 1

Excavations at Sirpur

Sirpur, ancient Śrīpura, 37 miles from Raipur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, possesses extensive ruins of an old capital-city. These ruins have been recently excavated for three years, in 1953-54 under the auspices of the University of Saugar and in 1954-55 and 1955-56 under that of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Madhya Pradesh. Brief accounts of the excavation have appeared in *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, a publication of the Department of Archaeology of the Government of India, for the corresponding years.¹ Dr. M. G. Dikshit, who was in charge of these excavations, contributed an article on the same in the *Pragati*,² a Hindi periodical of the Department of Information and Publicity of the Madhya Pradesh Government. Brief accounts also appeared in the Press.³ A complete report on the work is awaited.

As a result of the excavations, discovery of two colossal images of Buddha was announced. One of them, 6 ft. high, seated on *śimbāsana*, was found in what is called the Main Temple⁴ and the other⁵ 8 ft. 6 in. high in a large monastery. Both of them are seated in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. During the second season of work, a Temple Monastery and a large

¹ *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, 1953-54, p. 12; 1954-55, pp. 24-26; 1955-56, pp. 26-27.

² For Jan-Feb. 1956, pp. 12 ff.

³ *Nagpur Times*, Nagpur, Feb. 2, 1955 and Feb. 9, 1956.

⁴ *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, p. 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1955-56, p. 26.

Monastery⁶ and during the following, remains of another five monasteries were found.⁷

Other antiquities discovered are: (1) during 1954-55 implements of "agriculture, smithy, pottery making, gold-work, etc."; "a complete set of the goldsmith's tools, including pincers, a pair of tongs, a small hammer, a tripod and even the touch-stone with marks of gold testing"; a number of Buddhist bronzes and seals⁸ and (2) during the following season: two small images of *Kubera*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Mañjuśrī*, *Tārā*⁹, etc.

After the second season's work Dr. Dikshit concludes that "The Monastery remained in occupation for some two hundred years, after which the Buddhist monks were ousted by a people professing the Śaiva faith, who effected extensive repairs and changes in the building. The Monastery was finally abandoned in about the end of the eleventh century."¹⁰

It is further said that the "Śaivite intrusion in these monasteries was indicated by the discovery of crude plaques of *Gaṇeśa*, *Mahiṣāsūramardinī*, *Śiva-Pārvatī*, etc."¹¹

These conclusions are repeated in the report for the following year in which it is said that "These Buddhist Monasteries appear to have been appropriated by the Śaivas during the medieval period, for a very large number of crude plaques representing *Śiva-Pārvatī*, *Gaṇeśa* and *Mahiṣāsūramardinī* were found in later deposits. (The italicised portion was not there in the previous years' account and is obviously a later thought). This statement is repeated again after six lines when it is said that "The subsequent occupation of the Temple by the Śaivas in medieval period was proved by the find of a few Brahmanical plaques". (not 'a very large number' as stated earlier.)

6 *Ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 24.

7 *Ibid.*, 1955-56, p. 26.

8 *Ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 24.

9 *Ibid.*, 1955-56, p. 26-27.

10 *Ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 24.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

12 *Ibid.*, 1955-56, p. 27.

This conclusion of Dr. Dikshit creates the impression that Śrīpura was a Buddhist centre and that the Śaivas established themselves after driving them out from there but it is not correct for the reasons stated below.

The inscription discovered during the second season in the Temple-Monastery records that the monastery (*Vihāra*) was constructed by *Bhikṣu* Ānandaprabha in the reign of king Bālārjuna.¹³ A Chinese coin of Kai Yuan (713-41 A. D.) is also reported to have been found during the third season of excavation work.¹⁴ King Bālārjuna of the above record is no other than Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī family of kings who ruled at Śrīpura. The record of Ānandaprabha and the Chinese coin, thus, determine the epoch, if not the precise date, of these Buddhist temples and monasteries. The characters of the inscription of Ānandaprabha and those of others of the time of king Bālārjuna belong to the northern Indian class of alphabets and were assigned to the 8th or the 9th century by Kielhorn.¹⁵ Longhurst assigned them to the 7th or the 8th century.¹⁶ According to Mirashi they belong to the first half of the 7th century¹⁷ and this is accepted as the reasonable period for the reign of king Bālārjuna.¹⁸

Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, the capital of king Bālārjuna was a big and flourishing metropolitan city in ancient times. When it was founded is not known, but the Kauvatal Plates¹⁹ of Mahāsu-devarāja of the Sarabhapura Dynasty and the Thakurdiya Plates²⁰ and the recently discovered Mallar grant of Mahāpravararāja,

13 *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, p. 24 and from my reading of the photograph of the inscription published in *Nagpur Times* of Feb. 2, 1955

14 *Ibid.*, 1955-56, p. 27.

15 *A. S. R.*, XVII, p. 26,

16 *ASI: AR* 1909-10, p. 14.

17 *El.*, vol. XXIII, p. 118.

18 *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 32; vol. XXIII, p. 118. The sixth century here is obviously a slip or misprint for the 'seventh century.'

19 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, p. 12, No. 53; *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49.

20 *El.*, vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.

brother of Mahāsudevarāja, were issued from Śrīpura. After the Sarabhapura kings had ruled for about two centuries, Śrīpura passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings during the reign of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī Tīvaradeva, who appears to have made it his capital; and two grants, the Rajim²¹ and the Baloda²², were issued by him from this city. A copperplate charter issued by Tīvaradeva's son, Nannarāja, from Śrīpura, has been recently discovered.²³ Mahāśiva-Nannarāja appears to have been succeeded by Candragupta, brother of Tīvaradeva and Candragupta was followed by Harṣagupta, who was succeeded by his son Śivagupta²⁴, also called Mahāśivagupta and Bālārjuna in his inscriptions.

The reign of Śivagupta was very eventful and long. His Lodhia plates²⁵ are dated in the 57th year of his reign. He was a great builder and during his long reign a large number of temples and monasteries belonging to the Vaiṣṇavas, the Śaivas, the Buddhists and the Jains were constructed at Śrīpura. The capital was transformed into a veritable city of temples and monasteries of all religious denominations. The extensive ruins of this City of Temples were described by Beglar in 1873-74²⁶, by Cunningham in 1881-82²⁷ and by Henry Cousens in 1903-04.²⁸ A large number of records of the reign of Śivagupta have been found, both on stone and copperplates. Their number and contents show the flourishing condition of Śrīpura and give a clear picture of the religious life of the people, the religious harmony prevailing among various religious sects and the policy of tolerance of Śivagupta himself.

The Copperplate charters of the reign of Śivagupta discovered so far are three; the Mallar²⁹, the Bardula³⁰ dated in the 7th year

21 *CII.*, vol. III, pp. 294 ff. 22 *El.*, vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.

23 *Indian Archaeology, A Review* 1956-57, p. 38.

24 *I.A.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 179 ff: *El.*, vol. XI, pp. 190 ff.

25 *El.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 287 ff. 26 *ASR.*, vol. VII, pp. 168 ff.

27 *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 23 ff.

28 *ASR: AR, Western Circle*, 1904, pp. 20 ff.

29 *El.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff. 30 *Ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 287 ff.

of his reign and the Lodhia³¹ dated in the 57th year. And eleven stone inscriptions have been discovered at Śrīpura itself. They are the following.

1. Lakṣman Temple Inscription: Edited by Hiralal³².
2. Gandharveśvara Temple Inscription of Nāgadeva and Keśava : Edited by Kielhorn.³³
3. Gandharveśvara Temple Inscription of Jorjjarāka : Edited by S. L. Katare.³⁴
4. Buddhist Temple Inscription of Ānandprabha.³⁵
5. Senakapat Inscription : Edited by D. C. Sircar, and M. G. Dikshit.³⁶
6. Gandharveśvara Temple Inscription : Noticed by Cunningham, Cousens and Hiralal.³⁷
7. Gandharveśvara Temple Pillar Inscription : Noticed by Henry Cousens and Hiralal.³⁸
8. Gandharveśvara Temple second Pillar Inscription : Noticed by Cousens and Hiralal.³⁹
9. Surang Maund Inscription : Noticed by Cunningham and Hiralal.⁴⁰
10. A Stone Inscription : Noticed by Cunningham.⁴¹
11. Another Stone Inscription : Noticed by Cunningham.⁴²

Tīvaradeva and Harṣagupta were the devotees of Viṣṇu; the former was styled as *parama-vaiṣṇava* and the latter as

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 319 ff.

32 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, pp. 109 ff.

33 *IA.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 179 ff.

34 *IHQ.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 228 ff.

35 *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, p. 38.

36 *El.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff.

37 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 27, pl. XX. E: *ASI. AR: Western Circle* 1904, p. 49, No. 2015; *List of Inscriptions In C. P. & Berar* (2nd Edn.), No. 173 (Fourth), pp. 98-99.

38 *ASI. AR: Western Circle*, 1904, No. 2014, p. 49; *List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, No. 173 p. 99.

39 Cousens: *Ibid.*, No. 2013, p. 49; Hiralal: *Ibid.*, No. 173 (Sixth).

40 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 27, No. F; Hiralal: *Ibid.* No. 186.

41 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 26 (c).

42 *Ibid.*, p. 26 (d), pl. XIX D,

upāsītābyutaḥ. The seals of the Rajim and the Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva had the emblem of *Garuda* on them, but those of the charters of Mahāśivagupta had the emblem of *Nandi* on them. This further shows that Sivagupta adopted Śaivism while his predecessors were Vaiṣṇava. He is further called as *parama-māheśvara* in his grants. His mother Vāsatā was also a Vaiṣṇava. She was the daughter of king Sūryavarmā of Magadha and had become a widow. She built a temple of *Hari*. As the inscription which gives this information has been found in the Lakṣman temple, it has been quite naturally concluded that this was the same temple which Vāsatā had built. A large image of Viṣṇu was also found outside the temple⁴³ and from Viṣṇu's *avatāras* carved on the door jamb and the *Varāha* figure on one of the broken pilasters Cunningham was of the view that this temple was dedicated to *Viṣṇu*⁴⁴.

Inscription Nos. 2, 3 and 6 of the list given above are definitely *Śaiva* from the reference and the donations to the deity they record. Inscription Nos. 7, 8 and 9 are so badly damaged that their religious character cannot be determined; but as the first two have been found on two pillars of the *maṇḍapa* of the Gandharveśvara Temple, they have to be taken as Śaiva records. One of the two Surang Maund Inscriptions invoked *Nārāyaṇa*.⁴⁵ Inscription No. 1 invokes *Puruṣottama*; No. 6, *Sarvva* and Nos. 2, 5 and 8, *Śiva*; while in the case of the rest the invocation is lost in the broken portion of the records.

According to inscription No. 2 of the list given above Vāsatā donated a number of villages to the Vedic Brāhmaṇas for the worship of the deity enshrined in the temple she had constructed. The Senakapat inscription records construction of a temple of Sambhu (Śiva) by Durgarakṣita, a servant of king Bālārjuna, and then making it over to the Śaiva ascetic Sadāśivācārya. Inscription Nos. 2, 3 and 6 record donations by gar-

43 *Ibid.*, p. 28, pl. XVII.

44 *Ibid.*,

45 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 185.

land-makers of Śrīpura for the worship of Śiva. No. 10 appears to have recorded the "dedication of *liṅgam* obelisk to Śiva"⁴⁶

Besides Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, Mahāśivagupta extended patronage and tolerance to Buddhism also. The inscription of Anandaprabha which Dikshit claims to have discovered in the Temple Monastery records construction of a Buddhist Monastery (*Vihāra*) during the reign of king Bālārjuna. Other Buddhist temples and monasteries described by Beglar, Cunningham and Cousens were also obviously built during the reign of the same king. The Mallar plates of this king record donation by him of village Kailāśapura in the *Taraḍāśaka-bhoga* to the *Bhikṣu-saṅgha* in the Monastery built by Alakā, wife of Koradeva, at the request of Bhāskaravarman, Bālārjuna's maternal uncle.

The complete harmony that prevailed between the various religions is further attested by the fact that Sumaṅgala, son of Tāradatta, who had composed two Inscriptions, Nos. 3 and 4 in the Gandharveśvara Temple and the Senakapat inscription had also composed the Buddhist Temple inscription of Ānandaprabha.

The extensive ruins described by Beglar, Cunningham and Cousens include not only Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples, but also Buddhist and Jain Monasteries. And what Dr. Dikshit has excavated is a small portion of that large city.

The two colossal images of Buddha, the discovery of which was recently announced, were found long ago by Henry Cousens, who described them as the "two life-size seated images of Buddha with portions of the door frame of the shrine of the temple, in which they had been enshrined, standing up out of the maund."⁵⁰ Another image of seated Buddha as

46 *El.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 32-33.

47 *ASR.*, vol. VII, p. 27.

48 *IHQ.*, vol. XXXIII, p.—; Hiralal, *op. cit.* p. 99. The name here is Sumaṅgala and not Śrīmaṅgala as Hiralal thought.

49 *El.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 33 & 36.

50 *ASI. AR: Western Circle*, 1904, p. 22.

reported by Longhurst⁵¹ in 1908-09 has been lying in the enclosure of the *Gandharveśvara* temple and Cunningham made mention of a colossal head of Buddha near the *chota qila*.⁵² If the Śaivas made large scale changes in these monasteries after they had appropriated them from the Buddhists according to Dr. Dikshit, how is it that they did not remove the colossal images of the Buddha from there and replace them by a deity of a respectable size of their own faith?

Dr. Dikshit has failed to explain the object of the figure of the *Gaṅgā* on the door of the Buddhist shrine.⁵³ Did the Śaivas replace the whole of the door frame if they occupied it? No big image of Śiva in any form is reported to have been found in any of the monasteries which were supposed by Dr. Dikshit to have been 'appropriated' by the Śaivas. It is not possible to believe that if the Śaivas occupied the Buddhist temples, they would have remained contented with small plaques of *Śiva-Pārvatī*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Mahiṣāsūramardinī*, etc.

The above-mentioned facts show that Śrīpura was an important centre of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas at the time the Buddhist *Vihāra* of Ānandaprabha and other Buddhist monasteries were constructed. This was all during the reign of king Bālārjuna, who made donations to all of them without any discrimination whatsoever.

SANT LAL KATARE

51 *ASI, AR*: 1909-10, p. 14.

52 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 173.

53 Jan.-Feb. 1955, p. 13.

The Successors of the Paramāras at Vāgaḍa

The Vāgaḍa country, as known from inscriptions, in the early days covered the region consisting of the erstwhile states of Bānswāra and Ḍuṅgarpur now integrated into the state of Rajasthan. This tract of land came under the sway of the Paramāras quite early in their career. A junior branch of the family descended from Ḍaṁbara-simha, the younger son of Upendra-Kṛṣṇarāja was actually governing this province, always loyal to the parent line.¹ The last Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa, of whom we hear from inscriptions, was Vijayarāja whose Arthūṇa inscription of V. S. 1166² (A.D. 1108-09) states that he was the ruler of the Sthalī (Vāgaḍa) country at that time.

After the above date we get a reference to the rulers of this country only in V.S. 1212³ when Mahārāja Sūrapāla, son of Vijayapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāladeva, who was the son of Pṛthvīpāladeva *alias* Bhartṛipatṭa, finds mention in an inscription at Ṭhākardā, in the Ḍuṅgarpur State. Vijayapāladeva, the father of the aforesaid Sūrapāladeva figures in another inscription⁴ found at Inṅṇoda in the former Dewas State and dated V. S. 1190. This suggests that the rulers of Dewas State at that period had a hold on the Vāgaḍa country also. The genealogy given for these rulers makes it clear that they were not connected with the Paramāra dynasty, which was ruling in this place only three decades earlier. We cannot say with certainty as to which family these rulers belonged.⁵

1 Vide D. C. Ganguly: *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 337ff.

2 *PRAS., WC.*, 1908-09, p. 49.

3 *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1915-16, p. 3

4 *Ind. Ant*, Vol. VI, p. 55.

5 See D. C. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 165. But these rulers seem to have been of royal descent from the title Mahārāja assumed by Pṛthvīpāla and his descendants. Also cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 229 and 295. It is not, however, intelligible how Dr. Bhandarkar decided to

It is probable that the aforesaid Vijayapāla was the governor of the Dewas region under the Paramāras and when Cauḷukya-Siddharāja-Jayasimha invaded and occupied Mālava, he changed over to his side. Vāgaḍa, too, seems to have come under Jayasimha's occupation as shown in one inscription from Talwārā in the Bānswāra state.⁶ So when Jayasimha retired, Vijayapāla could have easily spread his authority wherever the Cauḷukya had occupied. After him his son Sūrapāla should have continued to rule this region. Mahārājādhirāja Amṛitapāla, son of Mahārājādhirāja Vijayapāla *alias* Bharṭṛipaṭṭa, who according to the Vīrapurā copper plate dated V. S. 1242 was a subordinate chief ruling the Vāgaḍa country under the suzerainty of Cauḷukya Bhīma II, was probably the brother and successor of the aforesaid Sūrapāla, who was also a son of one Vijayapāla.⁷ In that case we will have to assume that Vijayapāla adopted the title of Bharṭṛipaṭṭa in imitation of his grandfather. But in the aforesaid inscription Amṛitapāla is said to have belonged to the Guhiladatta family.⁸ This is an intriguing point but it cannot be solved without further evidences. It may, however, be surmised that he was the last ruler in the line started by Pṛthvipāla *alias* Bharṭṛipaṭṭa and was dispossessed by the Guhilot Sāmantasimha as shown below, sometime between V. S. 1228,

group them along with the Kacchapaghāta rulers of Gopādri without determining the relationship between the last Kacchapaghāta ruler, Mahipāla-Bhuvanaikamalla and Pṛthvipāla-Bharṭṛipaṭṭa. His genealogical list on p. 391 and note 7 on the same page of the same volume suggests that he thought them to be identical for which assumption there does not seem to be any ground.

6 *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1914-15, p. 2*

7 *Cf. Ibid., 1929-30, pp. 2-3.*

8 If at all they were a branch of the Guhilot family till now unknown, they must have been different from the branch to which Sāmantasimha belonged, as none of the rulers from Pṛthvipāla to Amṛitapāla finds mention in any of the annals extant. Also see *ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 3. The supposition made therein that they might have belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj is not supported by any evidence.

when we hear of him in Mewād⁹ and V. S. 1236 when we find him in Vāgada.¹⁰ Amṛitapāla must have reinstated himself at Vāgada with the help of the Cauḷukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka in about V. S. 1242, the date of his Vīrapurā plate.¹¹ This surmise will not clash with the account given by Muḥṇot Naiṇsī, as he does not seem to mention the name of the ruler at Bāṭbaḍōda (Vaṭapadraka) whom Sāmantasimha drove out. The name, Caurasīmalak, given by him rather seems to indicate the extent of his domain, the term meaning that he was the lord of eighty-four villages.¹² Probably the extent of the kingdom of Amṛitapāla or of his predecessor had contracted to this size by that time.

It is now recognised on all sides that it was Sāmantasimha, the ruler of Mewād, who, when dispossessed of his kingdom, captured for himself the kingdom of Vāgada and thus continued the senior line of the Guhilōts at Vāgada.¹³ There are various stories current, accounting for Sāmantasimha's exit from Mewād and the occupation of Vāgada. Whatever the truth in these stories it is certain that Sāmantasimha was ousted from Mewād by an enemy. This is borne out by the fact that his brother Kumārasimha is acclaimed to have regained the paternal kingdom from an enemy in an inscription¹⁴ of his descendant Samarasimha. Another inscription from Kumbhalgaḍh,¹⁵ of Rāṇā Kum̄bha, states that Kumārasimha drove out Kītū from his kingdom after

9 Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 354.

10 *Ibid.*, No. 392.

11 It is not also impossible that it was Sūrapāla who was displaced by Sāmantasimha and that Amṛitapāla later wrested back the kingdom.

12 See *Muḥṇot Naiṇsī kī khyāt*, Part I, p. 79. Also see G. H. Ojha, *Rājputānē ka Itihās*, p. 454. The author of the latter work takes Caurasīmalak, to have been the name of the ruler.

13 G. H. Ojha, *Rājputānē kā Itihās*, pp. 450-58. For the different versions on the occupation of Vāgada by the Guhilots, see *Ibid.*, p. 455 n. Also *Muḥṇot Naiṇsī kī khyāt*, pp. 78 ff.

14 Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 610.

15 Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 451 n.

pleasing the Cauḷukyas.¹⁶ And this will also account for the passing of Mewād to the junior line of Guhilots. This story of Sāmantasimha's occupation of Vāgaḍa is more or less confirmed indirectly by the finding of an inscription mentioning Sāmantasimha and dated V. S. 1236 at Sōlaj in the Ḍuṅgarpur State.¹⁷ But it is not clear as to how long he or his descendants were kept out of this kingdom, after he was dispossessed of this kingdom also by Amṛitapāla. In any case we know that till V. S. 1253, Cauḷukya Bhīma II's authority was paramount there as is evidenced by an inscription at Dīwṛa in the Ḍuṅgarpur State.¹⁸

It has been conjectured on the basis of tradition that it should have been the aforesaid Sāmantasimha, who married Pṛithābāī, the sister of Cauhān Pṛithvīrāj (rather the third than the second) and on being driven out of Vāgaḍa, as reported in *Pṛthvīrāj-rāse*, probably sought refuge with Pṛthvīrāja III and died with him in the battle-field at Sthāṇvīśvara in 1191 A.D.¹⁹ After this what happened to his family, whether it was his descendant that got back possession of the Vāgaḍa country, and

16 See *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 87 and Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 451 and 454-5. This Kitū has been identified with Cāhamāna Kīrtipāla of Nādōl. But we don't have confirmation for this. Neither his nor his son's inscriptions claim this feat for him (*Sec Ep. Ind.* vol. XI, pp. 49 ff.). Neither Kumārapāla, whose occupation of a part of Mālava in V. S. 1207 (Bhandarkar's *List* No. 279) was too early nor Pahlādana who never claims to have occupied Mewād (vide *Kīrttikaumudī-Katharwate* edition App. A, Verse 38) could be fitted into the picture.

17 Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 392. *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1914-15, p. 3.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

19 G. H. Ojha, *Rajputāne kā Itihās*, pp. 457-8. Mahārāja Sāmantasimha whose inscriptions dated V. S. 1256 and 1258 have been found in the Sirohi and Jodhpur States, should have been different from Guhila Sāmantasimha or otherwise we cannot account for the absence of any other Guhilot records in these parts. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 87. Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 64. Also see *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum.*, 1922-23, p. 2-3, where a vāgaḍi Salakhana is mentioned.

whether in winning it back the help of Jaitrasimha of Mewād, who we know fought with the Caulukyas, was sought or not, are questions which cannot be answered with the material available at present. But one thing is certain. This country seems to have been wrested back by the Guhilots before V. S. 1277, the date of the inscription at Jagat in the present Udaipur state wherein one Rāo (Rāwal) Sīhaḍadeva is mentioned.²⁰ This Sīhaḍa, has been placed by Naiṅsī after Sāmantasimha under the Guhilots of Vāgaḍa. But another inscription²¹ from the same place dated V. S. 1306 refers to one Jayasimhadēva, son of Sīhaḍa, who was the son of Jayatasīha. We do not have any means to know how this Jayatasīha was connected with Sāmantasimha.²² Naiṅsī mentions neither Jayatasīha, the father of Sīhaḍa nor his son, Jayasimha in his list.²³ Connecting Jayatasīha and his descendants with Guhila Sāmantasimha, is itself dependent upon our accepting the list given by Muḥṇōt Naiṅsī. Sīhaḍa seems to have continued to rule at least upto V.S. 1291.²⁴ Jayasimha, his son, succeeded him between this date and V. S. 1306, the date of his inscription at Jagat.²⁵ He was still ruling in V. S. 1308.²⁶

20 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

21 *Ibid.*, Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 545, Also see No. 546 and n.

22 *Ibid.* The identification of Jayatasīha with Jaitrasimha, the famous ruler of Mewād seems to be erroneous as the reign of Jaitrasimha ran beyond V. S. 1277, the earliest date available so far for Sīhaḍa (cf. G. H. Ojha, *Rājaputanē kā Itihās*, pp. 470-71). Moreover, Jayasimha, Jayatasīha's grandson, is again identified with the same Jaitrasimha (*An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1924-25, p. 2), in spite of the fact that he is mentioned as the ruler of Vāgaḍa in the inscription dated V.S. 1308 (*ibid.*). Again the genealogical lists of the Guhilas of Medapāṭa given in inscriptions (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 579 and 610) and the list given by G. H. Ojha himself in his *Rajputane kā Itihās* do not mention Sīhaḍa after Jaitrasimha (See *op. cit.*, Appendix III, p. 522).

23 *Muḥṇōt Naiṅsī ki khyāt*, Part I, p. 85.

24 Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 515.

25 *Ibid.*, No. 545.

26 *Ibid.*, No. 546.

In the list of Naiṅsī one Dedā (Devapāladeva) is mentioned after Sīhaḍa and before Vīrasimha. But we do not have inscriptions referring to his reign. He must have been somehow connected with Jayasimha, the son of Sīhaḍa (see above). The Mala plate of Mahārājakula Vīrasimha states that the king made the grant for the merit of Mahārājakula Devapāladeva.²⁷ But here again the relationship between Vīrasimha and Devapāla is not mentioned. At least we can suggest this much that he could not have been his father in which case his mere name would not have been mentioned. Probably he was his elder brother. The latest date we get for Vīrasimha, the successor of Devapāla, is V. S. 1359.²⁸ After Vīrasimha the family became firmly established at Vāgaḍa till the dissection of the kingdom into the two states of Ḍuṅgarpur and Bānswāra in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century. Ḍuṅgarpur remained with the main line. But the latter became the possession of Jagamāla, the second son of Rājādhirāja Udayasimha of Vāgvara (Vāgaḍa) who fell fighting on the side of Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā at Kānwā in the battle against Babur.²⁹

If the finding of the inscriptions of Sīhaḍa and Jayasimha in Jagat and Jharole³⁰ is any indication, the Vāgaḍa country in those times must have included some portion in the southern part of the former Udaipur State. The Jharole inscription of Jayasimha actually mentions him as the ruler of the Vāgaḍa district. But the southern portion of Vāgaḍa as known to the Paramāras, seems to have eluded the grasp of the early Guhilots of Vāgaḍa. There is a tradition which says that Devapāladeva fought with the Paramāras and conquered Galiakōṭ, near Arthūṅā, the capital of the former Paramāra rulers.³¹

27 *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXII, pp. 192 ff.

28 *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, 1914-15, p. 3.

29 *Ibid.*, 1929-30, p. 4.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 3 and 1924-25, p. 2.

31 Also refer to Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 579 and G. H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 462-63. *Pañcalagudika* Jaitramalla, who was defeated by Madana, the son of the *talāra* of Chitrakūṭa, at Utthūṅaka (identified with arthūṅā), has been considered to be the same as Paramāra Jaitramalla of Mālava.

Under the Paramāras the Vāgaḍa country seems to have had Arthūṇā as its capital.³² But by the time of Amṛitapāla, mentioned above, Vaṭapadraka had become the capital of the Vāgaḍa country. To distinguish it from other places in the country known by the name Vaṭapadraka, this capital of the Vāgaḍa country came to be called Vāgaḍa-Vaṭapadraka. It has been identified with Baḍoda in the Ḍuṅgarpur State. There are traditional accounts which say that it was during the time of Vīrasimha that the capital was shifted to Ḍuṅgarpur, newly built by him, though it is very probable that this new city was built and made the capital by Ḍuṅgarasimha, who ruled during the second quarter of the 14th century.

J. SUNDARAM

32 D. C. Ganguli, *op. cit*, p. 337.

Murshid Quli Khan's Relations with the European Merchants*

1. *Attitude of Murshid Quli towards the English East India Company*

Murshid Quli Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, was too keen a financier not to realize the advantages he could derive from foreign commerce. He realized "that the prosperity of Bengal and the increase of the revenues depended upon its advantageous commerce, particularly that carried by the ships from Europe." But while he showed great indulgence to merchants of every description, he was jealous of the growing power of the Europeans in Bengal¹; and more especially of the English. He viewed with suspicion the tranquility and prosperity of Calcutta and that prosperity was to him a sufficient reason for renewing the oppressions of his predecessors, as the Company would now be much better worth the trouble of fleecing them. Since the middle of the 17th century, the East India Company has established their main factories at Hugli and Kasimbazar with subordinate factories at Patna and Dacca,² through the aid of licences granted by the Nazims, Sultan Muhammad Shuja and Shayista Khan,³ which

* In this paper, I have tried to discuss Murshid Quli Khan's relations with the European traders and their commercial activities in Bengal in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. This period is called the "Dark Age" of Bengal, because nothing is known thoroughly till we reach the year 1748. So I have tried to fill up the gap of our knowledge of the history of Bengal. My best thanks are due to Dr. S. Roy of the Department of History, Calcutta University, who guided me in writing this paper and also to Dr. K. C. Karmakar of Chandernagore College for the translation of some relevant portions of the book "*Lettres et Conventions*", edited by A. Martineau.

1 Salimullah, *Tarikh-i-Bangala*, translated by Gladwin (1788), p. 81.

2 Hedges *Diary*, III, p. 186.

3 Ascoli's *Fifth Report*, p. 16.

made the Company's exports and imports free of customs duty. In 1680, the Emperor Aurangzib issued a *farman* that "none should molest the Company's people for Custom, rah-dari (transit duty), Peshkash (tribute), and Farmaish (commission for goods).⁴ So in 1681 the Company, realizing the importance of the 'Bay', created it into a trade division under the governorship of William Hedges.⁵ In 1691 an imperial order was issued,.....allowing the English to 'contentedly continue their trade' in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 yearly in lieu of all dues,⁶ from which the other European factors were excluded. From this date the main interests of the Company were centred in the trade of Bengal. The rebellion of Sobha Singh in 1696 was an event of more than passing interest. His initial success brought home to the imperial authorities the supreme necessity of creating strong barriers of defence and afforded an opportunity to the European traders in Bengal, who declared in favour of the Nawab and requested his permission to put their factories in a state of defence. So the Mughals now welcomed the establishment of fortified commercial settlements and permitted the building of Fort William in Calcutta, Fort Orleans at Chandernagore and Fort Gustavus in Chinsura. The English got an excuse to build a fort at Calcutta, defended by bastions and fortified in the strongest possible manner.⁷ While the purchase of the *zamindari* of Calcutta, Sutanati and Govindapur in 1698 by the East India Company ensured to it a definite revenue which was regarded by Sir Josia Child as the "Foundation of Power", the fortification of Calcutta and the acquisition of *zamindari* rights had given them military security and legal status. These events were followed in 1702 by the amalgamation of the 'old' and 'new' English Companies under the style and title of 'The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies'.

4 *Wilson's Annals*, vol. 1, p. 78.

5 *Ascoli's Fifth Report*, p. 16.

6 *Wilson's Annals* 1, p. 125.

7 *Millburn's Oriental Commerce*, vol. 2, p. 103.

As soon as Murshid Quli was firmly seated in power, he set at naught the privileges they had gained from Prince Shuja and the Emperor Aurangzib. Fully alive to the economic interests of his province, he made attempts to prevent the use of *dastaks* by the servants of the East India Company, though ever since the grant of the *nishan* made to the English by Prince Shuja in 1656, the East India Company enjoyed the right of sending goods of export and import to the different parts of the country by means of *dastaks* or passes issued for the purpose. This concession was abused in two ways. In the first place, the servants of the Company used the *dastaks* for their private trade and secondly, the *dastaks* were sold to Indian merchants to enable them to evade the customs duty. The result was a great loss to public revenue. Murshid Quli also resented the privileges enjoyed by the East India Company of trading in Bengal free of customs on payment of Rs. 3,000 annually. This privilege given by Prince Shuja cannot be regarded as a perpetual grant.⁸ Murshid Quli made it clear to them that they must pay either the same duty which the native merchants paid or give presents.⁹ So he followed a policy which seems to have been legal and rational and moulded it as suited his own interests. Throughout his whole administration, he opposed the grant of privileges to the English and practised every possible extortion upon all the European factories indiscriminately.

2. *Murshid Quli Khan enforces the embargo on the English trade*

During the whole of the business, Murshid Quli Khan continued his policy of diluting firmness with opportunism in his

8 As Sarkar rightly observes, "Shuja was merely a provincial governor... A fixed sum of Rs. 3,000 a year might have satisfied Shuja—it was his personal look-out to take the legal amount of duty or less... There was no reason why later governors of Bengal should be content with such a small sum and not levy the legal rate of 2½% on goods especially when the volume of English imports into Bengal had multiplied several times since Shuja's days." Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. V, pp. 321-322.

9 Montague's *Bengal*, p. 99.

dealings with the English. After the termination of the embassy of Sir William Norris, who came to India to secure the commercial privileges for the newly formed English Company as enjoyed by the old, the Emperor had issued orders to seize and confirm every European in his dominions in consequence of which in the month of February, 1702, the whole of the English, settled at Patna and Rajmahal with all their effects, were seized to make good the damages done by the English pirates.¹⁰ On 30th March the order was extended to all the European factories. In this month also the *faujdar* of Hugli issued an order to seize all the Company's effects at Calcutta which obliged the English to take measures on the defensive. This appearance of resistance deterred the *faujdar* from an attack and matters remained in this situation till the month of June, when Prince Azim-ush-Shan gave assurance of his favour, though the *Diwan*, Murshid Quli, insisted on having the Mughal's orders executed.¹¹

At the close of the season advices were received that the Mughal had issued "Husbul-hookum" for taking off the embargo on trade. On this occasion the *Diwan*, who hitherto had been positive for having the orders of the Mughal executed, relaxed in his severity and offered freedom of trade¹² to all the Europeans, provided that they would pay him and the Prince Rs. 20,000 and also make handsome presents which the English refused¹³ and based the refusal on the grants which they had obtained from the Mughal Emperor. At the same time the *Diwan* insisted that the Agents of the three European nations must produce the original *farmans*, upon which they claimed their privileges. The Dutch and French produced theirs, but the English having lost theirs were obliged to bribe Murshid Quli Khan's Secretary to let the matter drop.¹⁴ The *Diwan* was greatly annoyed at the conduct of the English merchants and the em-

10 Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 389-90.

11 Bruce's *Annals*, vol. 3, p. 506.

12 Ibid., p. 507.

13 Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 389-90.

14 Ibid., pp. 389-91.

bargo on trade, which distressed the English Company's affairs in Bengal, was more rigorously enforced by him. For, early in this season, all the English Agents at Kasimbazar, Rajmahal and Patna were indiscriminately thrown into prison and their effects sealed up.¹⁵ As the season advanced, Prince Azim-ush-Shan evinced the greatest moderation and the embargo on the English trade was revoked by him with a demand of hard cash from the English Companies. The English factors paid their dues and obtained the permission for trade.¹⁶

3. *Fruitless negotiations with Murshid Quli Khan*

Though the English merchants were given the permission for trade by Azim-ush-Shan in 1703, yet they were harassed by the interruption and disturbance which they experienced at the hands of petty officers and local landholders. Naturally the English were anxious to secure a Letters patent ensuring free movement of their trade over the whole country. So it was to Murshid Quli Khan that they addressed themselves with a view to securing Letters patent or at least an order extending to them the immunity from imposts previously enjoyed by the old Company.¹⁷ Murshid Quli now found the opportunity to exact money from the European merchants. He demanded Rs. 15,000 from each of the English Companies (the old and the new) for liberty of trade and could not or would not understand the novelty of their being united. But the English sent their *Vakil*, Rajaram, an old diplomatic hand, to tell Murshid Quli, that as the Companies had amalgamated with one factory, they agreed to make a single annual payment of Rs. 3,000. "The King's *Diwan* (Murshid Quli Khan) of Bengal being on his return from Orissa, they send a *Vakil* to meet him as he has entire power over the trade... ..and should he be hostile might

15 Bruce's *Annals*, vol. 3, p. 524.

16 For instance, see Bruce's *Annals*, vol. 3, p. 525.

17 For instance, see Wilson's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 168-69.

interfere or even stop their trade. They give the *vakil*, named Rajaram order to tell the King's *Diwan* that the Companies have amalgamated.....the Company will only pay Rs. 3,000 for grants and privileges.....They refuse to pay the sum of Rs. 15,000 demanded by Government for the release of their tradebecause the petty officers had impeded them in their trade and lessened the trade so much that they could not pay such a sum."¹⁸ But by this time Murshid Quli was employing every expedient to extort money from the Europeans and in particular from the agents of the English Company. In order to secure a *parwana* for free trade, the English offered a bribe of Rs. 15,000 but their efforts were frustrated by the rivalry of the Dutch from whom Murshid Quli had received Rs. 30,000. He scorned to take a paltry present of goods from the English, demanded hard cash, and was not to be satisfied with Rs. 15,000 or even Rs. 20,000.¹⁹ At the beginning of 1707, he consented for the sum of Rs. 25,000 to give an order to the English for free trade²⁰ and the *Diwan* agreed to give his *Sanad* in Kasimbazar. So the English agents left Calcutta for Kasimbazar to pay for the order.

"The King's *Diwan's* people arrive in Calcutta to escort Mr. Bugden and his Company to Cassimbazar.....Then Mr. Bugden and his people.....set out for Cassimbazar. Mr. Bugden took with him everything necessary to start the factory well at Cassimbazar, also money to pay the *Diwan* for his *Sanad*."²¹

But before the necessary arrangements were made, tidings of the war reached Bengal which completely altered the situation. The English Agents were ordered to come down to Calcutta bringing with them the money provided for Murshid Quli

18 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, January 14, 1704) Wilson, vol. I, p. 252.

19 Wilson's *Annals*, vol. I, p. 170.

20 *Ibid*,

21 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, January 17, 1706-7).

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Khan.²² They decided to obtain their grants or *pirmaunds* from the New Government.

Once again, the defiant attitude of the governor of Hugli had the effect of making the English merchants come to terms with Prince Azim ush-Shan and Murshid Quli Khan. Towards the middle of 1708 the conduct of a newly appointed governor of Hugli brought matters to a crisis. This officer, who at first seemed friendly, suddenly changed his attitude. He wished, no doubt, to secure his share in the money which the English were expected to present to the new Emperor and the new Government and he therefore tried to force them to carry on their negotiations with the Supreme Government in their own hands.²³ So at the end of April, 1708, they sent an agent to Murshid Quli in order to avoid this troublesome affair and to renew the negotiations for securing free trade to the English in Bengal. But "the Prince and the *Diwan* refused to give it for less than Rs.50,000 as a present for the *Diwan* and the Prince."²⁴ In the meantime the shadow of the greater struggle for empire falls across the scene, giving pause to local wrangles and for the time hushing the rising bickering. With the victory of Shah Alam in 1708 both Azim-ush-Shan and Murshid Quli left Bengal for the imperial court. This, no doubt, was a source of immense relief to the English who were much worried by the inexpressible troubles given to them by the *Diwan*, Murshid Quli Khan.

4. *Efforts of the English East India Company to secure a Sanad for free trade*

On his return to Bengal at the end of the year 1710 as Treasurer and Deputy governor, Murshid Quli found himself in point of fact as the supreme authority in the lower provinces. Though the nominal governor was Prince Azim-ush-Shan, yet the real power was vested in the hands of Murshid Quli Khan.

²² Wilson's *Annals*. vol. I, p. 170.

²³ Ibid., p. 179.

²⁴ (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 22nd October and 22nd November 1707-8) Wilson pp. 301-303.

But the English had for the time a far more powerful friend, Ziya-ud-din Khan, the imperial admiral and governor of Hugli, whom they constantly consulted in their diplomatic relations and through whom they were negotiating for rescripts from the Emperor and for Letters patent from Prince Azim-ush-Shan. At the request of the English Company, Ziya-ud-din Khan wrote a letter to Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the nominal governor of Bengal, to procure from the Emperor a *farman* for the English trade and informed him of the English presents to the imperial court. Azim-ush-Shan, who was always moderate in his dealings with the English, appeared ready enough to procure the *farman* but he wanted details. How was the *farman* to be worded and what was the value of the gifts they offered in return? To serve their present need, the Prince issued them a *farman* according to their former liberties but Ziya-ud-din Khan wished to exact money from the English in return of it. So they wrote a letter to Prince Azim-ush-Shan on 17 August, 1711: "That some time since by the means of Zoody Cawn advised that the whole Piscash from Metchlepatam was arrived and should be forwarded according to the advice of Zoody Cawn to the most High Court hoping through your great favour to obtain a phirmaund from the greatest of Kings according to that granted by the blessed Aurangzeb, as also your Nishan confirming the same at the same time advising of the most inexpressible troubles given us by Musud Cooly Caun Duan to the Mighty Emperor in all our business and trade...(we) must request a Husball Omer (Hasbu-i-amr) on the Duan that (he) may not molest our Traffick in any respect."²⁵ Murshid Quli Khan who was jealous of an independent Government aimed at supremacy over all the lower provinces and his diplomatic designs led him to deprive Ziya-ud-din Khan of his officers and appointed in his place Wali Beg, a Mughal protege of his.²⁶ From this time the power of the *faujdar* was

²⁵ (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 17th August, 1711) Wilson vol. 2, p. 22.

²⁶ For instance, see (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 18th December, 1711) Wilson, vol. 2, p. 35.

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also curtailed and he was made subject to the Viceroy's orders and rendered accountable to him for his conduct. Thus the *faujdar* became a mere tool in the hands of the provincial governor.

The English were thus left without any help face to face with their old enemy, the redoubtable Murshid Quli Khan. Soon after his arrival at Murshidabad, the English wrote him a "complementing" letter telling him that Mr. Hedges, the Head of the Cassimbazar factory would shortly wait upon him²⁷ but he was not to be softened by polite attentions. He refused to give the *Sanad* for free trade for less than Rs. 45,000²⁸ and demanded Rs. 15,000 for himself and did his best to stop all their boats and business. Having lost all patience, the Calcutta Council at last threatened Murshid Quli "that since, he would consent to no moderate terms, they would seize the Mogul ships passing Fort William and would report to him to the Emperor and would withdraw their factory from Cassimbazar."²⁹ These threats had no effect upon Murshid Quli Khan, because the *Diwan* still insisted upon Rs. 60,000 for his '*Sanad*' and would not hearken to any terms.³⁰ At last he agreed to some reasonable terms. In October 1711, he proposed to grant a pass to the English for their trade in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to procure 'phirmaund and *nishan* for the same on consideration of Rs. 30,000 to be paid on receipt of his *Sanad* and Rs. 23,500 on receipt of the 'phirmaund.' The English immediately decided to comply with his wishes on the foregoing terms.³¹ At the same time they wished to carry on their negotiations directly with the Supreme Court of Delhi for safeguarding their commercial privileges.

27 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 21st December, 1710-11) Wilson, vol. 2, p. 20.

28 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 13th July, 1710-11) Wilson, vol. 2, p. 18.

29 Wilson, vol. 2, p. 23.

30 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 6th August) Wilson, vol. 2, p. 20, (1710-11)

31 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 13th October) Wilson, vol. 2, pp. 28-29 (1710-11),

In the meantime, Bahadur Shah's death was followed by a war of succession among his four sons at Lahore. Confusion followed everywhere.³² Encouraged by this change in the political situation, Russell, the Chief of Cassimbazar, took up the policy of sheer opportunism. He knew that in order to safeguard their business something had to be paid by the English to secure the good will of Murshid Quli Khan. Russell did his best to be in good terms with the *Diwan*, but as the climate of India had left no strength for active work, he left for England in 1714.

The year 1714 opened auspiciously. In January 1714, the hearts of the English Government had been enlivened by the receipt of an imperial order addressed to the Nawab "to permit the English to trade as formerly in Aurangzeb's time and not to molest them."

"The Husbull Hookum arriving last night under the Grand Vizier's seal ordering the Duan Jaffer Cawne (Murshid Quli Khan) not to molest us but to let our trade pass with the same freedom and privileges we enjoyed in the days of our predecessors, it became necessary to make a public show of rejoicing for that favour from the King."³³ By this time Hedges, the Chief of Cassimbazar factory again determined to carry on negotiations with Murshid Quli to resettle the factory at Cassimbazar. He wanted that the Company's trade at Cassimbazar should pass free of all restrictions and duties and that he should have a free use of the mint on certain days of the week.³⁴

32 Consult Irvine's *Later Mughals*.

33 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 4th January, 1713-14) Wilson, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 153.

34 During this time Company's currency difficulty affected its trade in Bengal (Wilson II, Pt. I, (liii-liv) which arose from the fact that coins struck at different Indian mints or at the same mint in different years were not regarded as coins of the same value. They circulated at different rates and this caused considerable difficulty in business and transactions. The Company, therefore, desired to establish a mint at Fort William but the Mughal Emperor refused to grant such a violation of his sovereign rights. (J. C. Sinha's *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 12, 14).

As to the first point of William Hedges, Murshid Quli refused to comply with his demands and "he stopped and threatened to stop the English trade on the ground that the Company's servants abused the right of issuing passes."³⁵ Secondly, Murshid Quli refused to recognise the privilege of the use of mint on the ground because it meant a violation of the sovereign rights of the Great Mughal.

Once again, in the month of August, Feake, the English representative at Kasimbazar met the Nawab, who received him politely. This time Murshid Quli refused to take any presents and complained that they abused their *dustaks*. By this time the English trade was greatly hampered and stopped by the peons appointed by the Nawab³⁶ and they were not in a position to carry on their business and transactions freely. So they sent their protests through an Attorney to Murshidabad after which *à modus vivendi* seems to have been found in Nov. 1715, while Feake writes that "the Nawab has given orders for our business to go on without molestation that the peons he had put upon the merchants were taken off".³⁷

The English agreed to comply with the Nawab's demands and hoped to adjust matters with the Government by giving Rs. 5,000 to Murshid Quli and Rs. 5,000 to his treasurer, and Rs. 5,000 more was to be given to his under-officers. By this means they would procure a '*Sanad*' from the Nawab to carry on their business in Bengal unmolested and a verbal order for the use of the mint.³⁸

After the payment of money on 10th Dec., 1716 it was found that Murshid Quli Khan was still asking for payment and harass-

35 Wilson, II, pt. I, P. Xlii.

36 (For instance, see (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 3rd October 1714-15) Wilson, II, pt. I, p. 228).

37 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 5th March, 1715-16) Wilson, II, pt. I, p. 238.

38 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 16th April, 1715-16) Wilson II, pt. I, p. 242).

ing the English trade. "Our boats with the Honourable Company's goods from Dacca and Malda being stopped at Didergungeand finding no redress from Duan Jaffar Cawne."³⁹ Thus the English made themselves a cause of displeasure to Murshid Quli Khan.

5. *Surman Embassy to the Court of Delhi*

With the return of Murshid Quli in 1710 as Deputy Subahdar of Bengal the English factors began speedily to feel the effects of his severe and oppressive administration. He was too keen a politician not to observe with jealousy the great advantages which the English had over the merchants in consequence of the *farmans* granted by Sarbuland Khan (1709) during his absence in Bengal.

"Received a letter from Mr. Pattle at Cassimbazar, enclosing Subah Seer Bulland Cawn's Perwanna for our free trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Subah's particular orders to Hughly and Rajmahal, Dacca and Muxadavad, acquainting them that he had given us a general Perwanna."⁴⁰ So he contrived to persecute the English very skilfully. "From time to time he stopped or threatened to stop the English trade on the ground that the Company's servants abused the right of issuing passes; and discovered various pretexts and means of distressing them without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurangzib and Azim Ushan."⁴¹ Weary at length of the insults and injuries which they sustained from Murshid Quli Khan, the Presidency of Calcutta in the year 1713, proposed to the Company the mission of an 'Embassy of Complaint' supported by presents to the Court of Delhi. "Upon considerations long under suspense who of the Hon'ble Company's servants should be sent with our

³⁹ (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 10th December, 1716) Wilson, II, pt. 1, p. 258.

⁴⁰ (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 29th September, 1708-9) Wilson, II, pt. 1, p. 320.

⁴¹ Orme's *Indostan*, II, Pt. I, p. 19.

present to the Mogulls Court to solicit for his Royal Phirmaund... and Mr. John Surman being proposed to go Chief in that negotiation.....It has also unanimously agreed that Coja Surhaud whose interest at Court has already had the good effect of procuring us the Husbull Hookum.....to be sent to assist in suing for the King's Phirmaund."⁴².....

So two of the Company's factors Mr. John Surman and Edward Stephenson under the direction of an Armenian merchant named Serhaud set out for Delhi and they were accompanied by Mr. William Hamilton, the surgeon of the Company. The despatch of the embassy conducted by John Surman to the Court of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar was the most important step taken by the English in Bengal from the foundation of Calcutta by Charnock to the conquest of Bengal by Clive,⁴³ and "the progress of embassy presented a curious specimen of diplomacy."⁴⁴ The Emperor who had received the most magnificent account of the presents (containing curious glassware, clock work, brocades and the finest manufactures of woollen cloths and silks valued altogether at 30,000 which Khoja Serhaud in his letters to Delhi magnified to 100,000) ordered them to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass and they arrived on 8th July, 1715.⁴⁵

But Murshid Quli Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, had from the beginning looked with jealousy on the embassy as it passed with pomp through Bengal and the Western Provinces. He knew that the object of it was to free the English from his authority. He regarded the embassy with detestation as the strongest imputation against the integrity of his own conduct, took much pains by his interest with the Vizier and his brother Ameer-al-Omrah to thwart its success. The embassy and costly presents of the

42 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 5th January, 1713-14) Wilson, II, Pt. I, pp. 153-154).

43 Wilson, II, Pt. II, p. 2.

44 *Letter to Bengal*, 4th August, 1715 (Auber Peter I, p. 16).

45 Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 428.

Company were doomed to imperial neglect but the virtue of a public spirited man who preferred their interest to his own opened an avenue to the grace of the Emperor. At that time the Emperor being afflicted with a complaint which all the skill of his own physicians could not cure, the Emperor was advised to make trial of Mr. Willium Hamilton's skill. A cure was the speedy consequence. The Emperor commanded his benefactor to name his own reward and the generous Hamilton solicited privileges for the Company.⁴⁶

6. *Privileges secured for the Bengal Presidency*

The grants or patents requested by the ambassadors were issued in the earlier part of the year 1717.⁴⁷ The Persian versions of the *farmans* and their translations in English appear side by side in Surman's diary preserved in the India Office records. The substance of the privileges conferred by them are the following: "(1) that all persons, whether Europeans or Natives, who might be indebted or accountable to the Company, should be delivered up to the Presidency of Calcutta on the first demand, that (2) the officers of the Mint at Muxadavad, should be at all times, when required, allow three days in the week, for the coinage of the Company's money; (3) that a passport or a *Dastuck*, signed by the President of Calcutta, should exempt the goods if specified from being stopped by the officers of the Bengal Government on any pretence whatsoever and in order to maintain these excellent privileges, if granted, even in defiance of the Nawab himself", (4) It was requested "that the English might purchase the Lordship of 37 towns, with the same immunities as Azim-Ushan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, Soota Nutty and Govindpore."⁴⁸

46 Scott's *History of Aurangzib's Successors*, p. 139.

47 See (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 28th and 29th March, 1716-17). Wilson II, pt. I, pp. 263, 265.

48 (India Office Records) Orme's *Indostan*, II, pt. I, p. 21.

7. *Friction between Murshid Quli Khan
and the English*

The Surman Embassy to the Court of Farrukhsiyar brought back from Delhi in 1717 a patent of rights⁴⁹ (especially that unhampered trade on payment of one fixed sum as duty) but in Bengal "the prudent foresight of Murshid Quli Khan added to his resentment at the success of the Embassy made him behold with indignation the concession," the English secured, but he did not dare 'openly to oppose the Imperial Mandate'.⁵⁰ As it had been difficult to obtain the *farman*, so it was difficult to get it observed. Murshid Quli Khan agreed to observe the first article of the *farman*. In July he granted the English his promised order for free-trade without any change. The *Sanad* runs thus:—"Last Saturday received a Letter from Mr. Feake etc. at Cassimbazar dated the 17th instant wherein were inclosed Jaffercauns original order to the Governor of Dacca not to molest our Merchants in our business under their management."⁵¹...

So the privilege of granting passports by the President of Calcutta was recognised all over the province. This circumstance greatly augmented and facilitated the circulation of the English trade, which now no longer paid customs nor was liable to be stopped by the officers of the Government.⁵² Now a question arose, whether the Company's *dastaks* or passports could be used in the internal trade of the province. The Nawab insisted that they should apply only to such goods as were either imported or intended to be exported by sea. He argued if the English were allowed to use *dastaks* in inland trade that would not only ruin all other merchants but also cause a great loss of public revenue. To avoid the Nawab's hostility, the Company thought it wise to accept his interpretation. The Company itself was not however, directly affected by the limitation of the

49 *History of Bengal*, vol. 2, p. 420

50 Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 434.

51 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 22nd July, 1717) Wilson II, pt. I, p. 274.

52 Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 434

use of *dastaks*, because it did not take any part in the inland trade of the province. Interrupted and disturbed in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade of the province the Company's servants directed their ardour to the maritime branch.

The article authorised the English to purchase thirty seven towns situated on both sides of the Hugli river, but Murshid Quli Khan perceived that the possession of towns upon the banks of the Hugli river would enable the Company to command the navigation of the river by erecting batteries on both sides of it. At the same time the revenue of the tract would have defrayed the expense and the possession of such a tract would have brought under their subjection and authority a considerable number of Mughal subjects.⁵³ He ventured not directly to oppose the operation of the imperial mandate but his authority was sufficient to deter the holders of the land from disposing of it to the Company.

Unable to get possession of the villages by direct methods, the English had recourse to indirect tactics. Most of these villages were purchased by the Company's brokers and others dependent on them. A system of questionable and spurious transfers of ownership of these villages resulted in confusion and the unsettling of their revenues between 1717 and 1757 despite the revised settlement of the revenue of Bengal by Murshid Quli Khan in 1722.⁵⁴

Lastly, the Company asked and obtained from Farrukhsiyar the privilege of using the Nawab's mint in Bengal free of customs duty for three days in the week. This privilege proved, however, to be of little use, because Murshid Quli Khan refused to recognise it on the ground that the "Nawab's Chief *mutasaddi* (subordinate officer) who operated it, was dangerously ill and nothing could be determined in this regard till he recovered or was dead."⁵⁵

53 Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 434.

54 *The Census of India Report*, 1901, vol. VII, pt. I, p. 24.

55 Consultations, 18 July and 30 July, 1717

The real opposition to the use of mint came from Fatehchand, the foremost banker of Bengal, and the holder of the honour and title of Jagat Seth. His enormous wealth enabled him to purchase the bullion imported by the English, which he supplied to the mint for coinage. He controlled the discount rate which had to be paid for the use of the Bengal *siccas*, as also for the Madras rupees and other types of rupees imported from outside the province. His income from the discount rate alone in the estimate of Luke Scrafton, amounted to seven or eight lakhs a year, the rate of discount being regulated by him daily according to the sums he had to pay or receive.⁵⁶ So both Murshid Quli Khan, the *subahdar* and Fatehchand, were opposed to the idea of the English exercising their right to the mint. Though the Nawab had ceded the point about the customs, the imperial *farman* had not the slightest effect in altering his determination about the use of the mint. In vain, Samuel Feake, the Chief of the Cassimbazar factory, pleaded with him. Having read the imperial rescripts, the Nawab positively said, "the English shall not have the use of the mint".⁵⁷ So they came to despair of using it for the purposes specified in the *farman* during the life time of Murshid Quli Khan.⁵⁸ Thus all their efforts to gain this and certain other privileges met with little success.

8. *The working of the farman from 1717 to 1727.*

The privileges granted in Bengal seem the most important and indeed they were long considered as constituting the great charter of the English in India. The *farman* undoubtedly paved the way for the establishment of the commercial and political supremacy of the English in Bengal. It recognised all the privileges hitherto obtained by the English since the reign of Shah Jahan. Freedom of the Company's servants from molestation,

⁵⁶ Scrafton's letter to Clive, dated 17th Dec. 1757, vide Orme papers, India XVIII.

⁵⁷ *Consultations*, 30 July, 1717 Wilson II, pt. I, p. 275.

⁵⁸ *Consultations*, 25 July, 1726 and 14 Aug., 1727.

searches, and oppressions and the authority which the Company obtained over run-away debtors virtually conferred on them extra-territorial privileges and correspondingly affected the sovereignty of the Mughal rulers in Bengal. The *farman* of 1717 placed them in a superior commercial position over all other merchants, Indian and foreign. It remained the sheet anchor of the Company's rights in Bengal till the battle of Plassey. One effect of the grant of the *farman* was the new stimulus it gave to the trade of the Company. The Company's investment in Bengal, which in 1717 stood at £ 278,593 rose to £ 363,979 in 1729.⁵⁹

Murshid Quli Khan himself issued several *parwanas* or orders to facilitate the trade of the English merchants on the basis of *dastaks*.⁶⁰ The Company had to face powerful opposition in the execution of the provision of the *farman* i.e., especially about the use of *dastaks* and in this respect the Company could not escape harassment. The difficulty arose regarding the provisions which were covered by the *farman*. The position of the English in Bengal was again ill-defined because of the confusion that resulted from the vagueness of the *farman*. After the grant of the *farman*, Murshid Quli Khan questioned the extensive use of the *dastak* practised by the English to cover the inland trade of the Company's servants. He restricted the scope of the use of *dastak* to imports and exports and this not only affected the English Company but the English private traders also. Sometimes the English merchants covered other kinds of goods and goods of other merchants under the protection of the *dastaks*. So the extensive sale of *dastaks* by the Company's servants to Indian merchants was an abuse which defrauded the Government of much of their revenue and was therefore rightly resented by the Nawab. Secondly, the Company's servants had their own private trade. They used to carry the goods under the Company's name

59 *Bengal General Letter*, 30 Oct, 1717. Letter Book No. 16.

60 *Home Miscellaneous Series*, vol. 628, pp. 263-64, vol. 629, pp. 181-83 & 185-87.

which actually belonged to them. Such acts were a source of constant bitterness between the English and the Government of Bengal. So the Government officers always searched and detained the English goods purchased for exportation, because it created suspicion in their minds that these goods would be sold inside the country. The more greedy officers of the Government took the advantage of it,—they considered this to be a mere pretence to extort further sums from them. They realised money from the English by imprisoning the officers or their *vakil* on the plea of breach of privileges and other such pretexts. These officers would not be released by the Government until money-payment was received.⁶¹ They placed peons on the Company's house at Malda and Kasimbazar and had put under confinement several English *gumastas* (those who collect revenue and make purchases, etc.) and they were greatly annoyed when it was found that "Ja'far Khan, the Nawab, should permit his officers to act in this manner when we have been guilty of no misdemeanour or given any occasion for this unaccountable treatment."⁶²

The English, therefore, strengthened themselves by recruiting forces from among the Europeans, Portuguese and others. They decided to hold out the threat that if the *vakil* was not set at liberty, they "would not permit any boats and vessels belonging to the Moors to pass up and down the river".⁶³

Now the country merchants became alarmed at the defying attitude of the English and the Government, which no doubt, became ruinous to the trade and commerce of the country. The *nakhudas* (Captains) of the Moor's ships addressed the Nawab with a complaint that the action of the English would mean the ruin of the trade of the country and the merchants would sustain enormous losses.⁶⁴

At last, Fatechand, the banker, who acted as the intermediary, succeeded, in bringing about a better relation between the

61 *Consultations*, 30th Aug., 1722.

62 *Consultations*, 13th Feb., 1727.

63 *Consultations*, 16th Feb., 1727.

64 *Idem*, *Idem*.

English and the Government of Bengal. The *vakil* and other prisoners were released. The English offered Rs.20,000 for a 'sanad' which would confirm the former grants. In return, they received a 'parwana' confirming the 'sabik' or former grants and forbidding any like demands about the towns for the future.⁶⁵ But Murshid Quli died on June 27, 1727 and at his death the English became despaired of the best use of Farrukhsiyar's *farman* as well some other favours.

C. R. Wilson attributes the failure of the English at once to benefit by the privileges granted by Farrukhsiyar to other causes besides that of Murshid Quli Khan's intransigence, viz. complication arising from out of the struggles first with the Ostenders and afterwards with the Marathas and unwillingness of the Company's servants to quarrel with the local Government to the detriment of their own private business.⁶⁶

In a narrative history of the English in India the story of Surman's Embassy to the Mughal Court would by right of importance occupy a prominent place. But in a study of the English occupation of Bengal this story is of no importance. Elsewhere, the privileges secured by the Company produced their full effect. But in Bengal, the Nawab was strong enough to prevent the Company from realizing the principal objects for which the imperial rescripts had been obtained with so much patience and toil. Shrewd as the Nawab was, he must have realized that the acknowledgment of these concessions and privileges affecting the economy of the province would make the foreigners too strong in the country. So the efforts of the Surman embassy, so far as Calcutta was concerned, proved futile.

9. *Growing importance of Calcutta*

Interrupted and disturbed in their endeavours they applied themselves to take the best advantage of these privileges which were not contested. Calcutta by its trading facilities began to

65 *Consultations*, 12th June, 1727.

66 *Wilson*, op. cit. vol. II, p. lviii.

attract the commercial and enterprising sections of the people from all over the province. The security and peace which this fortified settlement ensured induced many wealthy families to move permanently to the new city which became the home of a mercantile aristocracy. The interests of the trading and commercial elements in Bengal, Indian and British, were thus being closely inter-woven. "The shipping belonging to the port in the course of ten years after the Embassy amounted 10,000 pounds and many individuals amassed fortunes, without injuring the Company's trade or incurring the displeasure of the Mughal Government".⁶⁷

This fact is also confirmed by Sallimullah's description in the *Tarikh-i-Bangala*: —

"The mild and equitable conduct of the English in their settlement gained them the confidence and esteem of the Natives, which joined to the consideration of the privileges and immunities which the Company enjoyed induced merchants to remove thither with their families, so that in a short time, Calcutta became an extensive and populous city." ⁶⁸ "Both the European and the native merchants who were oppressed every year with increasing vexations by the rapacity of the Nawab enjoyed a degree of freedom which was unknown elsewhere. That city in consequence increased yearly in extent, beauty and riches."⁶⁹

"Calcutta, after it had been made the seat of a Presidency in 1700 began to grow in importance and wealth and by the year 1750 its population was estimated at over one lakh as compared with the 15,000 of 1704."⁷⁰

10. *Relation with the Ostend Company.*

The Ostend Company organized by the merchants of Flanders was formed in Austrian Netherlands and they received a

67 Stewart's *Bengal*; pp. 435-36.

68 Gladwin's *English Translation*, pp. 49-53.

69 Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 435.

70 *Hist. of Bengal*, vol. 2, pp. 418-20.

charter from the German Emperor in 1723.⁷¹ At first they traded with Bengal through the medium of the French. By the assistance of the French at Chandernagore, they succeeded in procuring a full cargo,⁷² and with the advice of the latter offering *nazar* to Nawab Murshid Quli Khan,⁷³ they made an application for the ground to erect a factory there. Murshid Quli was not only anxious to increase the trade of the province but also desirous of introducing more rivals to the English, because he was excessively jealous of the economic concessions enjoyed by the English East India Company in Bengal. Secondly, the Nawab of Bengal, ever alert against the acquisition of too much influence by any foreign power preferred to have a competitive market for the different European settlements in Bengal. So he immediately complied with the demand of the Ostend Company. In 1724 Murshid Quli Khan granted them permission to erect a factory at Bangibazar, situated on the Eastern side of the river Hugli,⁷⁴ where they hoisted the Austrian flag and continued to trade under its protection.⁷⁵ (Hence it was called a German Company). At first the factors resided in houses constructed of mats and bamboos; having obtained *Sanad* from Nawab Murshid Quli Khan, they at a great expense erected factory of brick which they surrounded with a wall flanked with bastions and cut a ditch communicating with the river of such a size as to admit sloops of considerable burden.⁷⁶ So the Ostend trade in Bengal was fully established. As they undersold all the Europeans in various articles, their factory quickly rose in estimation. Thus it seems that the flourishing state of the Ostend trade during the first half of the eighteenth century excited the jealousy of the other European merchants which paved the way for its downfall.⁷⁷

71 *Modern Universal History*, vol. XI, p. 211.

72 *Stewart's Bengal*, p. 455. 73 *Gladwin's Bengal*, p. 60

74 For instance, see *Stewart's Bengal*, p. 456.

75 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. V, p. 115.

76 *Stewart's Bengal*, p. 457.

77 Now it is important to remember that Salimullah narrates the

11. *Relation with the Dutch East India Company.*

Like the English and the French, the Dutch had considerable commercial transactions in Bengal.⁷⁸ Already in 1653, the Dutch had established a settlement at Chinsurah⁷⁹ and by 1676 there were six factories under the Directorate of Bengal—viz. Chinsurah, Kasimbazar, Balasore, Patna, Dacca and Malda.⁸⁰ They established factories within the jurisdiction of the Bengal *Subah* not only at important centres of commerce but also at some villages in the interior with the object of collecting in sufficient quantities the various species of goods required for their investments from the original places of production. In 1698 the Dutch Chief at Chinsurah complained to Prince Azim-ush-Shan that while his Company paid a duty of 3½% on their trade, the English paid only Rs. 3,000 per annum and asked that the Dutch might be granted the same privileges as the English. But all their efforts were frustrated by the commercial rivalry of the English. During the administration of Murshid Quli Khan, the Dutch were given the permission for trade in Bengal in exchange for Rs. 30,000 as a present to the prince and the Diwan⁸¹ on condition that they would pay a duty of only 2½% on their trade. But as the territorial property of the Dutch in Bengal was confined to Chinsurah and Baranagore,⁸² the Dutch, less advantageously situated and hampered by restriction of trade,

German Company's affairs in his *Tarikh-i-Bangala* which happened during the governorship of Murshid Quli Khan. But the account of the East India Company of Ostend is given in Modern Universal History XI from which it is clear that their factory in Bengal was in existence in A. D. 1730 and that their last ships left Bengal in 1733. It is, however, apparent from the contemporary sources that "the Ostend Company were obliged to abandon the trade of Bengal" probably in 1738 or 1748. (Stavorinus's *Voyages of the East Indies*, translated by S. H. Wilcocke, vol. I, p. 481).

78 Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. 2, p. 63.

79 Bernier's *Travels*, p. 293.

80 *Diaries of Streyensham Master*, vol. I, p. 365.

81 For instance, see Bruce's *Annals*, vol. 3, p. 577.

82 Stavorinus's *Voyage*, vol. I, p. 512.

had no chance of competing with the English on equal terms⁸³. But these were the centres of an exceedingly prosperous and profitable trade, and their export of opium to Java and China brought them enormous profits.⁸⁴ Before 1740 the Dutch had traded in Bengal for about a century, brought over countless treasures and transported vast quantities of commodities.⁸⁵

12. *Relation with the French East India Company.*

The French East India Company was founded in 1664 during the ministry of Colbert. In Bengal Nawab Shayista Khan granted a site to the French in 1676 on which they built the famous French factory of Chandernagore in 1690-92, the town and the territory were ceded to France by the Emperor Aurangzib. There were also minor French factories in the province of Bengal. Since 1704, after Murshid Quli Khan transferred his residence to Murshidabad, lay a group of factories in the suburb of Kasimbazar and Dacca.⁸⁶ So the French Company had important factories at Chandernagore, at Kasimbazar and at Balasore, as the following quotation indicates:

“Our settlement in Bengal even at that time, consisted only of Chandernagore, Cassimbazar and Balasore. They were all situated in the state of the Nawab of Murshidabad, Murshid Quli Khan or even Jaffer Khan.”⁸⁷

But the French East India Company was in a state of woeful decline by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and till 1720 it passed through very bad days and even selling licences to others. The causes were the war of the Spanish succession, the rotten state of the Bourbon administration, the selfishness and the quarrels of their agents in India.⁸⁸ So the French less advantageously situated and hampered by restrictions of trade had no chance

83 *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*—S.C. Hill, p. 1-2.

84 *Cam. Hist. of India*, V, p. 57.

85 Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. I, p. 29.

86 Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 63.

87 *Record-Room of the French India*, ed-Martineau, vol. I, p. 34.

88 *Hist. of Bengal*, vol. 2, pp. 419-20.

of competing with the English on equal terms.⁸⁹ But by this time, Mr. D. Ardancourt, Director of the French Company in Bengal who was very anxious to renew the commercial negotiations in Bengal, applied directly to the Mughal Emperor to secure a *farman* for commercial gains with the other European Companies. The *farman* was delivered by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar to Mr. D. Ardancourt on the 7th May, 1718, levying 2½% on the merchandise introduced by the French Company in Bengal. The *farman* runs thus:—

“We are sending you the following *farman* so that the people of our lands may know that we have granted to the French in Bengal as well as in Orissa, Azimabad, etc. the following privileges:”

namely “For the duties on the merchandise coming from outside 2½% only will be levied as far the Dutch and the Custom-Officers (Johncaniers) will have nothing to see or to exact on the vessels.....belonging to the French or to those who are or who will be under their flag and nobody should disturb them; and private merchants who will state their names on behalf of the French will have also the same privilege”.⁹⁰

On 9 January, 1722, a *parwana* was also issued by Murshid Quli Khan in conformity with this *farman* placing the French on the same footing as the Dutch. The *farman* runs thus:

“The French Company having been obliged to suspend their business and the despatch of their vessels in India for some years due to war.....Mr. D. Ardancourt, Director of the said Company, has shortly come with the order of re-establishing their business; as the Dutch have obtained from the Emperor Farrukhsiyar a *farman* which reduces the duty to 2½%, Mr. D. Ardancourt has sent to us his *Vakil* (law-agent) with the request of granting him a *parwana* (permit) with one seal, in which the duty of 3½% will be reduced to 2½% at the same

89 Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 1-2.

90 *Lettres et Conventions*—ed. Martineau—pp. 15-16.

rate as it has been granted to the Dutch For this, he promises to pay Rs. 40,000 to the Emperor and Rs. 10,000 to the Nawab of Bengal. Having received Rs. 10,000 we have granted him the present *parwana* similiar to that of the Dutch.

We inform by the present *parwana* that henceforth you should exact from the French Company only 2½% and that nobody should stop their boats or interrupt their business, because that is strictly forbidden to us by the Emperor."⁹¹

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91 *Lettres et Conventions*—ed. Martineau, p. 19.

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A four-armed image of Mahākāla

In one of the previous issues of this journal I described a two-armed image of Mahākāla worshipped as a Brahmanical god in a temple at Ratnagiri.¹ Recently I noticed a four-armed variety of the same Buddhist god (pl. I), exhibited as Bhairava in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta. In view of the extreme paucity² of the images of Mahākāla in India I give below a description of the sculpture in question.

Made of black basalt, the sculpture, though small (ht. 1'), is in a perfect state of preservation and admirably answers to the description of the god as given in the *Sādhnamālā*. Dwarfish (*kharuva-rūpa*) and with a protruding belly (*lambodara*), the three-eyed (*trinayana*) deity, sculptured partly in high relief and partly in round, stands on a double-petalled lotus (*viśva-padma*). Clad in a short *dhotī* (worn with a *kaccha* at the back) and a long scarf, he is ornamented with a necklace, ear-studs, anklets and other ornaments made of snakes (*sarp-ābharāṇa-bhuṣita*) like *sarpa-vaḷaya*, *sarpa-aṅgada*, *sarpa-anklet* and *sarpa-yajñopavīta* (*bhujāṅg-ābharāṇa-yajñopavīta*). He wears a garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā-veṣṭita*) and bears five skulls on his flame-like hairs which, tied by a snake, rise upwards (*jvalat-piṅgal-orddhva-keśopari pañca-kapāla-dhara*). Having moustache and beard, his face is distorted (*vikṛt-ānana*) on account of his open mouth showing teeth including fangs (*daṁṣṭrā-karāla-vaḍana*). Of his four hands the two front hands carry the *kapāla* (skull-cup) and *kartri* (chopper), the usual attributes of the two-armed variety, and the back hands hold the sword and *triśūla*. Thus, there is

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1 (1958), pp. 1 ff.

² Mahākāla may be easily confused with his Brahmanical counterpart Bhairava due to their analogous iconographical features, and this may be one of the reasons why his images remain unnoticed. It is not unlikely that some of the images which are identified as Bhairava are in reality those of the Buddhist god Mahākāla, as in the present case.

a slight departure from the textual description of the god as regards the order of the attributes: in the *sādbhanamālā* there are two *sādbhanas* of the four-armed variety, according to which the deity should carry the sword and *khaṭvāṅga*³ or the *daṇḍa* and *triśūla*⁴ besides the usual *kartri* and *kapāla*.

On either side of the deity is an attendant goddess, dancing on a double-petalled lotus, holding in her left hand the *kapāla*. Clad in a *sārī* and scarf, both wear anklets, bracelets, armlets, ear-studs, waist-girdle and necklace. Below their lotus-pedestal is a kneeling male devotee with folded hands having offerings of flowers (?). The back-slab, pointed at the top-centre, bears flame-like lines, indicating his brilliantly blazing appearance (*mahājuāla* and *mahāteja*).

Below the lotus-pedestal is a dedicatory inscription in characters of the eleventh-twelfth century. It records the gift (*deyadharmma*) of the *dānapati* Netuka, the son of one Sai(?) chi(?)tara.

The sculpture forms part of the P. C. Mukherji collection. Unfortunately its findspot is not recorded, but it comes definitely from eastern India.

The photograph reproduced here has been received from the Curator of the Asutosh Museum, to whom my thanks are due.

DEBALA MITRA

3 B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādbhanamālā*, vol. II (Baroda, 1928), p. 591.

4 *Ibid*, p. 588.



Mahākāla (Asutosh Museum)

MISCELLANY

The Second Buddhist Council

(A review of the recent studies)

It has been a long time past that distinguished scholars of Buddhism like Minayeff, Oldenberg, Rockhill, Kern, Otto Franke, Geiger and La Vallée Poussin¹ presented us with the account of the Second Buddhist Council as preserved in Pali, Chinese and Tibetan traditions. Some of them made a critical study of the traditions and accepted the authenticity of the Council. Recently Mons. Hofinger has performed a formidable task of making a critical and analytical study of all the traditions preserved in Chinese relating to the Second Council² on the lines similar to the magnificent work done by Przyluski relating to the First Council.³

Mons. Hofinger, supporting the view of Prof La Vallée Poussin, suggests that the traditions relating to the Second Council combines accounts of two Councils: one held at Vaiśālī and the other at Pāṭaliputra, not long after the former. In the Vaiśālī Council, he says, the orthodox monks asserted themselves and the proceedings of the Council were conducted in the traditional manner. The members of the Council accepted the views of the elders and there was no schism. In the Pāṭaliputra Council, however, the monks supporting the unorthodox views predominated and preferred to form a new group which became known as the Mahāsaṅghikas as distinguished from the orthodox group known as the Theravādins. Mons. Hofinger's findings may

¹ Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1884; Oldenberg, *Introduction to the Vinaya Piṭaka* (1879); Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha* (1884); Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (1901); R. O. Franke, *The Buddhist Councils of Rājagṛha and Vesālī*, JPTS, 1908, pp. 1-80; Geiger, *Introduction to the Mahāvamsa* (1912); Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Indian Antiquary* 1908.

² Hofinger, *Étude sur le concile de Vaisali* (Louvain, 1946).

³ Przyluski, *Le concile de Rājagṛha* (1926).

be summed up as follows: “The council of Vaiśālī is not a fiction. The available sources have utilised and amplified an old tradition which may be placed a century after Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*. There was a pre-canonical account of the conflict between Vaisalian monks and others of the community and the available account has been amplified in two independent currents. Of these two, the earlier is represented by the *Mahāsaṅghika-Vinaya*, which developed in the east and the later by all the other *Vinayas*, which manifest a common feature. But all these indicate the separation of the Mahāsaṅghikas from the rest of the community—a cleavage between the east and the west.

Diverse later sources have introduced new elements in the tradition of Sthavira-Sarvāstivāda, and these may be grouped as Sthavira-Mahīśāsaka, Dharma-gupta-Haimavata-Sarvāstivāda, and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda, which strangely enough has little affinity with Sarvāstivāda and appears to be older than the other canonical accounts.

There is a chronological difficulty about the time of the session of the Council. Some traditions place it at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka the Maurya. Tāranātha (17th century) also locates it at Pāṭaliputra, which he included in the dominion of the Licchavis. It is safer to accept the canonical tradition that the Second Council was held at Vaiśālī at the beginning of the 2nd century after Buddha’s *Parinirvāṇa*.”

His other findings are as follows:—“In the first hundred years of its existence, the religion of Śākyamuni reached Mathurā and converted a large portion of the Gangetic Basin. There is no doubt that the community of the western region interfered with the Vaisalian affairs. But the spiritual unity between the eastern Buddhists and the new community was not broken, i.e., there was no conflict between the east and the west. The Vṛjiputraka bhikṣus formed a well-defined group and did not represent the whole community of the eastern region. In the older accounts of the Council, there are no traces of the conflict between the east and the west as is found in the later accounts.

This leads to the conclusion that sufficient time lapsed between the earlier council of Vaiśālī and the one held later at Pāṭaliputra, giving rise to the schism.”

“The western community, Sthavira-Sarvāstivāda, became later divided into many sects. The geographical information available in the accounts of the different sects corresponds to the geographical dispersal of Buddhism and so the schism was a natural consequence of the territorial expansion of the religion. It brought about also differences in language, extent of influence, manner of life and also thoughts. The region of Mathurā became the cradle of Sarvāstivāda while in the south-western countries settled the Sthaviras and Mahiśāsakas. In between these two regions the Dharmaguptas had their centre.

During this period of expansion the Buddhists hierarchy maintained its continuity. For their erudition, age and sanctity some monks were placed at the head of the assemblies. The regime was democratic; questions were solved by general votes. It is not quite correct that the above-mentioned qualities were the only criteria to determine the superiority or seniority of a monk. Excepting the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya, all other sources refer to eight or four dignitaries, four being given the highest status and one of the four is recognised as the President of the Council. The list of patriarchs of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas appears to be more recent while contrary is the case in the account of the Sthaviravādins.

Discussing the antiquity of the Vinaya accounts, Mons. Hofinger arrived at the conclusion that the oldest was that of the Mahāsaṅghika and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda followed by that of the Dharmagupta. Then came the Mahiśāsaka and Sthavira and lastly that of the Sarvāstivada and Haimavata.”

Prof. Demiéville has closely examined the views and remarks of Mons. Hofinger and dealt with them in detail in his paper “A propos du concile de Vaisali.”⁴ In course of his examination he expressed grave doubts about the historical value of the Indian

4 *Toung Pao*, vol. XL.

traditions in general and particularly about the Second Council appearing in the different recensions of the Vinaya Piṭaka. He argues that the accounts of the first two Councils are inserted in the Vinaya of the Theravādins, Dharmaguptas and Mahiśāsakas as an appendix, which bears no relation to the preceding section. It is only in the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya only that he finds some pretext for introducing the accounts.⁵ He writes appreciatively of Prof. Finot's discovery in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya of the account of the First Council as the concluding section of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, adding that it does not however contain the account of the Second Council which is under discussion.

He is not prepared to agree with Mons. Hofinger's opinion that the Pali language of the ten unvinayic acts is quaint and is older than that of the main Vinaya text and that the tradition of the Second Council belongs to the pre-canonic stage.

Prof. Demiéville prefers to let alone the question of historicity of the Second Council and traces in the account a conflict between rigorism and laxism, between clericalism and non-clericalism, between a saint and a profane, and lastly between Hīnayānism and Mahāyānism. He formed this opinion evidently on the basis of the five theses of Mahādeva. It seems that he has not examined carefully the meaning of the Pali words: *rāga*, *aññāṇa*, *kaṅkḥā* and *paravitāraṇā* as elucidated in the *Kathāvatthu*.⁶

Neither the Mahāsaṅghikas nor the Mahāyānists ever deny the perfect purity attained by the Arhats, not to speak of their profaneness. All that they assert is that Hīnayānic Perfects are not omniscient as are the Mahāyānic Buddhas. Incidentally, Prof. Demiéville has discussed the identity of Yaśa and Mahādeva, the growth of the Mahāsaṅghikas in the eastern region, the distinc-

5 In this connection he has furnished us with a very valuable information regarding the growth of the Chinese version of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. The Chinese translation, he writes, was begun by Kumārajīva and did not contain the account of Councils, which was to be found only in the enlarged version of Vimalākṣa.

6 Vide my *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, p. 85. f.

tion between an *Aśaikṣa* (= arhat) and a *Saikṣa* (= puthujjana), and, lastly, the remarks of Hiuen Tsang about the Mahāsaṅghikas.

He has furnished us indeed with many valuable information from his study of the Chinese sources. He is however strongly of opinion that the session of the Second Council cannot be a historical fact unless and until it is corroborated by some archaeological evidence.

Recently (1955) Mons. Bareaux has made a searching and exhaustive study of the materials collected by Mons. Hofinger as also of the writings on Council by other scholars particularly those of Profs. Demiéville, Przyluski and Frauwallner.

He is in agreement with Mons. Hofinger that the traditional account of the Council of Vaisali should be split up into two parts, of which the first was held about 100 E. N. to suppress the practice of the Vajjiputtaka monks to receive gold and silver, and the second was held some years later to correct the same monks about nine other unvinayic practices but the later Council failed to achieve its purpose and ended in the separation of the Mahāsaṅghikas from the Theravādins. Mons. Bareaux adds that the Second Council was held at Pāṭaliputra under the auspices of a king of the Nanda dynasty about 137 E. N. and the effective cause of the schism was the five theses of Mahādeva, four of which were directed against the sanctity attributed by the orthodox sects to the Arhats. He is of opinion that the nine unvinayic acts shown as the cause of the schism is a later interpolation.⁷ In agreement with the Mons. Hofinger he regards the tradition of the Council of Vaiśālī as preserved in the Mahāsaṅghika and Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya texts as older than those of the other Vinayas, which are all derived from the pre-canonical version, the likely time of composition of which, according to Mons. Bareaux, is close to the time of the schism⁸ and not anterior to it as held by Mons. Hofinger. His findings are as follows.⁹ "Towards the middle of the second century

7 Bareaux, *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, pp. 34, 78.

8 Bareaux, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 108-9.

after Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, i. e. about 350 B. C. a quarrel arose between the majority of monks who advocated lax disciplinary rules and a select few who were in favour of rigorous discipline. A synod was convened for resolving the conflict but it failed to achieve its purpose and was followed by a schism. The former became known as the Mahāsaṅghikas and the latter the Sthavira-vādins. The account of the synod has manifestly the aim of recounting the events which led to the schism and besides there are multiple and definite proofs about the existence of the two sects. The various old accounts are nearly in accord about the time of the schism. The convocation of a synod to settle the differences shows compliance with the Vinaya rules. In view of all these facts the common version of the Council of Vaiśālī should be regarded as authentic without going into further details. Mons. Bareaux adds that there are good reasons to believe that the schism took place at Pāṭaliputra on account of the five doctrines of Mahādeva, derogatory to the status of an *Arhat*. The king of Magadha tried to arbitrate in the dispute in vain. After the schism was effected, the partisans of each group met together to revise the canon. A council was held at Pāṭaliputra for the first time at the beginning of the 2nd century after Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* and a little after the Council of Vaiśālī."

In his concluding remarks¹⁰ Mons. Bareaux writes: "In the first historical Council held about 100 E. N. at Vaiśālī at the instance of Yaśa, was condemned the quest of gold and silver by the Vṛjiputraka monks, who accepted the decision. The second council held several years later at Pāṭaliputra ended in the schism of the Mahāsaṅghikas and Sthaviras. It seems that the causes of dispute were the five theses relating to the attainments of an *Arhat*. Regarding dispersal of the sects, Mons. Bareaux is definitely against the view of a geographical cleavage between the eastern and western communities of monks and noted certain preferences for the north-west of the Gangetic basin among the Mahāsaṅghikas, Theravādins and Mahiśāsakas; for Avanti and Deccan among

10 Bareaux, *op. cit.*, p. 114-5.

the Sarvāstivādins and the Theravādins; for Kauśāmbī among the Mahiśāsakas and Theravādins; for Pāṭaliputra among the Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptakas; for Vaiśālī among the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins. It is wrong, he writes, to think of the Indian territory as divided into vast fiefs occupied by the various sects separately. The assessment should be made by parish and not by regions. The different communities co-existed in the land of pilgrimages in the Gangetic basin. In the same town like Pāṭaliputra or Vaiśālī there were monasteries belonging to the different sects.

He observed further that there developed a conflict between a largely democratic and an aristocratic spirit as also an opposition to the supreme authority exercised by the members of the well-developed community. It became a source of perpetual threats of recession to the Saṅgha and occasioned appeals to the royal authority for settling the differences."

The conclusions of Mons. Hofinger and Bareaux regarding the Second Council are in general agreement with certain differences in details. More than a decade ago it was pointed out by me that the five theses of Mahādeva were more responsible for the cleavage between the Mahāsaṅghikas and Sthaviras than the ten un-vinayic acts of the former, as the ten points of dispute were more or less ecclesiastical irregularities and not moral offences and could well be included in *kbuddakānukbuddakāni sippāni*, which were permitted by the founder of the religion to be abrogated, if necessary, and which, in fact, formed also one of the charges against Ānanda in the session of the first Council.

The main reason for the compilers of the Vinaya texts to exclude the five theses of Mahādeva and concentrate on the un-vinayic acts is that the latter loomed large in their eyes, rigid, as they had become, in the course of a century, attaching more importance to the externals than to the internal spirit. The antiquity of the five theses is established by the fact that these are discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* which should be regarded as anterior to the non-canonical or canonical accounts of the Council. The spirit underlying the theses has been rightly inter-

preted by Mons. Bareaux as representing the conflict between a democratic and an aristocratic church organisation and an opposition to the unjustifiable claims made by some monks to the status of an *Arhat* or an *Anāgāmi* or a *Sakṛdāgāmi* or a *Srota-āpanna*. The Vajjiputtaka monks who inherited a democratic tradition and who attached a little value to the ecclesiastical formalities were naturally the first group to stage a revolt to the century old traditional practices. The democratic spirit was carried to the extreme by the Mahāsaṅghikas as stated in their Vinaya.¹¹ It runs thus "The Saṅgha comprised of those monks who knew one or two sections of the Vinaya, those who received the laws directly from the mouth of Bhagavān or Śrāvakas; there were also disciples under training (*Śaikṣa*, *prthagjana*) and the perfects (*Aśaikṣa*) including those who were proficient in *trividya*, *ṣaḍabbijñā*, *balas* and *vaśīs*—a Saṅgha of seven hundred assembled at Vaiśālī" The Mahāsaṅgha was a regular medley of the perfects and the non-perfects, *arbats* and non-*arbats*, a democracy indeed.

The schism was therefore due not so much to the ten un-vinayic acts as to the opposition of a section of monks to the undue claims made by the hierarchy of the well established community.¹²

Both Mons. Hofinger¹³ and Mons. Bareaux have attached undue importance and antiquity to the account of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya because of the fact that it mentions only one out of the ten un-vinayic acts and states that the Council of Vaiśālī effected suppression of same with the consent of the Vajjiputtakas. To assign antiquity to the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya just for its brief account of the Council does not appear to us to be very sound. If the *Mahāvastu* be a sample of the Vinaya of the

11 Bareaux, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

12 For the latest exposition of the five theses of Mahādeva and valuable details regarding the life of Mahādeva, see Prof. Lamotte's paper on the "Buddhist Controversy over the Five Propositions" in the *IHQ.*, 1956 (Gautama Buddha Volume), p. 40f.

13 Hofinger, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Mahāsaṅghika group, by no stretch of imagination can the Vinaya of this sect be regarded as anterior to the Pali version. Its lateness is further established by its contents, e.g., the composition of the Saṅgha, so unorthodox as stated above, and the names of patriarchs, as pointed out by Mons. Hofinger as more recent than those of the other Vinayas.¹⁴

Daśabala, an unknown figure, is made the direct recipient of Vinaya laws from the Master and the best interpreter of the same. His five rules of purity dealing very likely with *sīmā* regulations and his nine precepts referring to the four *Pārājikās* and five others are rather unusual.

It seems that the account of the Vaisalian Council in the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya offers a true picture of the Council of seceders, held at Vaiśālī immediately after the orthodox Council as stated in the Ceylonese chronicles.

In the *Kathāvattu* commentary it will be observed that all the Mahāsaṅghikas did not subscribe to the identical doctrines and so some of them (*ekacce mahāsaṅghikā*) were distinguished from the general Mahāsaṅghikas. The question is, to which of the two groups of the Mahāsaṅghikas the Vinaya is to be attributed.

The views of Prof La Vallée Poussin, Mons. Hofinger and Mons. Bareaux that the Council or Councils of Vaiśālī did not lead to the separation of the Mahāsaṅghikas from the Sthaviravādins are not unreasonable. It was sometime after this event that a Council was probably held at Pāṭaliputra in which Mahādeva's five theses formed the main points of dispute.

The Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya shows preference for the region round about Mathura, where also has been found an inscription referring to the existence there of the Mahāsaṅghika monks. The expression "*ekacce mahāsaṅghikā*" in the *Kathāvattu* commentary indicate that the Mahāsaṅghikas did not form a single body of monks. It seems that the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya (Chinese version) studied by Mons. Hofinger may not be the recognised text of the Mahāsaṅghikas of Vaiśālī or Pāṭaliputra

14 Hofinger, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

though a copy of the same might have been found by Fahien at Pāṭaliputra.

Mons. Hofinger's view about the antiquity of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya supported by Mons. Bareaux is also not acceptable. The original Sanskrit of this Vinaya, which has been edited by me, is written in a good grammatical language and appears definitely to be a late text, at least later than the Pali version. In this *Vinaya*, it will be observed the question of *sīmā* has been dealt with in greater details (vide Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. iii) than in the Pali text. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda list of the un-vinayic acts, stress has been laid on the question of *sīmā* and it seems that the *sīmā* regulations loomed large in the eyes of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The Mūlasarvāstivāda sect appeared much later than the Sarvāstivāda and its Vinaya can on no account be attributed to a date anterior to the *Daśādhyāya Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivāda.

Now let us examine the ten un-vinayic acts, as presented in the various canonical accounts, so ably translated into French by Mons. Hofinger from the Chinese sources. It is rather striking that all the accounts give most of the original Pāli or Prākṛt terms in the same form though they differ in interpretations and refer to different sections of the Vinaya. This confirms the opinion of Mons. Hofinger that there was a pre-canonical version, upon which is based all the available canonical accounts. The pre-canonical terms are preserved almost in the original form in the Pali text. The terms are:

(i) *Siṅgilonakappa*: In Pāli it is interpreted as 'conserving salt in a horn' for use when required and not necessarily in illness. All sects agree more or less with this interpretation. The Mahāśāsākas only explain *siṅgi* as *Śṛṅgivera* (ginger).

(ii) *Dvaṅgulakappa*: In Pāli it is interpreted as "taking food when the shadow is two fingers wide", i.e., little after midday. In all other texts it means "picking up the remnants of food with two fingers", after finishing one's meal. It is not possible to decide which of the two interpretations is more

reasonable but preference, I think, should be given to the Pāli interpretation.

(iii) *Gāmantarakappa*: After finishing meal in a village one can go to another village and take food there again. All the Vinayas agree on this interpretation more or less ; only the Mūlasarvāstivādins are more cautious and adds the proviso that the distance between one village and another should be limited to one and a half *yojana*.

(iv) *Āvāsakappa*: To perform ecclesiastical acts separately within the same parish (*sīmā*). This is mentioned by the Sthaviras, Dharmaguptas and Sarvāstivādins but not by the Mahiśāsakas. The Mūlasarvāstivādins explain it differently thus. "To perform an ecclesiastical act in an incomplete assembly."

(v) *Ānumatikappa*: To perform an ecclesiastical act in an incomplete assembly and in order to legalise it to have afterwards the act confirmed by the member monks not present in the assembly. All the sects agree on this point.

(vi) *Āciṇṇakappa*: To do an act improperly saying that such an act was being done habitually by the older monks or from time immemorial. In Pali Vinaya, the precedents shown are the irregular acts performed by an Upajjhāya or an Ācariya with the proviso that such acts in certain cases are permissible but not in all cases. The Sarvāstivādins, it seems, have put this in a slightly different manner. They state that ecclesiastical act performed separately and then approaching the assembly requesting the members to confirm them by precedents. The Mūlasarvāstivādins have, it seems, misread the word "āciṇṇa" as "āchinna" and interpreted it as "digging earth by a monk by his own hand or by engaging men."

(vii) *Amathitakappa*: To drink unchurned milk which is neither milk nor curds after finishing one's meal. The Sarvāstivādins state "to drink a mixture of milk, curds and cheese, which is not a part of the meal, after a monk has finished eating and risen from his seat." The Mahiśāsakas and Dharmaguptas amplify it further "to drink a mixture of coagulated milk, oil,

honey, fresh cheese, sugar and cream by a monk who has finished his meal and already changed his eating posture.

(viii) *Jalogim*: To drink unfermented juice which is not yet wine (Sthaviravādin, Mahiśāsaka and Dharmagupta). The Sarvāstivādins put it in a different form thus: "To dwell in a poor abode" which is amplified by the statement that the Vaisalian monks on the plea of "a poor abode" claim to distil wine and drink it. The Mūlasarvāstivādins put it in a milder form "To drink wine mixed with water as medicine."

(ix) *Adasakaṃ nisīdanam*: To use a mat without border (Sthaviravāda and Sarvāstivāda). To use an uncut mat (Dharmagupta). To use a mat large and small according to one's will (Mahiśāsaka).

(x) *Jātarūparajatam*: To accept gold and silver. All sects including the Mahāsaṅghikas agree on this point.

Scrutinising the ten un-vinayic acts it appears that all the canonical traditions were dealing with the same terms which were in a Prākṛt as suggested by Mons. Hofinger. The minor differences in interpretation are due to the lapse of time between the actual event and the time of compilation of the canonical accounts. Only in one item *dvaṅgulakappa* there is a fundamental difference between *Cullavagga* (Pali) and all other Vinaya texts. To judge by the interpretations of all the rules, it may be concluded that the Mūlasarvāstivāda version appears to be the latest and more comprehensive while the Mahāsaṅghika account is purely sectarian.

N. DUTT

Vakreśvara—a centre of Śaivism in Medieval Bengal

Vakreśvaratīrtha is one of the many sacred places of Birbhum. All through Rādha, it is well-known as a *tīrthasthāna*, though not as a *pīṭhasthāna*.

Recently a Sanskrit manuscript *Vakreśvaratīrthamāhātmya* by name has been found out in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.¹ While giving a short description of that manuscript, Mr. H. P. Shastri remarked, "Vakreśvara is a place of pilgrimage in the district of Birbhum in Bengal where there are many hot springs with a temple of Śiva under the name of Vakreśvara"²

In the *Bṛhaddharma-upapurāṇa* we find mention of this tīrtha.³ Acarya Jogesh Chandra Vidyanidhi dates the *Bṛhaddharma purāṇa* in the fourteenth century A.D.⁴ So we can infer that the Vakreśvaratīrtha was famous a century or two earlier. The Pālas had great reverence for Śaivism, though they were followers of Buddhism. Dharmapāla's establishment of a 'Caturmukha liṅga' image,⁵ Nārāyaṇapāla's grant of lands to Śivabhaṭṭāraka and his

1 Manuscript No. G. 5010.

2 H. P. Shastri, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 5, p. 697.

3 *Bṛhaddharma purāṇa*, xix. 29-30

Vaidyanāthasamākhyātaṃ tīrthaṃ kailāśasmitam/

Vakreśvarasthalaṃ caiva sutīrthaṃ samudāhṛtam//

Yatīa pāpaharā nāma nadi puṇyajā'ā śubhā/

Brahmāndākhye purāṇesya jñeyam vivaraṇam śubham//

4 Jogesh Chandra Roy, 'Purātan Rādher itihāsa', Bhāratavarsa (a Bengali monthly magazine published from Calcutta) xv. 2. (1336-37 v.s.), p. 677.

5 The exact line in the Khalimpore plate of Dharmapāla is as follows 'tatra pratiṣṭhāpita bhagavannauna-nārāyaṇabhaṭṭārakāya.' Neither Akshoy Kumar Maitreya in his *Gaudalekhamālā* (p. 27) nor Keilhorn while going to edit the edict (Epigraphia Indica, vol. iv, p. 247), have agreed to translate the word 'nanna-nārāyaṇa' as 'four faced liṅga image of Mahādeva.' They take as 'the image of Nārāyaṇa established by a

Sevakas,⁶ and the creation of Śiva temples by Nārāyaṇapāla and Rāmapāla⁷ lead us to infer that some of them might have been directly or indirectly associated with the Vakreśvaratīrtha. Though the manuscript contains the usual exaggeration of a purāṇa, its historical value and importance cannot be denied.

The manuscript claims to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*⁸ (vide the titles of chapters⁹). No reference to this manuscript or any part of it has been found in any edition of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Moreover it is very unlikely for a Vaiṣṇava-purāṇa like the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* to contain any reference to a Śaiva treatise. Such instances of claiming a particular treatise as the part of a well known and widely accepted work with a view to popularising the former is not rare in the history of the Sanskrit literature.¹⁰ From the evidence of the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, however, it can be presumed that it is a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. It may be said that there might have been some reference to the Vakreśvaratīrtha

man named Nanna.’ According to Dr. Niharranjan Roy this Nanna-nārāyaṇa means the four-faced liṅga image of Mahādeva. (*Bāṅgālir Itihās*, p. 619.)

6 Bhagalpur copper plate grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. 15)

‘mahārājādhirāja śrī Nārāyaṇapāla devena svayam kārta.....
pratiṣṭhāpita... . bhagavataḥ śivabhaṭṭārakasya pāśupata ācārya
pariṣadaśca.’ Gauḍalekhamālā, ed. by Aksoy Kumar Maitreya, p. 61.

7 Niharranjan Roy, *Bāṅgālir Itihās*, p. 619.

8 *Vakreśvaratīrthamāhātmya*, p. 17 b

‘iti brahmāṇḍa purāṇe vakreśvaratīrtha-māhātmye ekadaśo’ dhyāyaḥ
samāptañcedam’

9 *Ibid.*, f. 12 b.

‘iti brahmāṇḍa-purāṇe śālmaliḥṣārakuṇḍa pāpaharāmāhātmye ṣaṣṭho’
dhyāyaḥ

10 The name of the *Dharmapurāṇa* may be cited for example; this independent Purāṇa was accepted and recognised as a part of the *Padmapurāṇa*. The attention of the scholars is drawn to my articles ‘Dharmapurāṇa O Ihār kāl (Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisad Patrikā) and ‘Dharmapurāṇa—as a part of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the *Padmapurāṇa* (Our Heritage, vol. I, pt. II) in this connection.

in the lost portions of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*,¹¹ and this might have been the reason behind the reference in the *Bṛhddharma-purāṇa*.¹²

✓The factors that led to the fame of the Vakreśvaratīrtha are its springs or kuṇḍas. The manuscript describes seven kuṇḍas in detail, though in one place we find that there were eight kuṇḍas.¹³ The eighth kuṇḍa has not even been named and it is nowhere described. The manuscript contains detailed descriptions of the associations of these kuṇḍas with mythological personages, the special ceremonies or rituals connected with these kuṇḍas, their miraculous influence etc. In each of these seven kuṇḍas there is an image of Śiva, and all of them are the images of the different manifestations of the powers of Vakreśvara.

The first of these kuṇḍas is the Bhairava Kuṇḍa by name. One who takes his bath there in the eighth day of the Bright moon (Śuklāṣṭamī) in the month of Caitra, is freed from all fears of death, and acquires the benefit of a Vājapeya Yajña. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says that a person who performs the Vājapeya sacrifice acquires a vast kingdom.¹⁴ Apart from that, ordinary men touch the water of this Kuṇḍa or bathe in it for eternal peace and salvation.

The next, Jīva or Jīvana Kuṇḍa lies to the east of the Bhairava Kuṇḍa. The author has introduced an interesting story

11 For the lost portions of the *Brahmapurāṇa* see R. C. Hazra, *Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 17-19

12 Incidentally it may be mentioned that some ślokas of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* have been taken and used in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Gṛhastharatnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhākura; but none of it is found in the *Vakreśvaratīrthamāhātmya*. Vācaspati Miśra in his *Tīrthacintāmani* has quoted a large number of ślokas from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, some of which are found in the *Vakreśvaratīrthamāhātmya*. But it is very hard to draw any correct conclusion from this.

13 *Vakreśvaratīrthamāhātmya*, f. 7a.

‘aṣṭa kuṇḍāni santyatra nadyekā ca pratiṣṭhitā’

14 *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 3.

‘yo vājapeyena yajeta gacchati svārājyam’

in connection with the naming of that Kuṇḍa. In ancient times there was a pious agnihotri brahmin who constantly worshipped the gods and the twice born. His wife Cārumati was his real 'sahadharminī.' They had no issue. Once they set out for pilgrimage and reached Gauḍa where the brahmin was killed by a tiger. The mournful Cārumati heard an oracle; 'Collect your husband's 'asthi' (bone-ashes) and proceed to the Vakreśvaratīrtha; throw the ashes into the kuṇḍa and your husband will re-live; not only that, you will bear many children and all of them will have long life.¹⁵ Cārumati obeyed the oracle, did accordingly and brought her husband back to life. Thus we find that from its power of bringing life to the dead, the Kuṇḍa derives its name Jīvanakuṇḍa. Its another name has also gained currency and that is Amṛtakuṇḍa. Once Candra, the Moon-god was punished by Śiva for abducting Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati. Afterwards, Śiva was pacified and told Candra that the latter would be retrieved if he would go to the Vakreśvaratīrtha and remain there in meditation for ten thousand years. Candra did accordingly and returned to the heaven showering amṛta (nectar) on this Kuṇḍa.¹⁶

The third Kuṇḍa is Pāvana or Jvālā Kuṇḍa. Here men and women assemble on the Vaiśākhī Pūrṇimā (full-moon night) for

15 *Vakreśvaratīrthamābātmya*, f. 7b.

vakreśvaram yāhi bāle bhartturasthi pragṛhya ca/
yadasti kuṇḍatritayāt pūrve pāpaprāmocane//
vakreśvarasya pāścātye kuṇḍam tadamṛtodbhavam/
nimajjayasva atrāsthi jivadbhāttri bhaviṣyasi//
bahuputrā jivavatsā sarvasampat-samanvitā/

16 *Ibid.*, f. 8a.

yāhi vakreśvaram kṣetram sarvakilviṣanāśanam/
na cedastreṇa hanmi tvāṃ gurubhāryyāpahāriṇam//
tatas-tīrtha-varam prāptaś-candras-tārāpahāraḥ/
daśavarṣasahasrāṇi tapas-taptvā suduścaram/
mahāpāpād vimucyeta prāpya kuṇḍamanuttamam//
amṛtam tatra nikṣipyā praṇamya śaśīśekharam/
yayau sa bhagavānindhus-tridivam snānamuttamam//

performing the twelfth Śrāddha ceremony.¹⁷ In ancient days, Nārāyaṇa, after killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, the devout worshipper of Śiva, (Paramamāheśvara) came to bathe in the pond for washing off his physical pain and sins acquired on account of His killing a follower of Śiva. Hence it has been named Jvālakuṇḍa. It is interesting to note that here Hiraṇyakaśipu has been described as a great devotee of Śiva, probably with a view to emphasizing the Māhātmya of Vakreśvara. The special attraction of this kuṇḍa is that one who bathes in it, achieves Viṣṇuloka.¹⁸ It is really curious that when all the kuṇḍas help men to have communion with Śiva, the Jvālakuṇḍa alone refers to Viṣṇuloka. Though the medieval purāṇas bear the influence and contribution of many sects and sectaries, it is useless to search for any Vaiṣṇava influence on these works. In those times cases of mutual tolerance and reverence were not rare among the different religious sects. If we look into the inscriptions of the Pālas, Senas, Candras and Varman kings we find that different sects and sectaries have been praised simultaneously with the court-patronised religion.¹⁹ The manuscript does not bear the only evidence of the spirit of tolerance of the Śaivas. Here, we find mention even of an image known as 'Svetamādhava'.²⁰

The fourth i. e. Brahmakuṇḍa is well-known as a place of expiation for sexual sins. Brahmā's unnatural lust for his daughter is a famous story of the Purāṇas. Our manuscript has added a new colour to this old story by relating that Brahmā

17 *Ibid.*, f, 9b.

vaiśākhyāṃ paurṇamāsyāntu samyatātmā jitendriyah/
tatra śrāddham prakurvīta tṛptir-dvādaśavārsiki//

18 *Ibid.*, f. 9b.

jvālakuṇḍāt samuddhṛtya jalam gātram viṣṇucayan/
vimuktaḥ sarvapāpebhyo viṣṇulokam sa gacchati//

19 Niharranjan Ray, *Bāṅgālir Itihās*, p. 670.

20 *Vakreśvaratirthamāhātmya*, f. 11a.

'śvetamādhavasajñeti pratimā tatra vidyate'

was prescribed a bath in this Brahmakuṇḍa by Śiva to get rid of his perverted fixation and its consequent sufferings.²¹

Śvetagaṅgā kuṇḍa, the fifth, is situated to the east of the Brahma-kuṇḍa. It washes all the sins (sarvapāpavināśaka).²² It is named after Śvetarāja, a devoted worshipper of Śiva. Pilgrims are deprived of all blessings if they fail to throw their nails and hair into this kuṇḍa, and men by offering piṇḍa in this kuṇḍa get the results that are equivalent to those obtained by performing the Śrāddha ceremony at Gayā.²³ They achieve communion with Maheśa. We have already referred to the image named Śvetamādhava. It might have been so named on account of the king Śveta or the Svetamādhavakuṇḍa where the image is situated. The old banyan tree i. e. Akṣayavaṭa of this place is associated with a legend that it grew out of the locks of Śiva.²⁴ Mahārudra resides in the upper regions of this tree, Viṣṇu in the middle and Brahmā in the lower regions.²⁵ When Kāmadeva was reduced to ashes by the curse of Śiva, Rati, his wife sat under this tree and by her prayers pacified Śiva, the Bhairava, the naked, unaging and immortal, with golden matted locks, clad in Kiṅkinī and Mekhalā, having the appearance of a full-blossomed Javā and having hairs bedecked with the marvellous Moon.

21 *Ibid.*, f. 9b.

‘vyabhicāra-kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ (v. l. doṣaṃ) brahmakuṇḍe vinaśyati.’

22 *Ibid.*, f. 16b.

‘śvetagaṅgeti vikhyātaṃ kuṇḍaṃ.....brahmakuṇḍasya pūrvabhāge

23 *Ibid.*, f. 10b.

gaṅgāṃ samprāpya yo dhimān muṇḍanaṃ naiva kārayet/
vr̥thā tasya kriyāḥ sarvās-tīrthadrohī bhavennaraḥ//

(The next three śloka following it are found in the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* (p. 15) of Vācaspatimiśra)

24 *Ibid.*, f. 11a.

‘purā śivajaṭādeva vaṭā jāṭā dvijottamāḥ’

25 *Ibid.*, f. 11b.

yasya mupe vaset brahmā madhye viṣṇurjaganmayāḥ/
śikhāyāntu mahārudraḥ sa vaṭaḥ kairṇa pūjyate//

The next two are the Saubhāgyakuṇḍa and the Kṣāra-kuṇḍa. An ugly woman becomes a rare beauty by taking a dip in this kuṇḍa. A bath in this pond will make the incurably sterile women fertile and women having still-born babies get cured of their defects. In ancient times the ocean-god found his refuge in this kuṇḍa to escape the wrath of the sage Agastya. By making sacrifices and Dāna (contribution) at this kuṇḍa, men got relieved of all their sins accumulated during their childhood, youth and senile years. One can avail himself of the communion with Śiva if proper 'Dāna' is made to the Brāhmaṇas at this kuṇḍa. The fourteenth day of the Bright Moon in the month of Caitra is the proper time for performing pūjās here, and for the Kṣāra-kuṇḍa the months of Vaiśākha, Kārttika and Māgha are prescribed for performing pūjās. A bath at the Kṣāra-kuṇḍa during a solar eclipse frees men of all fear of death, and by touching its water on the days of Pañcaparva (five festivals) one attains Śivaloka.

Water of all these Kuṇḍas have not the same temperature. Some are too hot, some have moderate temperature, and the rest are lukewarm.²⁶

A strange legend is associated with this Vakreśvaratīrtha. Once there was a great sage, Kaphalka who invented the art of stealing. This king of thieves propitiated Mahādeva and Maheśvarī by his skill in the art of stealing and Maheśvarī was delighted to take the name of 'Caureśvarī' (i. e. the goddess of stealing). One who worships the sage Kaphalka or Caureśvarī, the goddess who is inseparably connected with the Mahādeva of Vakreśvara, has no fear of being robbed. No definite reason can be offered in support of the currency of this story, but this much can be assumed that recurrence of brigandage in those days might have been a strong force behind the elaborate rituals and

26 *Ibid.*, f. 13a.

kuṇḍa-yogādāti-taptā iṣattaptā tatas-tataḥ/
tato'pi hīnataptā syāt.....//

ceremonies prescribed for pacifying the goddess of stealing at the Vakreśvaratīrtha.

Vakreśvara still contains certain kuṇḍas bearing the purāṇic names and they have a striking resemblance with the names mentioned in the manuscripts. But there are a few other kuṇḍas the names of which do not tally with those in the manuscript. But it would perhaps not be safe to conclude that the modern names which do not tally with those in the manuscript have not undergone any change during all these centuries.

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

A Note on the Bhāṭika Era

In his article on the Harṣa Era published in this Quarterly (Vol. XXVII, pp. 183 ff.) Dr. R. C. Mujumdar has drawn attention to the existence of two inscriptions from Jaisalmer which are dated in the Bhāṭika era and which are noticed in Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 775 and 962. The details of the dates of these two records are:—

(1) Jaisalmer Viṣṇu temple inscription¹:—Vikrama Saṃvat 1494 = Bhāṭika Saṃvat 812, Māgha śu.di., 6, Friday.

(2) Jaisalmer Śiva temple inscription²:—Vikrama Saṃvat 1673 = Śaka Saṃvat 1538 = Bhāṭika Saṃvat 993, Uttarāyana occurring in Mārgaśīrṣa.

Mm. Prof. V. V. Mirashi has also dealt with these two dates in his article on the Harṣa and the Bhāṭika Eras published in vol. XXIX, pp. 191 ff. of this Quarterly. Accepting Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar's reading of the Bhāṭika year as 813 in the case of the first inscription, Prof. Mirashi has shown that both these dates work out regularly according to the epoch of the Bhāṭika Saṃvat of 624-25 A.D.³ Though the name of the Bhāṭika Saṃvat occurs in these two very late records of the fifteenth and seventeenth century A.D., he is inclined to refer to this Bhāṭika era some of the early inscriptions found in Rājputana and the adjoining area as well as the Hund inscription which are usually ascribed to the Harṣa era. He is also inclined to refer the year 73 of the Dhulev plate of Mahārāja Bhētti edited by him to the same epoch of the Bhāṭika Saṃvat.⁴ Dr. D. C. Sircar disagrees with Prof. Mirashi's view regarding the ascription of the year 73 of the Dhulev plate to the Bhāṭika era on the ground that the era is known only from two Jaisalmer

¹ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 775 and 1423.

² *Ibid.*, No. 962.

³ In the case of the second record, the epoch would be 623-24 A.D. and this difference is reconciled by supposing that its date is a current one.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff.

inscriptions of 1438 and 1616 A.D., that Dhulev is far away from Jaisalmer and that there is no evidence regarding the prevalence of the Bhāṭika era before the fifteenth century A.D.⁵

In this connection I wish to invite the attention of the scholars to the existence of more inscriptions dated in the Bhāṭika era. Besides the two Jaisalmer records mentioned above, there are as many as thirteen inscriptions which are dated in the Bhāṭika Saṃvat and which also come from Jaisalmer and the area round about that place. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated in Bhāṭika Saṃvat 534 and the earliest verifiable date is that of Bhāṭika Saṃvat 539, only five years later. In fact all these inscriptions were made known more than twenty years ago but unfortunately they have escaped the notice of the scholars mentioned above who have dealt with the question of the Bhāṭika era. These inscriptions have been briefly noticed by the late Pandit G. H. Ojha in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1936*.⁶ Of the thirteen inscriptions, eleven have verifiable dates and since some of the verifications given by Ojha are not correct, I shall give them below for ready reference of the scholars:⁷—

- (1) An inscription engraved on a *Govardhana*, about ten miles from Jaisalmer:—Bhāṭika Saṃvat 539, Bhādrapada śu. di. 10, Sunday. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th August, 1163 A. D. according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 624-25 A. D. The *tithi* was current till 20 of the day. Ojha gives the English equivalent of the date as 11th July, 1163 A. D.
- (2) Three inscriptions, having the same date, engraved on memorial stones standing near Gogāki-talāi, about five miles from Jaisalmer:—Bhāṭika Saṃvat 685,

5 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

6 Seven of these records are also noticed in the *Annual Report, Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1935-36, p. 111.

7 S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* has been utilised for the verification of the dates.

- Āṣāḍha ba. di. 3, Thursday. The date corresponds to Thursday, the 26th June, 1309 A. D. according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 624-25 A. D. The *tithi* was current till .86 of the day. Ojha gives the English date as 27th May, 1309 A. D.
- (3) Three inscriptions, having the same date, engraved on memorial tablets at the foot of the fort of the Jaisalmer:—Vikrama Saṃvat 1418 = Bhāṭika Saṃvat 738, Mārgaśīrṣa ba. di. 11, Wednesday. The corresponding English date would be Wednesday, the 24th November, 1361 A. D. according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 623-24 A. D. But the *tithi* was current only till .01 of the day. Ojha does not give the details of the English date.
- (4) An inscription engraved on a slab built into the wall of Vyāsonkībaṭhaka in the fort of Jaisalmer:—Vikrama Saṃvat 1494 = Bhāṭika Saṃvat 813, Māgha śu. di. 10, Wednesday. The corresponding English date on the given *tithi* would be Tuesday (not Wednesday), the 4th February 1438, A. D. according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 624-25 A. D. The *tithi* was current till .95 of the day. Ojha gives the English date as 5th February, 1438 A. D. which, however, was Wednesday.
- (5) An inscription engraved on a slab built into the wall of the temple of Lakṣmīkānta in the fort of Jaisalmer⁸;—Vikrama Saṃvat 1494 = Bhāṭika Saṃvat 813, Māgha śu. di 6, Friday. The date corresponds to Friday, the 31st January, 1438 A. D. according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 624-25 A. D. The *tithi* was current till .66 of the day. Ojha also gives the same English date.

8 The date of this record is the same as Bhandarkar's *List* No. 775 as read by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar and Prof. Mirashi, wherein the *Aśvini nakṣatra* is also mentioned.

- (6) An inscription engraved on a pillar standing near a well in the fort of Jaisalmer: —The date is the same as in No.5 above.
- (7) An inscription engraved on a pillar standing near Isarlālji's tank about a mile from Jaisalmer: —Vikrama Saṃvat 1673 = Śaka Saṃvat 1538 = Bhāṭika Saṃvat 993, Māgha śu. di, 5, Friday. The date corresponds to Friday, the 31st January, 1517 A. D. according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 624-25 A. D. The *tithi* was current till 51 of the day. Ojha also gives the same English date.

It will be noticed that of the eleven dates given above, four give the Bhāṭika Saṃvat only, six give the Bhāṭika coupled with the Vikrama Saṃvat and in one case the Bhāṭika Saṃvat is associated with both Vikrama and Śaka saṃvat. Seven of these dates are perfectly regular according to the Bhāṭika epoch of 624-25 A. D. and three dates are regular according to the epoch of 623-24 A. D.⁹ whereas in one case the date is irregular by one day. The inscriptions thus show that the Bhāṭika era was prevalent in the area of Jaisalmer and that the name of the Saṃvat occurs as early as the twelfth century A. D. A diligent search in that area might yield still more records which might throw further light on the subject.

G. S. GAI

⁹ See footnote 3 above.

Ānvaldā Satī Pillar Inscription of Someśvāra and Pṛithvī Rāja III

The Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur preserves an important Satī Pillar which was found at Ānvaldā, about 13 miles south of Jahāzpur (Mewar). Exhibited under No. 18 of the Archaeology Section of the Museum, this square pillar, with the top portion carved on all the sides, contains two interesting inscriptions of 10 lines in all and covering a space about 8½ inches in height and 7 inches in width on one side of it. The letters of both the inscriptions have been engraved in the Devanāgarī script in a very crude manner, so much so that the text in lines 7, 8 and 10 has become almost illegible. The first four lines, of this inscription, pertain to an independent record of V. S. 1245 (i. e. No. A.) whereas the remaining six lines (ll. 5-11) engraved in continuation of the above, form quite a separate epigraph (i. e. Inscription No. B.) recording an earlier event of V. S. 1234.

Inscription No. A., briefly noticed by G. H. Ojha in his *History of Rājputānā*, Hindī, vol. I, p. 362, records the death of Jehaḍa, a *Dodiyā* chief, during the regime of *Mahārājādhīrāja* Pṛithvirāja. The latter should be identified with Pṛithvirāja III—the Cauhāna ruler of Ajmer. The existing record has been dated Thursday, the 12th day of the bright-half of Phālguna in the (*Vikrama*) year 1245 whereas H. C. Ray (*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, II, 1936, p. 1084; cf. *ASI, WC.*, 1906, p. 62, no. 2224) has taken the date of the record as *samvat* 1244 which is incorrect, and so also is the *tithi* read as 11 by G. H. Ojha (*op. cit.*). The *legible portion* of the text may be presented for the first time as follows: —

- Line 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीप्रिथ्वी-
 „ 2 राजदेव महाराज्ये डूड रा जेहड़ देव-
 „ 3 लोक..... । संवत् १२४५ फा-
 „ 4 (लग)। न सुदि १२ गुरुवारे लिहितकः ॥

Another inscription of the same year (i. e. V. S. 1245) and pertaining to the reign period of the same ruler (i.e. Pṛthvīrāja III) has been engraved on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa, now kept in a niche in the temple of Mīam Mātā near Bājaṭā (Kekri subdivision of Ajmer district; G. H. Ojha, *Annual Report of the Raj. Museum at Ajmer for the year ending March 1912*, p. 2; cf. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1084). The name of the month and the *tithi* of the Bājaṭā Inscription of V. S. 1245 have not been recorded by Dr. Ojha. Therefore it is not possible to ascertain the latest date for the regime of Pṛthvīrāja III. The earliest extant epigraph, recording his name, is of course the one recently discovered at Bārlā (7 miles to the east of Ajmer) and now preserved as no. 1067 of the Ajmer Museum. It records the date as the “fourth day of the bright half of *Caitra* in the (*Vikrama*) *saṃvat* 1234” for Pṛthvīrāja III as pointed out by U. C. Bhattacharya in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Session held at Jaipur, 1951*, pp. 326-8. This newly discovered inscription has been duly deciphered and published by Dr. Dasharath Sharma in the *Maru Bhārati*, Pilani, Hindi, II (3), January 1955, pp. 2-3 (cf. P. S. Mehta’s further comments on it in the *Śodha-patrikā*, Hindī, Udaipur, VIII (1-2), Sept.-Dec. 1956, pp. 18 ff.). The Bārlā Inscription of V. S. 1234, *Caitra sudi* 4 may will be regarded as the earliest extant record of the reign-period of Pṛthvīrāja III and not the Udaipur Museum Satī Pillar Inscription (No. 61, black stone pillar) from Lohārī (8 miles from Jahāzpur) and dated in V. S. 1236 *Āṣāḍha vadi* 12. The latter has been summarised and noticed in the *Annual Report of the Raj. Museum at Ajmer for the year ending March 1923*, pp. 2-3 (cf. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1083).

The second part of the Udaipur Museum Inscription from *Ānvaldā* (i.e. *Inscription B*) begins with the fifth line from the top (i.e. just after Inscription no. A) and consists of six lines (lines 5 to 10) in all. The *legible portion* of it may be presented as follows: —

Line 5 श्रीं स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीसोमे-
 ,, 6 श्रदेव राज्ये सींदर डोड रा सिंघरा सुतः ।

Line 7 पत्नी स-

,, 8 हितः संवत्

,, 9 १२३४ भाद्र (पद) शुदि ४ शुक्र दिने...

,, 10 (देवमितिः) ॥

The inscription perhaps records the death of Sindhurāja, son of Siṃgharāja—a *Dodā* chief of the locality during the regime of *Mahārājādhirāja* Someśvara. The date has been given here as Friday the 4th day of the bright half of (*Vikrama*) *Samvat* 1234 (G. H. Ojha, *History of Rājputānā*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 362; cf. *Annual Working Report of the Rajputana Museum for the Year ending March 1923*, p. 2, no. 5). Someśvara may be identified with the father of Pṛithvīrāja III of Inscription *A* from the same place and the Bārlā Epigraph of V. S. 1234. *Ānvaldā* Inscription of V. S. 1234 *Bhādra sudi 4 śukra dine* thus stands as the last known epigraph of the Cāhamāna monarch Someśvara at the present moment whereas the newly discovered Bārlā Inscription of V. S. 1234 *Caitra sudi 4* as the earliest known record for his son and successor Pṛithvīrāja III provided we take the year as *Śrāvaṇādi* i. e. beginning from the month of Śrāvaṇa as also suggested by U. C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 328. The gap between the father and the son thus narrows down to a few months only as the latter (i. e. Pṛithvīrāja III) had already graced the Cauhān throne as an independent ruler by *Caitra sudi 4* of the same year (i. e. V.S. 1235).

The aforesaid inscriptions on the *Ānvaldā Satī Pillar* thus refer to the *Dūḍa* or *Dodā* clan of the local chiefs (*rā = rāo* or *rāvata*) of the Jahāzpur region. D. R. Bhandarkar (*I. A.*, 1912, p. 18; cf. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1079) has suggested that the *dodā* or *dodiyā*, one of the 36 royal races of Rajasthan, was probably a clan of the Paramāras who played an important role in the mediaeval history of this country.

The *Lobārī Inscription* of V.S. 1236 and cited above consists of three lines only. A few letters, towards the end of the third line, have become totally blurred whereas the remaining letters

72 *Ānvaldā Satī Pillar Inscription of Someśvara & Prithvī Rāja III*

are quite distinct as is evident from the following text* thereof:—

- Line 1 संवत् १२३६ अषाढ वदि १२
,, 2 श्रीपृथ्वीराजराज्ये वागड्य सलखण
,, 3 पुत्र श्रीजलसल । मातु काल्ही

The aforesaid *Satī* Pillars, now preserved in Udaipur Museum, also throw considerable light on the contemporary art and sculpture. The details of the dress and ornaments of male and female figures represented therein are also worth taking note of for the study of the civilisation of the region of Jahāzpur during the regime of the Cāhamāna rulers.

R. C. AGRAWALA

* It is being published here for the first time.

Capital of the Later Aulikaras

Of the many inscriptions¹ of the earlier and later members of the Aulikara dynasty of West Malwa, called Avanti in early times, all except two were discovered at the site of the ancient city of Daśapura i.e. modern Mandasor. The findspots of the two Aulikara epigraphs found elsewhere also lie in the vicinity of the Mandasor region, one in the former Jhalawat State and the other in the old Rajgadh State. None of them was found at Ujjayinī, the most ancient capital of the Avanti or West Malwa country. This points to the possibility that the Aulikaras, both earlier and later, had their capital at the well-known city of Daśapura, and the suggestion is clearly and strongly supported by epigraphic evidence.

Verse 29 of an inscription² from Mandasor refers to the early Aulikara king Bandhuvarman as:

*tasminn = eva kṣitipati-urṣe Bāndhuvarmaṇy = udāre
samyak-sphītaṁ Daśapuram = idaṁ pālayaty = unnat-āṁse.*

The words *Bāndhuvarmaṇi Daśapuram pālayati* in the stanza show beyond doubt that Bandhuvarman, an early ruler of the Aulikara dynasty, had his capital at the city of Daśapura.

The same is the case with the later Aulikaras. Another Mandasor inscription³ has the following stanza referring to the later Aulikara king Ādityavardhana:

*Itivā ripu-balaṁ saṅkhye ramyaṁ puraṁ daś-ādikam |
... .. nara-uyāghre narendr-Ādityavardhane ||*

As I have suggested elsewhere, the lost word at the beginning of the latter half of the verse can be quite safely restored as *pālayati* or *praśāsati*. The words *Ādityavardhane Daś-ādikam puraṁ* (i.e. *Daśapuram*) [*pālayati*] clearly show that, like the

¹ See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 288 ff., 377 ff., 379 ff 386 ff., 393 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff.; vol. XXVII, pp. 12ff.; vol. XXX, pp. 127 ff.; etc.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 294.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, p. 129.

early Aulikara king Bandhuvarman, the later Aulikara king Ādityavardhana also had his capital at Daśapura.

These very clear facts have been totally ignored by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in his interesting article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXXIII, No. 4, December 1957, pp. 314-20, where it has been suggested that the later Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman ruled not from Daśapura but from Ujjayinī. The learned professor, it seems, has overlooked the natural and logical meaning of the stanza referring to Ādityavardhana's relations with the *Daś-ādika pura*, i. e. Daśapura, which is quoted above. He has also ignored the combined strength of the evidence of the discovery of all the earlier and later Aulikara inscriptions at Daśapura and its neighbourhood and not at Ujjayinī, as well as of the two stanzas quoted above regarding the rule of the early Aulikara king Bandhuvarman and the later Aulikara monarch Ādityavardhana at Daśapura.

Prof. Mirashi has offered only two arguments in favour of his suggestion that the later Aulikaras had their capital at Ujjayinī. The first of these is a stanza from Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (86,2) mentioning *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana as an *āvāntika nṛpa*, i.e. a king of Avanti. He takes the name Avanti as a synonym of Ujjayinī and finds in the verse a reference to Ujjayinī as the capital of the later Aulikara king Dravyavardhana. It is well known to the students of early Indian geography that Avanti was primarily the name of the country, of which Ujjayinī was the capital in ancient times, although secondarily it was another name of Ujjayinī. It is also known that the Avanti country received its name from the Avanti people settled in the area in question. In the circumstances, one cannot be sure that the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* verse referred to above mentions Dravyavardhana as the lord of Ujjayinī, sometimes also called Avanti, and not of the country known as Avanti, i.e. West Malwa, in which the city of Daśapura (Mandasor) was situated. This evidence cited by Prof. Mirashi in support of the conjecture that Ujjayinī was

the capital of the later Aulikaras can scarcely stand against the clear indications, suggesting the location of the Aulikara capital at Daśapura.

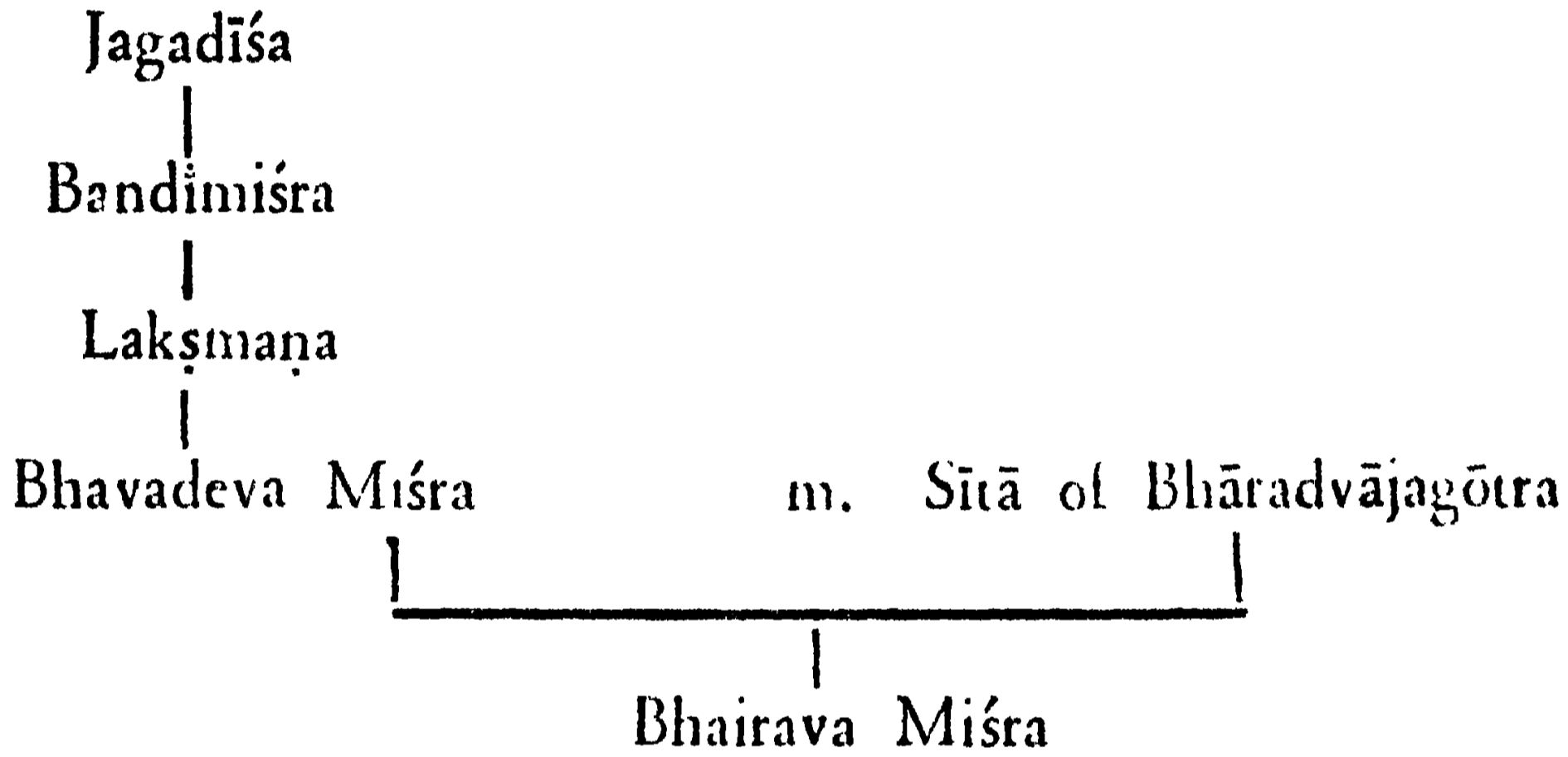
The second argument of Prof. Mirashi in support of his theory is equally unsound. He refers to the Mandasor inscription (V. S. 589) of the time of the later Aulikara king Viṣṇuwardhana Yaśodharman and to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 154, and says, "It tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdosa who was a *Rājasthānīya* appointed by Yasodharman and who had his headquarters at Daśapura. This clearly indicates that Yaśodharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayinī." In the first place, even if we accept, for argument's sake, that Yaśodharman had his capital not at Daśapura but elsewhere, it certainly does not prove that Ujjayinī was his capital. Secondly, the inscription in question certainly does not mention Nirdosa as a *Rajasthānīya*, i.e. a viceroy or governor, appointed by Yaśodharman in the area having its headquarters at Daśapura. Thirdly, even if Yaśodharman had his capital at Daśapura, he could have appointed a governor of the metropolitan district of his empire with the headquarters of the latter in the same city.

D. C. SIRCAR

Bhairava Miśra Circa 1780-1840 A.D.

In a recent work,¹ the biographical and other details regarding Bhairava Miśra, a well-known modern writer on the grammatical school of Pāṇini, are not given, and instead there are many legends woven round his figure. Here an attempt is made to collect some information about the author and his works.

The following genealogy of the author, who belonged to Agastya-gotra, is found in the introductory verses to his Candrakalā, a commentary on Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdenduśekhara, to the portion entitled Avyayībhāvaprakaraṇa.²



Bhairava Miśra was born in Banaras,³ and was possibly educated privately at home under his father, Bhavadeva Miśra⁴ who seems to have been a great scholar. Mention is made regarding his mother, Sītā,⁵ who originally hailed from Bhāradvājagōtra, and was of pious disposition.

1 Prof. Abhyankar, Prastāvanā Khaṇḍa, i.e. Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali with Marathi translation, Vol, VII, 1954, pp. 24-25.

2 Laghuśabdenduśekhara (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No, 5), 1927, Part I, p. 737.

3 *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 737.

4 Cf. Paribhāṣā-vivṛti, a com. on Nāgeśa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara, introductory verse 3: natvā tātaṁ gurum devaṁ Bhavadevābhidham vibhum, Yad yaśobhirdhavalitāḥ kakubho jananiṁ parāṁ. Aufrecht, Cata. Catalo. Part I, p, 397b, mentions Bhavadeva Miśra as an author of a com. on Haridikṣita's Bṛhacchabdaratna.

5 Cf. *Ibid.*, intro. verse 4 ab: Sītāṁ pativratāṁ devīṁ Bhāradvājakulodbhavām.

Bhairava Miśra's silence regarding his other preceptors, under whom possibly he studied higher works on Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya, is explained away by Prof. Abhyankar⁶ as due to his being a Śakti-worshipper and hence he would not mention any other preceptor except the one who initiated him in Śakti-worship. Further Prof. Abhyankar makes our author, a direct disciple of Nāgeśa 1673-1753 A.D.⁷ Both the surmises are not acceptable to us as the following will clearly show.

That Bhairava Miśra was never a Śakti-worshipper is amply clear from the various introductory verses to his works. His iṣṭa-devatās were Rāma, Sītā and Hanumān.

As for the date of Bhairava Miśra, we get the following from his works.

- (a) Aṅkarṣisiddhīndu mite vatsare vijayāhvaye Māghe māsyasite pakṣe navamyām bhānuvāsare⁸ = Jan. 5, 1823 A. D.
- (b) Sā (i.e. Candrakalāṭikā) vai śambhutithau varṣe khāṣṭabhūtīndu sammite, Āśvinasyāsīte pakṣe⁹ = Oct. 3, 1823 A. D.
- (c) Śāsyasiddhicandrākhye manmathe śubhavatsare, Māghe māsyasite pakṣe mūle kāmāthau śubhā pūrṇā (i.e. Candrakalāṭikā) vāre dinamāṇeḥ¹⁰ = Jan. 16, 1825 A.D.
- (d) Netrāṣṭabhūticandrābde vatsare durmukhe ravau, Jyeṣṭhe māsyasite pakṣe grīṣmartau viśva vāsare¹¹ = May 15, 1825 A.D.

6 See vide 1 above.

7 Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, Samskr̥ta Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihās, Prathama Bhāg, p. 308.

8 Colophon to Candrakalā, a com. on Laghuśabdenduśekhara, Kāraṅkaraṇa, 1927, Part I, p. 736.

9 *Ibid.*, Pūrvārdha, 1922, Part II, p. 419.

10 *Ibid.*, Liṅgānuśāsana, 1922, Part II, p. 1127.

11 Colophon to Paribhāṣā-vivṛti, a com. on Paribhāṣenduśekhara (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 31), 1931 p. 273.

Fortunately for us, Bhairava Miśra mentions his patron, Daulata Rāya, the great lord of Avantī¹² (present Ujjain), who is none other than Daulat Rao Sindhia, famous Maratha chieftain and who ruled during 1794-1827 A.D.

Hence we may state that Bhairava Miśra lived during *circa* 1780-1840 A.D.

Fame of Bhairava Miśra chiefly rests on his two excellent commentaries, one entitled Candrakalā on Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdenduśekhara, and the other entitled Paribhāṣāvivṛti on Nāgeśa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara. Besides these two, he has written a commentary entitled Parīkṣā on Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's Vaiyākaraṇbhūsaṇa-sāra, and a commentary on Haridīkṣita's Laghuśabdaratna. Aufrecht¹³ mentions a few more works of our author but after a careful examination I find they are only portions of some of his works cited above. At the present state of our knowledge, we do not know whether Bhairava Miśra has written any original treatise at all.

M. S. BHAT

12 Cf. Colophon to Candrakalā, com. on Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdenduśekhara, Pūrvārdha, 1922, Part II, pp. 419-420: Asti Daulatarāyākhyo rājarājo' parah kṛti, Yallabdhajivikenaiṣā'vantikāyāḥ prabhurmahān, Yasya Pratāpasimhena nirastāḥ śatruvāraṇāḥ.

13 Cata. Catalo., Part I, p. 417a.

REVIEWS

BUDDHISM IN CHINESE HISTORY by A. F. Wright. Stanford Studies in the Civilization of Eastern Asia. Oxford University Press, London, 1959, pp. ix+144.

The present work of Prof A. F. Wright is based on his six lectures delivered at the University of Chicago. It is a learned and "reflective interpretation" of Chinese life and thought from 206 B. C. upto the present day.

In the first lecture the author deals with the social and political life of the Chinese during the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D) and discusses how the Han rulers utilised the teachings of Confucius to serve their own ends. He writes that "the Cosmos, as seen by the Han Confucians, was an all-encompassing system of relationship in which man, human institutions, events and natural phenomena all interacted in an orderly predictable way" (p. 11).

In the second lecture (65-317 A. D.) the author traces from Chinese works the presence of Buddhist monks in China. In this period, the Han rulers became weak due to internal rivalries while the intelligentsia turned to Taoism for a new philosophy of life and social system, and replaced man-made rules by "naturalness." The Taoist principles gradually lost their force and paved the way for the advent of Buddhism from Central Asia. At this stage Buddhism was treated as an alien religion and so it exercised very little influence on the social and intellectual life of China. Buddha, however, was revered as a powerful divinity and Buddhism was looked upon more or less as a sect of Taoism. The Buddhist texts were imperfectly translated with Taoist terms and Confucian ideas and so could not create any impression on the élite. Curiosity for new ideas led to the visit of Chinese pilgrims to foreign countries and importation of Buddhist texts and foreign translators from 265-317 A. D. Toward

the end of this period, Buddhism became firmly established in the Yang tze valley.

In the third lecture (317-589 A.D.) the author deals with the onrush of the Huns and the migration of the Chinese royalty to the south where Nanking was selected as the capital. In the south though the Neo-Taoist ideas and phraseology were prevalent for a long time, three distinguished litterateurs Hui-yüan (334-416), Chih-tun (365-434) and Chu Tao-sheng (365-434) became interested in Buddhism and took up its cause. Lastly Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (502-49) became a great admirer and patron of Buddhism and compelled many to give up Taoism and to embrace Buddhism. The rich laymen, officials and intellectuals were impressed by the *Vimalakīrtisūtra*, in which Vimalakīrti is depicted as a rich lay-Bodhisattva, enjoying worldly pleasures, but at the same time, earning merits by charity and other virtuous deeds. They held the life of Vimalakīrti as their ideal and espoused the cause of Buddhism, to the detriment of Taoism. In the less cultured areas Buddhism established itself by counter-acting the Shamanistic beliefs. In North China, it converted the alien rulers by the show of miraculous powers. For political reasons also it was backed by the alien rulers in preference to Confucianism, besides its universal ethical teachings created a good impression on their minds. From the middle of the 4th century, the religion obtained support of the rulers, who gave lavish gifts to the clergy and erected temples and monasteries.

The fourth lecture is devoted to the period 589-900 A. D. when Buddhism reached the acme of its glory in China. The Sui dynasty came into power in 589 A. D. At this time Taoism and partially Confucianism were revived in the north but Buddhism retained its hold on the peasantry and the élite both in the north and the south. The Sui and Tang rulers patronised the religion by lavish gifts in the shape of temples and monasteries with rich endowments and believed that this religion would ensure "peace, unity and social stability." They maintained a control over the clergy, made the monks observant of the Vinaya rules, and kept a vigilant eye on the sectarian developments.

In the first two hundred years of the Tang dynasty, Buddhist rituals formed an indispensable part of state observances and became a vital part of Chinese life, moulding the art and culture of Ch'ang an. Buddhism even changed the Confucian dislike of military life and held out a new ideal of sacrifice and a better after-life to the army. The Bodhisattva ideal attracted gifts from the laity and led to the multiplication of charitable institutions. This period witnessed also a deeper knowledge of the Buddhist literature and appearance of a large number of its translators and exegetists. Of the many sects, the Ch'an (*Dhyāna*) became very popular for its teaching that "Buddha-nature is immanent in all beings, and that its discovery through meditation and introspection brings release from illusion." This teaching had some affinity with the philosophy of Taoism and appealed strongly to the Chinese artists and writers. Tien-tai and a few other sects also attained popularity during the Tang period and the worship of Bodhisattvas, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, became widespread. By the 8th century Buddhism became the main religion of China. Its decline started in the late 9th century when the Tang empire was wrecked by internal rebellions and threats from Central Asian hordes. The people began to decry Buddhism and treated the lavish expenditure of the State for the religion as wasteful. Between 842 and 845 the religion was not only suppressed but also its temples and monasteries were destroyed. In the wake of its decline revived the Confucian tradition.

In the fifth lecture which extends over 1000 years from 900 to 1900 A. D. the author points how the Buddhist ideology and phraseology were appropriated by the Neo-Confucians and the Taoists. He writes that with the decline of Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism was revived by the élite. The Confucian classics were re-edited and prescribed for examinations for recruitment of officials. This gave an impetus to the study of Confucianism as also to its popularity. There were a few emperors, who patronized Buddhism but could not resuscitate it. The Manchu dynasty supported Lamaism as a political measure. The Buddhist con-

ceptions of heaven and hell and the law of *karma* were utilised by the Confucian writers while the Buddhist divinities and religious cults were mingled up with Taoist and Folk pantheon and religion. Though Buddhism made a substantial contribution to the culture and religion of China, it lost its ground to Neo-Confucianism and this is apparent in the works of the 18th century writers.

In the sixth lecture on the "Legacy of Buddhism in China," the author sums up the contributions of Buddhism to China on these lines: words of Buddhist origin; theory of *karma*; notions of heaven and hell; divinities; decorative motif in art and architecture; and literary and musical genres and conventions. Some of the Chinese writers think that Buddhism deflected "the humane, rational and proto-scientific culture of China."

"Buddhism was used by the Chinese governments as an instrument of foreign policy from the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties, through the use Lamaism by the Manchu dynasty, down to Mao Tse tsung's tactical use of Buddhism in his relations with the rest of Asia. But there was also a section of the Chinese, who sincerely regarded Buddhism as a supra-national faith that might unite peoples of Eastern Asia" (p. 119).

The author's object is not to trace the history of Buddhism in China and so he does not give an account of Buddhism in its declining period from the 9th century upto the present day. The author has amply fulfilled his task to show how and when Buddhism became an integral part of the Chinese life in cities, towns and villages and what traces it left in Chinese cultural and religious life after its decline in China. The work though small in extent contains a deep and valuable study, an idea of which has been given in this review. We commend this book to the students of Chinese Buddhism for serious study. It is indeed a masterly contribution to our knowledge of Buddhism in China.

INDIA AS KNOWN TO PĀṆINI: [A study of the cultural material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī]. By V. S. Agrawal, M. A., Ph. D., D.Litt. University of Lucknow.

We have, in this work, the results of an intensive study of the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini. The learned author has put in a great amount of labour and energy to glean scattered pieces of information bearing on different aspects of Indian culture and to arrange them in a systematic manner in separate chapters. He presents us with an excellent account of Indian culture of the time of Pāṇini.

The work opens with a description of the life and work of Pāṇini and proceeds to describe in different chapters, each sub-divided into several sections, the geographical data, social life, economic condition, education, learning and literature, religion, polity and administration as revealed in the sūtras of Pāṇini. It concludes with a chapter on chronological consideration of the references made by Pāṇini to different aspects of life and culture. As a result of this consideration the learned author is inclined to assign to Pāṇini a date about the middle of the 5th century B. C. Evidently the author had to depend largely on the commentators, especially the earlier ones, as without their help very little can be made out from the rather too cryptic aphorisms of Pāṇini. He has also occasionally sought corroboration from different old works, particularly, the Jātakas of the Buddhists. The interpretations suggested or the conclusions arrived at by the author, however, do not always appear to be quite convincing, e.g., does the term *pāṇigrhītā* refer to 'a girl married without proper ritual' (p. 85) or simply to one who has been taken by the hand? What is the evidence to show that women 'took part in cultural sports of the time' (p. 89)? A number of printing mistakes and some departure from the current system of transliteration are noticed. In spite of these defects the work will be read with interest and profit by all without being scared away by the dry rules of grammar. In fact the main interest of the average reader, if not of the scholar, lies in these days in the picture of the life and culture of ancient days that may

be drawn from different branches of Sanskrit literature. An analysis of different Sanskrit texts in this line will go a great way in making the texts attractive to all. It is gratifying to note that scholars have directed their attention to this aspect and a number of works have been published in recent years embodying the results of studies of several texts on these lines. Besides the work under review, reference may be made in this connection to the following: *Gleanings on Social Life from the Avadānas* by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri (Calcutta, 1945); *Harṣacarita—ek sāmṣkṛtika adhyayana* (Hindi) by V. S. Agrawal (Patna, 1953); *India in the time of Patañjali* by B. N. Puri (Bombay, 1957).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras,

vol. XV, part I (1958-'59)

- V. RAGHAVAN—*The Yuktidīpikā or the Sāṅkhyakārikā*: This paper presents the third instalment of corrections and emendations of the published texts.
- The Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnākara of Sāgaranandin*: This also is the third instalment of corrections and emendations to the published texts.
- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Durgāprasādayati alias Nārāyaṇapriyayati*: This is an attempt to identify Durgāprasādayati, who completed the Prakrit poem, *Srīcinakāvya*, and wrote a commentary called *Bhaktivilāsa* on it, with Nārāyaṇapriyayati, author of the "Sneha" commentary.
- S. SUBRAMANIA SASTRY—*Some Doctrinal Differences between the Bhaṭṭa and the Prābhākara Schools of Mīmāṃsā and their Sources*.
- S. SHANKAR RAJU NAIDU—*Vali Episode—A Comparative Study with Special Reference to Kambar & Tulasidās*. The descriptions of the well-known fight between Rāma and Vālin as found in the Kamba Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* in Hindi have been discussed and compared in the paper.

Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan,

no. 5, (August 1958)

- J. T. PARIKH—*Vidūṣaka's Humour in the Sanskrit Drama*.
- B. H. KAPADIA—*Soma in the Legends*. Various legends connected with the sacred drink Soma are discussed.
- A. D. SHASTRI—*Gauḍapādakārikā IV. 1—An Interpretation*. The Kārikā is interpreted as teaching that *jñāna* or knowledge is similar to *ākāśa* or space, and is non-different from *jñeya* or that which is to be known i.e. Brahman. Gauḍapāda's theory is held to be different from both the *Vijñānavāda* and

the Śūnyavāda of the Buddhists. The word *sambuddha* and the phrase *dvipadāṃvaram* occurring in the Kārikā may not refer to the Buddha. They simply point to him as the best of men, who has attained the state of perfection.

R. N. MEHTA—*Vastan Dungri—An Archaeological Site*: Fluted cores of banded chalcedony, pots and potsherds have been recovered from a field of Vastan Dungri—a village in the Mangrol taluka, Surat dist. The other finds include the red polished wares, assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era. The presence of a large number of slags (which might be the waste product of the iron-smelting industry) suggests the possibility of the existence of that industry.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,

vol. XXIV (1956-58)

A. VAIDEHI—*Temples in Mediaeval Andhra*. Numerous temples dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha and several other gods constructed in different parts of Andhra during the 11th and 12th centuries have been briefly described in the paper. The construction of such a large number of temples in the country in this period was caused by the Cola influence brought over the Eastern Cālukyas chiefly through matrimonial relations.

V. YASODADEVO—*The History of Āndhra Country (1000 to 1500 A. D.): Subsidiary Dynasties*. This instalment of the History of Andhra deals with the Telugu Colas of Nellore, giving names of the rulers and describing their political activities and system of administration.

M. RAMA RAO—*The Bhīmeśvara Temple of Drākṣārāma*. The celebrated Bhīmeśvara temple of Drākṣārāma situated in Ramachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari district in Andhra was built in the closing period of the 9th century by Cālukya Bhīma of the Eastern Cālukyan dynasty. The structural items of the temple and the sculptural niceties of its icons have been described in the paper. Legends and

traditions associated with the shrine have also been narrated in detail.

B. S. L. HANUMANTHA RAO—*Rise of Buddhism in Andhradeśa.*

The causes for the triumph of Buddhism in Andhra, the date of its propagation in the country and Aśoka's part in its spread have been discussed in the paper. Buddhism in Andhra is stated to have flourished under the patronage of the queens, merchants and artisans.

B. V. SRINIVASA—*On the Later Rulers of the Sangama Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire (1419 to 1486 A.D.).* The kings ruling over the Vijayanagara empire for nearly 68 years in the 15th century, such as Deva Rāya II, Mallikarjuna and Virupākṣa III, were all Vīraśaiva in religion.

Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute,

vol. XVI, Parts 1-2 (Nov. '58-Feb. '59)

BHABATOSH BHATTACARYA—*A Peculiar Gift recorded in the Matsya Purāṇa and Dānasāgara.*

P. S. SASTRI—*Nature of Meaning:* The author in this paper critically examines the nature of meaning taking into consideration the views on this point of Dignāga, Śāntarakṣit, Sāṅkhya, Śabara, Śaṅkara, Mīmāṃsakas as well as of some Europeans scholars.

SADASHIV A. DANGE—*Sarvilāka—not a resident of Ujjaini.*

SURESH CH. BANERJEE—*Aspects of ancient Indian society as revealed in the Dharma Sūtras:* The author deals with the following aspects of Indian society reflected in the major Dharmasūtra treatises : (1) varṇāśrama-dharma, (2) administration of secular law and royal duties, (3) manners, morals and customs, (4) superstitions, (5) apaddharma.

ALAKH NIRANJAN PANDE—*Role of the Vedic gods in the Gṛhya Sūtras.*

DEV RAJ CHANNA—*Kauṭalya and his Arthśāstra.*

S. K. GUPTA—*Ancient Schools of Vedic Interpretation:* The name of several Schools such as Aitihāsika, Naidānā,

Yājñika etc. have been mentioned and interpretation of some words by those schools has been given.

M. D. PARADKAR—*Similes in Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Kathopanīṣad.*

BHABESH CH. CHAUDHURY—"Religion" and "Science" in *Vedāntic Ensemble.*

MAYA PRASAD TRIPATHI—*Science of Geography in the Ṛgveda*: This paper covers the geographical, as well as ethnological, and anthropological data as found in the Ṛgveda. Incidentally, the writer points out the mention of two countries—Rūma and Rūśam. He thinks that Rūma might be identified with the Mediterranean region. The later Brahmapurāṇa names a country of the "Rūśas." These two Rūśas might be identified with Russia.

H. L. SHARMA—*The Critical and Comparative Study of Indian Aesthetics.*

Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda,

vol. VIII, No. 1 (Sept. '58)

VASUDEV SARAN AGRAWAL—*Vedic Studies—'KA' Prajāpati.*
—He is called Saṃpraśna Prajāpati—The great question. He is the endless sign of Interrogation. The eternal substratum, substance and principle of creation is ultimately Brahman. He becomes Prajāpati for the purpose of creation. The substratum of creative force is called Adhiṣṭhāna in the Veda (same as Ālambana), the material cause is called Ārambhaṇa (same as Upādāna). The efficient cause is known as Grabhaṇa.

A. N. UPADHYE—*Anuppehā in the Ardhamaṅgadhī Canon*: In this paper the author has discussed the topic of Anuppehā (Anuvekkhā Skt. Anuprekṣā) which plays a significant part in the scheme of the Jaina dogmatics. The anuprekṣās are twelve reflections (anitya, anuprekṣā etc.) on the fundamental facts of life, and remind the devotee of the teachings of the master on the subject of rebirth, karma

and its destruction, equanimity and self-control, the glory of the law and the goal.

SURESH CH. BANERJEE—*Reconstruction of Dharmasāstras*—It is a catalogue of numerous citations of prose passages from Hārīta, found in the smṛiti digests and commentaries.

S. G. KANTAWALA—*The Brahmā-Sarasvatī Episode in the Matsya Purāṇa*.

UMAKANT P. SHAH—*Vṛṣākapi in the Ṛgveda*: The author opines that Vṛṣākapi (Ṛgveda X. 86) is a boar, rather a one-horned rhinoceros, but not a male monkey, as some scholars think. He also assumes that there was a powerful anti-Indra, non-Vedic and non-Aryan Vṛṣākapi-cult which was assimilated into the Aryan or Vedic fold at a very early period. In this connection, the writer draws attention to the seal from the Indus Valley with representation of the rhinoceros on it.

R. N. MEHTA—*An Early Mediaeval Sculpture from Kashipura Sarar, Dist. Boroda*: In this paper a critical description of a piece of sculpture, found in two main groups in the village of Sarar, has been given. The first group includes mutilated sand stone figures, ascribed by the author to the mediaeval period. The other group consists of the images of Brahmā, Śiva (four-armed)-Pārvati and Mahiṣāsūramardini Durgā.

R. C. AGRAWALA—*An Unpublished Inscription of Mahārāṇa Kumbha from Chittor, Rajasthan*.

Z. A. DESAI—*The Story of Nala-Damayantī as told by Faiḍī and its comparison with the original Sanskrit version*.

The Journal of the Visvabharati Study Circle,
vol. I, no. I (1959)

SATYENDRA NATH GHOSAL—*Muslim contributions to Mediaeval Bengali Literature 1622-1672*: The contributions of two Muslim court-poets of Arakan king, Daulat Kazi and Alaol, are treated here. They went off the beaten track of interweaving romance and religion, and wrote secular romantic stories imported from older Hindi and Persian works.

N. B. ROY—*A Note on the Charak Puja in Bengal on the basis of original sources*: The author traces the origin and history of Caḍaka Pūja. A description of the Caḍaka festival and worship of Dharmathākur in Bengal in the 19th century A.D. has been given by utilising the *Dharmamaṅgal* of Rūparāma Cakravartī to show self-mortification performed by the devotees in the Caḍaka Pūja to propitiate Dharmathākur. Two documents on the Caḍakapūja from the West Bengal Govt. archives have been produced.

S. BHATTACARYA—*A Note on Humour in Sanskrit literature*.

SUKHAMAYA BHATTACARYA—“*Tantra Śāstrer Tatva vā Padārtha Nirūpaṇa*” (In Bengali): According to the writer, there are two sections of the Tantra—Karmakāṇḍa and Jñānakāṇḍa. The ultimate goal of man is to attain Paramaśiva. There are six upāyas (Ṣaḍadhivā) of Tantra. Tattvas are thirty-six in number. There is nothing in this world beyond these Tattvas. The whole universe is Śiva’s Śakti. Śakti is Śiva’s samvit and is manifest in three rūpas—Jnāna, Icchā and Kriyā. Śakti permeates all things. Māyā of the Vedānta and Śakti of Tantra are not same. Māyā is Jaḍa but Śakti (also called Mahāmāyā) is all-enlightenment.

The Orissa Historical Research Journal,
vol. VI, pts. II & III (July & Oct. 1957)

SATYANARAYAN RAJGURU—*Pandiapathar Copperplate Inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmasena of Nala Dynasty (with plates)*. The epigraph records a grant made on Saṃvat (Bhauma) 189, Māgha dvitīyā i.e. 4th January, 926. A.D.

L. P. Pandey—*Topographical Position of Mahākośala and Trikaṅga from Inscriptions*—Names of districts and villages occurring in the epigraphs of the time of Somavaṃśī rulers are the subject-matter of this note.

SARATCHANDRA BEHARA—*Two Sets of Copperplate Grants from Baraṅga*. One set depicts the grant of Umāvarman issued in Saṃvat 6. Adhivarmā, mentioned in the 3rd plate of this set, has been identified with this Umāvarman who

is known to have belonged to the Māṭhara family of Kalinga. The view that Umāvarman of Sekkali, Dhavalapeta and Vṛhatproṣṭa plates is identical with this Umāvarman, has been supported by the author. The other set is a grant of Nandaprabhanjanavarman in Saṃvat 15.

S. N. RAJGURU AND S. S. DAS—*Candrakalā Nāṭikā of Viśvanātha Kavirāja*: This drama of Viśvanātha Kavirāja, the well-known author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, has been edited for the first time here with an elaborate Introduction dealing with the date of the dramatist, and literary merits of the drama.

The Vaitānasūtra*

XIX

1. Of the (sacrificial) cakes of the pressings he (the Brahman) dedicates those to Indra, which are reserved for him (with the utterance of the suitable stanza.)¹

2. In the sacrificial offerings of the Soma-drink to two gods while he (the Brahman) offers gifts to Indra-Vāyu, he recites the two stanzas: “Vāyu of the atmosphere” (v.24.3) and “Indra and Vāyu” (III.20.6).

3. During the offering of the drink, consecrated to Mitrā-varuṇa he recites the stanza: “Mitra and Varuṇa of the rains” (V.24.5).

4. During the offering of the drink, consecrated to the Aśvins he recites the half-verse: “Oh Aśvins, with the devotion” (V.26.12 onwards).

5. Intending to proceed with the Prasthitahoma (i.e. being ready with the offering of the Soma-drink) the Adhvaryu issues the command: “Oh Hotṛ, utter the aphorisms of sacrifice, oh praśāstr!” — “Brāhmaṇāccharṇsin (utter the aphorism of sacrifice) oh Praśāstr” — “Potṛ, (utter the aphorism of sacrifice) oh Praśāstr” — “Neṣṭṛ, (utter the aphorism of sacrifice) oh Praśāstr”, — “Āgnīdh (utter the aphorism of sacrifice) oh Praśāstr.”

6. So the Brāhmaṇāccharṇsin utters the aphorisms of sacrifice: “Oh Indra! to you, the bull, we” (XX.1.1). The Potṛ and the Āgnīdhra utter the two following (XX.1.2-3).

7. The final syllables of the sacrificial aphorisms are to be lengthened by three moras.

*Continued from *I.H.Q.*, vol. 34, Nos. 3 & 4, Sept. and Dec., 1958, Supplement, page 53.

¹ Caland suggests that the text should be *savaniya-puroḍāśān* instead of *savaniya-puroḍāśānām*, since all these *puroḍāśās* are dedicated to Indra.

8. Of (the words) *ye yajāmabe* and (the term) *Vauṣaṭ*, (of which the first-mentioned comes) at the beginning (of aphorisms) and (the last-mentioned) at the close, the initial syllable gets three moras (thus *ye* 3 and *vau* 3). The aphorisms with *ye yajāmabe* and *Vauṣaṭ* are to be pronounced without a pause.

9. In the morning pressing he (the priest concerned, who has uttered the sacrificial aphorisms) after having pronounced the word *Vauṣaṭ* recites the formula: "May speech, strength, power and vigour be in me, so also exhalation and inhalation".

10. With the formula: "Oh Agni, take possession of the Soma", of which the last syllable contains three mātrās (*vīhī* 3), they make the after-*vaṣaṭ*-call (*anuvaṣaṭkāra*).

11. He (the Brahman) performs the distribution of the Soma-gifts, due to Indra, from the *Sukra* (*pātra*), from the *Manthi* (*pātra*) and from the *Camasa* (i.e. a vessel exclusively used for drinking Soma) with the recital of the stanza: "Indra of the heaven" (V.24.11).

12. He performs the distribution of the Soma-offering (due to *Svaṣṭikṛt* Agni) of the after-*vaṣaṭ*-call (of the different priests) with the utterance of the stanza: "Upon the gods" (XIX.59.3). He performs the distribution of the subsequent offering, due to *Mitra-varuṇa*, *Indra*, *Maruts*, *Tvaṣṭṛ* and *Agni* with aphorisms.

13. After the sacrifice is completed by *Anīdh* (i.e. when the *Āgnīdhra* has uttered the aphorisms at the *Prasthita-homa*) the *Adhvaryu* enquires: "Has the *Agnīdh* completed the sacrifice?" The *Agnīdh* replies: "He has completed the sacrifice".²

14. The eating of the *Idā* (of the *Savanīya-puroḍāśa*) takes place, as indicated before.

15,16. In the *Sadas* the invited take the rest of the Soma after they have cast a look to it with the same formula (as applied during the eating of the *Prāśitra*) and have received the Soma with the same formula (as is applied in the case of *Prāśitra*.)

² Instead of the word *Āgnīdhra* the expression *Agnīdh* has been used in the style of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

(The drinking of Soma takes place) with the utterance of the formula: "Being invited I drink you, to whom sacrifice has been offered in the fire, who are drunk by Indra, who are Soma (the moon), the powerful intoxicant, the drinking of whom ensures the winning of cows, horses, treasure, posterity and freedom and who are yourself invited with the Gāyatrī metre and with the vigour and the glory of a brāhmaṇa."³

17. In the noon-pressing with the Triṣṭubh-metre; in the third pressing with the Jagatī-metre; in the Paryāyas (of the Atirātra) with the Anuṣṭubh metre; in the Sandhi-stotra with the Pañkti-metre; in the Aptoryāman with the Aticchandas.

18. When the Soma is drunk they touch themselves with the stanza: "Oh drop, may you be drunk and be salutary to our stomach; Oh Soma, be highly gracious (to us) like the father to the son; Oh Soma! highly extolled and steadfast (in love) as a friend to a friend, may you extend (the span of our) life, (so that) we can live long. Delight my limbs, Indra, may there be no injury to my troops. Being propitious to me, may you approach the seven Ṛṣis; do not go down farther from me, farther from the navel."⁴

19. They make the Soma-vessel full (to the brim) with the two stanzas: "Swell", "Together with your juice" (Kauś. sūtra. 68.10).

20. Here a śloka appears:

In a sacrifice the wise make the Camasas full (to the brim) for five times; so also in the Ājya, in the Marutvatiya and in all

3 Caland suggests that *pratikṣya pratigrhya* of the sūtra 16 should be taken along with the sūtra 15. So he has translated the passage according to this construction, which we too have followed. But if we translate the text, as it appears, we should suggest the following: "In the Sadas the invited take the (rest of) Soma as in *prāśitra*; after having cast a look to it and received it they say "Invited by you, to whom sacrifice has been offered in the fire.....etc." Again Caland suggests that for the expression *Indrapitḥasya* one should read the word *Indra-pitasya*.

4 Caland reads the second half of the line as: *mā me'vāg nāvīm*, while the reading of Garbe is *māmevā glābbhirabhiḡā iti*.

the Prasthitas (i.e. in all the sacrifices, where they i.e. the Camasas are kept ready for use.)⁵

21. The Brahman dedicates the gift of Soma, meant for Indra-Agni, from the Somavessel of the Acchāvāka with the utterance of an aphorism.

22. If they take (the rest of the sacrificial cakes) (they do it) in the Āgnīdhriya (-cottage).

23. Taking their seats in the Sadas they utter the sacrificial aphorisms to the Ṛtu (yājas) each according to the Praiṣa of the Maitrāvaruṇa); and indeed with the formulas of which the first begins:) “The Maruts, by virtue of their position as Potrṣ” (XX.2.1).⁶

XX

1. The Potrṣ (performs) the first and the last (Ṛtuyājas) (XX.2.1 4); the Āgnīdhra the second (XX.2.2); the Brāhmaṇ-ācchamsin the third (XX.2.3).

2. The sacrificer (himself does not pronounce aphorisms to the Ṛtu yājas but) passes on the Praiṣa and asks: “Hotṣ, pronounce here the aphorisms”.

5 Caland suggests that the second half of the second line is to be read as *prasthitāmścāpi sarvaśa iti*. The text of Garbe reads as: *prasthitaścāpi sarvaśa iti*.]

6 Caland takes *Marutaḥ potṛāditi* of the sutra 23 as a portion of the following sūtra, which appears in the next section. He translates the latter as: “(und zwar von den Formeln deren erste anfängt): ‘die Maruts, kraft der Potrṣ-schaft’ (XX 2. 1) der Potrṣ die erste und letzte (XX. 2. 1, 4) der Āgnīdhra die zweite, der Brāhmaṇācchamsin die dritte (XX. 2. 3).” Trans: “(Indeed by the formulas, of which the first begins): ‘The Maruts, by virtue of their position of Potrṣ’ the Potrṣ performs the first and the last, the Āgnīdhra the second and the Brāhmaṇācchamsin the third” (XX. 2. 3). In translating *marutaḥ potṛāditi* we have followed the interpretation suggested by Caland. The meaning is not clear to us. Potra is the Soma vessel of Potrṣ. So the proper translation seems to be: “Oh Maruts, from the vessel of Potrṣ,” We must admit that we are not sure of this translation.

3. They totally avoid the second Vasaṭ-call (after every sacrifice to the Ṛtugrahas and then the gift of Soma, meant for Sviṣṭakṛt Agni).

4. Here a śloka appears :

The spoonfuls, which are meant for two gods, for the Ṛtuyājas (ceremonies), for the Patnīvant (Agni), for the Ādityas and for Savitr, are not followed by the pronunciation of the second Vasaṭ-call.⁷

5. The Brahman performs the offering of the Ṛtu (spoonfuls) to Indra, Maruts, Tvaṣṭṛ, Agni, Mitra-varuṇa, to four Dravinodās, to the Aśvins and to Agni Gṛhapati with suitable stanzas or the Vyāhṛtis.

6. They take the residue of the Soma from the vessel of the Ṛtu or besmear the face with it or smell the same with the utterance of the formula: "Who are you? You are fame, you are the giver of fame, bestow fame upon me".⁸

7. After they have received the Nārāśaṁsa-vessel silently (without the utterance of aphorisms) they take Soma from that very same with the formula: "Oh god Soma, being invited I drink you, who are drunk from the Nārāśaṁsa, who are extolled by the people, who perceive the devotion (of us), who are drunk by the parents and are yourself invited (such in the early pressing).

8. With the same formula, which contains the expressions "by the parents of Ūrva" instead of "by the parents of Umā" during the noon-pressing and "by the parents of Kāvya" during the third.

9. With the five sūtras, of which the first begins: "We indeed call back the mind" (Kauś. sūtra 89.1) they recall the mind.

7 Caland suggests that the second half of the second line is to be read as *ādityagrahasāvitrau tān sma mā'nuvaṣaṭ kṛtbā iti*. But the text of Garbe reads as *ādityagrahāsāvitṛavete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtā iti*.

8 Caland suggests that one should read *ṛtupātram* instead of *ṛtupātre*. Here locative is unsuitable, again the word *ṛtupātre* may not be considered as a form of the dual. But Keith is in favour of considering the word *ṛtupātre* as in the locative, vide *JRAS*, 1910, p 938.

10. For five times they take Soma from the Nārāsaṁsa vessels (i.e. the Soma is taken for five times with the utterance of this formula).

11. There occurs a śloka, (which supports it):

For five times he should take the Soma from the Nārāsaṁsa vessels, which occur before the Āgnimarūta (-śastra) among the first śastras of the Hotṛ.

12. After the Ājya-śastra the Brahman makes an offering of the Aindrāgna-spoonfuls with a suitable stanza.

13. He (the Brahman) issues a command to the Hotṛ to perform the Praūga-stotra (with the formula):

“You are progress, I resign you to morality, may you promote morality” (further as in Vait. 17.4); to the Maitrāvaruṇa (he issues the command to celebrate his śastra) with the formula: “You are retrograde step, I resign you to the heaven, may you promote the heaven etc;” to the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin with the formula: “You are the connection, I resign you to the atmosphere, may you promote the atmosphere etc”; to the Acchāvāka with the formula: “You are repeated application, I resign you to the earth, may you promote the earth etc”.

14. After the Praūgaśāstra of the Hotṛ the Brahman performs the offering of the spoonful, dedicated to the All-gods, with the utterance of an appropriate verse; after the śastra of the Maitrāvaruṇa the offering of the spoonful, dedicated to Mitra-varuṇa; after the śastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin the offering of the spoonful, dedicated to Indra, after the śastra of the Acchāvāka the offering of the spoonful, dedicated to Indra Agni.

15. After the last Pratīhāra the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin pronounces the sound *hiṁ* for three times and calls the Adhvaryu (by the expression): “śaṁsāvoh.”

16-17. He utters the sound *hiṁ* before the Anurūpa (*trca*), the main body of the Uktha, the concluding stanza and also before the Pragātha in the noon-savana. Before the *yoni* some utter the sound *hiṁ*.⁹

⁹ Caland wants to introduce some modifications here. According to him the word *mādhyandine* should go with the sūtra 16 and not with the

18. During the mid-day savana to the Stotriya (-trca) he adds: “*Adhvaryo saṁsāvom*” as the *Himkāra* i.e. Āhāva; but in the third savana: “*Adhvaryo śaṁsaṁsāvom.*”

19. At each invocation (i. e. at every time when the reciter, the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin, in case, has pronounced “*śaṁsāvom*” etc) the Adhvaryu gives his response by the expressions: “*śaṁsāvo daivo.*”

20. At the pause: “*Othāmo daiva,*” in the Praṇava: “*Othāmātho daiva,*” at the end of the Sastra: (simple) “*Om.*”¹⁰

21. (As response) to the Ukthasampads the Adhvaryu replies: “*Om ukthaśā* (in the morning savana), “*Ukthaśā yaja*” (in the midday savana) and “*Ukthaśāh*” (in the third savana). To the Sāman he immediately tags the śastra by way of a half-verse with the weak intonation in the morning savana, with the stronger in the mid-day savana but with the strongest in the third savana. With the higher and higher intonation he succeeds in reciting it till the completion of the performance.¹¹

XXI

1. The hymns: “Come here, we have pressed the Soma for you” (XX. 3) and “Come here to us, who have pressed the Soma” (XX. 4) are the Stotriya – and the Anurūpa (-trcas) for the Ājya-śastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin.

2. The hymns: “This to you, oh active” (XX. 5-6) are the main body of the Uktha. The stanzas: “Here to those, rich in gifts” (XX. 7. 1-2) are the final part; the last (stanza, thus XX. 7.3) is the concluding verse.¹²

sūtra 17, because, there is no Pragātha in the morning savana. Further, he reads the word *yonaya* instead of *ayonaya*, which occurs in the text of Garbe. So the translation appears as: “before the yoni.”

10 Caland reads the expressions *othā modaiva* for *othāmo daiva* and takes the word *ukthasampatsu* as a part of the following sūtra and not of the sūtra 20.

11 Caland suggests the reading *om ukthaśā ukthaśā yajokthaśā iti* for *om ukthaśā yajokthaśā iti*, which occurs in the text of Garbe.

12 Caland adds that *uttamā* is not, in fact, the last but the one before the last. *Parā* indicates the last.

3. He recites the beginning and the concluding stanzas for three times.

4. In the recitation by half-verse (i. e. when after every half-verse a pause is made) he joins the end of the stanza (with the beginning of the following stanza) through the Praṇava, in which he suppresses the final syllable beginning from the vowel; but in the recitation by the quarter-verse (i. e. when he makes a pause after the quarter-verse) he connects the end of the half-verse (through the Praṇava with the beginning of the following quarter-verse); to the end of the śāstra he adds only the sound m (i. e. om̐).

5. After the recital of the śāstra, he (the Brāhmaṇacchamsin says (in the Prātaḥsavana): “The Uktha is recited to Indra” and in the Tṛtīyasavana: “The Uktha is recited to Indra and the gods.”¹³

6. After the Ukthasampad there appears the sacrificial text, which (in the Samhitā, Book 22) is a verse that comes immediately after the concluding stanza, (in this particular case XX. 7.4)

7. After (the remnant of the Soma) has been drunk (from the vessel) of the Acchāvāka he (the Brahman) dedicates, according to the savana, three offerings of fat (with these stanzas) into the Āhavanīya: “Agni in the morning pressing” (VI. 97.1), “You are a hawk” (VI. 48. 1), “As the Soma in the morning pressing” (IX. 1. 11).

8. Then he dedicates the final offerings.

9. After the conclusion of each of the savanas he (the Brahman) asks the Adhvaryu to pronounce: “May there be splendour within me, power within me, fame within me, nay all within me”.

10. After being invited (by the Adhvaryu and the Maitrāvaruṇa) to perform the task for the noon-pressing they advance forward beyond the fig-wood posts through the back door (of

¹³ Caland suggests the reading *śastvoktham* for *śastroktam* of the text of Garbe.

the *sadas*) and reach the *Āgnīdhriya* (pavilion) but the sacrificer through the front door.¹⁴

11. The Brahman offers his preliminary gifts.

12. The pressing and the following performances have been treated (and are to be repeated at this moment).

13. For mid-day praise they enter into the *Sadas* (after the ritual, which is described in the *sūtras* 18. 7-16).

14. When the Brahman is invited to it in the manner, described in the *Vait.* 17. 3) he issues his command with the words: "You are the support, I resign you to rain; may you promote rain (etc. as above at 17. 4).

15. While imparting the fire to the *Dhiṣṇya*, if the possessor of the *Dhiṣṇya* be outside his *Sadas* (and if he goes again to his *Dhiṣṇya*, then as an atonement) he is to mutter: "Round about you, Oh Agni" (VII. 71).

16. The Brahman too does the same.

17. If the consecrated be outside the *Mahāvedi* during an invocation, the setting of the Sun or its rise, (as atonement he is to mutter): "Oh fires, you ask me to approach to you."¹⁵

18. He performs the sacrifice of *Dadhigharṇa* with the stanza: "Cooked, I think" (VII. 72. 3).

19. The eating of the remnant of the same takes place similarly as in *Pravargya*.

20. The eating of the rest of the *Paśupuroḍāśa* occurs with the recitation of the *Rasa Prāśana* (stanza i.e. V. 2. 3).

21. The stanzas, of which the first begins: "So drink now" (XX. 8.1) are the sacrificial texts for the offering of the *Soma* from the *Prasthita* vessel.¹⁶

14 Caland suggests that either *ā āgnīdhriyāt* is to be read or the text is to be emended as *āgnīdhriyam*. The word *āgnīdhriyāt* occurs in the line of the text of Garbe which reads *niṣkramyāgnīdhriyāt sarpanti*.

15 Caland suggests that the word *abhyāśrāvāṇa* means the same as *āśrāvāṇa*; at least *Āpastamba* has used *abhyāśrāvayet* in the sense of *āśrāvayet* in XII 20. 22.

16 Caland suggests that the word *prasthita-yājyāyāḥ* should be introduced as an emendation in the place of the expression *prasthita-yājyā*, which occurs in the text of Garbe.

22. The Brahman distributes the Prasthita-gifts with the recitation of suitable aphorisms.

23. He performs the sacrifice of two Dakṣiṇā-gifts into the Gārhapatya fire with the utterance of two stanzas: "Raise this" (XIII, 2. 16), "Splendour of the gods" (XIII. 2.35).

24. Holding gold in the hand the sacrificer rises and waits for the cows, which are fixed as sacrificial fees, which stand outside the Mahāvedi and come thither, with the stanza: "Come hither the cows" (IV. 2.1).

25. The sacrificer gives the gold to an Ātreya, but a cushion to the Āgnīdhra.

26. Over the Dakṣiṇās (i.e. the cows) which are allowed to move in front of the Gārhapatya (i. e. the Śālādvārya), but behind the Sadas, but between the Āgnīdhriya (pavilion), the Sadas and the Cātvala in the northern direction, he (the Brahman) pronounces the two stanzas: "May you invite yourselves together" (III. 14. 2-3).

XXII

1. (The stanza :) "Upon which the former creators of beings" (XX. 1. 39) is also to be pronounced according to Bhāgali, "Here may you be" (III. 8. 4) according to Kauśika.

2. Last of all the sacrificial fee is to be given to the Pratihotṛ.

3. The Brahman dedicates the offering of the Soma spoonful, reserved for Indra together with the Maruts with the utterance of the aphorisms: "May Indra come to me along with the Maruts (XVIII. 3. 25).¹⁷

4. After the sacrificial aphorism, which concludes the Marutvatīya śastra, he (the Brahman) issues an order to the Hotṛ and other sacrificial priests, who hold a śastra in the noon savana, with the formulas:

¹⁷ Caland translates the expressions "*Indro mā marutvān iti*" as: "Indra mit den Maruts." Trans: "Indra with the Maruts". Obviously he has omitted the word *mā* in his translation.

“You are the wind; I resign you to the day, may you promote the day” (etc. as in Vait. 17. 4), “You are the back wind, I resign you to the night, may you promote the night” (etc). You are Usij, I resign you to the Vasus, may you promote the Vasus (etc). “You are knowledge, I resign you to the Rudras, may you promote the Rudras” (etc).

5. The Brahman performs the sacrifice of the Soma-spoonful which is intended for Mahendra and which forms a part of the Niṣkevalya śāstra of the Hotṛ, with the recital of a suitable stanza.

6. Similar is the offering (of the Soma-spoonful of the Niṣkevalya śāstra) of the Maitrāvaruṇa and others (namely of the Brāhmaṇcchaṁsin and of the Acchāvāka), which is intended for Indra.

7. (The stanzas, which begin with): “You to him, who is wonderful and victorious” (XX. 9. 1) and “We go to you for this heroic power” are the Stotriya and Anurupa-pragāthas (for the Niṣkevalya śāstra of the Brāhmaṇcchaṁsin).

8. He arranges two (stanzas) as three by repetition (and indeed in the following manner); after he has recited (entirely) the first (pragātha stanza) he repeats the last pāda of this (first stanza), makes a pause (after the first pāda of the second pragātha-stanza) and places the second (ṛca-stanza) with the first half-verse of the following (pragātha-stanza). Of the second (ṛca-stanza) he repeats the last pāda and represents the third (ṛca-stanza) by recitation of the last half-verse of the second (pragātha-stanza).

9. In this way there happens the arrangement of Stotriya and Anurūpa (-ṛcas) in the Bārhata pragāthas.

10. The ṛcas are to be recited in the middle intonation (namely the Stotriya-ṛca) and in the loud intonation (namely the Anurūpa ṛca).

11. (The hymn beginning with): “Up indeed are those, rich in sweetness” (XX. 10) is the Soma pragātha, which is to be recited with the modulation of pitch (not monotonously in a single tone).

12. (The hymn beginning with):

“Indra, the destroyer of cities excelled” (XX.11) is the main body of the śāstra, which is to be recited pāda-wise in a low voice.¹⁸

13. (The hymn beginning with): “The glorious songs of devotion arose” (XX. 12. 1-5) is the concluding part of the śāstra.

14. With the stanza: “To Indra now” (XX. 12. 6) he concludes the śāstra and employs the following stanza (XX. 12.7) as the sacrificial aphorism.

15. After the remnant of the Soma has been drunk from the vessel of the Acchāvāka the Brahman performs the sacrifice of the spoonful, consecrated to Āditya with the two hymns: “Oh gods! what is an affront to the gods” (VI. 114 and 115). Then there occur certain performances, which end with the *Sarpaṇa* (i.e. an activity which occurs in the Sadas and which is done with the purpose of earning praise).

16. During the pouring of the Āśīr into the Pūtabhṛt the Brahman recites the stanza: “Our blessing is Āśīr, which is strength” (II. 29.3)

17. In the (Ārbhava) praise he gives the command with the words: You are Suditi, I resign you to the Ādityas, may you promote the Ādityas” (etc. as above at 17.4).

18. He performs the sacrifice of the chopped (fragments of the sacrificial beast—the Savanīya-paśu) consecrated to Agni with the utterance of suitable stanzas.

19. In the Ukthya (there occurs) the offering of the fragments of (the killed) sacrificial beasts, dedicated to Indra-Agni, in the Sodasin to Indra, in the Atirātra to Sarasvatī.

20 In a performance necessitating the sacrifice of eleven animals, the Brahman dedicates the offerings of dissected fragments with

¹⁸ Caland here suggests an emendation, He wants to put the word *pratiṣṭhitatamayā* in the place of *prativitatamayā*. Obviously he translates the expression in a quite different way, which occurs as: “mit ganz un-schwankender Weise.” Trans: “In a quite unfaltering voice.” He gets the suggestion from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, where the emended reading occurs.

aphorisms, which are addressed to Agni, Soma, Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī, Puṣan, Bṛhaspati, the All-gods. Indra, Indra-Agni, Savitṛ and Varuṇa.

21. After the dedication of the offering of the savana-cakes for the (distribution of the) Soma gifts from the vessels, which are kept ready, the sacrificial aphorisms are the stanzas, of which the first begins: "Indra and Bṛhaspati, drink the Soma" (XX. 13). The Brahman performs the distribution of the Prasthita-gifts by turns, which are intended for Indra, Mitra-varuṇa, Indra-Bṛhaspati, the Maruts, Traṣṭṛ, Indra-Viṣṇu and Agni with the utterance of suitable stanzas.¹⁹

22. In the Havirdhāna (shed) for the purpose of making their positions secure they (the Camasins) offer, each by his Camasa, in the south (of their seats) three clods of sacrificial cakes, which are prepared from the residues, with the three formulas: "Grand-father, this to you" (XVIII. 4. 75-77).²⁰

23. After he (the Brahman) has muttered: "Here, Oh fathers" (Kauś. sūtra. 88. 18) he pronounces (over the clods the three stanzas): "To this portion" (IV. 122. 1), "This, O you, standing together" (IV. 123.1), "The hawk, which watches over the people" (VII. 91.2).

(To be continued)

S. N. GHOSAL

19 Caland suggests that for *Maitrā-varuṇa* one should read *Āindrāvaruṇa*.

20 Caland suggests that the reading *aupāsanebhyah* should be preferred to *upāsanebhyah* of the text.

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Balijhari (Narasinghpur) Copper-plates of the
Somavaṁśī ruler Udyotakeśarin
Mahābhavagupta

Two documents, viz., the first plate of the charter from Ratnagiri¹, District Cuttack, and the complete set of copper-plates from Balijhari,² formerly in Narasinghpur State and now in District Cuttack, were till now known to us to give the genealogy of the later rulers of the main Somavaṁśī dynasty of Orissa. Recently I succeeded in discovering at Ratnagiri itself the second and third Ratnagiri plates, which, in addition to completing the set, carry the genealogy further down.

While editing these two plates for the *Epigraphia Indica*,³ I had the occasion of closely examining the published texts of the first Ratnagiri plate and the Balijhari plates and noticed that both of them were full of misreadings. I am, therefore, giving below a revised reading of the Balijhari plates from the published impressions, which, unfortunately are very indistinct and at places even illegible. It is likely that some inaccuracies in the reading given here may be detected when it is compared with the original

1 Edited by Narayana Tripathi in *Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, XVI (1930), pp. 206-10.

2 Edited by Binayak Misra in *ibid.*, XVII (1931), pp. 1-24. Balijhari (spelt Bālijhari in Survey of India Topographical Sheet 73^H; lat. 20° 25' ; long. 85° 14') lies off the northern bank of the Mahānadi, 11 miles to the east-south-east of Narasinghpur.

3 I am informed by the Government Epigraphist for India that the article is likely to be published in 1960.

plates if they are traced,⁴ but I hope they will not be many, as the Ratnagiri plates, the published impression of the first plate of which is excellent and the second and the third plates of which I examined in original, have, apart from their new genealogical portions, details of donation, etc., the same genealogical verses as the Balijhari ones. The present reading, therefore, corrects the published reading of the first Ratnagiri plate as well.

The Balijhari charter records the grant, by king U d y o t a k e ś a r i n M a h ā b h a v a g u p t a in his f o u r t h y e a r, of the village K o n t a l a ṇ ḍ ā in S a r ā v a - k h a ṇ ḍ a attached to A i r ā v a ṭ ṭ a - m a ṇ ḍ a l a in O ḍ r a - d e ś a to a Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭaputra Śaṅkara*, hailing from T i r a b h u k t i, and of the village L o v ā k a r a ḍ ā, in the same *khaṇḍa* and *maṇḍala*, to his brother B a l a b h a d r a. Nothing can be said about the identification of the village-names beyond what Shri Misra has already suggested. The name of the hill Sorap (lat. 20°18'; long. 85°26'), 16 miles south-east of Kanṭilo, is reminiscent of Sarāva. The same *maṇḍala* is mentioned in the Daspalla grant of king Devānanda II.⁵

The inscription consists of seventy-eight lines (the last line having only two letters) spread over three plates, of which the obverse of the first and the lower half of the reverse of the third are blank. The language is Sanskrit, and the genealogical portion, the imprecatory and benedictory portion and the descriptions of the officials towards the end are in verse. The writing is somewhat indifferent and the scribe's errors are numerous. The following typical orthographic examples may

4 I met Mr. Binayak Misra at Cuttack on the 8th February, 1959, and was informed by him that he had returned the plates to the Raja of Kanika. The latter, whom I met on 29th April 1959, informed me that the plates had been sent by him for cleaning but were never received back. He could not exactly remember the person to whom he had sent but would not wonder if that person was Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. It is learnt from the Curator, Patna Museum, through the Director General of Archaeology, which contains many plates from Orissa, that the plates are not in that museum.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 188.

be noted, apart from the common substitution of *v* for *b*; the use of the *anusvāra* for final *m* in *gr̥haṁ* (l. 2) and *visphutaṁ* (l. 9); the use of *ñ* for the *anusvāra* in *nistriṅśa* (l. 10) and *vañśa* (l. 10); the use of *n* for the *anusvāra* in *nistrinśa* (l. 17) and *ratn-ānsu* (l. 22); the use of *n* for *ṇ* in *śān-opalaḥ* (l. 3) and *punya* (l. 47); the confusion of the sibilants in *sāli* (l. 1), *pīyūsa* (l. 2), *aṣṭās* [*v**] = *eva* (l. 8), *kumbhinaśāḥ* (l. 20), *Kośala* (ll. 24 and 72) and *sarmmaṇe* (ll. 45 and 49); and the unnecessary insertion of *v* in *tāmura* (ll. 47 and 74).

The new Ratnagiri plates carry down the genealogy by the mention of three more rulers after *U d y o t a k e ś a r i n*, the donor of the Balijhari grant. They are *U d y o t a k e ś a r i n*'s son *J a n a m e j a y a* and the latter's two sons *P u r a ṅ j a y a* and *K a r ṇ a M a h a ś i v a g u p t a*, both of whom came to the throne. The verses relating to them occur immediately after verse 11 of that charter (as also of the present one) and run as follows:

Tanayas = tasya namasyan-narendra-maul-īndra-nīla-maṇi-madhupaiḥ [1*] *śṛṅgārīta-pada-padmah samajani Janamejayo nṛpatih*⁶ || [12 || *] *Kṛpāna-dhārā-dhara-dhauta-vau(ai)ri-bhūpāla-kāntā-ma(mṛ)ganābhi-paṅkah | vasundharā-bhāra-mahā-dhuri(rī)-ṇa-doh-kāṇḍa-nirbha[r*]tsita-Nāgarājah*⁷ || [13 || *] *Tatas = tanu-(nū)jo manuj-ottamo = bhavat Purañjayo vairi-purañ-jayo nṛpah* [1*] *namat-kṣit-īś-ārccita-pāda-paṅkah sphurat-Sunāsira-sam-āna-vikramah*⁸ || [14 || *] *Gauḍa-Dāhala-Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-jā bhū-bhujo bhujā-nīvārit-ārayah | te = pi ' yasya bhujā-sāra-śaṅkayā kampamānam = anīsam = mano dadbuh*⁹ || [15 || *] *Tasy = ānujo nija-bhuj-ārjjita-śaurya-sūrya-praudha-prabhā--samita-śatru-yaśah-śaśāṅkah | śrī-Karṇnadeva-nṛpatih kṣiti-pāla-mauli-saṁlīna-ratna-caya-cumvi(mbi)ta-pāda-pīṭhah*¹⁰ || [16 || *] *Tri-bhuvana-kuṭīra-*

6 Metre: *āryā*.

7 Metre: *upajāti*.

8 Metre: *vañśatha*.

9 Metre: *rathoddbatā*.

10 Metre: *vasantatilaka*.

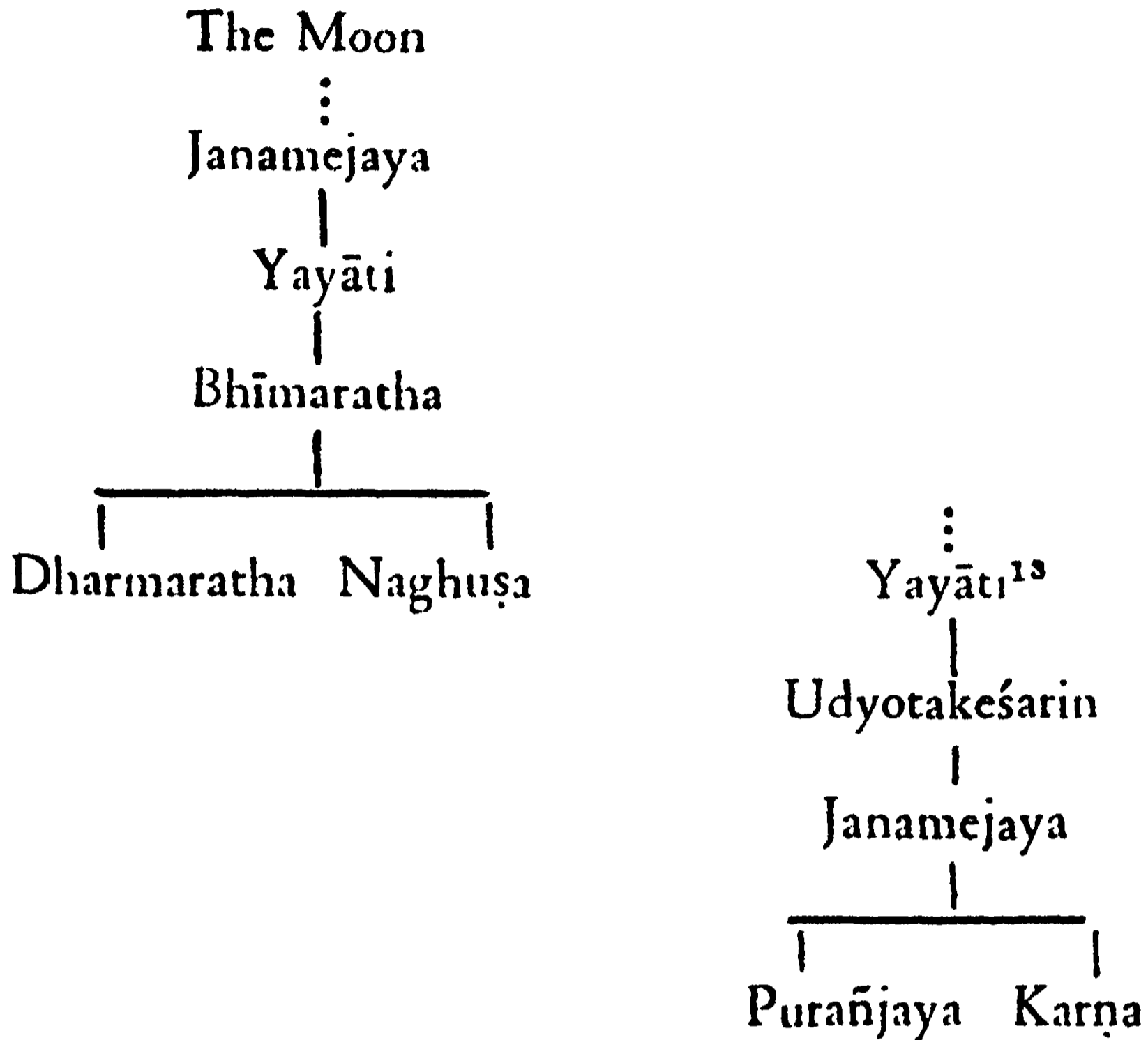
*paṭale sarpati nijakīya-kīrtti-valli(ḷ=ī)yam(yam) | yasya samun-
nati bhājam bhuja-yuga-niḥśri(śre)nikāṃ śritvā¹¹ || [17 || *]*

‘(Verse 12.) To him was born a son, king J a n a m e j a y a, whose lotus-feet were ornamented by bees that were the sapphire-jewels on the crests of kings bowing down to him. (Verse 13.) (*The downpour of*) whose cloud-like sword wiped the musk-ointment off the bodies of the wives of inimical kings. Even the Nāga king was derided by the trunks of his arms which were great bearers of the weight of the earth.¹² (Verse 14.) Then was his son P u r a ṅ j a y a, the best of men, the conqueror of the cities of enemies, whose lotus-feet were worshipped by the bowing kings and whose prowess was equal to that of resplendent Sunāsira (Indra). (Verse 15.) Due to the fear of the prowess of whose arms even those kings who were born in G a u ḍ a, Ḍ ā h a l a, K a l i ṅ g a and V a ṅ g a and who resisted enemies by their own arms always bore trembling hearts. (Verse 16.) His younger brother was king K a r ṇ ṇ a d e v a, the mature brilliance of the sun of whose prowess acquired by his own arms diminished the moon of the fame of (*his*) enemies and whose foot-stool was kissed by the mass of jewels embedded in the crest of the kings. (Verse 17.) This creeper of fame of whose own crawls over the roof of the cottage of three worlds by taking recourse to the ascending ladder of (*his*) two arms.’

11 Metre: āryā.

12 A double entendre, referring both to Vāsuki, the lord of the serpents, and a king of the Nāga dynasty.

The following genealogy is thus derived from the combined evidence of the two charters:



Karṇa is no doubt identical with Karṇakeśari, mentioned in the commentary on ll. 5 of the *Rāmacarita*. Verse 45 of the third *pariccheda* of this work states that Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty (circa 1077-1120) favoured the vanquished king of Utkala, a scion of the Lunar race (*bhava-bhūṣaṇa-santati*) and rescued the world from the terror of Kalinga after having killed those robbers. Most probably Rāmapāla helped Karṇa against an early invasion led by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga of Kalinga (circa 1078-1150). This synchronism would put Karṇa within the last quarter of the eleventh century or the first decade of the twelfth. Further, the Ratnagiri plates prove that Udyotakeśarin was not the last great ruler of the dynasty as is generally held.

Though the history of the Somavaṁśīs has been dealt with

13 It is known from the Bhubaneswar inscription of Udyotakeśarin (*Journ. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XIII, 1947, pp. 63 ff.) that Yayāti was the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vicitravira and great-grandson of Janamejaya. The word *anuja*, therefore, means that Yayāti was the younger cousin of Naghuṣa.

in some publications¹⁴ there is scope for further study, particularly with reference to their contact with other contemporary powers, such as the Kalacuris of Kosala, the Colas of Thanjāvur, the Nāgas of Bastar, the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga, etc., by which further synchronisms are likely to be established.¹⁵ That, however, would be outside the scope of this article. Confining ourselves to the contents of the Balijhari plates, it may be observed that all rulers, except Yayāti, are eulogized therein only in conventional terms, valueless for purposes of history. About Yayāti, who was the great grandfather of Karṇa and may, therefore, be placed towards the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, the plates state that he rescued both Kosala and Utkala from 'combatant kings'. What factors were responsible for the anarchy within the Somavaṁśī kingdom is not known, but D. C. Sircar suggests that it was due partially to the establishment of the Kalacuri power in the western part

14 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I (Calcutta, 1930), pp. 204-225; H. C. Roy, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 393-413; D. C. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, History and Culture of the Indian People, IV (Bombay, 1955), pp. 145-148, and also *The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay, 1957), pp. 209-214.

15 For example, the Karuvur and Tirumukkūdal inscriptions of the Cola king Virarājendra (1063-70) state: 'In front of the banner-troop, (he) cut to pieces Siṅgaṇ, (the king) of warlike Kośal[ai], along with the furious elephants of (his) vanguard,' *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, pt. I (Madras, 1899), p. 37, and *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI (1931-32), p. 241. A. Ghosh thinks that Kalacuri Ratnadeva of South Kosala is referred to here, 'History of the Kalachuries of Southern Kosala', *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* (Calcutta, 1940), p. 265. But V. V. Mirashi feels that Siṅgaṇ (a corruption of Siṁha) may have belonged to the Somavaṁśī family, some members of which bore names ending in *kesarin* (synonym of *siṁha*), *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. 1 (Ootacamund, 1955), p. cxxii, n. 4. If this is correct, a Somavaṁśī king (the name and time suit Udyotakeśarin better than any other ruler of the family) must have fallen in battle with the Colas shortly before A. D. 1066, the date of the Karuvur record, though no Somavaṁśī inscription hints at such an incident.

of South Kosala¹⁶ and primarily to the invasions of the Colas and Paramāras.¹⁷ It is important to note that by Yayāti's time the Somavaṁśīs were in possession of both Kosala and Utkala. The first of these two kingdoms must have been divided into two parts, one which was held by Yayāti and his successors and the other by the Kalacuri rulers beginning with Kaliṅgarāja (beginning of the eleventh century). Utkala was no doubt acquired by the Somavaṁśīs after ousting the Bhaumas.

TEXT¹⁸

First plate

Line 1. Siddham¹⁹ [1*] Jo(Jyo)snā(tsnā)-sā(śā)li-samṛddhi-
bhūḥ²⁰ kumudinī-hāsau(s-ai)ka-sampā-

Line 2. danā-dh[ū]rtto Dhūrjaṭi-mauli-saudha-va[sa*]tiḥ
pīyūsa(ṣa)-dhārā-grhaṁ(ham) | tār-ānta[h*]pu-

Line 3. ra-nāyako Ratipateḥ śastr-aiḥ a-śāno(ṇ-o)palah²¹ kṣīr-
od-ārṇava-

Line 4. nandano vijayate devalḥ sudhā-dīdhitih || ²² [1 || *]
Asy = ānvaye mahati sāndra-tamaḥ-

Line 5. kalaṅka-vicchāya-dig-valaya-mārjjana-kūrccakasya²³ |
utpedire sakala-sad-guṇa-

Line 6. janma-kandāḥ kund-āvadāta-yaśaso jagatī²⁴-bhujas =
te | [11²⁵ 2||*] Rāj = ābhūj = J a n a m e j a y o =

Line 7. 'tha nṛpati[r*] = jāto Ya y ā t i ḥ ta(tis = ta)taḥ
śrīmāna(mān) B h ī m a r a t h o = 'bhavat = tad-anu ca

16 D. C. Sircar in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XXII (1946), p. 303.

17 D. C. Sircar in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 210.

18 From the published impression.

19 Expressed by a symbol.

20 This has been read as *samud = vibhuh*.

21 This has been read as *śastre kṛśāno palah*, the last word being corrected to *phalah*.

22 Metre: *śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

23 This has been read *kṛccakrasya* and corrected as *kṛt = karasya*.

24 This has been read as *jagatām*.

25 Metre: *vasantatilaka*.

Line 8. kṣmā-cakra-rakṣā-maṇiḥ[| *] aṣṭāś(s)[v*] = eva
digantareṣa(ṣu) vijaya-stambh-āvali-ccha

Line 9. dmanā hr̥[ccha*]lyāni diśā-bhu[jā*]m = api
samāropta(pya)[nta*]²⁶ yai[r*] = vvisphuṭam̐(tam)[|| ²⁷ 3 || *]
Tasmād = D h a r m m a-

Line 10. r a t h o manoratha-phala[m̐] śītānsu(m̐su)-vañśa
-(m̐sa)-śriyo nistriñś(m̐ś)-aika-śa(sa)khā śikhā-

Line 11. maṇir = abhūsa(n =)niḥśeṣa-bhūmi(mī)²⁸-bhujāḥ(jām)
[l*] yasmin dig-vijay-āvatāriṇa(ṇi) pu[rā*]²⁹

Line 12. vidveṣi-bhūmi(mī)-bhujā(ja)ḥ prātī(ti)tha(ṣṭha)-
ntya(ṇta) dig-antara[m̐*] tad-anu ca sphītās = cāmū-reṇavaḥ||³⁰
[4||*] Sc-

Line 13. t-ūpānta³¹-van-āntare Himavataḥ paryanta-bhū-
sīmāni |³² prāg-ambhodhi-taṭi-vaneṣu kaṭa-

Line 14. ke pūrvv-etara-kṣmā-bhṛtaḥ [l*] yasy = ottāmyad-
atācī(ti)³³-rāja-yuvatī-ni[h*] śvāsa-jhañ[jh*]-ānila-

Line 15. vyāsaṅga-s[v*]anad-antarāla-mukharair = ggi(ggi)-
tam̐ yaśaḥ ki(kī)cakaiḥ ||³⁴ [5||*] Bhrātā tasya va(ba)bhūva

Line 16. bhūtala-pate[r = Bhūte*]³⁵śa-tta(tu)lya - prabhāḥ
prakhyātaḥ(tam̐) kṣiti-bhuṣaṇam̐ N a g h u ṣ a ity = u[r*]vī-pa-

Line 17. tī[nām̐ pati*]³⁶ḥ | yad-dor-daṇḍa-bhujāṅgamena
vilasan-nistr̥ṇsa(m̐sa)-jihvā-bhṛtā pītās [= t]e³⁷

26 The omitted letters in this line have been substituted from the Ratnagiri grant.

27 Metre: śārdūlavikrīḍita.

28 The correction to ī in this and the following case is necessary to suit the metre.

29 This letter has been substituted from the Ratnagiri grant.

30 Metre: śārdūlavikrīḍita.

31 The proposed correction to *setu-prānta* is unnecessary.

32 The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

33 This has been read as *yasyo = tkam pada = rāti*.

34 Metre: śārdūlavikrīḍita

35 These two letters have been substituted from the Ratnagiri grant.

36 These three letters have been substituted from the Ratnagiri grant.

37 This has been read as *san*. It is indistinct here but is clear in the Ratnagiri grant.

Second plate : obverse

Line 18. paripanthi-pārthiva-camū-kaṇṭh-āntare mārutāḥ³⁸
[6||*] Atr = āste kari-vṛndam = unmada-

Line 19. m = iha prauḍho = sti pañc-ānanah santy = etāsu
jaga[d*]-druho³⁹ giri-darī-kumbhīṣu ku-

Line 20. mbhīnaśāḥ(sāḥ) | snehād = ity = abhidhāya vṛddha-
śavarī-varggeṇa va(ba)ddh-āśruṇā yad-vai [ri]-

Line 21. pramadā-jano vana-bhuvah sañcāram = adhyā-
pitaḥ⁴⁰ [7||*] Tasy = ānujo nata-samasta-sa-

Line 22. patna-mauli-ratn-ānsu(mśu)-mīlita-⁴¹pāda - saroja-
rociḥ [1*] vidyā-nidhiḥ pratinidhir = Ma-

Line 23. dhusūdanasya jāto = tha viśva-vijayī nṛpatir =
Y a y a (y ā) t i ḥ⁴² [8 ||*] Bhaṭair = avaṣṭavdha(bdha)m = i-

Line 24. daṁ narendraiḥ rāpṭra(ṣṭra)-dvayaṁ K o ṣ a
(s a) l a m = U k e(U t k a)l a ṅ = ca | a-kaṇṭakam sādhayataḥ
sa⁴³

Line 25. samantād = bhujā-dvaya[m*] yasya kṛt-ārtham =
āsīta(sīt) ||⁴⁴ [9||*] Tasya tataḥ sukṛta-

Line 26. [phalam] saphalīkṛta-loka-locanas = tanayah [1*]
samajani guṇ-aika-sīmā

Line 27. śrīmān = U d y o t a k e s a r ī nṛpatiḥ⁴⁵ [10||*]
Bhakti-dūra-nata-kuntala-skhalan-mallikā-

Line 28. kusuma-[dāma*]⁴⁶-rājayah | ḍhauka[ya*]nta iva
kīrtti-santatīr = yaṁ praṇemur = ahi(bhi)to⁴⁷ mahi(hī)bhujā
[h||*]⁴⁸ [11||*]

38 Metre: śārdūlavikṛidita.

39 This has been read as jagad = grho.

40 Metre: śārdūlavikṛidita.

41 The correction to rātn-ānśu-mānśalita is suggested.

42 Metre: vasantatilaka.

43 This letter is superfluous.

44 Metre: upajāti.

45 Metre: āryā.

46 These two letters have been substituted from the Ratnagiri grant.

47 This has been read as ya(h) praṇity = arahito.

48 Metre: rathoddbatā.

Line 29. svastī śrī-Y a y ā t i n a g a r ā t a (r ā t) | para-
mamāheśvara-pa [ra*] mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi-

Line 30. rāja-parameśvara-S o m a-kula-tilaka-T r i-K a l i ṅ g-
ādhipati-śrī-M a h ā ś i v a g u-

Line 31. p t a r ā j a d e v a-pād-ānudhyāta [ḥ*] | parama-
māheśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahā-

Line 32. rājādhirāja-parameśvara-S o m a-kula-tilaka- T r i-
K a l i ṅ g-ādhipati-śrī M a h ā-

Line 33. b h a v a g u p t a r ā j a d e v a ḥ kuśalī |
O ḍ r e⁴⁹-deśīya-A i r ā v a ṭ ṭ a-maṇḍala-saṁ[baddha*]-S a

Line 34. [r ā] v a-khaṇḍīya-K o n t a l a ṇ ḍ ā - grāma |
etasmin = atas = ta-khaṇḍīya⁵⁰(tat-khaṇḍīya)-Vrā(Brā)hma-

Second plate : reverse

Line 35. nān = āpūjya samāharṭṭ-sannidhāṭṭ-niyukt-ādihikāri-⁵¹
dāṇḍapāśika-piśu-

Line 36. na-vetrik-āvarodha-jana-rajñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra-|⁵²rāja-
vallabha-|⁵² bhogi-jana-pra-

Line 37. mukha-janapadāna(dān)|⁵² samājñāpayati viditam
= astu bhavattām(tām) |⁵² yath = āsmābhir = aya [m]

Line 38. grāmaḥ sa-gartt-oṣaro Mahānadī-a(dy-a)rddha-śro-
(sro)taḥ-sameta ca(taś = ca)tuḥ-sīm-āvacchi-

Line 39. nnaḥ siṣu(?) -madhūka-tāla-prabhṛti-nānā-vṛkṣaḥ sa-
nidhiḥ s-opanidhiḥ hastidaṇḍa-va-

Line 40. ra-va(ba)līvarnda(rda)-|⁵² ciṭola-|⁵² andhāruvā-|⁵²
pratyandhāruvā-⁵³|⁵² adattā-|⁵² padātijīvyā-|⁵²

Line 41. [a]hidaṇḍa-|⁵² antarāvaddi-|⁵² va(ba)ndhadāṇḍa-|⁵²
vijayavandāpanā-|⁵² mārggaṇika-prabhṛti-

49 This has been read as *Oḍri* and has probably to be corrected to *Oḍra*.

50 This has been read as *tasmin tastha(sthita) khaṇḍīya*.

51 The Ratnagiri grant has °*dhikārika*.

52 The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

53 These three words are spelt as *ciṭṭola*, *andhāruā* and *pratyandhāruā* respectively in the Ratnagiri grant.

Line 42. bhaviṣyat-kara-sahitaḥ sa-pratīhā(?)raḥ savvādhā-jītaḥ(sarvabādhā-vivarjitaḥ) sarvv-oparikar-ādāna-sa-

Line 43. hitaḥ T i (T ī) r a b h u k t i-maṇḍeli(ṇḍalī)ya-
P a l ā s a-grāma-vinirggatāya|⁵⁴ Gārgga-go-

Line 44. trāya|⁵⁴ trārṣa(tryarṣe)ya-pravarāya |⁵⁴ Rg-vedādhyā-
yine|⁵⁴ Bhaṭṭaputra-V a ṭ e ś v a r a paṭ-

Line 45. trāya Bhaṭṭaputra-V ā m a n a-putrāya|⁵⁴ Bhaṭṭa
putra-śrī-Śaṅka(?)ra-sa(śa)rmma-

Line 46. ṇe |⁵⁴ salila - dhārā - puraḥsaram ā(m = ā)candr-
ārkkā-kṣiti-sama-kāl-opabhog-ārtham

Line 47. mātā-pitrōr = ātmanaś = ca puṇya(ṇya)-yaso(śo)-
bhivṛddhaye tāmva(mra)-śāsanen = ākarīkṛtya

Line 48. sampradattaḥ[| *] A i r ā v a ṭ ṭ a-maṇḍala-sam-
[baddha*] - S a r ā v a-khaṇḍīya - L o v ā k a r a ḍ ā - grāmaś =
ca e(?)-

Line 49. tasya s-odara-bhrāṭṛ - śrī - Va(Ba)labhadra |⁵⁴ -sa(śa)-
rmmaṇe evam sampradatta | ity = avaga-

Line 50. tya samucita-kara-bhoga-bhāgī(gā)dikam = upa-
nayadbhir = bhavadbhiḥ sukhena prativasta-

Line 51. vya[m*] sa(sva?)de(da)ttir = iyam = āsmadīyā
dharmma-gauravād = asmad-anurodhāc = ca svadattir-iv-ā-

Line 52. nupālānīyā | tathā c = oktam dharmma-śāstre[| *]
Va(Ba)hubhir = vvasudhā etc.

Third plate: obverse

Lines 53-68. These lines continue the imprecatory and
venedictory verses. As it is unnecessary to give their full texts,
only their initial words are given: (i) Bahubhir = vvasudhā
(which begins on l. 52); (ii) Mā bhūd = a-phala; (iii) Śaṣṭhi-
varṣa; (iv) Agner = apatyam; (v) Āsphotayanti; (vi) Bhūmim
yaḥ; (vii) Taḍāgānām; (viii) Sva-dattām; (ix) Gām = ekām;
(x) Harati hārayed; (xi) Sāmānyo = yam; and (xii) Iti kamala.

Line 69. yat-kīrtir = bhuvana-trayasya kuhare sa(śa)śvattanī
pu(pū)rṇṇayan = mantreṇa cira-praṇāma-

54 The *daṇḍa* is inappropriate.

Line 70. rahita kṣo(?)ṇ[ī]-bhujō bhogīna[h | *] yad-dor-
daṇḍa-bhava-pratāpa ~ ~ — — — ~

Third plate: reverse

Line 71. — — ~ — — — — ~ — — — — ~ — —
— — ~ — — ~ —⁵⁵ ||⁵⁶ U-

Line 72. t k a l e K o ṣ a (s a) l e deśe sa mahāsandhivi-
grahī | aśv(?)-āṅgaṇa-gaṇ-ādihāro R u d r a d a-

Line 73. t t a iti śrutah ||⁵⁷ Mahākṣapaṭal-ādhyakṣa
[h*] śrīmad-D a k ṣ a ḥ satā[m*] mataḥ | alī

Line 74. lī(li)khad = ida[m*] tāmvara(mra)-śāsana[m] śatru-
sā(śā)sanah(nam)||⁵⁸ mahārājādhirāja-para-

Line 75. meśvara-śrīmad-U d d y o t a k e ś a r i-rājadevasya
pravarddhamāna-vijaya-

Line 76. rāj[y*]e c a t u r t h e s a m v a (m v a) [t s a*]
r e M ā r g g a - v a d i d a ś a m y ā m (m y ā m) | yatr =
āṅke s a m v a t a (m v a t) [4]

Line 77. M ā r g g a v a d i r o suvarṇa-vi(vī)thi-vijñāni-
V ā h e r u-M a ṅ g ā k ā b h y ā m u (m = u)ktī(tkī) [rṇa]-

Line 78. [m = i] dam(dam) ||

TRANSLATION OF LINES 1-28

Lines 1-4. Success! (Verse 1) Victorious is the nectar-
bright god (Moon), (who is) the home of the wealth consisting
of moonlight, (who is) clever in the unique production of smile
in cluster of lilies, whose residence is the palace that is the head
of Dhūrjaṭi, (who is) the home of streams of nectar, (who is)
the hero of the inner apartment of stars, (who is) the unique

55 The last part of line 69 and the whole of the next two lines are
extremely indistinct in the published impressions and cannot be made out
in full. The published reading is also defective; it does not give any
clear meaning and contains metrical mistakes.

56 Metre: śārdūlavikriḍita.

57 Metre: anuṣṭubh.

58 Metre: anuṣṭubh.

whetstone of the weapons of the lord of Rati and (*who is*) the offspring of the ocean of milk.

Lines 4-6 (Verse 2). In the great family of this (*Moon*), (*who is*) the brush for wiping out the ring of the horizon (*covered*) with the shadow of the stain of dense darkness, were born those enjoyers of the earth, (*who were*) the roots of the birth of all good virtues (*and*) whose fame was as white as the jasmine.

Lines 6-9 (Verse 3). There was king J a n a m e j a y a. Then from him was born king Y a y ā t i. And thereafter was the illustrious B h ī m a r a t h a, (*who was*) the gem for the protection of the orb of the earth. By all of whom (i. e. Janamejaya, Yayāti and Bhīmaratha), in the guise of a series of victory-pillars (*erected*) in the regions of all the eight directions, were manifestly planted thorns in the hearts of even the lords of the directions.

Lines 9-12 (Verse 4). From him (*Bhīmaratha*) was (*born*) Dharmaratha, (*who was*) the fruit of the heart's desire of the (*goddess of*) prosperity of the Lunar race, whose unique friend was the sword, (*who was*) the crest-jewel of endless kings (*and*) with whom launching upon the conquest of the directions in olden times, the hostile kings departed to different directions and after them (*went*) the dense dusts (*raised by his*) army.

Lines 13-15 (Verse 5). Whose fame was sung by bamboos, (*rendered*) resonant by (*their*) sounding interstices being brought together by the storm-wind of the breaths of the exhausted young wives of hostile kings—in the forest-region in the proximity of Setu(*bandha*), in the limit of the land up to the Himavat, in the forests on the shore of the eastern ocean (*and*) in the camp of the king of the west.

Lines 15-18 (Verse 6). (*Then*) was the brother of that king, namely N a g h u ṣ a, whose lustre was like that of the lord of beings (*Śiva*), (*who was*) a famous ornament of the earth, (*who was*) the chief of kings (*and*) by the serpent of whose club-like arms, holding the tongue of the shining sword, were drunk

those vital winds (*which were*) inside the throats of (*the soldiers of*) the army of inimical kings.⁵⁹

Lines 18-21 (Verse 7). 'Here stays a mad herd of elephants'; 'here is a full-grown lion'; 'in these interiors of hill-caves are demon(-like) venomous serpents';—thus addressed through affection were the womenfolk of the enemies of whom (*Naghuṣa*) were taught the (*mode of*) roaming about in forest-regions by the group of old Śavara women, with their tears held back.

Lines 21-23 (Verse 8). Then was born his younger brother, king Y a y ā t i, the rays of whose lotus-feet were rendered voluminous by the beams of the jewels on the heads of all the rival (*kings*) (*while they*) bent down, (*who was*) the receptacle of learning, (*who was*) the representative of Madhusūdana (*and who was*) the conqueror of the Universe.

Lines 23-25 (Verse 9). The two arms of whom (*Yayāti*) accomplished their objectives by completely rendering free of enemies the two kingdoms, U t k a l a and K o s a l a, besieged by combatant kings.

Lines 25-27 (Verse 10). To him was born a son, the illustrious U d y o t a k e s a r i n, the king, who was the reward of good acts, who made the eyes of the people gratified and who was the unique summit of virtue.

Lines 27-28 (Verse 11). On both sides of whom (*Udyotakeśarin*) bowed down kings, from whose locks of hair slipped down rows of garlands of *mallikā*-flowers, (*as they*) bent down at a distance through reverence and thus appeared to be offering a chain of glory (*to the king*).

SUMMARY OF LINES 29-78

From Yayātinagara, Mahābhavagupta, meditating on the

⁵⁹ The metaphor involves the common comparisons between a long arm and a serpent and between the tip of a sword and a sharp tongue like that of a serpent (*jibvā-bhṛt*, 'with a tongue,' also meaning a 'serpent'), who lives on wind (cf. *pavan-āśana*), the wind in this case being the life-breadth of hostile soldiers.

feet of Mahāśivagupta, addresses the Brāhmaṇas, *samāhartṛ* (the collector of taxes), *sannidhātṛ* (the receiver of stolen goods or an officer who introduces people of court), *niyukta*, *adbikārin*, *dāṇḍapāśika* (police officer), *piśuna-vetrika* (the chastizer of the wicked), *avarodha-jana* (the residents of the harem), *rājñī* (the chief queen), *rāṇaka* (the subordinate chief), *rājaputra* (the prince), *raja-vallabha* (the favourites of the king), *bhogi-janas* (the village-headman) and rural folk and intimates to them that he has gifted the village Kontalaṇḍā in Sarāva-khaṇḍa attached to Airāvatta-maṇḍala in Odra-deśa, to Bhaṭṭaputra Śaṅkaraśarman, who is son of Bhaṭṭaputra Vāmana and son's son of Bhaṭṭaputra Vaṭeśvara, who hails from the village Palāsa in Tīrabhukti-maṇḍala, who is of Garga-gotra and Tryārṣeya-pravara and who has studied the Ṛgveda. He also declares the donation of the village Lovākaradā in the same *khaṇḍa* and *maṇḍala* to the brother of Śaṅkaraśarman, Balabhadraśarman by name.

The gift included the pits and waste lands, half the stream of Mahānadī, trees like *śiśu*,⁶⁰ *madhūka*⁶¹ and *tāla*⁶² and all buried treasures. The taxes to be enjoyed by the donees included: *hastidaṇḍa*, *vara-balivarda*, *ciṭola*, *andhāruvā*, *pratyandhāruvā*, *padātijīvya*, *abidaṇḍa*, *antarāvaddi*, *bandhadāṇḍa*, *vijaya-vandāpanā*, and future taxes and all *uparikāras*.⁶³

60 This tree is evidently what is called *śiśam* in Hindi and *śiśu* in the languages of east India (*Dalbergia sissoo*).

61 *Madhuca Indica*.

62 *Borassus Flabellifer*.

63 The Ratnagiri grant mentions all these taxes and a few additional ones. The meanings are not clear in most cases. *Hastidaṇḍa* and *vara-balivarda* may mean taxes on (or for) elephants and superior bulls. *Abidaṇḍa* may have been a tax on (or for) snake-charmers. *Padātijīvya* and *vijaya-vandāpanā* seem to be taxes for the maintenance of the infantry and for the homage to the king after victory. *Andhāruvā* and *pratyandhāruvā* are unintelligible, but it may be noted, though irrelevantly, that *Andhāruā* is the name of a village (lat. 20° 20'; long. 85° 25'), in Puri District, about 27 miles west-north-west of Bhubaneswar and about 14 miles east-south-east of Balijhari.

After the imprecatory and benedictory verses are introduced the *mahāsandhivigrabin* Rudradatta and *mahākṣapaṭalādhyakṣa* Dakṣa, the latter of whom had the charter written. The charter was issued in the fourth year of the rule of *mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Uddyotakeśarin, on the tenth day of the dark half of Mārga.

DEBALA MITRA

The Nirukta and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*

The Brāhmaṇa literature is the outcome of that temperamental mould that set on the priestly hierarchy to account for the application of a particular mantra in a particular ritual context. The authors of the Brāhmaṇa literature having a bond of union with the ritualistic (*Adhijajña*) school of Vedic interpretation very naturally side with the orthodox view that all the Vedic mantras are composed for application to sacrificial ceremonies.¹ Consequently, they explain every mantra-application more with devotional disposition than with the scientific spirit of a truth-seeker. In other words, the motive working behind the luxuriant growth and lurid details of the Brāhmaṇa literature is more religious than literary. Moreover, though the motive is primarily one of accounting for, it soon swings towards that of justifying and, indeed, these two motives become indissolubly mixed up to such a degree that they deny every effort for successful discrimination. This is particularly true of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which, by virtue of its highly discursive and descriptive nature of treatment of subject, hardly affords a parallel in the entire domain of the Brāhmaṇa literature. This accounting for and justification of a particular mantra-application which are the chief functions of the Brāhmaṇas in general, when systematically scanned and cautiously analysed, present before us some definite feature-groups. While discussing the nature and contents of the Brāhmaṇa literature, Śabarāsvāmin quotes a statement of the Vṛttikāra that deals with the characteristic features of the Brāhmaṇa texts in a more detailed manner. Therefrom we learn that the Brāhmaṇa texts abound in particle *iti* (*itikaraṇababulam*), contain the phrase *ity āha* (*ityāhopanibaddham*), and are anecdotal (*ākhyāyikāsvarūpam*). We also learn that reasoning (*hetu*),

* Paper sent for the last session of the AIOC.

1 This orthodox view has been elaborately discussed by the present writer in his article 'Traditional Schools of Vedic Interpretation', *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 153f.

etymological explanation (*nirvacana*), censure (*nindā*), eulogy (*praśamsā*), expression of doubts (*saṃśaya*), injunction (*vidhi*), statement of others' deeds (*parakriyā*), ancient history (*purākalpa*), assumption of transposition (*vyavadhāraṇakalpanā*) and similes (*upamāna*) also constitute the essential features of the Brāhmaṇa texts.²

Etymology, therefore, as a distinct branch of literary study, is not unknown even as early as the brāhmaṇic period though it does not evolve as a distinct kind of literary product before the later Upaniṣads. It became highly enriched at the hands of the interpreters belonging to the different traditional schools of Vedic interpretation³ who had to have recourse to this art to make a mantra mean what they wanted to make it mean by hammering on the formation of some rebellious word that did not lend itself to the requirements of the meaning much sought for by them. In fact, a critical study of the different scholastic explanations of one and the same mantra-text reveals that the difference mainly hinges on the different ways of treating individual words in the perspective of their formation. This can be illustrated by examples that can be multiplied to any number. To take for example, *Rv.* IV. 40. 5. technically known as Durohaṇa mantra or Haṃsavatī Ṛk.⁴ It is liturgically employed in various places and

2 mantrās ca brāhmaṇaṃ ca vedaḥ/tatra mantralakṣaṇa ukte pariśeṣa-
lakṣaṇatvād brāhmaṇam avacaniyam.....vṛttikāras tu śiṣyahitārthaṃ
prapañcitavāu.....hetur nirvacanaṃ nindā praśamsā saṃśayo vidhiḥ/
parakriyā purākalpo vyavadhāraṇakalpanā//
upamānaṃ daśite tu vidhayo brahmaṇasya tu/
etad vai sarvavedeṣu niyataṃ vidhilakṣaṇam//

—Śabara on *Jaimini Sūtra*, II. 1. 33. Śabara, however, thinks that this is only true in most cases but not universally. Comp. etad api prāyikam-*ibid.*

3 Apart from all other traditional schools, Sāyaṇa refers to the Vṛddhas as representing a distinct school (*Sāy.* on *Rv.* VIII. 33. 6). Mādharma refers to the same school (*Rgvedānukramaṇi*, VIII. 5. 18b, V. 1. 24d, V. 4. 18d), and distinguishes the Vṛddhas from the Paṇḍitas, *ibid.*, VIII. 1. 11-12.

4 *A. Br.*, IV. 20; VI. 25. Comp. durohaṇam rohati haṃsavatyā rohati.

is given liturgical explanation too in each case. Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*⁵ independently explain the mantra, the latter advancing an alternative explanation with reference to chariot (*Ratha*). The explanation of Uvaṭa tallies admirably with the first explanation of Mahīdhara. But the alternative explanation suggested by Mahīdhara radically differs from his first and also from the explanation given by Uvaṭa and this is due to the fact that there the explanation is made in the light of a ritual connected with chariot (*Ratha*). In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*⁶ the mantra is clearly employed in the ritual of Rathādhāna, and Sāyaṇa⁷ explains it there in the same light. Curiously enough, Mahīdhara's explanation often agrees *verbatim* with that of Sāyaṇa and even where the two do not agree, they do not exhibit any difference in the formative principle of a word. Bhaṭṭabhāskara explains the mantra from three scholastic viewpoints and his Adhiyajña interpretation⁸ refers to the Rathādhāna ceremony. The *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*,⁹ the Veda for the ritualists, reads the word *br̥bat* at the end of this mantra in addition to the version presented by the *R̥gveda Samhitā* that ends in *ṛtam*. Uvaṭa explains the significance of this addition, which shows that belief in and an inclination to the view of the Ātmavādin school lies there ingrained in him even¹⁰. Mahīdhara, too, explains

5 VS., X, 24; XII. 14.

6 I. 7. 9.; Comp. haṃsaḥ śuciṣad ity ādadhāti.

7 His commentary on the mantra in TS I. 8. 15. 2.

8 adhyātmam adhidaivam adhiyajñaṃ cā'dhikṛtya tredh'emaṃ mantram vyācakṣate (his *Jñānayajña-bhāṣya* on TS, Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Series, Vol. III, 190). Also, Devapāla's *Bhāṣya* on *Lougākṣi-Gr̥hyasūtra* (Kashmir Sanskrit Series, p. 27): tad anen'ādhyātmam adhidaivam vā savitur bhargorūpam uktam/See also Kālanātha's *Yajur-mañjarī* quoted by Bhagavaddatta (*Hist. of Vedic Literature* (Hindi), Vol. I, pt. II, p. 263): evaṃ tāvad adhiyajñagato 'py ayaṃ mantro' dhidaivam ācaṣṭe.

9 X. 24; XII. 14

10 evaṃ parabrahmavādinō 'sya mantrasya parabrahma praty avatarāmi ti vākyaśeṣaḥ (Uvaṭa on VS, X. 24).

haṃsaḥ as *parabrahmarūpo yo haṃsaḥ*. At a later period we find Śatrughnamīśra commenting on a Vedic text and interpreting the same after the three schools.¹¹ The mantra is seen to be liturgically employed in the Rājasūya sacrifice in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, and Sāyaṇa explains it there from a purely sacrificial point of view.¹² The same Sāyaṇa again sings a different tune in his comments on the same mantra in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*.¹³ Śaunaka, again, is of the opinion that in this stanza Vāyu and Sūrya are praised with indirect expressions and names and, he further tells us, that in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* this stanza is prescribed as having Sūrya for its deity.¹⁴

All the explanations referred to above show that difference in them mainly consists in the difference in the art of word-formation and even where the same word is etymologically equated in a like manner, a glossarial difference is ascribed to it.

The Brāhmaṇa literature is usually regarded as the basis of the *Nirukta* of Yāska. But it should be remembered that the etymological speculation is no invention of the Brāhmaṇas. It is, in fact, the very basis of all the traditional schools of Vedic interpretation. The Brāhmaṇa texts belong to the Ritualistic school and explain every mantra from the ritualistic point of view. It may not be an unwarrantable supposition that the other traditional schools of Vedic interpretation either did not produce any systematised work expounding their scholastic views on the meaning of the Vedic passages, or, if they did, those did not survive. Nor can we hazard a positive assertion as regards

11 He says, tad eva sāyaṇācāryakṛtabhāṣyasahitaṃ prakhyāpyate, sūryamaṇḍalārciḥpuruṣatrayasya adhidaivādhiyajñādhyātmaparatvenārtha ucyate (*Mantrārthadīpikā*, Kāśī Samskr̥ta Granthamālā, p. 180).

12 See foot-note 6.

13 anayā sauryarcā ya eṣo'ntar āditye hiraṇmayah puruṣo dr̥śyate hiraṇyaśmaśrur ityādiśrutukto maṇḍalābhimāni devo'sti yaś ca nirastasama-staupādhikaṃ paraṃ brahma tat sarvam ekam eveti pratipādyate (Sāy. on *Ṛv.*, IV. 40. 5).

14 parokṣair amuto vāgbhir nāmabhiś ca stutās trayah / agnir vāyuś ca sūryaś ca haṃsaḥ śuciśad ity ṛci // niyuktā sūryadevatye haṃsa ity aitareyake //*Brhaddevatā.*, V. 2, 3.

the reasons, for which the agencies of destruction singled out those particular literary products save, perhaps, by making a guess-work that the deep and inscrutable hold of the Ritualistic school over the masses sapped its rival schools of all their vitality thus compelling them to become gradually moribund and ultimately extinct. Whatever the case might have been, it so stands that the Brāhmaṇa texts are the earliest extant systematised works indulging in etymological speculations. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* being generally regarded as the earliest of its class, the present essay proposes to trace in the same a few basic principles of Nirvacana on which the *Nirukta* of Yāska is founded. It deals with the following points:

(A) Yāska's statement that conventional modes of word-formation need not be always considered (*na saṃskāram ādriyeta*) has its basis in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which is the pioneer in setting an example towards this direction.

(B) Yāska's statement that no word should be left etymologically unequated (*na tu eva na nirbrūyāt*) has its basis on the brāhmaṇic mode of indirect formation concluded with the expression *parokṣapriyā vai devāḥ* (gods rejoice in what is indirectly stated).

(C) According to Yāska the explanation of the Samāsārtha and the Taddhitārtha comes within the purview of Nirvacana and this Yāska acknowledges on the basis of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

It may not be out of place to try to determine what Nirvacana does exactly mean. In a passage of the *Kauṣītaki Br.*, 'nirukta' means 'loudly stated,'¹⁵ In oft-used phrases the Brāhmaṇas call Prajāpati both 'aparimita' and 'anirukta.'¹⁶ The *Śatapatha Br.* states that what is 'parimita' is 'nirukta.'¹⁷ Thus 'nirukta' means 'limited' or 'specified' as opposed to 'anirukta' meaning 'unlimited' or 'unspecified'. Speech is a vehicle of thought and

15 uccair niruktam anubrūyāt.....*K. Br.*, XI. 1.

16 *A. Br.* II. 17; Vi. 2; *K. Br.*, XI. 7; *G. U.*, I. 7; *A. Br.* VI. 20; *T. Br.* I. 3. 8. 5.; *Sat. Br.*; I. 1. 1. 13; *K. Br.*; XXIII. 2, 6; etc.

17 V. 4. 4. 13.

whatever comes within the purview of thought also comes within the purview of speech. To put it otherwise, a thing that cannot be thought of in its entirety, does not come within the range of speech. Prajāpati being viewed upon as One connected and, in fact, identified with infinitude, is, therefore, justly called 'anirukta.' The term Nirvacana, therefore, means the formation of a word in accordance with the different senses it can convey.

It is possible that the appellation Nirukta as given to a distinct type of literature in later times stems out of this original sense in which the word is used in the Brāhmaṇa literature. For a clear understanding of the nature and scope of Nirukta as one of the six Vedāṅgas, Yāska supplies us detailed information. The second chapter of his *Nirukta* beginning with *atha nirvacanam* expressly states the characteristic features of Nirvacana. Therefrom we learn that *Nirukta* seeks to trace back the formation of words according to marks they bear only in cases where those words are Samarthasvarasaṃskārāḥ.¹⁸ Though 'meaning' (*artha*) is the primary concern of *Nirukta* and therefore, its formative principles must be in accordance with the same, yet, in cases of Samarthasvarasaṃskāra-words, marks (*lakṣaṇa*) must be the guiding principles to an etymologist.¹⁹ But where the words are A-samarthasvarasaṃskārāḥ, an etymologist must first carefully find out the sense that dominates therein and then derive the word from a root conveying that sense.²⁰ Even if no sense dominates, the second alternative left to an etymologist is to determine a syllable or even a letter that might happen to be a common factor in other root and then to proceed on this slender thread of connec-

18 *Nirukta.*, II. 1.

19 Comp. Durgā on *ibid*: kuto vā saṃśaya iti ucyate/arthatpradhānavād anādṛtyaiva lakṣaṇam evam eṣu nairukto nirbrūyāt tan mā bhūd ity ata idam ucyate.

20 atha ananvite'rthe aprādeśika vikāre arthanityaḥ parikṣeta kenacid vṛttisāmānyena-*Nirukta*, II. 1. Durgā comments on this text: kathamasya dhātor arthasāmānyam atrā 'sti ti tatas tarkayitvā sāmānyam tena nirbrūyāt/artho hi pradhānam tadguṇabhūtaḥ śabdaḥ/tasmād arthasāmānyam baliyaḥ śabdasāmānyāt/

tion, with his task of Nirvacana.²¹ It thus appears that both in cases of Samarthasvarasaṃskāra and A-samarthasvarasaṃskāra words, Yāska lays all emphasis on meaning as the primary guide of Nirvacana. When in case of the former he takes marks as our guide in their etymological equation, it is because there sense and marks are co-extensive and, as such, a Nirvacana according to marks (*lakṣaṇa*) cannot tear us from the sense (*artha*). Of the two alternative again to be adopted in cases of A-samarthasvarasaṃskāra-words, the first one clearly emphasises the 'meaning' as the chief objective to an etymologist, while the second one provides him with a long rope for indulging in lavish and luxuriant speculations regarding word-formation.²² When 'meaning' is the chief objective, there is every possibility of different etymologists agreeing at the formation of a particular word provided the word has not already undergone a change in its meaning. As for example, we can take the word *Hotṛ*. The *Aitareya Br.* derives the word from *ā-vaha*.²³ Aurnāvābha, an ancient etymologist, derives it from *bu* (to sacrifice), while Yāska thinks that it comes from *hve* or *hū* (to invoke).²⁴ Unless we place Aurnāvābha before the *Aitareya Br.*, it stands that in between the *Aitāreya Br.* and Aurnāvābha, the word already undergoes a change in meaning from 'invoker' to 'sacrificer' and again it comes back to its original meaning by the time of Yāska

21 avidyamāne sāmānye'pi akṣaravarṇasāmānyān nirbrūyāt—*Nirukta.*, II. 1. Durgā comments: amuṣmin dhātav ayaṃ svarō varṇo vā mayā dr̥ṣṭaḥ sa evāyam asminn abhidhāne lakṣyata ity evam utprekṣya sa dhātvarthaḥ sūtrabaddha iva tasminn abhidhāna śhr̥tya sphārikṛtya kṛtsnaḥ prakāśayitavyaḥ.

22 It is to be noted that Śaunaka while setting forth the rules for construing Vedic passages lays all emphasis on *Artha* as opposed to *Sabda*: pradhānam arthaḥ śabdo hi tadgunāyatta iṣyate/tasmān nānānvayopāyair̥ śabdān arthavaśaṃ nayet//—*Bṛhaddevatā.*, II. 99. See Uvāṭa's *Mantra-bhāṣya*, Introductory verses.

23 yad vāva sa tatra yathābhājanam devatā amum āvahā'mum āvaha ity āvāhayati tad eva hotur hotṛtvam—*A. Br.*, I. 2.

24 hotāram hvātāram/juhoter hote ty aurnāvābhaḥ—*Nirukta*, VII. 5; also IV. 26.

who yet does not hesitate to derive it from a root altogether different from that of the *Aitareya Br.* as, to him, as an etymologist, the meaning and not the form of the root is the primary concern. According to the *Vedic Index*, 'The word must be derived from *hu* 'to sacrifice' as is held by Aurnavābha; this indicates a time when the Hotṛ is at once sacrificer (the later Adhvaryu) and singer. But the functions are already clearly divided in the *R̥gveda*, where the Hotṛ's chief duty is the recitation of the Śastras'. In view of this remark, Aurnavābha must be placed before the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and we must admit that the *Aitareya Br.* itself is the pioneer in violating traditional principle of word-formation. In fact, Brāhmaṇa-passages like *agnir vai hotā* etc. can be explained only if the word Hotṛ is taken to mean 'invoker' as the *Aitareya Br.* and Yāska want to make it mean.

In course of his work Yāska himself quotes and sometimes refers to some etymologists deriving a word in a fashion entirely differing from that of his. Yāska himself thinks that conventional modes of word-derivation need not be always considered in determining the meaning of a word as words often display a dubious character in lending themselves to the requirements of a particular sense.²⁵ It may be argued that by his time many words were either becoming obsolescent or were being used in different meanings at the hands of different interpreters. It may also be argued that many words already underwent a change in meaning just in the same way as the word Hotṛ did. But the basis of this statement of Yāska seems to be furnished by the Brāhmaṇas. The word Āhuti is derived by the *Aitareya Br.* from *hve* 'to invoke',²⁶ while the *Sat. Br.* derives it from *Āhitaya* in an indirect (*parokṣa*) way.²⁷ The word *īṣṭi* is derived in

25 na saṃskāram ādriyeta viśayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti—*Nirukta.*, II. 1.

26 āhūtayo vai nāmaitā yad āhutaya etābhir vai devān yajamāno hvayati tad āhutinām āhūtītvam—*A. Br.*, I. 2.

27 *Sat. Br.*, X. 6. 1 2.

the *Aitareya Br.* from *iṣ* 'to desire'²⁸ and though the *Tai. Br.* accepts it in many places yet indulges in forming it in an indirect way.²⁹ It may not be, therefore, too unjust a presumption that once the *Aitareya Br.* transgresses the limit of traditional mode of word-derivation, the later Brāhmaṇas muster courage to advance their etymological fancies. In other words, the example of violating traditional principle of word-formation is first set up by the *Aitareya Br.*, attains the status of a separate tradition after having passed through a process of steady stabilisation at the hands of the Brāhmaṇical authors and last supplies the very basis of Yāska's verdict, *na saṃskāram ādriyeta viśayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti.*

It is already stated that as regards the A-samarthasvara-saṃskāra-words Yāska advises us to take the dominating sense (*arthanītyaḥ parīkṣeta kenacid vṛttisāmānyena*) as the primary guiding principle failing which the principle of common syllable or that of a common letter (*avidyamāne sāmānye 'py akṣaravarna-sāmānyān nirbrūyāt*) should be adhered to. But even when all the three formative principles prove to be of no avail, Yāska would not advise an etymologist to leave the formation undone.³⁰ This craze for etymological speculation is of much interest, inasmuch as, it accounts for the very often fanciful and fictitious derivations of some words, especially of those that have not a settled meaning and of the proper names of gods, particularly of those that become fully anthropomorphized and, for that reason, have their original nature shrouded in mystery. Indra, the most anthropomorphized god, has his name derived by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV, 6. 11. 2) from the root *indh* 'to kindle', while the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* forms it from the word *indriya*.³¹ Even in case of Agni where the anthropomorphiza-

28 yad iṣṭibhiḥ praīṣam aicchaṃs tad iṣṭinām iṣṭitvam — *A. Br.*, I. 2.

29 *T. Br.*, I. 5. 9. 2.; III. 12. 2. 1.; III. 12. 4. 1.

30 na tv eva na nirbrūyāt, *Nirukta.*, II. 1; Comp. itarathā hy anarthakam eva niruktaśāstram syāt—Durgā on *ibid.*

31 Comp. asmin vā idam indriyaṃ pratyasthād iti tad indrasyendriyatvam.

tion does not fully advance, the etymological formation varies so considerably from one etymologist to another.³² It is possible that while laying down the principle, *na tu eva na nirbrūyāt*, Yāska had in his mind the brāhmaṇic mode of indirect formation of words so often concluded with the expression *parokṣa-priyā vai devāḥ* (gods rejoice in what is indirectly stated). In fact, the expression *parokṣapriyā vai devāḥ* may be regarded as only a lame excuse of the etymologists either to hide their ignorance of the proper derivation or to squeeze out of a rebellious word a meaning suited to the context with reference to which it is desired to be interpreted.

It should be noted that the principle of the dominating sense and the principle of a common syllable or of a common letter which are the primary resorts in succession to the etymologists in their task of word-formation are so broad and cover so wide a field that a forced formation hinted at by the expression *na tu eva na nirbrūyāt* is only of negligible importance. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* needs form only five words in this manner.³³ However negligible their number might be in comparison with the vast stock of words etymologically equated in the Brāhmaṇa literature, they may be regarded as supplying the first stepping-stone to the way to modern philological developments.

As regards the compounds and the Padas formed with Taddhita-suffixes, Yāska says that their Nirvacana must consist of two distinct parts, namely, the modification of meaning caused by effecting the compound or adding the Taddhita-suffix is to be explained first and then only the etymological equations of the Padas concerned would come.³⁴ As an example of the first case he takes *Rājapurusaḥ*, gives the meaning of the compound form and then derives both the component members in order. The *Aitareya Br.* treats the compounds invariably

32 See *Nirukta.*, VII. 14.

33 *agniṣṭoma*, *catuṣṭoma*, *īyotiṣṭoma* in XIV. 5, *mānuṣa* in XIII. 9 and *nyagrodha* in XXXV. 4.

34 *Nirukta.*, II, 2. Comp. *Durgā* on *ibid.*

by expounding them never giving us a single example where the component members are etymologically equated.³⁵ On the other hand, it readily catches an exposition in the Mantra-text and supplies us with the compound form avoiding the trouble of expounding the Samāsa separately.³⁶ As regards the Padas ending in Taddhita-suffixes the *Aitareya Br.* explains the Taddhitārtha and not the Padārtha.³⁷ It thus seems that the explanation of the Samāsārtha and the Taddhitārtha also come within the purview of Nirvacana, and this Yāska seems to acknowledge on the basis of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

Nirukta as a distinct branch of literature is primarily concerned with the 'meaning' of a word and herein consists the real difference of the same from Grammar the primary concern of which is 'form'. A Grammarian determines the meaning of a word by tracing the process of formation of the same, while an Etymologist determines the formation of a word by tracing the meaning it conveys or is desired to convey. An Etymologist, therefore, never handles a single word torn out of its context³⁸ because in that case the intended meaning of the word remains shrouded in the mist of uncertainty. Thus Nirvacana means the art of formation of a word with regard to a particular meaning in a particular context and when in a different context the word assumes a different meaning, the Nirvacana would also differ.³⁹

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35 pari vājapatiḥ kavir ity eṣa vai vājānām patiḥ (VI. 5), asau vai hotā devavṛta eṣa hi sarvato devair vṛtaḥ (X. 2), iyaṃ vai sārparājñi iyaṃ hi sarpato rājñi (XXIV. 4).

36 mahi dyauḥ pṛthivi ca na iti dyāvāpṛthiviyām anvāha (III. 5).

37 apūrvya (etasmādd hi na kiñcana pūrvam asti—X. 9); sauparṇa (yat suparṇo bhūtvā udapatams tad etat sauparṇam—XIII. 1); pāñcajanya (pāñcajanyaṃ vā etad uktham yad vaiśvadevaṃ sarveṣāṃ vā etat pañcajanānām uktham—XIII. 7).

38 na ekapadāni nirbrūyāt—*Nirukta.*, II. 3.

39 evam anyeṣāṃ api sattvānām sandehā vidyante/tāni cet samānakarmāni samānanirvacanāni nānakarmāni cet nānanirvacanāni—*Nirukta.*, II. 7.

Some Obscure Śaiva Cults as known from Inscriptions

I. Kāpālika School

There are very few epigraphic references to the Kāpālikas. The *Chatra Caṇḍeśvara (Nepal) Ins. of Jīṣṇugupta* describes the Pāśupata teachers as wearing a garland of skulls.¹ The *Tilakawādā CP. of the time of Bhoja Paramāra* contains a reference to an ascetic who had taken *mahāvratā*.² It will be shown that these *mahāvratikas* are identical with the Kāpālikas. The Kāpālikas are also associated with Śiva-Śāsana and Soma-Siddhānta.

Early History of the Kāpālikas

The earliest reference to the Kāpālikas occurs in the *Maitri Upaniṣad*³ which was composed in the post-sūtra period. They are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*,⁴ *Tāntric* works, *Mattavilāsa*,⁵ *Mālati Mādhava*,⁶ *Karpūra-mañjarī*,⁷ *Prabodha-candrodaya*,⁸ *Caṇḍa-kausika*⁹ etc. The *Śrībhāṣya*¹⁰ of Rāmā-

1 मुण्डशृङ्खलिक पाशुपताचार्य पर्षदि (परिषदि) IA, IX, p. 174

2 P & T.O.C., 1919, Poona, 319 ff.

3 ये चान्ये ह वृथा कषायकुरण्डलिनः कापालिनः । VI, *Maitri Upaniṣad*.

4 *Siva Purāṇa*, *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā*, XXIX.

5 It depicts an innocent Kāpālika whose *kapāla* was taken away by a dog.

6 Aghoraghanṭa and Kapāla-kunḍalā are the Kāpālika characters in the play.

7 I. v. 23.

8 Act III introduces a Kāpālika who holds a debate with a Jaina monk and a Buddhist *bhikṣu*.

9 In act IV, *Dharma* appears in the form of a Kāpālika.

10 Rāmānuja (II. 2-35) and Yāmunācārya both quote the following verses: —यथाहुः कापालाः

मुद्रिकाषट्कतस्वङ्गः परममुद्राविशारदः : भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वानिर्वाणामृच्छति ।

कंठिका रुचकं चैव कुरण्डलं च शिखामणिः । भस्मयज्ञोपवीतं च मुद्राषट्कं प्रवर्तते ॥

nuja furnishes us with interesting facts regarding their religious practices. The *Lalitavistara*¹¹ states that the bearing of *kapāla* was regarded as a purificatory act by the heterodox persons.

A. *Mahā-urata-dhara*

The *Tilakawādā CP. of the reign of Bhoja 1130 V. S.* describes an ascetic Dinakara who was a *mahā-urata-dhara* and was like Śiva in the form¹² of a Kapālin. A grant was sanctioned by Nāgavardhana, the nephew of Pulakeśi II, for the worship of god Kapāleśvara and the maintenance of *mahāuratins* attached to the temple.¹³ An inscription from Ramnad Dist. (Madras) of the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya mentions a monastery of the *mahāuratins*.¹⁴

Mahāurata in Literature

This sect is mentioned in the *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Ṣad-darśana-samuccaya*, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*,¹⁵ *Yaśastilaka-campu*¹⁶ and *Nala-campu*.¹⁷

(i) *Mahā-uratins and Kālāmukhas*

The *Śiva-Purāṇa* mentions *mahā-urata-dharas* in place of the Kālānanas and hence R. G. Bhandarkar regards them as identical.¹⁸ The *Nala-campu* of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa composed in the tenth century A. D. describes Kālāmukhas as falling under the class of the *mahāuratikas*.¹⁹

11 Ch. XVII. कपालखट्वांगधारणैश्च शुद्धिं प्रत्यवगच्छन्ति समूढाः ।

12 उदकग्राहकः तत्र महाव्रतधरो मुनिः । दिनकरो नाम य साक्षात्कपाली व सं(शं)करः ॥ *P & T. O. C.* 1919, Poona, p. 319.

13 *JBBRAS.*, XIV, p. 26. Bhandarkar, *Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism and other Minor Religions*, p. 168.

14 Handiqui: *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 359.

15 5. 2. 81 describes a *mahāuratin* as bearing a *kapāla*.

16 I, 115.

17 p. 164.

18 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 168.

19 p. 164. कलियुगशिवशासनस्थितिरिव महाव्रतिकान्तःपातिभिः कालमुखैर्वानरे संकुलामनेकधाभिन्नह्योतसं चं

(ii) *Mahā-vratins and Kāpālikas*

There is overwhelming evidence in favour of the Mahā-vratins' identification with the Kāpālikas. The *Tilakavādā*²⁰ CP. describes a mahā-vratin as Śaṅkara in kapālī form. The above-mentioned Cālukya grant was sanctioned for the shrine of Kapāleśvara and mahāvratika ascetics²¹ attached to it. Rājasekhara enumerates the mahā-vrata sect along with the Kālāmukhas and in place of the Kāpālika school.²² Jagaddhara in his commentary explains the Kāpālika-*vrata* as mahāvratā.²³ The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*²⁴ describes a mahā-vratika as a Kāpālika. The *Matta-vilāsa* contains a verse in which a Kāpālika describes Śiva as undergoing mahā-vrata.²⁵ Caṇḍapāla explains *mahāvratā* in the commentary of the *Nala-campu* as *Kāpālika*²⁶ *vrata*.

Thus, it is certain that the *mahā-vratikas* were identical with the Kāpālikas. As the Kāpālikas were associated in literature with the Kālāmukhas because of certain common practices, the *Mahā-vratikas* were sometimes confused with the Kālānanas.

Vrata and Mahā-vrata

Gondopharnes is one of the earliest foreign rulers on whose coins appears Śiva. It is, therefore, significant that on most of the coins, he bears the title *deva-vrata* where 'deva' is evidently used in the sense of Śiva. The *Bhāgavata* mentions ascetics who had taken *bhava-vrata* and describes them as wearing bones

20 महाव्रतधरो मुनिः । दिनकरो नाम य साक्षात्कपालीव सं(शं)करः ॥

P. & T. O. C. Poona, p. 319.

21 JBBRAS., XIV, p. 26.

22 शैवाः पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा ।

तुर्या कालमुखा मुख्या भेदा एते तपस्विनाम् ॥ p. 12.

23 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 183.

24 5. 2. 81.

25 आस्थाय प्रयतो महाव्रतमिदं बालेन्दुचूडामणि

स्वामी नो मुमुचे पितामहश्शिरच्छेदोद्यवादेनसः

26 p. 164. *Nirnayasāgara Edition*,

(skulls), besmearing ashes on body and having matted²⁷ hair. The description tallies with that of Kāpālika ascetics. The tradition of *vrata*, therefore, may be assigned to the beginning of Christian era.

B. *Kāpālika and Śivaśāsana*

The Malkāpuram Inscription of Rudradeva mentions Śivaśāsana probably in the sense of the Kāpālikas.²⁸ The *Prabodhacandrodaya* describes the Kāpālika faith as *Pārameśvara-siddhānta* which seems to be the same as Śivaśāsana initiated by Śrī Kaṇṭha.²⁹ The *Sābara Tantra* mentions Śrī Kaṇṭha as one of the original twelve ācāryas.³⁰ This may indicate that it was the original Pāsupata school started by Śrī Kaṇṭha. *The Varāha Purāna* also narrates that the Pāsupata doctrine was originally given to the Kāpālikas.³¹

27 भवव्रतधरा ये च तान समनुव्रताः

पाखण्डिनस्ते भवन्तु सच्छास्त्रपरिपंथिनः

नष्टशौचाः मूढधियो जटाभस्मास्थिधारिणः

विशन्ति शिवदीक्षायां यत्र दैवं सुरासवम् ॥ *Bhāgavata*, 8. 2.

28 उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां शिवशासनानाम् ।

विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवद्वादि समर्पणाय ॥

JAHRS., IV, 145 ff.

The four important schools mentioned by Rāmānuja, Yāmunācārya etc. are four—(i) Śaiva, (ii) Pāsupata, (iii) Kālānana and (iv) Kāpālika. The first three schools are identical with (i) Śaiva ascetics, (ii) Kālānana and (iii) persons having Pāsupata vow—mentioned in the inscription. The remaining Śivaśāsana, therefore, seems to be identical with the Kāpālikas.

29 अहो पुण्यं कापालिकचरितमहो श्लाघ्यः सोमसिद्धान्तः ।...प्रविष्टाः स्म पारमेश्वरं सिद्धान्तं ।...प्रवेशय मां पारमेश्वरीं दीक्षाम् ।

Jayadratha, the commentator of the *Tantrāloka* (I, p. 73) states पारमेश्वरतन्त्रे शिवशासने इति पंचस्रोतोरूपे पारमेश्वरदर्शने इत्यर्थः ।

30 For 'Śrikanṭha' see author's paper "Śri-Kanṭha and Lakuliśa" in *Nāgarī Prachārini Patrikā* : Chandrabali Pandey Commemoration Volume, 2015. pp. 37-40.

31 *EHI.*, II, I. *Introduction*, pp. 1-3.

But Śivaśāsana revealed by Śrī Kaṇṭha was different from the Kāpālika faith. According to a tradition enshrined in the *Tantrāloka*,³² the school which maintains unity-in-diversity was started by Śrīnātha, the mind-born son of Śrī Kaṇṭha. This unity-cum-diversity (*bhedābheda*) school is same as the Kāpālika faith. Śrīnātha is mentioned as the originator of the Kāpālika school in the *Śābara Tantra*³³ while Śrī Kaṇṭha is regarded only a teacher besides him.

The above discussion would simply indicate that the Kāpālika school during this period was sometimes identified with *Śivaśāsana*.

C. Kāpālikas and Śiva

Śaivāgamas quoted by Rao state that the Kāpālikas worship Śiva wearing a garland of bones.³⁴ The *Mahā-urata-dharas* mentioned in the Cālukya inscriptions were attached to the Kapāleśvara temple. The Kapāleśvara form of Śiva is mentioned in the *Nirmaṇḍa Cp. of Śarvavarman*.³⁵ The *Prabodha-candrodaya*³⁶ describes the worship of *mahābhairava* by the Kāpālikas. The terrific aspect of Śiva in the form of *mahābhairava* was, thus, worshipped by the Kāpālikas.

II. Somasiddhānta

This school is mentioned in the *Prabhāsapāṭana Inscription of Kumārapāla Val. S.*³⁷ 850 = 1169 A.D., the *Veravala Inscription of Bhīma II*³⁸ and the *Chatra-caṇḍeśvara (Nepal) Inscription of Iṣṅguṇḍa*.³⁹

32 *Tantrāloka*, XII, p. 397.

33 Dwivedi, *Nātha-Sampradāya* (Hindi) p. 4.

34 *EHI.*, II, I, *Intr.* p. 29.

35 *CII*, III, pp. 286-91.

36 *Act*, III, V. 13.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 208 ff.

37 *Bl.*, pp. 106-187.

39 *IA.*, IX, p. 174.

This cult seems to be quite influential in ancient times although no literature of this school is available now. It is mentioned in the *Tantras* and *Purāṇas* as quoted by *Īśāṇā-śiva-guru-paddhati*,⁴⁰ *Tantrādbikāranirṇaya*,⁴¹ *Viramitrodaya*⁴² and *Darśana-kanikā-saṅgraha*.⁴³ The *Prabodha-candrodaya* also gives some interesting information. The *Bhāṣyacandra*⁴⁴ of Raghuttama and the *Akulavīra-tantra*⁴⁵ of Matsyendranātha make passing references to it. Information of exceptional interest, however, comes from the Chinese texts on logic.⁴⁶

Stories regarding *Soma* of inscriptions and Somaśarmā of the *Purāṇas* who are credited with the founding of a Śaiva school at Prabhāsa seem to be the two versions of the same tradition. It may also be noted that Somaśarmā is described as the preceptor of Akṣapāda, the founder of Nyāya system and Kaṇāda the originator of Vaiśeṣika system. Thus, he is associated with

40 वा (ला) कुलं सोमतन्त्रं च जगद् परमेश्वरः । *ISG.*, III, p. 6.

41 Chakravarti: *The Soma or Souma Sect of the Śaivas*, *IHQ.*, VIII, p. 220. *Tantrādbikāra-nirṇaya* (p. 2 of Rājarajesvari Press, Banaras) attributes the following verse to *Vaśiṣṭha* and *Līṅga Purāṇas* :—

केचिन्नोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने ।
नाकुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तु भैरवम् ॥

while it (p. 10) quotes from *Sūtasambhitā* :—

कापालं नाकुलं चैव तेयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभाः ।
तथा पाशुपतं सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥

42 *Viramitrodaya* (I, p. 22) as quoted from the *Kūrmapurāṇa*.

वासं पाशुपतं सोमं लांगलं चैव भैरवम् ।
न सेव्यमेतत् कथितं वेदबाह्यं तथेतरम् ॥

43 ननु सोमः कामात्मवादी । तदपि भारते परमात्मस्रोते तस्मै कामात्मनेनमः ।
Quoted by *Chakravarti*, (*IHQ.*, VIII, p. 221) from a manuscript.

44 P. 30, *Nirnaya Sagar* Edition.

45 सम्बादयन्ति ये केचिन् न्यायवैशेषिकास्तथा ।
बौद्धास्तु अरिहन्ताये सोमसिद्धान्तवादिनः ॥

Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya, p. 84.

46 G. Tucci: *Pre-Diinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources XXVIII-XXIX* (G. O. S.).

logic also. The Naya-soma school of logic, existence of which is disclosed by the Chinese texts and which was the fore-runner of the Akṣapāda system might have been named after him. Thus, there is a great possibility of Soma being a historical figure who founded a Saiva school of devotion and a *nyāya* school of thought before Akṣapāda who has been placed variously in fourth, third and second century A. D. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa,⁴⁷ however, places him in 150 A. D. and this seems to be the most plausible date. The Soma school, therefore, might have been originated before second century A.D.

1. Founder of the Cult

The *Prabhāsa Pātan Inscription* records that Soma (moon) had constructed a golden temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa and after originating his cult at the instance of Śiva gave the place to the Pāsupatas.⁴⁸ The *Purāṇas* state that Śiva incarnated himself at Prabhāsa as Somaśarmā who had four disciples—(i) Akṣapāda, the founder of Nyāya school, (ii) Kaṇāda, the founder of Vaiśeṣika school, (iii) Ulūka, a teacher of logic sometimes identified with Kaṇāda and (iv) Vatsa.⁴⁹ The Chinese sources disclose the existence of a school in logic called *Na-ya-su-mo* i. e.,

47 The Japanese scholar H. Ui places him between fourth and second century A. D, while Prof. L. Suali dates him in C. 300-350 A.D *History of Indian Logic*, p. 50 fn.

48 सोमः सोऽस्तु जयी समरांगदहनो यं निर्म्मलं निर्म्ममे ।

गौर्याः शापबलेन वै कृतयुगे दृश्यत्वमोपेयुषां ।

प्रादात्पाशुपतार्यसाधुसुधियां यः स्थानमेतत्स्वयं

कृत्वा स्वामथ पद्धतिं (तिं)शशिभृतो देवस्य तस्याज्ञया ॥३

Bl, pp. 186-187.

49 सप्तविंशो यदा व्यासो जातूकर्यो भविष्यति ।

प्रभासतीर्थमाश्रित्य सोमशर्मा तदाप्यहम् ॥४१

तत्रापि मम ते शिष्याः भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।

अक्षपादः कणादश्चोलूको वत्सस्तथैव च ॥४२

Vāyaviya Saṁhitā. Ch. V.

Nayasoma. Prof. Tucci notes influence of this school on the *Gautama Sūtras* as known to the Chinese writers.⁵⁰ The word Naya-Soma evidently means 'school of Nyāya associated with Soma'. It is further to be noted that both the schools of logic, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are affiliated to Śaivism.

2. *Kāpālika Faith and Somasiddhānta*

The Prabandha-candrodaya identifies the Kāpālikas with the Soma-Siddhāntins.⁵¹ *Chatra Caṇḍesvara Inscription*⁵² records them in association with the Kāpālikas. Tāntric literature, however, mentions them as two different schools.⁵³

3. *Somasiddhānta in Early Medieval Age*

The Verāvala Inscriptions of Bhīma II records that the creed propagated by Soma declined in due course and thereafter Viśveśvara-rāśi, a partial incarnation of Śiva, obtained instructions in dream to revive the doctrine.⁵⁴ He, therefore, in the beginning of the thirteenth century made vigorous attempts for the propagation of Somasiddhānta.

A. *Its Prevalence*

During this period, Somasiddhānta was prevalent in Nepal and Gujrat.

50 Tucci, *loc. cit.*

51 III, p. 119. अहो पुरयं कापालिकचरितमहो श्लाघ्यः सोमसिद्धान्तः ।
The Kāpālika is introduced in the play as—

ततः प्रविशति कापालिकरूपधारी सोमसिद्धान्तः

52 मुण्डशृङ्खलिकपाशुपताचार्यं पर्वदि...सोमखड्गुकानांच *IA, IX, 174.*

“*Khadduka* occurs in other inscriptions as a name of certain priest of Śiva”.

53 कापालं नाकुलं चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभाः ।

तथा पाशुपतं सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥ *Tantrādhikāra-nirṇaya*, p. 2.

54 *Bl.*, p. 209-10; vv. 18, 19.

4. *Somasiddhānta and Candrasekhara-mūrti*

The *Verāvala Inscriptions of Bhīma II* which records the architectural activities of Viśveśvara for reviving the Soma creed begins with an invocation to Śiva who was as if the *rasāyana* for the moon.⁵⁵ The *Prabodha-candrodaya* states that liberated souls according to this school assume the form of *Candrasekhara* embraced by consorts as beautiful as Pārvatī.⁵⁶ It seems that the *Umā-sabita-candrasekhara* form was specially worshipped by the ascetics of this school.

III. *Siddha School*

The *Rewa Inscriptions of Malayasimha* mentions the Siddhas as ascetics and records that Malayasimha was a *Siddhārtha-yogi*.⁵⁷ The inscription peculiarly begins with an invocation to Mañju-ghoṣa—an originally Buddhist god of learning and extols the worship of Rāma.

“An *avadhūta* by name Śrīmitra flourished in the line of *sambuddha-siddha*” is mentioned in the *Bodha-gaya Inscriptions* of the time of Jayacandra.⁵⁸ Śrīmitra has been further described

55 V. 20. प्रालेयांशुवपुरसायनमसौ श्रेयांसि सोमेश्वरः ।

कलौ युगे कुक्षितिपाललुप्तो धर्मात्मनो वीक्ष्य पिनाकपाणिः

उद्धर्तुमिच्छन्नमृतांशु संस्थामुनिबभूवोग्रसहस्ररश्मिः ॥

Bl., 208. The editor of the inscription translated *amṛitānśu-saṁsthā* as “the abode of the (god with the) moon” which does not fit in the context.

56 Act III पार्वत्या प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानंदमालिंगितो

मुक्तः क्रीडति चन्द्रचूडवपुरित्यूचे मृडानीपतिः ॥१६

57 सिद्धार्थयोगी मलयानुसिंहः V. 12. *MASI.*, XXIII, pp. 133-41.

58 सम्बुद्धसिद्धान्वयधुर्यभूतः श्रीमित्तनामा परमावधूतः ॥४

IHQ., V. 14. ff.

‘*Sambuddha-siddha*’ may be compared with the following verse of the *Amaraugha-prabodha* attributed to Gorakṣa:—नमश्चौरंगिनाथाय सिद्धबुद्धाय धीमते ।१ *Siddha-siddhānta paddhati*, p. 48.

“as the initiating preceptor (*dikṣā-guru*) of the king of Kāśī i.e. Jayacandra.”⁵⁹ It may be recalled here that a *MS.* of *Jaya-dratha-yāmala* was copied by Jomadeva who was a disciple of the Kulācārya Śrī Dharaṇīpāda, the preceptor of the king Jayacandra.⁶⁰

A. Siddha-school in Literature

The *Siddha-siddhānta-saṁgraha*⁶¹ mentions a Siddha school which is identical with the *avadhūta* and the Nātha sect. The *avadhūtas* are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata*.⁶² The creed of eighty-four Siddhas had become quite influential from eleventh-twelfth century A. D.

2. Pantheon

A. Gorakṣa

He is one of the most important Siddhas. The *Cintra Praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva* mentions him in the Pāśupata pentad. This would indicate the influence of the Siddhas over the Lākuliśa Pāśupata⁶³ sect.

59 V. 11.

60 Bagchi: *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 114:

महाराजाधिराज श्रीमज्जयचन्द्र—देवपूजितस्य कुलाचार्य श्रीश्रधरणी-
पादेव नामधेयस्य

61 The Nātha-Yogi literature always mentions the school as Siddha-school. Thus, the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* of Gorakṣa mentions the *Siddha-mata* at several places (e. g. p. 1. v. 3. The following verse (p. 39) differentiates the *Siddha-mata* from other Śaiva sects:—

शैवाः पाशुपता महाव्रतधरा कालामुखा जंगमाः ।

शाक्ताः कौलकुला कुलार्चनरता कापालिका शाम्भवाः ।

एते कृत्रिममन्त्रतन्त्रनिरतास्ते तत्त्वतो वंचिताः ।

तस्मात्सिद्धमतं स्वभावसमयं धीरः सदा संश्रयेत् ॥

62 *Bhāgavata* XI.

63 *El.*, I, p. 284, v. 45.

B. *Rāma in the Siddha School*

The *Rewa Inscriptions of Malayasimha, the Siddhārtha-yogi* peculiarly states that “the Siddhas go to high heaven, having performed painful austerities, (but) those who worship at the shrine of Rāma built by him obtain the *Viśvapada* (without⁶⁴ endeavour).” From the literature we learn that the Siddhas were Śiva-Śakti worshippers and hence the building of shrine for Rāma by the Siddhārtha-yogi is rather striking.

C. *Rāma in Tāntric and Siddha Literatures*

The *Tantrāloka*⁶⁵ mentions Rāma as Śiva, the highest reality. The commentator Jayadratha explains Rāma as a form of Śiva which pervades the whole universe. *Triśirā-Bhairava* as quoted by Jayadratha enumerates fourteen kinds of Rāma.

Rāma is frequently mentioned in the later Siddha literature.

D. *Mañjuḥṣa*

The Buddhist deity is invoked in the beginning of the *Rewa Inscription*. There is some evidence that he was also accepted in the Siddha school as a deity.

IV. *Kaula School*

The *Harṣa Stone Inscription of the Cāhamāna*⁶⁶ *Vigraha-pāla* V. S. 1030 mentions a sect—*Sāmsārika-kula* which was originated at the village Rāṇapallikā near the Harṣa Mt. in Shekhāvati District of Jeypur State in Rājapūtanā. The name of the sect indicates that it was associated with the *Kula* school.

64 तीव्रं तपो दुःखकरं प्रकृत्या सिद्धा ब्रजन्तो दिवमूर्ध्वमुच्चैः ।

यद् (येः) रामदेवालयवाधिः (मर्च्चि) ता ये प्रायेण ते विश्वपदं प्रयाताः ॥

The line is rather corrupt.

65 एष रामो व्यापकोत्त शिवः परमकारणम् ॥४४

Commenting upon it, Jayadratha says:—

एष रामः सकलनिर्वाधभासनपरः क्रीडापरः परमात्मा परमेश्वरः

Tantrāloka. I, p. 136.

66 हर्षस्यासन्नतोग्रामः प्रसिद्धो राणपल्लिका ।

सांसारिककुलान्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्गमः ॥३१ *El.*, II, 110 ff.

The originator of this branch of the *Kula* school was the ascetic Allāṭa or Bhāvarakta who was a disciple of the Pāśupata ascetic Viśvarūpa belonging to the Pañcārthika school of the Pāśupatas.⁶⁷ The inscription indicates very close relation between the Pāśupatas and the Kaulas. This is further confirmed by the fact that Gorakṣa the disciple of the Kaula preceptor Matsyendra was recognised in the Pāśupata fold. Further, the tradition of the *Siddhayogīśvarī* school is described to have been continued through Lakulīśa by his disciple Ananta and his disciple Gahaneśa or Gahanādhipa.⁶⁸ (Is he identical with Gahaninātha mentioned as an ascetic in the Siddha school?) It may be noted that Viśvarūpa belonged to the *Ananta gotra*.

V. Kālānanas

The Kālānana sect has not been mentioned in inscriptions of Northern India. The sect was, however, very influential in the south. It had several important centres under the Cālukyas. Kālāmukha ascetics also served as *rājagurus* of the Cālukya kings.⁶⁹

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67 पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरुः ॥२८
दीक्षाज्ञानमलध्वंसविस्फुरज्ञाननिर्मलः ।
प्रशस्ताख्यौ भवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥२९
भावरक्तोऽभवत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोऽक्षरः ॥३० *loc. cit.*

68 यदागमः
भैरवाद्भैरवीं प्राप्तं सिद्धयोगीश्वरीगतम् ।
ततः स्वच्छन्ददेवेन स्वच्छन्दाज्ञाकुलेन तु ।
लकुलीशादनन्तेन अनन्ताद्गहनाधिपम् । *Tantrāloka*, XII, p. 383.

69. *Eastern Cālukyas*, p. 167, see also Haṇḍiqui: *Yaśastilaka-campu and Indian Culture*, pp. 348 ff. *El.*, XXIII, p. 161 ff.

A critical Examination of Alberuni's Charges against the Copyists of the Purānas

The *Bhūvanakoṣa* sections of the *Purānas* give an account of the cosmography of the world, in which it is represented as consisting of seven concentric islands separated from one another by the seas. The innermost island is *Jambudvīpa*, of which the southernmost *varṣa* is *Bhāratavarṣa*. This *Bhāratavarṣa* generally, though not invariably (as sometimes extra-Indian territories are included within it), corresponds to the modern Indian subcontinent.

The *Purānas* furnish geographical accounts of *Bhāratavarṣa*. They speak of its ninefold divisions, its mountain and river systems and its countries and peoples.

These geographical as well as other sections of the *Purānas* have come down to us in their manuscript forms. These manuscripts were written by copyists or scribes who were men of little or of no learning. As such they could hardly understand the actual meaning and significance of the topics. They disfigured what they could not understand and even sometimes altered the texts or omitted different portions. Illegible handwriting of the previous copyists also caused great inconvenience to the later scribes. These faults and disadvantages were at work since the beginning of the system of copying the *Purānas* after their first compilations.¹ As generations of scribes copied the manuscripts, the texts became more and more corrupt and errors accumulated through the ages. By the 11th century, when Alberuni complained about such corruptions, the manuscripts had become full of mistakes. Alberuni noted this difficulty of getting correct texts in different *Purānas*. He stated that "such is the custom of the copyists and scribes in every nation, and I cannot declare the students of the *Purānas* to be free from it, for they are not men of exact learning".²

1 Different *Purānas* were composed in different times. Scholars like Pargiter and Sircar think that originally there were Prākṛt versions of the earliest Sanskrit *Purānas*.

2 E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. I., p. 238.

Several centuries have passed after Alberuni and corruptions and mistakes have apparently multiplied. We notice now great differences among different manuscripts of the same *Purāṇas* or the wild discrepancies among the various *Purāṇas* concerning the same subject. These discrepancies and errors in geographical sections can be fully demonstrated with the help of concrete examples.

The ninefold divisions of *Bhāratavarṣa*, according to the *Vāmana* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas*, are *Indradvīpa*, *Kāserumat*, *Tāmrparṇa*, *Gabhastimat*, *Nāgadvīpa*, *Katāha*, *Siṃhala*, *Vārūna*, and *Kumāradvīpa*.³ The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* does not refer to *Kumāradvīpa* and speaks of *Saumya* and *Gandharva* in place of *Katāha* and *Siṃhala*.⁴ Here however, as this division of *Bhāratavarṣa* is more imaginary than real, we cannot be sure as to whether this description should be attributed to the fault of the copyists. For it might be due to the variant imaginations of the authors of the *Purāṇas*. So also no great fault can be attributed to the copyists in their writing down the names of different great mountains of India, because the *Purāṇic* texts are in great unanimity while describing the first six *Kulaparvatas* (*Mahendra*, *Malaya*, *Sahya*, *Śuktimat*, *Ṛkṣa* and *Vindhya*). The only difference occurs in case of the seventh one which is sometimes referred to as *Pāripātra* and sometimes as *Pāriyātra*.⁵

3 *Vāmana*. XIII, 10-11; *Garuḍa*. ch. 55, 5.

4 *Mārkaṇḍeya*, canto 57—

Indradvīpaḥ Kāserumānis Tāmrparṇo Gabhastimān Nāgadvīpas tathā
Saumyo Gāndharvo Vārūnas tathā. Ayaṁ tu navamasteṣāṁ dvīpaḥ
sāgarasamvṛtaḥ.

5 Mahendro Malayah Sahyah Śuktimān Ṛkṣaparvataḥ/

Vindhyaśca Pāripātraśca (or Pāriyātraśca) saptaivātra Kulācalāḥ//

The corresponding verse in the great epic (IV), substitutes *Gandhamādana* in the Calcutta edition and *Ṛkṣavānapi* in the Bombay text, for *Ṛkṣaparvata*. *Rājaśekhara* knows this *Purāṇic* list of mountains and assigns them to *Kumārīdvīpa* (*Kāvya-mimāṁsā*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, p. 92). *Alberuni*, (while quoting the *Matsya Purāṇa*), refers to the seven Knots of Mount *Meru* as *Mahendra*, *Malaya*, *Sahya*, *Śuktibām*, *Ṛkṣabām*, *Vindhya* and *Pāriyātra*. (Sachau, loc. cit., vol. I., p. 247).

Nevertheless, here also corruptions can be noticed sometimes. Thus one manuscript has 'Śaktimān' in place of 'Śuktimān'.^{5a}

The faults and shortcomings of the copyists, (viz., corruptions, omissions, and alterations of and additions to the texts) are however fully exposed when we come to study the *Purāṇic* texts of rivers and peoples. As the proper names of many rivers and peoples of ancient India are also known from other literary and epigraphic evidences, here the critics are in an advantageous position to detect the textual errors and emend them.

The *Nadyādivarṇanā* sections of the *Purāṇas* describes the rivers as issuing out of different mountains. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the correct form of the river *Vipāśā* (modern Beas) has been referred to. It is one of the rivers that rise in the *Himalayas*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* however the river appears in its corrupted form as *Viśālā*.⁶ So also the correct forms of the rivers the *Śiprā* (issuing from the *Pāripātra* mountain), the *Śuktimatī* (modern Ken) (issuing from the *Ṛkṣa* mountain), the *Nirvindhya* (modern Newaj) (issuing from the *Vindhya* mountain), the *Bhīmarathī* (modern Bhīma) (issuing from the *Sabya* mountain), the *Tāmrparṇi* (modern Tamravari) (issuing from the *Malaya* mountain), the *Lāṅgulinī* (modern Lāṅguliya) (issuing from the *Mahendra* mountain) and the *Ṛṣikulyā* (probably modern Koel) (issuing from the *Śuktimat* mountain) are corrupted respectively as the *Kṣiprā* in a manuscript of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,⁷ the *Śuktimantī* in a ms. of the *Matsya*,⁸ the *Nirvindhā* in a ms.

While quoting the *Vāyu Purāṇa* he simply states *Śukti* and *Ṛkṣa* instead of *Śuktibām* and *Ṛkṣabām* (ibid, p. 257).

5a *Matsya Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition), ch, 114, v. 17.

6 *Matsya Purāṇa* (Venkatesvara Press & Anandasrama Press), ch. 114, vv. 20-32.

7 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Venkatesvara Press), ch. 60, vv. 17-30.

8 *Matsya Purāṇa* (Venkatesvara Press & Anandasrama Press), ch. 114, vv. 20-32.

of the *Vāyu*,⁹ the *Bhīmarakṣī* in a few mss. of the *Kūrma*,¹⁰ the *Tāmravarṇā* in different manuscripts of the *Vāmana*,¹¹ the *Laṅgalinī* in a number of mss. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,¹² and the *Rṣīkā* in some mss. of the *Vāyu*.¹³ Sometimes the river mentioned in one text is dropped in another. Thus the *Gaṅgā*, the *Sindhu* and the *Sarasvatī* mentioned in several *Purāṇas* as issuing from the *Himalayas* are omitted in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*.¹⁴ The reading 'Gaṅgā-Sindhu-Sarasvatī' found in many *Purāṇas*, is altered as "Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-Sindhu" in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*.¹⁵

The countries and peoples of *Bhāratavarṣa* are divided in the *Purāṇas* into seven regions (*Madhyadeśa*, *Udīcya*, *Prācya*, *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, *Aparānta*, *Vīndhyapṛṣṭha-nivāsinaḥ* and *Parvatāśrayinaḥ*). Here also several corruptions of names can be noticed. Thus the *Avantyas* (inhabitants of the *Āvantī* region) of the *Madhyadeśa*, the *Śatadrujas* (people of the Sutlej Valley) of the *Udīcya*, the *Paundras* (people of the Mahasthan region of the Bogra dist.) of the *Prācya*, the *Kaliṅgas* (people of the coastal regions stretching from the Vaitarani to the Godāvarī) of the *Dākṣiṇātya*, the *Śūrpārākas* (Sopara) of the *Aparānta*, the *Mekalas* (people of the Amarkaṅṭhak hill region) of the *Vīndhyapṛṣṭha* zone and the *Hūṇas* of the *Himālaya* (*Parvatāśraya*) regions have been wrongly referred to respectively

9 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B.), ch. 45, vv. 94-107; (Anandasrama Press, vol. I), ch. 46, vv. 94-107.

10 *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I, (Vangavasi edition), ch. 46, vv. 28-39; (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B.), ch. 47 vv. 28-39.

11 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B., Anandasrama Press & Venkatesvara Press), ch. 46, vv. 94-107.

12 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (M.C. Pal's edition & Vangavasi edition), ch. 57, vv. 17-30.

13 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition, Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B., Venkatesvara Press & Anandasrama Press), ch. 46, vv. 94-107.

14 *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I, (Vangavasi edition), ch. 46, vv. 28-39; (N. Mukhopadhyaya's edition), ch. 47, vv. 26 ff.

15 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B. & P. Tarkaratna's edition), ch. 57, vv. 16 ff.

as the *Ātharvas* in several mss. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,¹⁶ the *Śakabudas* in certain mss. of the *Vāyu*,¹⁷ the *Muṇḍas* in different mss. of the *Vāyu*,¹⁸ *Kapilas* in a ms. of the *Matsya*,¹⁹ *Suryārakas* in a number of mss. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,²⁰ the *Rakolas* in certain mss. of the *Vāyu*,²¹ and the *Ūṛṇas* in some mss. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.²² The distorted nature of the names can also be detected by comparing them with the names occurring in the less corrupted texts. Thus the *Cipiṭanāsikas* of the *Br̥hat Saṁhitā* are seen to have been turned into the *Cividas* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.²³

Sometimes there are deliberate additions and duplications. Thus the *Mālavas* of the South (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Vangavasi edition, ch. 114, v. 52) have been placed in the east in at least one ms. of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.²⁴ Again the *Kaliṅgas* of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* have been placed both in the *Madhyadeśa* and the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* regions in certain mss. of the *Matsya Purāṇa*.²⁵

Sometimes these distortions are so great that almost new and strange names crop up in place of the old ones. Thus in the

16 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (M.C. Pal's edition, Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B., Vangavasi edition), ch. 57, vv. 34-59.

17 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition & Venkatesvara Press), ch. 46, vv. 109-136; (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B.), ch. 45, vv. 109-136.

18 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B.), ch. 45, vv. 109-136; (Anandasrama Press), ch. 46, vv. 109-136.

19 *Matsya Purāṇa* (Anandasrama Press), ch. 114, p. 201, f.n. 21.

20 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (P. Tarkaratna's edition & Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B.) ch. 57, vv. 34-59.

21 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition & Anandasrama Press), ch. 46, vv. 109-136.

22 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition & P. Tarkaratna's edition) ch. 57, vv. 34-59. Same form also occurs in certain manuscripts of the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*.

23 *Br̥hat Saṁhitā* (Vangavasi edition) ch. 14, v. 26; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Venkatesvara Press) ch. 61, v. 43; S.B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, chart no. II.

24 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (the manuscript or manuscripts consulted by Alberuni). See Sachau, loc. cit., p. 299.

25 *Matsya Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition), ch. 114, vv. 36 & 47; (Bibliotheca Indica Series, R.A.S.B.) ch. 113, vv. 36 & 47.

Vāyu Purāṇa, consulted by Alberuni, appears a strange name in the list of the peoples of the east. The name is *Govinda*.²⁶ The correct form seems to be *Gonardda* (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Vangabasi edition, ch. 114., v. 35).

It thus appears that the topographical description of *Bhārata-varṣa* in the *Purāṇas* suffers largely due to the inaccurate knowledge of the copyists. Wherever the texts of the *Purāṇas* can be checked with the help of other sources—(not in the case of the sections concerning somewhat imaginary divisions whose existence is very doubtful)—the copyists' errors such as corruptions, omissions, alterations, additions and duplications can be noticed. In fact, these errors are so great that they sometimes render it very difficult to get a proper concept of *Bhārata-varṣa* of the *Purāṇic* texts.

Alberuni thus seems to be quite justified when he complains about the carelessness and ignorance of the copyists. He inflicts such criticisms on the copyists of all sections of the *Purāṇas*. He is perfectly right when he observes that the Indian works, carelessly copied by the successive copyists, very soon degenerate to such a degree that an Indian author would hardly recognise his own work, if it is presented to him, in such a garb.²⁷

Alberuni can, however, be criticised on one point. A careful study of Chapter XXI of Alberuni's *India*²⁸ shows that while the Muslim scholar discusses the copyists' blemishes and observes that "such is the custom of the copyists and scribes in every nation and I cannot declare the students of the *Purāṇas* to be free from it, for they are not men of actual learning (i. 238)", he not only regards the corruptions and

²⁶ *Vāyu Purāṇa* (the manuscript or manuscripts consulted by Alberuni). See Sachau, loc. cit., p. 299. Several instances of mistakes committed by the copyists can be cited. For different examples see Dr. D.C. Sircar's article on the *Purāṇic* lists of peoples and rivers, published respectively in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1945 (pp. 297 ff) and 1951 (p. 211 ff). See also 'The Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India' by Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri.

²⁷ *Sachau*, loc. cit., preface, p. XXVI; i. 162-3; ii. 76.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 228-238.

additions to be due to the fault of the copyists but also attributes to them gross exaggerations of the actualities. This shortcoming should however appropriately be attributed to the authors and compilers rather than to the copyists of the *Purānas*.²⁹

But for this slight criticism, Alberuni's idea regarding the copyists of the *Purānic* texts can be held as correct. So we can agree to think that the *Purānic* accounts of the geography of *Bhā-ratavarṣa*, i.e. India in a general sense, are full of copyists' errors.³⁰

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29 *Alberuni* (I, p. 238) states that the distances between the planets or between the lokas as given by a commentator of the book of *Patañjali*, vary greatly from those given by the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāna*. Strangely enough he thinks that these discrepancies are due to the fault on the part of the scribes.

Here two considerations should be taken into account. First the distances given in either are far from the truth. Secondly, the exaggeration of the actualities, if there be any, in the *Viṣṇu Purāna* is due to the imagination of the authors. Poor scribes had no hand in it. It is possible, however, that in some cases they might have inadvertently changed the digits of the sums.

30 The critical mind of *Alberuni* has been admirably expressed through the pen of Sachau. The latter states that "he (i.e. *Alberuni*) does not blindly follow the traditions of former ages; he wants to understand and to criticise them. He wants to sift the wheat from the chaff, and he will discard everything that militates against the laws of nature and of reason.....He criticises manuscript traditions like a modern philologist. He sometimes supposes the texts to be corrupt, and inquires into the cause of corruption; he discusses various readings, and proposes emendations. He guesses at lacunae, criticises different translations, and complains of the carelessness and ignorance of the copyists". (Preface, pp. XXV-XXVI).

Alberuni is, however, sometimes hyper-critical, as has been shown in the previous foot-note. Sachau also notices this attitude of this super-critic. But he pleads that "in his (i.e. *Alberuni's*) essays at emendation he sometimes went astray, that, e.g. he was not prepared fully to do full justice to Brahmagupta, will readily be excused by the fact that at his time it was next to impossible to learn Sanskrit with a sufficient degree of accuracy and completeness."

On a Nagarjunikonda Inscription

A very interesting stone slab inscription has recently been discovered during excavations at Nagarjunikonda in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh.¹ It consists of six lines, written in an early Brāhmī script of third-fourth centuries A. D. The palaeography of this epigraph has similarity with that of the Ikṣvākū records. The language betrays the composer's attempts at Sanskritisation of the text.

Our record refers to the installation of an image of *Aṭabhūjasvāmi* or *Aṣṭabhūjasvāmin* within an enclosure ? [*rāṃvara-bhava Aṭabhūjasvāmi ā(?)viriya sthapeta*, ll. 3-4; i.e. *raṃgava-rabhava Aṣṭabhūjasvāmi avṛtya sthapitaḥ*]² during the ninth (?) regnal year of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa (*rājño Vāsasthīputrasya* (should be 'Vāsiṣṭhīputrasya') *Ābhirasya Vasuṣeṇasya savatsara* (should be 'saṃvatsare') 9 (?), l. 1]. *Aṣṭabhūjasvāmin* seems to have been described as 'bhagavān', 'devaparamadeva', 'purāṇapurūṣa' and 'Nārāyaṇa' (*namo bhagavato devaparamadevasya purāṇapurūṣasya nārāyaṇasya*—l. 1), and also probably as 'gopa(?)bhata' (l. 3). It appears that some rulers, most probably contemporaries of Vasuṣeṇa, were connected with the said consecration. They were *mahā.....mahāgrāmika mahātala-lavara mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Sivasena of Kauśika-gotra and of the Paribideha family, Yonarājas from Sajayapurī or Sanjayapurī, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and Viṣṇurudraśivalananda Sātakarṇṇi of Vanavāsaka [*mahā.....mahāgrāmikena ma(bā)talavarena mahā-daṇḍanāyak(e)na Kauśikagotrena Parividehāṇ(a)m Sivasenena Sa(in)jayapurito Yo(na)rājibhi Avantakena Śakena Rudradāman*

1 *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, *A Review*, p. 8 & Pl. VA.

2 "(The image of) Aṣṭabhūjasvāmi, made of best ochre, (i. e. painted with best pigment), was established within an enclosure." This translation was suggested to me by Dr. R. G. Basak.

Vanavāsakaṣa Viṣṇurudraśivalananda (Sāta)karṇṇinā... .ll. 1-3 ; i.e., mahā . . . māhagrāmikena mahātalavareṇa mahādaṇḍnāyakena Kauśika-gotreṇa Paribidehānām Śivasenena Sañjayapurito Yonarājabhiḥ Āvantikena Sakena Rudradāmnā Vanavāsakasya Viṣṇurudraśivalananda-Sātakarṇṇinā³].

The remaining portions of the record (part of l. 3 and ll. 4, 5 & 6) probably contain some useful information, particularly as in l. 5 there may have been a reference to one 'rājña'. But as at present no satisfactory reading of these lines can be made out of the only available photograph, the present author proposes to discuss them sometime later.

This epigraph has been found while removing some structures just above the ruins of some early Ikṣvākū buildings.⁴ So the record may be placed towards the end or probably after the Ikṣvākū rule in Nagarjunikonda region. The close similarity between the forms of letters of this document and other Ikṣvākū inscriptions also lends colour to such a suggestion. As Vasuṣeṇa of this epigraph seems to have ruled as an independent monarch, it should be located a little after the completion of the Ikṣvākū rule in the said region. On palaeographic grounds, again, our record can be placed sometime earlier than the Mayidavolu charter of Śivaskandavarman. The latter is a testimony to the Pallava rule in Andhra country,⁵ where Nagarjunikonda is situated. Hence

3 My reading of the text is based on a photograph of the inscription published in the *IA.*, 1958-59, Pl. VA. As the letters are not always clear in the photograph, the reading should be regarded as purely tentative.

4 "On the bank of the river Krishna, in the north-eastern corner of the valley, long rows of pillared *maṇḍapas* had previously been noticed, superimposed by medieval rubble structures. These latter structures were removed to expose the plans of the underlying early Ikṣvākū buildings. During this operation a slab, bearing an inscription.....was discovered." (*IA* , 1958-59, p. 8). That the name of the royal dynasty of Nagarjunikonda region should be spelt as Ikṣvākū, is indicated by the evidence of a Sanskrit inscription found there. *IA.*, 1956-57, Pl LVIII, l.8.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.

the date of our document can be fixed sometime between the end of the rule of the Ikṣvākūs and the beginning of that of the Pallavas in Nagarjunikonda area.

It is well known that the Ikṣvākūs were the successors of the Sātavāhanas in Andhra country, or more probably in major part of it. Dr. D. C. Sircar has very correctly shown that the sovereignty of the Ikṣvākūs over this region began by the end of the first quarter of the third century A. D.⁶ As there were at least five male members of the royal family,⁷ and as two of

6 D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 161-64.

The Ikṣvākūs do not seem to have ruled over whole of Andhra country. The Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Sālaṅkāyanas might have exerted influences over small parts of this country about the same time.

A Nagarjunikonda record, issued during the reign of king Rudrapuruṣadatta, seems to indicate good relations between the Ikṣvākūs and one Sirivamma (i.e., Śrivarman) of the Bṛhatphalāyanas. As Śrivarman (who is known for the first time from this inscription) is not given any royal title, it is not sure as to whether the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled as subordinate to or independent of the Ikṣvākūs. The Kondamudi plates of king Jayavarman indicate the Bṛhatphalāyana rule in Kudūrāhāra (modern Bandar Taluk in Krishna district of Andhra country). Dr. D. C. Sircar has tried to show that the Bṛhatphalāyanas used to rule in this region probably during the time of Khāravela. (*SSLD*, pp. 48-49). The palaeographic similarity between the last mentioned epigraph and the Mayidavolu charter of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, (a post-Ikṣvākū record), shows that the Bṛhatphalāyanas survived the Ikṣvākūs.

Ptolemy refers to the Salakenoi and their city Banagouran. It has been suggested that the first denotes the Sālaṅkāyanas and the second indicates Veṅgi region (modern Pedda-Vegi in Godavari district of Andhra country). The joint evidences of the Allahābad *Prasasti* of Hariṣeṇa and the Kollair grant of Sālaṅkāyana Nandivarman prove that Sālaṅkāyana Hastivarman ruled in Veṅgi region in the second or third quarter of the fourth century A. D. So there is a chance of the Sālaṅkāyanas ruling during the Ikṣvākū period. At that time they were either subordinate or independent rulers.

7 The first three rulers were Vāsiṣṭhiputra Caṁtamūla (I), his son Māṭharīputra Virapurūṣadatta (I), the latter's son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ehuvala (Ehuvala or Ehavala) Caṁtamūla (II) (*El.*, vol. XX, pp. 1ff; vol. XXI, pp.)

them ruled at least for twenty⁸ and twentyfour years⁹ (or probably for 28 years) respectively, this dynasty could well have reigned till the close of the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. Our record should be placed little after this latter date.

Our inscription seems to indicate that one Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti was a contemporary of the Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa. Among the Satrapal families of Avanti region (W. Malwa) and Western India, there were two members having the name Rudradāman. One of them was Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman of the Junagadh inscription, which is in the year 72, i.e., 150 A. D. Thus, as he flourished probably before the rise of the southern Ikṣvākūs, he cannot be identified with Rudradāman of a post-Ikṣvākū record. The only other Śaka Rudradāman of Western India was the father of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī-Rudrasena (III). The first known date of Rudrasena (III) is 270 i.e. 348 A.D.¹⁰ As this date does not vary much from the probable

63ff; *IA.*, 1955-56, p. 241; *IA.*, 1956-57, p. 36 & Pl. LVIII, l. 1; *IA.*, 1957-58, pp. 6, 8 & 54). An inscription probably refers to Caṁtamūla II as Ehuvalaśrī (*IA.*, 1957-58, p. 54). The two sons of Caṁtamūla II were Vāsiṣṭhīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta (*IA.*, 1955-56, p. 24) and Virupuruṣadatta (II) (*IA.*, 1956-57, p. 36). A record from Gurzala, which has close palaeographic similarity with the Ikṣvākū inscriptions, refers to the 4th year of the reign of Mahārāja Rulupurisadāta, (=Rulupuruṣadatta) (*El.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 123 ff). If the latter was really an Ikṣvākū ruler, he might have been identical with Rudrapuruṣadatta. A Nagarjunikonda record mentions a son of Caṁtamūla (II) as Puruṣadatta (=Rudrapuruṣadatta or more probably Virapuruṣadatta?). (*IA.*, 1957-58, p. 54).

8 Virapuruṣadatta (I) ruled at least for twenty years (*El.*, vol. XXI, pp. 63-4). Some Jaggayyapetta inscriptions are also dated in the same year.

9 Caṁtamūla (II) ruled at least for twentyfour years (*IA.*, 1956-57, pp. 36 & 39; *IA.*, 1957-58, p. 6). One inscription, which may be referred to the reign of this ruler bears a date (*IA.* 56-57, p 36 Pl LIXA), It has been read as 24. But it is probably written as 98. As it is almost impossible for any one to rule for 98 years, the reading can be emended as 28.

10. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. 179.

date of our record, we can identify Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti with Svāmī-Rudradaman (II), father of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī-Rudrasena (III).

The above identification has great importance. Till now Rudradāman (II) is known only from the legend on the coins of his son, where he is given the titles 'rājan', 'mahākṣatrapa' and *svāmī*. But as none of his own coins or other records has been so far discovered, it has remained uncertain as to whether he was really a king or a mere pretender to the title. *Our record shows that he actually ruled in Avanti region.*

No Kṣatrapa coin is known to have been issued in between the years 254 and 270, i.e., 332 and 348 A.D. The first is the last known date of Yaśodāman (II)¹¹ and the latter is the earliest known year of Rudrasena (III), son of Rudradāman (II). So the last mentioned ruler should have reigned sometime between c. 332 and c. 348 A.D. The reason for the absence of his coins cannot be accounted for, though it might have been possible that during his comparatively short reign he did not find time to issue coins due to some internal troubles. He might have some quarrel with Yaśodāman. The exact relationship between the two is not known.

The fact that Rudradāman of Avanti ruled between c. 332 and c. 348 A.D., definitely indicates that his contemporary Vasuṣeṇa should have ruled about the same time. As our record is issued during the reign of this king Vasuṣeṇa, and as the latter's contemporary Rudradāman (II) (c. 332—c. 348 A.D.) seems to have been ruling at that time, *the date of the inscription in question should be fixed sometime between c. 332 and c. 348 A.D.*

Our record, inscribed during the reign of the Ābhīra king Vasiṣṭhīputra¹² Vasuṣeṇa, shows that the latter ruled independently in Nagarjunikonda region. He probably ruled, as has been indicated above, in the second quarter of the fourth century

11 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

12 This term probably has reference to the family of the maternal uncle of the king.

A.D. It seems that in Nagarjunikonda area the family of Vasuṣeṇa was the successor of the Ikṣvākūs, the latter's rule having ended by the end of the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

This conclusion necessitates a revision of the general view of scholars that the Pallavas supplanted the Ikṣvākūs in Andhra country. The Mayidavolu copperplates¹³, issued from Kāñchīpura by the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman in the tenth year of the reign of his father¹⁴, records the grant of a village situated in Aṁdhāpata (Andhrāpatha). It also refers to a Pallava governor (*vāpata = vyāpṛta*) stationed at Dhamñakada (i.e. Dhānyakataka). Dhamñakada has been differently identified with Dharanikot, Amaravati, Bezwada and Nagarjunikonda. This evidence definitely proves that at least the greater part of Andhra country was under the rule of the early Pallavas. The palaeographic differences¹⁵ between the Ikṣvākū records and the

13 *El.*, vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.

14 The Mayidavolu record does not mention the name of the father. The Hirahadagalli inscription refers to him only as "Bappa" (*El.*, vol. I, pp. 5 ff, 9 ff, & 479; vol. II, pp. 485 ff), which probably means "father." Dr. Sircar suggests that his name was Simhavarman (*Classical Age*, p. 276). A Prakrit inscription of a Pallava king named Simhavarman has been discovered in Guntur District. "Its palaeography," observes Dr. D. C. Sircar, "closely resembles that of the Ikṣvākū records and is earlier than that of Śivaskandavarman's charters." "It is not improbable," Dr. Sircar continues, "that Simhavarman was the father of Śivaskandavarman" (*CA.*, p. 276). If so, Simhavarman's inscription may be placed just after Vasuṣeṇa's record, the latter having close palaeographic similarity with the Ikṣvākū records and also having been found immediately above the ruins of some Ikṣvākū buildings.

15 Dr. D. C. Sircar observes that like the Sātavāhana and other early Prakrit records, the Ikṣvākū inscriptions express compound-consonants by single letters. The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman, on the other hand, express them, in many cases, by two letters. The Ikṣvākū records are in Prakrit, whereas Śivaskandavarman's Prakrit grants have seals written in Sanskrit. On the basis of these linguistic differences, Dr. Sircar thinks that "there was an interval" between the rule of the Ikṣvākūs and that of Śivaskandavarman (*SSLD*, p. 166). The arguments of this learned scholar, however, cannot be

Mayidavolu charter indicate that the latter was issued sometime later, but not very much later, than the end of the Ikṣvākū rule. Hence it is tempting to suggest that the early Pallavas ruled in Andhra country after the Ikṣvākūs. But our record, as has been stated above, seems to be earlier than the inscription of Sivaskandavarman. Hence Vasuṣeṇa must have ruled before Sivaskandavarman. Thus it may be stated that *at least in Nagarjunikonda area the Ikṣvākūs were succeeded by the Ābhīras and the latter by the Pallavas.*

The family of Vasuṣeṇa, who ruled for a short period in Nagarjunikonda, belonged to the Ābhīra tribe. The Ābhīras had their settlements in different places of India.¹⁶ It is difficult to determine the locality from which the family of Vasuṣeṇa might have come to Nagarjunikonda region, though similarity between the name-endings may suggest that Vasuṣeṇa might probably have some connection with the family of the Ābhīra king Ísvarasena. An inscription of the latter ruler has been found at Nasik.¹⁷

The epigraph, which we discuss, mentions some rulers, who seem to have been contemporaries of Vasuṣeṇa. They are mahā ...mahāgrāmika mahātalavara mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śivasena of Kauśika-gotra and of the Paribideha family, Yonarājas from Sajayapurī or Sañjayapurī, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and Viṣṇurudraśivalananda Sātakarṇṇi of Vanavāsaka.

accepted in the light of new discoveries. Some recently found Ikṣvākū records from Nagarjunikonda are written in nearly pure Sanskrit (*IA.*, 1956-57, pp. 36 & 38; Pl. LVIII & LIX). They express compound-consonants by two letters. (*IA.*, 1956-57, Pl. LVIII, 'spa' in l. 1; 'utra' in ll. 1 & 4; 'kṣvū' in ll. 5 & 8; 'svā' in l. 10, etc.). So here the linguistic differences may not indicate any difference of age. The palaeographic differences, however, show that sometime, though not much, might have elapsed between the issue of the last of the known Ikṣvākū records and the Mayidavolu grant. In the latter record the latter 'ya' is more developed and the letters 'sa,' 'ma' etc. have peculiar forms.

16 For an account of the Ābhīras see *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1951,* pp. 91 ff.

17 *El.*, vol. VIII, pp. 38 ff; V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 1 ff.

During the third and fourth centuries A.D. many chiefs belonging to different families of South India used feudatory titles like 'mahātalavara,' 'mahādaṇḍanāyaka' and others.¹⁸ Probably they were descendants of provincial governors and administrators of the Maurya and the Sātavāhana empires. These chiefs were *de facto*, and probably also *de jure*, independent rulers. There is no doubt that these families, rulers of which used the 'mahātalavara' and 'mahādaṇḍanāyaka' titles, were powerful. This is demonstrated not only by the facts that a sister of Caṁtamūla (I) was given in marriage to one mahāsenāpati mahātalavara Khaṁdasiri of the Pūkīya family,¹⁹ and that a daughter of the

18 The title 'mahāgrāmika' probably means a person in charge of several grāmas or villages. 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka' probably denotes the chief of police with power of judging criminal offences. (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, I, p. 260, f. n. 1.). The term 'mahātalavara' probably stands for provincial governors. Dr. D. C. Sircar observes that the *mahātalavaras* are mentioned in early Jain works along with the eighteen gāṇarājas. (cf. *Kalpasūtra*, ed. Jacobi, 6. 1, ll, 21-25). A Sanskrit commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, called *Subodhikā*, explains the term *talavara* as *tuṣṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthāniya*. In the Punjab there is a sub-division of the Khetris (Kṣatriyas) called Tālwār (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 7, n. 1.). Vogel suggests a connection of the word 'talavara' with Tamil *talavāy* (general), *talaiyari* (village-watchman) or Kanarese *talavara*, *talavāra* (watchman, beadle). It seems from the evidences of the *Subodhikā*, and these inscriptions that the 'mahātalavaras' were provincial governors or subordinate rulers (*SSLD.*, p. 19).

The fact that the same person used at the same time several titles of different denominations, at once indicates that these had become conventional hereditary epithets.

19 *El.*, vol. XX, pp. 20-21. "The Pukiyas have been located by some writers in the Pungi District comprising Nellore and adjacent area" (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 224). An inscription, found in Krishna district, mentions the *Mahātalavaras* of the Mūgiyas. It has been suggested that the Mūgiyas may be identical with the Pūkīyas. (*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1926-27, p. 74) A recently found inscription from Nagarjunikonda refers to a *mahātalavara* of the Puṣyakatīyas, who had relations with the Ikṣvākūs. (*IA.*, 1956-57,

same king became the wife of mahāṣenāpati mahātalavara mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇaka²⁰ of the Dhanaka house, but also by the evidence that in an official genealogy the scribe probably took pride in describing Caṁtamūla (II) as a 'bhāgīneya' of one mahātalavara.²¹

The place where the Paribideha family, to which mahāgrāmika mahātalavara mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śivasena belonged, flourished cannot be definitely located. It might have been situated in or near Andhra country.

In early Christian centuries the term 'Yona' generally meant the Greek or Ionian Greek; but the Yona kings, referred to in our record, probably denote some Graeco-Roman chiefs. Their seat of authority, called Sajayapurī or Sañjayapurī, was probably a Graeco-Roman settlement. Existence of Roman colonies on the eastern coast of the peninsula is proved by the results of the excavations at Arikamedu²² and other places. Can Sañjayapurī be identified with 'Salour' (a mart), placed by Ptolemy in the "Land of Pandion" (Pāṇḍya) (VII, I, 11)?

It has already been stated above that Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti should be identified with Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī-Rudradāman (II), father of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī-Rudrasena (III) of the family of the Satraps of Western India. This identification

p. 36 & Pl. LVIII, l. 6). Can the Puṣyakatīyas and the Pūkiyas be identical?

20 *El.*, vol. XX, p. 18. Had the Dhanakas any connection with Dhānyakāṭaka region (modern Dharanikot or Amaravati, or Bezwada, or Nagarjunikonda)?

21 A record, issued by prince Virapurūṣadatta (II) in the sixteenth regnal year of his father Caṁtamūla (II), describes the latter as the 'mahātalavara bhāgīneya' and also indicates his relation with different members of his maternal family. (*IA.*, 1956-57, Pl. LVIII, ll. 5-6). Incidentally, we are reminded of the Allahabad *Praśasti*, which for the first time described Samudragupta's maternal relations with the Licchavis, —a practice not common in North India. Did the composer of the *Praśasti* learn the idea of referring to the king's maternal family in epigraphs after the emperor's southern campaign?

22 *Ancient India*, no. 2, pp. 17 ff.

proves, as has already been indicated above, that Rudradāman (II) actually ruled in Avanti region.

It is interesting to note here that the Western Satraps were matrimonially related with the Ikṣvākūs. A Nagarjunikonda inscription, dated in the sixth year of the reign of Vīrapuruṣadatta (I), refers to one Mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā as ‘*Ujanikā-mahāra-bālikā*’²³. Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā seems to have been a queen of Vīrapuruṣadatta (I). Vogel thinks that ‘*Ujanikā-mahāra-bālikā*’ should be correctly written as ‘*Ujanikā-mahārājabālikā*’, i.e., daughter of the king of Ujjainī²⁴. The Ujjainī monarch was most probably a Śaka Kṣatrapa of the house of Caṣṭana, as Ptolemy refers to Ozene as the capital of Tiastenes (Caṣṭana) (VII, 1, 63). Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā might have been, as her name suggests, a daughter or a sister either of Rudrasena (I) (121-144, i.e., 199-222 A.D.) or of Rudrasena (II) (177 to 198 or 199, i.e., 254-276 A.D.), both having ruled near about the date of Vīrapuruṣadatta (I) (second half of the third century A.D.). The mention of ‘*dinārimāsaka*’ coins in the inscription which cites the name of Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, and also the reference to a pious gift by a Śaka girl in another Nagarjunikonda record²⁵ may indicate, as Dr. D.C. Sircar suggests, Ikṣvākū kings’ relations with the north.²⁶ A recently found Nagarjunikonda record, which gives the title ‘*svāmi*’ (i.e., *svāmī*) to the Ikṣvākū kings [Caṃtamūla (I), Vīrapuruṣadatta (I), Caṃtamūla (II) and Rudrapurusadatta],²⁷ also probably indicates Śaka influence. Among the Satraps of Western India the title ‘*svāmi*’ was ascribed to Jayadāman,²⁸ Jivadāman²⁹ and Rudradāman (II)³⁰ and to all kings from time of Rudrasena (III).³¹

23 *El.*, vol. XX, pp. 1 ff, inscription no. B. 5.

24 *Ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 19.

25 *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 37.

26 *SSLD.*, p. 23

27 *IA.*, 1955-56, p. 24, Pl. XXXIX, A.

28 *CCADWK.*, pp. 76-77.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-174.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 179-194.

Viṣṇurudraśivalananda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsaka,³² was probably a member of the Sātakarṇi family of Vanavāsī, now in North Kanara. The name is still preserved in Banavasi, a village or small town in Shimoga district (S. India). It was the capital of the Cuṭu Sātarnis. The joint evidences of the Malavalli record of Viṣṇukaḍa-Cuṭu Sātakarṇi and the Malavalli inscription of the Kadambas³³ indicate that the Sātakarṇi rule in Vanavāsī was finished by the Kadambas. Dr. D. C. Sircar is of the opinion that the last mentioned record belongs to the time of Kadamba Mayūraśarman.³⁴ If so, Viṣṇurudraśivalananda's date should be anterior to Mayūraśarman's time, and consequently our epigraph may be placed earlier than the Candravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman.³⁵

We should note here that this Sātakarṇi house of Vanavāsī was also probably matrimonially related to the Ikṣvākūs. A Nagarjunikonda record describes a daughter of Vīrapuruṣadatta (I) as the *mahādevī* (queen) of the 'Vanavāsaka-Mahārāja'.³⁶ Vīrapuruṣadatta's contemporary king of Vanavāsī could be no other than a member of the Sātakarṇi family of that area.

The Satrapal family of Western India and the Sātakarṇi family of Vanavāsī thus used to bear friendly attitudes towards the Ikṣvākūs. Our record, on the other hand, indicates that they had also good relations with king Vasuṣeṇa, who was probably an enemy of the Ikṣvākūs. It is not known as to whether the Satraps and the Sātakarṇis joined hands with Vasuṣeṇa in the latter's attempts to overthrow the Ikṣvākūs, or

32 The nomenclature Viṣṇurudraśivalananda reminds us of the names Cuṭukaḍānanda and Muḍānanda of the coins (CCADWK, p. 212) and Viṣṇukaḍa-Cuṭu Sātakarṇi of a Vanavāsī record (*Indian Antiquary*, 1885, p. 331; CCADWK, p. liii). Vanavāsaka was also known as Vanavāsa.

33 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VII, pp. 251 & 252.

34 *SSLD.*, pp. 248-49.

35 *Mysore Archaeological Survey, Annual Report*, 1929, p. 50.

36 *El.*, vol. XX, p. 24; *SSLD.*, pp. 23-24.

they simply accorded recognition to the Ābhīra king only after the completion of the transference of power.

En passant, attention of scholars may be drawn to the fact that the god Aṣṭabhujasvāmin has been described in l. 1 of our record as 'bhagavān', 'devaparamadeva'³⁷, *purāṇapurusa* and 'nārāyaṇa', and in l. 3 probably as 'gopa-bhata'.³⁸ These epithets seem to be interesting from the point of view of the history of the religious cults.

Our inscription states that 'Aṣṭabhujasvāmin, made of best ochre, was established, being encircled' (āviriya = āvṛtya). This description shows that the image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin, was established in an enclosure. The latter might have been an open-air shrine.³⁹

In conclusion, it will be worth while to note that this record of the time of Vasuṣeṇa, which indicates the association of a few rulers with some pious act, at once reminds us of the famous Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions, which associate several Śaka chiefs with a meritorious or memorial deed.⁴⁰

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37 Cf. 'Devadevasa Vāsudevasa' occurring in the Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra. (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-9*, p. 126).

38 If the reading of the epithet 'gopa-bhata' (i. e. the lord of the cowherd) is correct, Aṣṭabhujasvāmin should be considered to have been taken here as a representation of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, as the title in question generally means the latter.

39 Cf. 'Pūjā-śilā-prākāro' of the Ghosundi Stone Inscription of Sarvatāta (*El.*, vol. XVI, p. 27).

40 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N. S.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 542-44; *Él.*, vol. IX, pp. 141 ff; Dr. Sten Konow, *Cor. Ins. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 48.

Ancient Mithilā, its Boundary, Names and Area

Boundary

Today on the political map of India we do not find the name of Mithilā. Naturally therefore a vagueness about its boundaries exists in many people's mind. It is an old name revived in recent times of a tract of country comprised by what are today indicated as 'North' Bihar, 'Terai' and 'Southern' portion of the kingdom of Nepal inclusive of lower ranges of hills. The name 'Mithilā' had not been altogether forgotten though for administrative purposes first Tirabhukti and then Tirhut became the more common designation. Gradually now, however, the name Tirhut is giving way to the older and culturally richer name of 'Mithilā.' It is also becoming more popular because of the increasing importance of Maithilī, its mediaeval and modern regional language.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

The earliest reference to Videha is in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the date of which has been roughly computed between 1000 and 600 B. C.¹ It is mentioned there that the river Sadānīrā distinguished Mithilā (then called Videha) from Kośala. The identification of the river Sadānīrā has been made with modern river Gaṇḍakī.²

The Epics

Even in the Epics the boundaries are not given with more exactitude. All that we know is that the country is known as Videha. It is described as having more than one

1 Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I

2 This identification has been disputed. *Buddha*; Oldenberg p. 398n. cf. Pargiter *JASB.*, 1897 p. 87ff. Pargiter takes the Sadānīrā to be identical with Rāptī. *Mahābhārata* 11. 20. 27. 'Gaṇḍakīṅ ca mahāsonam Sadānīraṃ tathaiiva ca.'

kingdom within its boundaries. The important kingdom mentioned are those of Vaiśālī and Mithilā. It is not clear where the kingdom of Mithilā ended and where that of Vaiśālī began, but it is stated in the Valmikiya *Rāmāyaṇa* that 'they (the two kingdoms) were not far from the confluence of the river Śoṇa and the Gaṅgā,' as Rāma finished his journey (between the Śoṇa and the Gaṅgā before reaching Vaiśālī) within a day.³ It took Viśvāmitra along with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa four days to reach the capital of the country of Videha from Ayodhyā. They rested in the way for one night only.⁴

The Buddhist Texts

In the Buddhist texts there are one or two stray references which show that the province of Videha was situated in the tract of land called Madhyadeśa. It is likely as Dr. B. C. Law says that "the Buddhists extended the connotation of Madhyadeśa (*traditionally regarded as the most sacred part of India*) simply because they had to include in it the land par excellence of Buddhism, viz., Bodhgaya and Banaras." It appears that they extended the 'eastern boundary of Majjhimadesa still farther to the east so as to include Puṇḍravardhana which in ancient times included Vārendra'⁵ (North Bengal). Not only, the later Brahmanical and Muslim works agree in placing the boundary of Madhyadeśa somewhere near Prayāg; but also such early works as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁶ and the *Mahābhārata*⁷ hold the same

3 *Rāmāyaṇa*.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.3. The messengers sent by Janaka reached Daśaratha's capital in three days by travelling very fast; while Daśaratha on his journey to the Videhan capital in his chariot took four days.

5 B. C. Law. (Italics our own. The second quotation is based on the Buddhist work *Divyāvadāna*).

6 38. 3.

7 Pargiter: 'The Nations of India at the battle between the Pāndavas and Kauravas': *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 326. *Mahābhārata Śā. Pa.* 167. 3. Madhyadeśaḥ.

view. It has been rightly contended that the reason, why *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* is careful to point out that the Path of Dharma was revealed by the sage of Mithilā, Yājñavalkya, in that country in which the black antelope roams about,⁸ is that though Mithilā was not included in the four ancient holy lands of Bhāratavarṣa (Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta) it acquired sanctity only from the fact pointed out by the *Dharmaśāstra*.⁹ Indeed far from being included in the Madhyadeśa (Mid-land) Mithilā was consistently regarded as an independent unit of the Prācyadeśa (Eastern country). In this connection it may be pointed out that Prācī in ancient Tibetan works excluded (even Magadha, Kāśī and Kośala) but included Mithilā and Vaṅga'.¹⁰

The Purāṇas

In the Purāṇas also we do not get a more definite idea of the boundaries of the Province. In some of them such as *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Vāyu. Skanda*, there is hardly any clear mention of them. It is only in a later work called *Bṛhad-Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (c. 5th cen. A. D.) that we get an accurate idea. In the *Mithilā-māhātmya Khaṇḍa*, it is stated that Tīrabhukti (a later name of the province) is situated between the river Gaṅgā and the Himalayas, extending over fifteen rivers and the extension, from Kośi or Kauśikī (in the east) to the Gaṇḍakī (in the west), for 24 yojanas and from Gaṅgā to the forests of Himalayas for

8 मिथिलास्थः स योगीन्द्रः सम्यग् ध्यात्वाब्रवीन्मुनीन् ।

यस्मिन्देशे मृगः कृष्णस्तस्मिन् धर्मान् निबोधत ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति-आचार० १.२.

9 'A History of Maithili Literature' by Dr. J. K. Mishra, Vol. I p. 3; *Aparārka* p. 5. Quoted by Mm P. V. Kane in *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 14.

10 Though *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII. 14 includes Mithila in the group of Prācyadeśas and also Kośala, Magadha and Aṅga. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 421-23; VII. 2.

16 yojanas.¹¹ The well-known poet of modern Mithilā, Pandit Chanda Jha, describes this boundary in his well-known Maithilī verses :

‘गंगा बहति जनिक दक्षिणदिशि पूर्व कौशकी धारा ।
पश्चिम बहति गंडकी उत्तर हिमवत बल विस्तारा ॥
कमला त्रियुगा अमृता धेमुडा वागमती कृतसारा ।
मध्य बहति लक्ष्मणा प्रभृति से मिथिला विद्यागारा ॥’

Besides this there is an anonymous traditional verse quoted in *Vidyākarasāhasrakam*¹² :

जाता सा यत्र सीता सरिदमलजला वाग्वती यत्र पुण्या
यत्रास्ते सन्निधाने सुरनगरनदी भैरवो यत्र लिङ्गम् ।
मीमांसा-न्याय-वेदाध्ययन-पट्टतरैः परिडतैर्मण्डिता या
भूदेवो यत्र भूपो यजनवसुमती सास्ति मे तीरभुक्तिः ॥

This covers the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, North Monghyr, North Bhagalpur (modern Saharsa Dist.) and parts of Purnea in India and those of Rohtara, Sarilahi, Mohitari, Saptari and Morang in the kingdom of Nepal.

This definition of the boundaries of the ancient Mithilā is the fullest and the most accurate one that we have.

Obviously, there have been many changes in these boundaries since then. There is evidence to prove the fact that the eastern boundary has never been constant. It has been fluctuating with the variations in the course of the river Kośī.¹³ The

11 गंगाहिमवतोर्मध्ये नदी पञ्चदशान्तरे ।
तैरभुक्तिरिति ख्यातो देशः परमपावनः ॥
कौशकोन्तु समारभ्य गण्डकीमधिगम्य वै ।
योजनानि चतुर्विंशत् व्यायामः परिकीर्तितः ॥
गंगाप्रवाहमारभ्य यावद्धैमवतं वनम् ।
विस्तारः षोडशः प्रोक्तो देशस्य कुलनन्दन ॥

12 Verse p. 147. Dr. U. Mishra's edition.

13 The references in the epics are too vague to enable us to ascertain the exact position of the mouth of the river. As far as I can follow Dr. Hunter, the original course of the river as suggested by him agrees in the main with that indicated by Dr. Hamilton as far as Tejpur Pargana, but from this point the former takes it along a more northern course

Kośi formerly was situated very much to the east of its present position. But from about the seventh century A. D. to about 1600 A.D. as the common boundary of the provinces of Mithilā and Kāmrup (Assam);¹⁴ the Gaṅgā and the Himalayas have remained more or less constant as indicated by the boundary given in the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣakoṣa*,¹⁵ *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* and the traditional definition of the grant of the kingdom of Mithilā to Maharaja Maheśa Thakura by the Mughal Emperor Akbar.¹⁶ As regards the Gaṇḍaki there has been some change. Grierson noticed this in 1880 and found so much of Mithilā as lay in the District of Champaran had gradually,

into the Karatoyā, whilst the latter takes it further south into the marshes north and east of Malda station and thence away to the Brahmaputra. Dr. Hunter's theory seems more likely of the two as being based on some evidence and these 'great lakes north and south and east of Malda were probably formed by a subsequent movement of the Kośi. The second bed of the Kośi and probably there were other channels occupied between this and the hypothetical course, suggested by Dr. Hunter is supported by the evidence of the distinctive Bengali and Bihari eras, while line of division at the time of introduction would most probably be carried along a natural boundary such as a large river. There are along this tract of country, numerous large jhils or extensive pools which seem the outcome of a large river. This Kosi would pass through Kalindri, a deep and wide channel still known as Mora Kosi, and would strike direct against the northern suburbs of Gaur, and we see numerous embankments to the north and east of this ancient city meant to keep off the floods, 'The Kosi has never been known to return eastwards to any of its deserted channels but has been steadily advancing westward, the successive leaps forming as it were a series of terraces with the slope facing east,' Purnea Dist. Gazetteer, p. 19ff.

14 गङ्गातीरावधिरधिगता यद्भवो भृङ्गभुक्तिः ।

नाम्ना सैव त्रिभुवनतले विश्रुता तीरभुक्तिः ॥

15 In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣakoṣa* of Purushottamadeva—गण्डकीतीरमारभ्य चम्पारयान्तकं शिवे विदेहभूः समाख्याता तीरभुक्तभिधो मनुः । (Baroda Edition Vol. I Intro. VLI)

16 'Az-gang-ta-Sang: Az-kos-ta-ghose' i.e. from the Ganges to the mountains (i. e. Nepal) and from Kosi (river Kosi) to the whole of Tirhut as popularly known, cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*.

linguistically and culturally been encroached upon by Madhyadeśa. Indeed, linguistically speaking he noticed that Madhesi (Madhyadesiya) language had occupied almost the whole of Champaran and portions of Muzaffarpur. He says the language of ancient Mithilā has been encroached upon in recent past by Bhojpuri in the west and it has in revenge crossed the Ganges and occupied North Patna and so much of Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts as lie to the south of that river. It has also crossed the Kosi and occupied Purnea.¹⁷

Various Names of Mithilā

The *Brhad-Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives twelve names of Mithilā:¹⁸

मिथिला तैरभुक्तिश्च वैदेही नैमिकाननम् ।
 ज्ञानक्षेत्रं कृपापीठं स्वर्णलाङ्गलपद्धतिः ॥
 जानकीजन्मभूमिश्च निरपेक्षा विकल्मषा ।
 रामानन्दकुटी विश्वभावनी नित्यमंगला ॥

Most of these names are descriptive epithets. We shall therefore, discuss the origin of the first three names only because they alone seem to have been actually used as the proper names of the entire country.

At first it seems that the whole province was called Videha and had several kingdoms in it, the chief ones being those of Mithilā and Vaiśālī. Indeed, from the account of the land given in earlier literature it would seem that the chief city of the kingdom of Mithilā, was Mithilā. The name Videha appears to have lost vogue in the mediaeval times and today it is obsolete.

17 Grierson: *Bihari Grammars*, Introduction p. XVI.

18 *Brhad-Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Mithilākhaṇḍa: *Mithilā*; *Tirabhukti*; *Vaidehī*; *Naimikānanam*—the forests of the descendants of Nimi; *Jñanakṣetram Kṛpā-pīṭham*—the home of knowledge and the centre of grace; *Svarṇalāṅgalapaddhati*—The footsteps of the gold plough; *Jānaki-janmabhūmi*; *Vikalmaṣā*—Devoid of sins; *Rāmānandakuṭī*—the cottage of Sitā's pleasure; *Viśvabhāvani*—world pleasant; and *Nityamaṅgalā*—ever blissful.

Then came the name Tīrabhukti. This name appears to have become popular by the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. It was a contemporary name with the names of the contemporary provinces of Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand), Puṇḍravardhanabhukti and other Bhuktis. The Basarh terracotta seals of the 4th century A.D. mention this name definitely for the first time. It became very popular and in its simplified form Tirhut is even now used extensively, though as pointed out earlier, the name Mithilā is now gradually gaining the ground. Tirhut also indicated at one time a Sirkar or a division of the Śubah of Bihar. Under Muslim rulers; 'it comprised a very large tract of the country being bounded on the north by Sirkar Hajipur.....Then the Britishers formed the modern division of Tirhut comprising of Districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran and Saran.' The name Mithilā is found very early in the Epics and the Purāṇas. But it is not clear when exactly its connotation passed from the bounds of a city to those of the province. It was certainly used for the whole country during the middle ages. It has become most popular and symbolic of the renaissance Mithilā in the late 19th century A.D. Indeed today this is the name which is known more widely as a cultural unit than any other.

1. *Videha*

Videha was the earliest designation. It is probable that it was derived from the name of the Vedic King Videgha Māthava who is said to have introduced the Agni (? sacrificial fire, representing according to some the Aryan or Brahmanical civilization of Madhyadeśa; according to others only a particular form of

19 Darbhanga Dist. Gazetteer—'Videha comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rapti to Darbhanga, with Kośala on the west and Aṅga on the east. On the north it approached the hills, and on the south it was bounded by the small kingdom of Vaiśālī.'

sacrifice) into the lands beyond the river Sadānīrā.²⁰ At any rate it seems that Videgha Māṭhava's visit led to the cultivation and more habitation of the country, for we are told that previously the land was extremely marshy and had to be dried up.²¹ It appears also that he became the founder of the dynasty of Janaka kings; his name gave the name Videha or Videhan to it.

Other explanations of this name are inadequate. Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on the *Samyutta Nikāya* resolves the word Vedehi into Veda-iha, Vedena-ihati or intellectual effort. Some explain it by referring to Vaidehya, Vaidehi and Vaideha in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*²² and *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitās*²³—though they mean cows and not any country. There is a third theory very popular among the Paurāṇics that the name Videha is derived from a king called Nimi who became a Videha (one whose body is gone; bodiless) and whose successors were called Vaideha. (The story given in the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa is described below). Now the entire story appears to be more of a nature of myth rather than of a historical fact. The churning of a dead body and birth of a son therefrom and the connected origin of names—Videha, Mithilā and Janaka are typical of this kind of myth originating at a very later date. Mr. Shyannarain Singh compares this kind of story to those explaining the existing names of Hellen and his sons in ancient Greece.²⁴

20 *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* says 'Janako ha Vaideho' IX. 6. 2. 5., 1. 4. i. etc.; Oldenberg: *Buddha* pp. 398-99; Pargiter: *JASB* 1897, p. 87 ff MacDonell: *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 214-15; *Vedic Index* II, p. 278. Some scholars are inclined to find the origin of the name Mithilā too in the title Māṭhava of this king, Mithi being reminiscent of it.

21 *Sat. Bra.* IV 1.

22 II. i. iv.

23 इन्द्रो वै वृत्रमहस्तं हतस्सप्तभिर्भोगैः पर्यहंस्तस्य मूर्ध्नि वैदेहीरुदायंस्ताः प्राचीरायंस्तस्मात्ताः पुरस्स जघन्यमृषभं वैदेहमनूद्यान्तममन्यतेममिदानी-मालभेय तेन त्वा इतो मुच्येयेति...(xiii. 4).

24 Cf. The Greek legend of Hellen and his sons.

According to the Jaina Sūtras,²⁵ Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, a Videha, the son of Videhadatta, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha lived 30 years in Videha when his parents died. At the time of Gautama Buddha we find people coming from Srāvastī to Videha to see their wares.²⁶ In the *Vāyu*²⁷ and *Viṣṇu*²⁸ *Purāṇas* Nimni or Nemi figures as a son of Ikṣvāku and is honoured with the epithet of Videha.

Mithilā

Mithilā is not mentioned in the Vaidika and even later literature. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, *Daśakumāracarita*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Prasannarāghava* etc. sparingly mention it for the whole country. But it is used most extensively in all literature specially as the capital city of Videha or Tīrabhukti province situated somewhere in the Terai (identified with modern Janakpur).²⁹ Mithilā is also called Miyulu in the Buddhist Annals.³⁰

The use of the appellation Mithilā for the whole country is comparatively very late—from about the time of the installation of Karnāṭa Dynasty³¹ in 1099 A.D. and was used side by side with Tīrabhukti or Tirhut till the last century. Since Grierson made the name Maithili popular for the Vernacular literature of the land, the name Mithilā once again became famous.

As regards the origin of the name, the *Vālmikiya Rāmāyaṇa* observes that the city of Mithilā was founded by king Mithi.

25 Jaina Sūtras, *Sacred Books of the East*, XXII, Pt. I, p. 256.

26 See Dhammapala's *Paramatthadīpanī* on the Theragāthā, Pt. III pp 277 ff.

27 88. 7-8.

28 iv 5-1.

29 The full story of the discovery of Janakpur is described in *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 385ff. In some Jātaka accounts a city called Jayanta on the bank of the Ganges is spoken of as the capital of Videha (or of a Videhan District?). The *Devi-Bhāgavata* (VI Skandha) wrongly located the city on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

30 See Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 196 quoted by Nandalal Dey in *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 1927, p. 13.

31 See the work of King Nanyadeva on music—*Sarasvatībr̥dayakaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

This is corroborated by many Purāṇas—*Bhāgavata*,³² *Vāyu*³³, *Bhaviṣya*, *Brahma*,³⁴ *Viṣṇu*³⁵ and *Bṛihad-Viṣṇu Purāṇa*³⁶ *Mithilā Mahātmya*. It is related that king Nimi Videha, once started a sacrifice without consulting his family priest Vaśiṣṭha who had gone to Indra. Thereupon, he was cursed by the latter: “King Nimi will be bodiless (i.e. will die, videha—vi. vigata—deha) inasmuch as he, having rejecting me, has engaged Gautama.”³⁷ The king died and his dead body was churned by the Ṛṣis³⁸ to get a successor who came to be known as Mithi (lit. product of churning). This Mithi is said to have given us the name Mithilā.³⁹

32 IX, 24, 64 and IX. 13

33 नेमिर्नाम सुधर्मात्मा सर्वसत्वनमस्कृतः । आसीत् पुत्रो महाराज्ञः इच्छाको-
र्भूरितेजसः ॥३॥ स शापेन वशिष्ठस्य विदेहः समपद्यत । तस्य पुत्रो
मिथिर्नाम जनितः पर्वभिस्त्रिभिः । अरण्यां मध्यमानायां प्रादुर्भूतो महायशाः ।
नाम्ना मिथिरिति ख्यातो जननाज्जनकोऽभवत् ॥५॥ मिथिर्नाम महावीर्यो येनासौ
मिथिलाऽभवत् । राजासौ जनको नाम जनकाच्चाप्युदावसुः ॥६॥

—वायुपुराण ८८. ३-६

सुदुश्चरं नाम तपो येन तप्तं महत्पुरा । त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यानीति हि नः
श्रुतम् ॥३॥ तस्योर्दरेतसस्तत्र स्थितस्यानिमिषस्पृहा । सोमत्वतनुरापेदे
महाबुद्धिः स वै द्विजः ॥४॥

—वायुपुराण ८६. ३-४

34 III. 64.

35 86. 6.

36 p. 9 Adh. 18, śloka 6ff.

37 The name Gautama is significant. It seems to be a family name descended from Rāhugaṇa Gautama of the Vedic period, who first brought sacrificial fire to Mithilā along with his patron Videgha Māthava. The reference to the priest Gautama in this story—which is certainly later than that about Videgha Mathava in the Brāhmaṇa period—further makes it likely that the name Videha was not derived from ‘Mithi’ becoming Videha, though we have it from *Srīmad Bhāgavata*.

38 गौतमो याज्ञवल्क्यश्च विश्वामित्रो भृगुस्तथा वामदेवोषितः कण्वश्चागस्तयो
भार्गवस्तथा...शारोरम् मन्थनार्थाय सर्वे तत्र समागताः See also *JBRS.*, XXXVII,
Pts. 3-4; Law: *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 35, *Jha Commemoration Volume*,
pp. 377-79.

39 Singh, S. rightly characterises this story as belonging to that class of stories which are created in order to explain existing names and com-

The most reasonable explanation of the origin of the name appears to be as given by the Uṇādi-sūtras.⁴⁰ Its author derives it from 'mantha' (to churn), and thus explains it: मिथिलादयश्च । मथ्यन्तेऽत्र रिपवो मिथिला नगरी । (that city is called Mithilā where enemies are tormented). Dr. Subhadra Jha rejects it 'as merely conjectural' in his introduction to the '*Formation of Maithili Language*'. But as Sir Sita Ram rightly observes: this 'explanation is more reasonable. Nimi, a son of Ikṣvāku, was the founder of the solar line of kings of Ayodhyā. One of his brothers established himself in Viśāla and founded the kingdom of Vaiśālī. Another went to Mithilā giving to his capital a signification cognate to Ayodhyā (that which cannot be conquered)".⁴¹

Mithilā was the name of a sage and it is possible that he may have some connection with the name ('मिथिलान्नाश्च महातेजाः'. मत्स्यपुराण). But there is no mention of the sage elsewhere, so it appears to be somebody's imagery or poetic invention.

Dr. Subhadra Jha conjectures the meaning of the word thus: "It is not unreasonable to think that Mithilā has some connection with Sanskrit *Mitha*-together. Hence Mithilā may mean "attached together," inasmuch as Mithilā is the name of that part of the country which is made up of not less than three ancient provinces; viz. Vaiśālī, Videha and Aṅga". This is not, however, at all correct. For this would not explain the name as applied to a city.

The grammatical sense appears to be the most suitable. It

pares it to similar Greek legends. All the names (Janaka, Videha, Mithilā) important in early history of the land are sought to be explained by the same story.

40 Uṇādi, 60.

41 *G. Jha Commemoration Volume*, p. 378. The *Sabda Kalpadruma*, Vol. III, p. 723 says मथ्यन्ते शत्रवो यस्यां मथ मिथिलादयश्च उण् ॥५८ इति हलक् अकारस्येत्वं' नियायते खनामख्याते नगरी । सा तु जनकराजपुरी । यथा विदेहा मिथिला प्रोक्ता । इति हलायुधः ।

is clear however, that in course of time the name of the capital city came to be used for the whole kingdom.⁴²

It is said in the *Mahābhārata* Sabhāparva⁴³ that Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma started from the Kuru kingdom and reached Mithilā after crossing Pūrva Kośala. In the Vanaparva⁴⁴ it is said that Karṇa conquered Mithilā during his Digvijaya. In the Sabhāparva⁴⁵ it is said that Kṛṣṇa together with Bhīmasena, and Arjuna visited Mithilā on his way from Indraprastha to Rajagrha.

We gather from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*⁴⁶ the story of the founding of Mithilā. According to the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*⁴⁷ of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Mithilā was built by Govinda. In the Jaina Sūtras⁴⁸ we get that Vardhamāna Mahāvīra stayed in Mithilā for five years. It is stated in the Jātakas⁴⁹ that the city of Mithilā was 7 leagues and the kingdom of Videha 300 leagues in extent. In the Si-yu-ki (Buddhist Records of the Western World), we find that the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, describing the kingdom of Fo-li-shi (Vṛji) says that the capital of the country was Chen-shu-na. Beal quotes V. de st. Martin who connects the name Chen-shu-na with Janaka and Janakpur (= Mithilā). According to the Jātakas⁵⁰ Mithilā was 60 yojanas

42 According to the *Bh. viśya Purāṇa*, Nimi, the son of Manu, King of Ayodhyā frequented the land of sacrifices. His son Mithi founded a kingdom here which was named Mithilā after his name. Being a 'city builder', he came to be known as 'Janaka' निमिः पुत्रस्तु तथैव मिथिर्नाम महान् स्मृतः प्रथमं भुजबलेयैः नैहुतस्य पार्श्वतः निर्मितम् खोयनाम्ना च मिथिला-पुरमुत्तमम् ।)

43 *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, Chapter 25, p. 24.

44 Vanaparva 254. 45 Sabhāparva XX

46 IX, 24, 64., IX, 13, 13. 47 P. T. So. Vol. II, p. 235.

48 Jaina Sūtras, S. B. E., XXII, Pt. I, p. 256.

49 *Jātaka* (Faūsboll) Vol. III, p. 365 'तियो जनसतिके' and Vol. III, p. 365 and II, 39.

50 *Jātaka* VI. p. 32.

from Champa which was situated on the right bank of the Gaṅgā.⁵¹

Tīrabhukti

Tīrabhukti or Tirhut seems to have been the designation of the whole or of even a little larger part of the country called Videha, though actually Tīrabhukti seems to have implied practically nothing more than Mithilā and Vaiśālī kingdoms of older days. It is mentioned in *Liṅga Purāṇa*,⁵² *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, *Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vāmana's *Liṅgānuśāsana* and *Śaktisaṅgama mantra*⁵³ only. The earliest datable mention of it is first found in the seals of Basarh⁵⁴ (Vaiśālī, Dist. Muzaffarpur). Thereafter, the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣakoṣa*⁵⁵ (12th cen. or 13th cen. A.D.) and various later works refer to it.

As regards the meaning of the name, various conjectures have been made. Mr. Haraprasad Sastri held that the term refers to the province bordering on the Gaṅgā and that as the word 'bhukti' is often used in the Sena inscriptions in the sense of province during tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was first used when the Sena kings of Bengal conquered the country and settled a number of Bengali Brāhmaṇas in it. It is true that the word 'Bhukti' meant province, but the discovery of Basarh Seals dating back to the fourth century A. D. falsifies the latter half of this statement.

The significance of 'Tīra' is disputed. Shri S. Singh⁵⁶ holds that 'Tīra' refers to a caste called 'Tīvara' (Dhivara?) after whom the country might have been called Tīrabhukti. Tīra

51 There is a reference in the *Kalpasūtra* that Lord Mahāvira stayed for 6 rainy seasons in Mithilā (5. 123).

52 'तीरभुक्ति प्रदेशे तु हलावत्ते हलेश्वरः' ।

53 गण्डकीतीरमारभ्य त्रम्पारयान्तकं शिवे । विदेहभूः समाख्याता तीरभुक्त-
भिधो मनुः ।

54 'Tirabhukty-uparik ādhikaranasya' Tira - kumarāmmātya - ādhikaraṇa (sya)' Arch. Survey, *India Annual Report*, 1903-04, p. 109.

55 'प्राग्ज्योतिषः कामरूपे तीरभुक्तिस्तु लिच्छविः' p. 59. Purushottama-deva the author was born between 10th and 11th cen. A. D.

56 *History of Tirhut*, p. 5.

is not an important caste in Mithilā. The *Vaṇaratnākara* has not mentioned it. Then he says the word 'Tīra' may refer to some locality called 'Tīra.' A more probable explanation is however that of Gaṅgānanda, the author of *Bhṛṅgadūta* wherein he says that Tīrabhukti is so called because it 'extends to Tīra (bank) of the river Ganges.' It appears that in Mithilā the river banks are too many. They are both a curse and a blessing to the country. The most plausible explanation therefore seems to be that Tīrabhukti was so called because it was the land of river banks.

There is also another explanation. Tīrabhukti is so called because it is regarded as a land of three mythical sacrifices performed at the birth place of Sītā, at Danuṣā and at Janakpur. Other explanation is that because it extends up to the Tīra or the bank of the Gaṅgā, so it is called Tīrabhukti, which is supported by the fact that originally the inhabitants of this tract of land of the country lived on the two sides of the river Kauśikī (the Kośi). This fact is even further supported by the fact that the Maithilas are even today divided into two broad groups—Pachavāri and Puvari pāra.

Some other meanings or derivations of the name have been offered but they are more ingenious than historically true. Thus 'Tirhut' is a corruption of Tṛhutam i. e. the country of three sacrifices (i) the sacrifice at the birth place of Jānakī, (ii) the sacrifice at the breaking of Śiva's bow by Rāma in the Dahanuṣa Yajña, and (iii) the sacrifice in honour of the marriage of Rāma and Sītā at Janakpur. Some other attempts to trace in it the name of a province bounded by three rivers—the Gaṅgā, Kośi and Gaṇḍakī have also been suggested. This view ignores the historical fact that the centre of the ancient Mithilā was the portion which was nearer to the Himalayas and Nepal.

The Area of Mithilā

The dimensions of Mithilā as given in the *Bṛhad-Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁵⁷ are:

57 कौशिकीन्तु समारभ्य गण्डकीमधिगम्य वै ।
योजनानि चतुर्विंशद्द्वयायामः परिकीर्तितः ॥

East to West 96 Kośas or 24 Yojanas, North to South 64 Kośas or 16 Yojanas. 6, 144 sq. Kośas (=about 1255 sq. miles) and, in the Mahājanaka Jātaka as: 300 Yojanas=(1200 miles).

The actual area of modern Mithilā on the basis of census report of 1941 is roughly 19,275 sq. miles in India including the modern Districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran, North Monghyr, Saharsa and Purnea and about 10000 sq. miles in the kingdom of Nepal.

It is interesting to compare these figures with those for the area of

- 1 Modern Tirhut Division=12595 sq. miles
- 2 Grierson's Maithili speaking area excluding Chamaparan =30000 sq. miles.
- 3 Dr. Umesha Mishra's Maithili speaking area (excluding Champaran and including Magahi area)=40000 sq. miles.

V. MISHRA

गंगाप्रवाहमारभ्य यावद्धैमवतं वनम् ।
विस्तारः षोडश प्रोक्तो देशस्य कुरुनन्दन ।
मथिला नाम नगरी तत्रास्ते लोकविभ्रुता ॥

MISCELLANY

Did Strato I strike barbarous Coins

Cunningham first discovered a second Strato from a very crude type of drachms bearing on the obverse 'the bust of the king' and on the reverse the figure of 'Pallas thundering to left'. "In the Greek legends," he observed, "the name of Straton occurs twice; once in the usual place under the head of the king, and again on the right hand before the face." From this as well as from the occurrence on the reverse of "the new title *Priyapita*, which is a perfect translation of the Greek *Philopator*," he arrived at the conclusion that there was a second Strato, who according to his restoration of the obverse and reverse legends was the son ($\Upsilon\text{I}\text{O}\Upsilon = \textit{putrasa}$) of Strato I.¹ Gardner² also believed in the existence of two Stratos.

Rapson³ reviewed the position in 1906 in his well-known article on the coins of Agathocleia and the two Stratos. He restored in an ingenious way both the Greek and the Kharoṣṭhī legends of the above crude type of drachms bearing the names of the two Stratos. To understand the actual position, a critical study may be made of the following three series of coins, which bear the same types, 'the diademed bust of king' and 'Pallas thundering to left.'

1. Diademed bust of king to right. Greek legend: (above) *Basileōs Sōteros* (below) *Stratōnos*.

1 Cunningham, *The Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, 1873, p. 257.

2 Gardner, *Catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, 1886, pp. xxxv and 168.

3 Rapson, "Coins of the Graeco-Indian Sovereigns, Agathocleia, Strato I Soter and Strato II Philopator", *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 245 ff.

4 A large number of other types of Strato's coins with the epithets *Sōter* and *Dikaios* or *Epiphanes* and *Sōter* have no bearing on this study.

Rev. Helmeted Pallas standing to left, holding aegis in the outstretched left arm and hurling thunderbolt with the right hand. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa* (below) *Stratasa*.

[These are very rare but well-executed drachms with a realistic bust of a youthful king. This type of coins bears only Greek monograms: see *NC* 1948, Pl. VIII. 8.]

2. Diademed bust of king to right. Greek legend: (above) *Basileōs Sōteros* (below) *Stratōnos*.

Rev. Pallas standing to left, hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa* (below) *Stratasa*.

[These are drachms of barbarous style, showing a crudely depicted bust of a very old man on the obverse and a very crude figure of Pallas on the reverse. These coins bear, besides Greek monograms, Kharoṣṭhī letters. See *PMC*, p. 50, Pl. V. 361].

3. Diademed bust of king to right. Corrupt Greek legend, as restored by Rapson, seems to read: *Basileōs Sōteros Stratōnos Kai Philopatoros* (sigmas are round).

Rev. Pallas standing to left, hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kharoṣṭhī legend, as restored by Rapson, seems to read: *Maharajasa* (or *Moharajanam*)⁵ *tratarasa Stratasa potrasā chasa priyapita Stratasa*.

[These are also drachms of barbarous style, showing both the king's bust and the figure of Pallas exactly similar to those on coins of Type 2. Cf. the coin, *PMC*, p. 81, Pl. VIII. 643 and the above coin, *PMC*, p. 50, Pl. V. 361].

It is thus clear that coins of Types 2 and 3 were struck in the same region and by the same authority, as is evident from the identical royal bust, figure of Pallas, monograms and execution of the coins. These coins, we think, have created a false notion about the length of Strato I's reign. Though struck by very unskilled artists,⁶ they reveal an endeavour on the artists'

5 See *Corolla Numismatica*, Pl. XII, 12 and Pl. XII, 13 respectively for the occurrences of *Maharajasa* and *Moharajanam*.

6 As is evident from the barbarous nature of the coins and specially their corrupt legends and clumsy reverse design.

part to depict the royal bust faithfully and the king is portrayed as a man of "more than seventy years" of age "with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks," as originally remarked by Rapson⁷ and echoed since by many others. These coins are, however, rightly termed 'rude' by Cunningham.⁸ We doubt if these rude coins were struck by Strato I himself, who is otherwise known to have issued brilliant tetradrachms and drachms all through, depicting different stages of his manhood from about 20 years to 45.⁹

Strato I adopted at least three epithets during his royal career. The earliest was *Sōter* or *tratarā*, the next was *Dikaios* or *dhramika*, and the third, *Epiphanes* or *prachachha* [*pratyakṣa* = (god-) manifest]. The epithet *Dikaios* was not borne by Strato I at the beginning of his career, though it was a potential one for him as is clear from the joint coins of Agathocleia and Strato I, which do not bear the epithet in its Greek form on the obverse but almost invariably its equivalent Prakrit term *dhramika* on the reverse.¹⁰ Three types of Strato I's own coins, struck after the discontinuation of the joint issue and during the first stage of his career, also show the same position.¹¹

7 Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

8 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

9 Cf. The plates VIII and IX of *NC* 1948.

10 The tetradrachm with the conjugate busts of Agathocleia and Strato I which bears the queen's name on the reverse is the only coin not to bear the epithet *dhramika*, and there too for want of space: *NC* 1950, p. 215, Fig. Otherwise both the varieties of drachms with Agathocleia's bust (*Trésors Monétaires d'Afghanistan*, p. 87, No. 9 Pl. VIII, 17 and *PMC*, p. 87, Pl. IX. vii), the square copper coin with Agathocleia's helmeted bust (*BMC*, Pl. XI. 6), and the tetradrachm with the conjugate busts of Strato I and Agathocleia (*PMC*, p. 87, Pl. IX. vi)—all bear on the reverse the epithet *dhramika*, the Greek equivalent of which does not occur on their obverse.

11 Though they bear the epithet *Sōter* alone on the obverse, their reverse has the *extra* Prakrit epithet *dhramika*: (1) 'Diademed bust of king' :: 'Pallas thundering to l.'—*NC* 1923, p. 329, No. 38 Pl. XVI. 3; (2) 'Diademed bust of king' :: 'Pallas thundering to front'—*NC* 1948, p. 139, Pl. VIII. 9; and (3) 'Helmeted bust of king' :: 'Pallas thundering to l.'—*PMC*, p. 50, Pl. V. 359.

Except on three of his silver and two copper types of coins (struck at the very beginning of his career),¹² Strato I in subsequent stages of his reign always bore two epithets simultaneously *Sōter* and *Dikaios*¹³ or *Epiphanēs* and *Sōter*.¹⁴ It is thus clear that in the third or the last stage of his career Strato I adopted the more high-sounding epithet *Epiphanēs* in place of *Dikaios*. It is therefore not natural for Strato I to drop altogether both of his subsidiary epithets *Dikaios* and *Epiphanēs* at the end of his career, when he is supposed to have issued the coins, specially of Type 2. These coins with the epithet *Sōter* alone do not thus seem to have been struck by Strato I himself.

Moreover, no well-struck silver coin (tetradrachm or drachm) depicts Strato I in his old age, what to speak of an extreme old age. Tetradrachms with the epithet *Epiphanēs* probably depict the most elderly portrait of Strato I—and then too the portraiture does not look to be one of a man over 45 (or at the most 50). Then where are Strato's other coins showing the intermediate stages of his manhood from 45 (or 50) years to "more than 70 years," as depicted on coins of Type 2 and 3 above? Did he go underground for more than 20 years, and suddenly emerge from a long banishment with his "toothless jaws and sunken cheeks?"¹⁵

12 These coins bear only the epithet *Sōter* and its equivalent *tratarā*; they are respectively: *Silver*—(1) *NC* 1948, p. 139, Pl. VIII. 8, (2) *NC* 1948, p. 13, Pl. VIII. 16, (3) *NC* 1923, p. 329, Pl. XV. 14; *Copper*—(1) *PMC*, p. 51, Pl. V. 367, (2) *Taxila*, p. 800, Pl. 236. 61.

13 Silver coins with epithets *Sōter* and *Dikaios* display a number of types and occur mostly in well-struck tetradrachms—e.g. *NC*, 1887, p. 182, Pl. VII. 4; *NC*, 1887, Pl. VII. 5; and *NC* 1923, p. 329, Pl. XV. 13. Only one Heraklean copper type is known to bear the epithets *Sōter* and *Dikaios*—*BMC*, p. 42, Pl. XI. 5.

14 Silver coins with epithets *Epiphanēs* and *Sōter* (all well-struck pieces) display only 2 types—(1) *NC* 1923, p. 330, Pl. XV. 2 and (2) *NC* 1923, p. 330, Pl. XVI. 4. Only two Apolline types in copper bear the epithets *Epiphanēs* and *Sōter*—(1) *BMC*, p. 41, Pl. XI. 2, and (2) *BMC*, p. 41, Pl. XI. 3.

15 It is difficult to believe that there was a gap of nearly 20 years

As a matter of fact, no Indo-Greek ruler ruled for a long time in India. Strato's reign was possibly the longest, and even he does not seem to have ruled for more than thirty years. A rule for over 50 years for Strato I is highly improbable. In our opinion, therefore, the coins of Type 2 were struck by a later and easternly ruler Strato, who only bore the modest epithet *Sōter*, characteristic of easternly kings like Apollophanes, Dionysius, and Zoilus II.¹⁶

Sr. Alberto Simonetta has also come to a similar conclusion regarding coins of Types 2 and 3 from an elaborate and critical study of the monograms they bear.¹⁷ "That Straton I Soter who issued beautiful coins in Kāpiśa," says he, "was responsible for striking the barbarous drachms from Bucephala with the name of Straton Soter, was assumed by Rapson and his hypothesis has been generally accepted. We have seen that the joint coinage of Straton Soter and Straton Philopator is more or less contemporary with the coinage of Azilises while Straton I Soter is an early ruler connected with Heliocles and therefore belonging to the end of 2nd century B.C. We must then conclude that there existed two kings named Straton Soter." According to Simonetta, there were three Stratos—one earlier Strato I Soter (Dikaios Epiphanes), a later Strato II Soter and another Strato III Philopator who ruled jointly with Strato II Soter. This is a reasonable conclusion and we endorse it wholeheartedly.

A. N. LAHIRI

in Strato I's career, These Greek kings were highly spirited heroic people; they would rather die fighting than accept the humble position of going underground for such a long period,

¹⁶ The coins of these three kings are similarly semi-barbarous in fabric and bear almost similar monograms.

¹⁷ Simonetta, "An Essay on the so-called 'Indo-Greek' Coinage," *EAST and WEST*, Rome, Year VIII (1957), p. 66, note 14.

Did Caitanya influence Saṅkaradeva ?

There is a general tendency among some scholars of repute* to overemphasise the influence of Caitanyaism on the Neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Assam. According to them Neo-Vaiṣṇavism was directly or indirectly influenced by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. They hold the opinion that the meeting of Saṅkaradeva with Caitanya during his first pilgrimage brought about a complete transformation in the course of the movement. Thus says R. M. Nath." Saṅkaradeva met Caitanya, who was in a state of divine ecstasy. Both gazed at each other; but there was no discourse between them. Saṅkaradeva however knew all about the praise that Orissa had been showering upon Caitanya. Thus impressed and imbued with new ideas he returned to his native home."¹ But a deep and dispassionate study of the two sects clearly indicates that the two schools are independent of each other.

It must be noted at the outset that both Saṅkaradeva and Caitanya were not contemporaries. Saṅkaradeva was born in 1449 A.D., while Caitanya's date is 1485 A.D. Saṅkaradeva set out on his first pilgrimage at the age of thirty three i.e., in about A.D. 1482. Therefore in his first pilgrimage Saṅkaradeva could not have met Caitanya as latter had not yet received his call. Again at the age of ninety seven, at a time when his cult was progressing rapidly, Saṅkaradeva set out on his second pilgrimage. He could not have met Caitanya during this sojourn because the latter had already died in A.D. 1533. Therefore the view that Saṅkaradeva met Caitanya seems to be manifestly erroneous.

Saṅkaradeva was pre-eminently and primarily a thinker while Caitanya was a true ascetic. Dr. S. K. De rightly points out;

* M. T. Kennedy, *The Caitanya Movement*, pp. 75-76. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. IV, p. 222: Census of India Reports 1909 and 1911.

¹ *Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. iv, p. 222.

“However much intellectual pride he is reported to have possessed in his youth, he gave up this scholastic pursuits after his return from Gaya. A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort, for which he never showed any particular bent, and which became more and more impossible as years went on. To a man of his temperament spiritual realisation was hardly a matter of speculative discussion... The whole trend of Caitanya’s life was against his being an exact scholar or thinker.”² More often than not, he indulged in ecstasies and trances, and thus lost touch with masses. The merest suggestion of anything having slightest connection with Kṛṣṇa could stir him to ecstasy. D. C. Sen writes: “He gazed at the sky and saw his Kṛṣṇa mirrored there; the rainbow to him was the crown of Kṛṣṇa; the flying cranes a string of white pearls on his breast; the flash of lightning like Kṛṣṇa’s purple robes; and the dark blue colour of the clouds again and again called up the vision of Kṛṣṇa’s figure. Every river that he saw was to him the sacred Yamuna on whose banks Kṛṣṇa had sported, every forest wore to his eyes, the beauty and sacredness of the *vr̥nda* groves—the resort of Kṛṣṇa..... Sometimes he nodded his head to and fro seeing some celestial vision and remained mute for days while tears alone indicated his joy in communion with God. Often three or four days passed in this condition during which he would neither speak nor touch any food.”³ In short his whole mode of life was against his being a thinker. On Saṅkaradeva’s life, learning had more influence; with his synthetic genius, he sought the co-ordination of all the different facets of his encyclopaedic knowledge. He was a synthetic thinker with a long range view of life as well as a real vision of reality. He always moved with the masses closely and with his precious intellect he opened out the far vistas of philosophical and moral possibilities. As a preacher, Saṅkaradeva was a tremendous

2 *I.H.Q.*, vol. x, pp. 306-7.

3 D. C. Sen, *Caitanya and his Companions*, pp. 14-15.

success. Within a short period he established the supremacy of his cult over Tantricism by entering into discussions with, and openly vanquishing the Śāktas. To turn the land of the Śāktas to Bhakti cult was nothing short of a miracle; and that Saṅkaradeva achieved it speaks volume for his synthetic genius and compelling personality.

Mysticism was the key-note of the Bengal school of Bhakti. Caitanya never had in his emotional absorption either the time or the willingness to study. The attribution to him, therefore, of any specific work or specific doctrine is more a matter of pious belief than a positive historical fact.⁴ Also to hold Caitanya responsible for every fine point of dogma and doctrine elaborated by Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva would indicate only unhistorical imagination.⁵ The position was completely different with Saṅkaradeva. He was a prolific writer and had deep knowledge of the Vedas, the Vedānta, the Gītā, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In order to give a permanent basis to his teachings he created a vast religious literature. The unique feature of his work is that he wrote all of them in the language of the common man. He handled all the branches of literature to fulfil the demands of the people in general. He was not only the author of works of original thinking, but he was also an expert in translating Sanskrit works. He rendered into poetry, music and drama the entire life story of Kṛṣṇa. The result was the prolific growth of literature in various branches of learning; such as kāvya, theology, music and drama. The writings of Saṅkaradeva had been a source of delight, inspiration and wisdom to the Assamese people for the last few centuries. He contributed a good deal to the development of the resources of the Assamese languages, to the widening of the imaginative range of Assamese literature. He has raised it to classical elegance and richness by imparting into it what is good and beautiful in Sanskrit.⁶

4 *IHQ.*, vol. x, p. 307.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 309.

6 Dr. B. K. Barua, *Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, p. 123.

Again Saṅkaradeva and Caitanya differed from each other with regard to the nature of the relationship between God and the devotee. While Saṅkaradeva adopted the *Dāsya* type, Caitanya considered the *Madhura-rasa* as the supreme means of attaining God. Caitanya accepted Rādhā as the ideal of devotion. “The supreme emotion” says the *Caritāmṛta*, “is the quintessence of *prema* (love). The lady Rādhā is the embodiment of that supreme emotion.”⁷ It is curious to note here that the teaching of the sect became wholly of this doctrine. Saṅkaradeva must have foreseen the disastrous effects of such a system. That was why he preached the *Dāsya* relation between God and the devotee. In *Dāsya-rasa* we notice a feeling of personal attachment. The mental attitude of the devotee is that Kṛṣṇa is his master and he is his servant. Hence the respectful distance between them is always present in the mind. His final attainment consists not in complete union or self-annihilation but in a complete state of bliss under the sheltering shadow of his Master’s feet.

Further, Caitanya worshipped Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa while Saṅkaradeva worshipped Viṣṇu alone. Saṅkaradeva regarded the Kṛṣṇāvatāra as the highest, the best and the most spiritual ideal of divinity. Viṣṇu’s appearance in the form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the celestial Vaikunṭha with his liberated devotees and attendants is regarded as the supreme manifestation. According to Caitanya the manifestation of Kṛṣṇa is his appearance in the groves of Vṛndāvan :

This Kṛṣṇa in Vraja is the most perfect God

All other forms may be called perfect and less perfect.⁸

As a matter of fact Saṅkaradeva used songs as a medium to plant his spiritual findings in the hearts of men. He composed psalms and hymns bearing the Bhakti aspects called Bargeets. They are devotional songs, having nothing in common with the lyrics of Caitanya. Even to this day the cowherds, peasants and workers of Assam are heard to have voiced in

7 *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, II, viii, p. 217.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

their usual songs and recitations the creed and philosophy by Saṅkaradeva.

Again the exclusion of female energy from the creed Saṅkaradeva is a most important distinction. He emphasises the irresistible temptation of women thus:—

“Of all the terrible aspirations of the world woman’s is the ugliest. A slight side glance of hers captivates even the heart of celebrated sages. Her sight destroys prayer, penance and meditation. Knowing this the wise keep away from the company of women.”⁹

In fact Saṅkaradeva enjoined his followers to avoid the evil influence of women. The biographers of Saṅkaradeva say that he declined to ordain women, kings and typical Brāhmaṇas (those steeped in ritualistic practices), on the ground that they would not be able to pay undivided attention to Bhakti.¹⁰ It appears Saṅkaradeva never gave any *nāma mantra* to women. Though it was slightly relaxed later, even to this day they are not allowed to enter Kīrtan-ghar. The only day on which they enter the Kīrtan-ghar is on the day of initiation. Otherwise, they just sit outside the precincts of the Kīrtan-ghar and offer their prayers. But in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, women were given an exalted position. This school also recognised woman’s inherent capacities and her right to function as an individual and not only as a female. Though there is no direct teaching to this effect, the theory and practice of the sect confirm it. Woman’s devotion indeed, is at the heart of this sect’s theology; for it teaches that all the worshippers in their attitude towards the divine should be feminine.’

Saṅkaradeva possessed great qualities of leadership and he directly concerned himself with the organisation of his followers.

Further, the existence in Assam of a separate sect of Caitanya Panthis independent of Saṅkaradeva’s sect is an unique testimony to the truth that Saṅkaradeva was independent of Caitanya.

9 Dr. B. K. Barua, *ibid.*, p. 79.

10 Kirthan, VIII. x, 529.

Above all, it is interesting to note that neither of the reformers mention the other in their writings. A deep study of the various aspects of the life of Saṅkaradeva brings one to the conclusion that it is improbable that Saṅkaradeva would have omitted the name of Caitanya, if the latter had been his Guru.

The above discussion proves beyond doubt that there was absolutely no influence of Caitanya on Saṅkaradeva. In fact they were poles apart. Therefore, any attempt to find the influence of Caitanya in Assam school of Vaiṣṇavism is bound to fail.

H. V. S. MURTHY

REVIEWS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. SĀNTIPARVAN. Fascicules 1, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24. Edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1949-53.

Six Fascicules of the critical edition of the *Sāntiparvan*, 'the longest and, in many ways, the most important parvan of the Mahābhārata' have come out. They cover the entire text portion of the *parvan* in 353 chapters and fully maintain the standard followed by the previous volumes. Appendices added to the first and third sub-parvans, e. g., *Rājadharmā* and *Mokṣadharmā*, contain 'additional passages found in different Mss. which were either too long to be included in the foregoing foot-notes to the constituted text, or not sufficiently connected with the main thread of the narration, or were otherwise deemed not important enough for being included in the main critical apparatus. 'The numbers of these passages are 1-13 and 14-29 respectively. Smaller passages included in the foot-notes along with the variant readings are 918 in number in all the three sections taken together. There are no appendix passages to the second sub-parvan, the *Āpaddharmā*. Valuable critical notes, exegetical as well as textual, have been given at the end of the first two sub-parvans. Notes for the third will appear in a subsequent volume. In an editorial note prefixed to each sub-parvan, a short account of the critical apparatus is given. It is gathered from this that the *Rājadharmā* section is based on 35 manuscripts, 25 of the Northern Recension and 10 of the Southern, the *Āpaddharmā* on 34 with 9 of the Southern Recension and the *Mokṣadharmā* on 36, 26 of the Northern and 10 of the Southern. Besides, a number of commentaries, four in the case of first two sections and five in the case of the third, together with Kṣemendra's epitome and Tikkana's translation in the Āndhra language were utilised as accessory materials. Of the manus-

cripts collated the oldest two belong to the sixteenth century: one containing the entire Sāntiparvan goes back to 1516 A. D. and the other containing the last two sections only belongs to 1560 A. D. The General Introduction which appears to be long overdue will give, among other things, a 'consolidated critical apparatus' for the whole parvan 'together with a detailed and critical account of the Mss. and other sources used.' We wish God-speed to this great and glorious undertaking in the field of Indological studies and hope that necessary co-operation and help will be forthcoming from different quarters so that the volumes containing the editions of the remaining parvans might be made available to the world of scholars within as short a period of time as possible.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,

Parts i & ii, 1959

H. E. RICHARDSON—*The Karma-Pa Sect. A Historical Note.* It contains the Appendices A & B of Part II of the original paper (vide JRAS 1958). Appendix A gives the translation of the Tibetan scrolls. It deals with the account of the invitation extended by the Great Ming Emperor to the Karma-pa-gŽu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ ta'i śin rtsi tsa'i hu'o and of his appointment as the Chief of the Buddhist monks. This monk-saint performed a religious service, which was marked by many miraculous events, a description of which is given in the scroll.

Appendix B contains in transliteration the Tibetan letters etc. written by the Chinese emperor to Karma-pa Lamas. There are seven such letters.

Appendix C contains a tabular statement of the principal Incarnations of the Karma-pa sect.

S. M. STERN—*Notes on al-Kindi's Treatise on Definitions:* This treatise is a philosophical work, defining the terms "The First Cause", "Intellect", "Nature", "Soul" etc. Isaac Israeli, the Jewish Neo-platonic philosopher of the first half of the tenth century, made ample use of al-Kindi's Definitions in his own treatise on the "Book of Definitions".

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD—*Some Aspects of the History of Modern Hindi "Nahin" (=No. Not).*

The writer summarizes the standard theories which involve the addition to the negative particle of some part of a substantive verb. He supports the theory of Prof. Turner and discusses the theory by referring to the use of Nahin or its equivalent in various Indian dialects.

Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies,

(Special Supplementary Issue, second edition, January 5, 1958)

It contains three parts, of which Part I deals with the Recent Activities of Indian and Buddhist Studies in Japan.

Part II contains the list of papers published in the first six volumes of the Journal, and

Part III gives the Abstract of Articles of Organization and List of Officials.

Journal of the Oriental Institute,

March 1959, vol. VIII, 3.

M. R. MAJUMDAR—*A Newly Discovered Buddha Image from Bhuj (Kutch)*: The image contains an inscription in Brāhmi script of the 7th c. A. D. It measures 8" in height and its pedestal 3".

SADASHIV L. KATRE—*The Prāyaścittakāṇḍa*: A hitherto missing section of Lakṣmidhara's Kṛtyakalpataru.

Supplement, pp. 25-40.

UMAKANTA P. SHAH—*Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī and Gīrvāṇavānmañjarī*.

Ibid., vol. VIII, No. 4 (June, 1959)

V. S. AGRAWALA—*A Difficult passage in the Pañcatantra: Lakṣmīvidambanam*: In this paper an attempt has been made to clarify a passage in the Pañcatantra, dealing with the undependable nature of a king's fortune.

J. S. Jetly—*Tarkataraṅgiṇī and Śaśadhara Ṭippaṇa of Guṇaratnagaṇī* (16th-17th c. A. D.). Tarkataraṅgiṇī and a Commentary on Prakāśikā of Govardhana and Śaśadhara-Ṭippaṇa are Jaina works on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools. Quoting the Maṅgala śloka of the former treatise the author shows that Guṇaratnagaṇī, author of this book, was quite familiar with Navya-Nyāya works of Pakṣadhara Miśra, Raghunath, Udayana and others.

ESTHER SOLOMON—*Scepticism or Faith and Mysticism*: This is the concluding portion of the paper published in previous part (vol. VIII, no. 3).

P. C. DIVANJI—*'Brahman' and the terms allied to it in the Bhagavadgītā.* The writer divides his paper into four sections: (i) Introductory remarks, (ii) The term "Brahman" and its derivatives, (iii) The terms allied to it and their uses and (iv) Conclusions pointed out by the above investigation. The writer arrives at the following conclusion: Brahman originally meant (i) a prayer, then (ii) the whole group of prayers, then (iii) Prajāpati, then (iv) the purpose of the knowledge derived from the Veda, and lastly (v) "Prakṛti" of the Saṃkhyas = Lower Brahman.

SHIV PRASAD BHATTACHARYYA—*The word Mallaka in the Mṛcchakatika:* The writer discusses the various interpretations of the word.

M. S. BHAT—*Ācārya Pauṣkarasādi and the date of Pāṇini.* The earliest reference to Pauṣkarasādi is found in Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka. In the Dharmasūtras, Taittīriya and Maitrāyaṇīya Prātiśākhya his opinion has been referred to. Pauṣkarasādi, the predecessor of Pāṇini, was a contemporary of Buddha, and Pāṇini came after Buddha.

DEV RAJ CHANANA—*The Ideological Aspect of Slavery in Ancient India.* The writer has depended for his materials on the Pāli Canon.

T. S. KUPPANNA SASTRI—*The Bijopannya: Is it a work of Bhāskarācārya ?* The author has tried to show on the basis of some pieces of evidence, that Bijopanaya, a short work on the Indian Astronomy, is not a work of Bhāskarācārya, but of some one else, whose identity is yet to be established.

D. SUBBA RAO—*Ancient Indian Architecture—Kalkavidhāna or the preparation of Tenacious Pastes.*

UMAKANT P. SHAW—*Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī and Gīrvāṇavānmañjarī.*
Continued from the previous volume.

Journal Asiatique,

Vol. CCXLV, No. 2, 1957

L. RENO—*Grammaire et Vedānta*. The writer draws attention to Śaṅkara's utilisation of the theories of the Grammatical School for establishing his theses.

The Calcutta Review,

Vol. 151, No. 2, May, 1959

TRILOKANATHA JHA—*The Special Features of the Kāvyaṅprakāśavivarāṇa: a Rare Commentary on the Kāvyaṅprakāśa*. In this paper the writer throws light on the salient features of Mm. Gokulanatha Upadhyaya's *Kāvyaṅprakāśavivarāṇa*.

The Orissa Historical Research Journal,

Vol. VI, No. 4, January, 1958.

K. N. MAHAPATRA—*Gajapati Rāmacandra Deva I*.

N. K. SAHU—*Chronology of the Early Gaṅga Kings*.

PRABHAT MUKHERJEE—*Krishna Chandra Singh—a much maligned man*. He was otherwise known as Lala Babu, revered at Br̄ndāvan for his munificence.

KEDARNATH MAHAPATRA—*Jagannātha-Purī as a Centre of Culture through the Ages*. This place, which was a centre of Vajrayāna Sect of Buddhism in Eastern India, was also associated with the activities of Śaṅkarācārya, Śrī Caitanya and others.

V. V. NATH—*Notices of Some Persian Inscriptions in Orissa*.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN—*Bhuvaneshvara*.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

Vol. XXI, pt. ii.

W. SIMON—*A Note on Chinese Texts in Tibetan Transcription*. The writer has listed the ms. of Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription so far discovered and catalogued them. He has discovered a few more ms. of this type. He gives extracts from the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra, a treatise on Zen Buddhism, the Hymn in praise of Buddha by Daw-An Faashy, the Multiplication Table, the Fragment of the Genealogy and the 'Long Scroll'.

The Vaitānasūtra*

XXIII

1. In the Āgnīdhriya (cottage) they consume the residue of the sacrificial cakes (i.e. the savanīya-puroḍāśa).

2. The Brahman performs the offering of the spoonful, intended for Savitr̥, with the recitation of suitable stanzas.

3. After the (dedication of the) gift into the Dhiṣṇyas, to which the Yājyā of the Vaiśvadeva-śāstra is related, for ensuring the favour of Agni, coupled with his wives, the Āgnīdhra whispers (silently) as the sacrificial aphorism the stanza: "Oh Agni, hither with those, Oh Agni" (XX. 13. 4).

4. He performs the offering of the spoonful of the same with a suitable stanza.

5. He (the Āgnīdhra) taking his seat on the lap of the Neṣṭr̥ or in the close proximity of his Dhiṣṇya takes the residue of the Patnīvata spoonful.

6. In the Agniṣṭoma-sāman he (the Brahman) issues his command to the Hotṛ̥ (with the formula): "You are strength, I resign you to the fathers, may you promote the fathers" (etc. as in Vait. 17. 4).

7. During the pouring down of the Soma from the Dhruvā (pātra) he (the Brahman) recites the stanza: "To the steadfast with the steadfast."

8. The Brahman dedicates the offering of the Soma spoonfuls, which are intended for Agni and the Maruts and are to be executed with the (recitation of aphorisms, with the) utterance of the stanza: "To this excellent sacrifice" (Kauś. sūtra. 127. 7). There has been treated before and is to be repeated here in this concern the instruction: "Bound to the task by the Adhvaryu, the Āgnīdhra (brings) etc" (comp. above at 10. 21).

9. He dedicates the offering of the Hāriyojana spoonful with the hymn: "Hither with the charming" (VII. 117).

*Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. xxxv, No. I, March, 1959, supplement. page 67.

10. In the same way they come out (with the purpose of performing certain rites, which are described in the following).

11. In the Āgnīdhriya fire he (the Brahman) offers all the expiatory gifts (and indeed in the manners, which are described in the Kaus. sūtra 5. 12-13).

12. In the Āgnīdhriya fire they offer all the fragments of wood with the following formulas: "You are offering for the offence, committed by the gods, Svāhā, you are offering for the offence, committed by the fathers, you are offering for the offence, committed by men, you are offering for the offence, committed by self, you are offering for the offence, committed by the knowing and the unknowing" (and also with the stanza:) "Oh gods! (please excuse) the grave offence, we did to you by our tongue or out of carelessness of the mind. Disregarding the offence may you bestow treasures upon the impious man, who, while moving, lies in wait for us (with the intention of doing some injury to us)" and also with the two hymns, which serve as the means for the atonement of sins, committed against the gods (VII 114 and 115).

13. After they have taken the grains in their hands from the Droṇa-kalaśa they scatter the same in a place, where the ashes (of the Āhavanīya fire) are not found.

14. With a verse addressed to Viṣṇu they pour down the Soma-cup, which is filled with water and is placed behind the Cātvāla by the Adhvaryu.¹

15. (With the verse):

"Both the young poets expound the principles of truth in regular order; according to the nature of truth we should dissolve association" they give up the alliance, (which is brought about mutually by the Tānunastra ritual).²

1 The above translation is in conformity with the interpretation, given by W. Caland. But another translation may also be suggested, which occurs as: "They pour down into the waters with a verse addressed Viṣṇu, the Soma-cup, which is placed by Adhvaryu behind the Cātvāla."

2 Caland translates the term *dharmaṇaspari* as 'out of law'. So he

16. In a Soma-sacrifice, which extends over several days, they begin the alliance before the last-day—i.e. on the penultimate day (when they pronounce the same very stanza with the modification which appears as: “We commence the alliance.”

17. In the Āgnīdhriya (shed) they consume the curd with the utterance of the stanza: “Of Dadhikrāvan” (XX. 137. 3).

18. With the purpose of performing the Patnīsaṁyājas (of the Savanīya-paśu) he (the Brahman) sits down by the side of the (i.e. in the south of the) Śālāmukhīya (fire).

19. After he has gone by the way to the Dakṣiṇā (thus, according to the Vait. 21-26, before the Gārhapatya and behind the Sadas, between the Āgnīdhriya, the Sadas and the Cātvāla and) behind the Āhavanīya he takes his seat to the south of the Āhavanīya with the intention of dedicating the Samiṣṭayajus (gifts), which are indeed consigned into the Auttaravedika Agni. Then he offers his final gifts.

20. In the Avabhṛtheṣṭi he (the Brahman) always casts the preliminary offerings into the water with the hymn: “Into the waters of thine (VI. 83) and here (those) which are usual for a savana are used as final gifts. The Brahman makes an offering (of gifts, intended for Varuṇa with the stanzas:) “You, Agni, of ours” (III. 20. 5), “You, to us” (XX. 93. 3 or 98. 2).³

translates the first line as: “Die beiden jungen Weisen geben die Weisheit aus dem Gesetz”. Trans. “Both the young poets give the truth from the law”. But Monier Williams interprets the word *dharmāṅsapari* as ‘in regular order, naturally’. It suits the meaning quite well and we too have followed it in our translation.

3 Caland assumes that the pratikas *tva no agne, sa tvam nah* are not probably taken from the Atharvaveda but from the rituals of the Hotṛ, where they are used for the Svasti-kṛt-gifts. It is interesting to note that in his translation Caland has omitted the portion *apsu*, which occurs at the beginning of the sūtra. He translates: “Bei der Avabhṛtheṣṭi (bringt er, der Brahman immer) die Einleitungs-spenden (dar) mit den Leide; im Wasser deine, (VI. 83)”. Trans. “In the Avabhṛtheṣṭi he (the Brahman) always offers the preliminary offerings with the hymn: “Into the waters of thine (VI. 83).” This should be compared with the translation, which we have given above.

21. The Iṣṭi concludes with the Idā ; but according to some it concludes with the Anuyājas.

22. Along with the curd he (the Brahman) makes a sacrifice of the vessels, sprinkled over with the Soma with the utterance of the following stanzas:

“There was the god” (above 16. 15)—also with one (stanza), which contains the word ‘drop’ and (the stanzas, of which the first begins with): “That much of you, the pressing stone” (Vait. 24.1).⁴

XXIV

1. May that much of you, which the press-stone, stirred by the palms (of men), made to flow or that much of you, which the people have preserved in their hands by squeezing be replenished while in your possession ; may the same grow again (to the full)—oh king Soma ! (a)

Oh king Soma ! may all your graceful, well-built and countless limbs, which the people ground (lit. cut) by means of the pressing stone, be restored (lit. joined together) again (to their normal shapes) by means of the offering of the sacrificial butter and may they grow so that we may live together always being free from sins. (b)

That people strip rind from you and scratch your womb, that they remove you from your (proper) place or leave you totally unimpressed—may all these (irregularities) of us be brought into proper order by your (kind) interference and may you invite us to participate in noble activities. (c)

Oh king Soma ! may you be equipped with the function of inhalation and exhalation (so also) with sight and hearing. May you get back what you have lost by injury and may you know this (i.e. our desire) and good wishes for your prosperity from us while we are united on the path.⁵ (d)

4 Caland suggests that one should read the expression *drapsavatyā* instead of *drapsavatyor*, which is a form of the dual and occurs as the accepted text.

5 Caland’s translation of the second half of the second line is not

May the (part of the) body, which it (Soma) lost, be restored (as if being nourished) by the flow of milk ; each time its appearance becomes different. Oh Soma ! We shall provide an offering to you. May we be the lords of riches. (e)

The spoonfuls of butter flow towards your limbs and they nourish that part of your body (which sustained injuries). Oh Soma ! to you be our reverence expressed and the sound *Vaṣat* pronounced ; (kindly) invite us to participate in noble activities. (f)

2. Having placed a skin of a black goat below he sprinkles over it.

3. Then there occur certain performances, which begin with the recital of the stanza: "With the hymns of the water" and end with the act of touching the water.

4. With the stanza: "We rise above" (VII. 53. 7) they come out of the water.

5. They come back to the place of sacrifice with the utterance of words: "We have drunk the Soma, we have come to light."

6. They worship the *Āhavanīya* fire with the stanzas: "The heavenly waters" (VII 89. 1-3).

7. Then there occur certain performances, of which the first is the recital of the stanza: "I dissolve" and the last is self purification.

8. The *Udayanīya* (-iṣṭi) occurs exactly in the same way as the *Prāyanīya* (-iṣṭi); the gift of *Pathyā* comes in the fourth place.

9-10. It (the *Udayanīyeṣṭi*) suddenly ends in the middle. When the *Anūbandhya* cow returns and stands in the north-eastern direction he (the Brahman shows reverence to *Kāma* with the hymn: "To the destroyer of the rival" (IX. 2).

11. If there be a sacrifice, which demands the raising up of eleven sacrificial posts and the offering of eleven animals, the

clear to us. He translates it as: "Dies erkenne uns bei der Vereinigung der Pfade." Trans. "Let this know us in our union with the ways."

animal consecrated to Tvaṣṭṛ appears after the wiping off of the omentum of the Anūbandhya cow.⁶

12. After the Paryagni (ceremony) of the animal, consecrated to Tvaṣṭṛ, becomes complete it (the animal) is let loose.

13. The Brahman dedicates the offering of fat of the steak of the animal, consecrated to Tvaṣṭṛ, with the suitable Anumantraṇa. After the offering of the sacrificial cake, to be dedicated to the Anūbandhya cow the Brahman performs the distribution of the gifts, named as Devikā-haviṣ with suitable Anumantraṇa.⁷

14. While the fire is implanted into two pieces of churning woods the Brahman recites the stanza: "This is your source" (III. 20. 1). The carrying of the fire by the sacrificer himself is to be done with the utterance of the formula: "Oh Agni, mount upon me with your body, which deserves sacrificial offering, and enter into me with it" and also with the recital of the stanza: "This is your source" (III. 20. 1)

15. When the Vedi is burnt he recites the hymn: "The debt, which is not paid back" (VI. 117).

16. During the offering of the goats (into the burning grass) he says: "Oh Viśvalopa, I leave you into the mouth of the all-devouring."

17. After they have bowed down with the stanza: "Who into the fire" (VII. 87) by the same way they come out of the sacrificial place (in order to perform the rites, which are described in the following sūtras).

18. During the whirling (i.e. kindling by rubbing) of the new fire (for the purpose of performing the Udavāsaniyeṣṭi) he (the Brahman) utters the stanza: "Step forward" (Kauś. sūtra. 40. 13).

19. It is the ritual of the Agniṣṭoma.

6 Caland suggests the reading *Vapāmārjanāt tvāṣṭrah*, while the text of Garbe stands as; *Vapāmārjanā tvāṣṭrah*.

7 Caland suggests the reading *devikāhaviṃṣi* in the place of *devikāhavisā* of the text of Garbe.

20. Even a man with a thin purse can perform it having a single cow as the sacrificial fee.

Here ends the third chapter of the Vaitānasūtra, annexed to the Atharvaveda.

XXV

1. After the Agniṣṭoma sāman in an Atyagniṣṭoma he (the Brahman) imparts a command to the Hotṛ as for the Soḍaśin-stotra ; in an Ukthya (he issues commands) to the Maitrāvaruṇa (and other Hotrakas) with the formulas: "You are a string, I resign you to the posterity, may you promote the posterity" (etc as before in 17. 4): "You possess wealth, I resign you to the plants, may you promote the plants" (etc) ; "You are victorious I leave you to the animals, may you promote the animals" (etc).⁸

2. During the distribution of the Soma-gifts (of these Hotrakas), which are accompanied with the Yājyā he (the Brahman) recites the formulas: "Oh Mitra and Varuṇa, you are the drinkers of the Soma" (VII. 58. 1), Bṛhaṣpati to us (VII. 51) "Both of you have conquered" (VII. 44).

3. The stanzas beginning with: "We to you, Oh peerless" (XX: 14. 1) "Who to us all this before" (XX. 14. 3) are respectively the Stotriya and the Anurūpa—(pragāthas for the Ukthaśastra of the Brāhmaṇacchanṣin).

4. (From two stanzas he makes three by repetitions and indeed in this way:) after he has recited entirely the first verse of the Stotriya-pragātha he combines the last pāda of this (first verse) with the first of the second (pragātha stanza), makes a pause and then with the second (pāda of the second pragātha stanza) establishes the second (Stotriya stanza): he, then, combines the last pāda of this (very second Stotriya stanza) with the following pāda, makes a pause and establishes the third (Stotriya stanza) with the last (pāda of the second Pragātha stanza).

⁸ Caland suggests the reading *prajā* in the place of *prajām* of the text of Garbe. But Keith does not approve this emendation JRAS, 1910, p. 938.

5. Indeed, in thiy way, in the Kakubli (Pragāthas) the combination of the Stotriya the Anurūpa-stanzas take place.⁹

6. Hence forward he recites pāda by pāda.

7. The stanza: "To the most generous, great and rich in possession" (XX. 15) is the main body of the śastra.

8. "Shy like the water-birds" (XX. 16) is the Ukthamukha, which is to be recited in honour of Bṛhaspati.

9. The hymn beginning with: "My songs, which know the heaven, flow towards Indra" (XX. 17) is the concluding part of the śastra.

10. Such is indeed in the Ukthyas, which occur in the Ekāhas.

11. With the last stanza (namely XX. 17. 11) he concludes the śastra, but he employs the following stanza (XX. 17. 12) as the sacrificial aphorism.

12. In the Soḍaśin they worship the Soma-spoon: "He, who embraces all the creatures and beyond whom nothing exists, he—Prajāpati (the lord of creatures), who is united with the beings, comprises all the three luminaries; (as such) he possesses the sixteenth spoon."¹⁰

13. He (the Brahman) issues a command (to that end) to the Hotṛ with the formula: "You are victorious, you have put the pressing stone in use, I resign you to Indra, may you promote Indra." (etc. as in Vait. 17. 4).

14. During the offering of the Soḍaśin (spoonful) he pronouns the stanzas: "Indra, be delighted" (II. 5. 1-3). With the formulas: "Oh Indra! you are the possessor of the sixteenth spoon, you are the strength, that inheres in the gods, make me powerful and endowed with a long life among the gods. Being invited by you, who are yourself invited, I drink it" they take

9 In Kakubha-pragāthas the first stanza is a Kakubh and the second is a Satobrhati. Comp. Vait. 5-8.

10 Caland states that the expression *dadhate* in the text (i.e. of Garbe) is a corrupt form of *sacate*, which ought to have been the actual word here.

(the residue of the Soma)—two by two, but the singers—three by three.¹¹

15. As in the Pravargya the drinking of the Soma takes place also in the Sattra.

XXVI

1. In an Atirātra he (the Brahman) issues a command to the Hotṛ and other (Hotrakas) with the formulas: ‘You are the lord supreme, I resign you to the exhalation (prāṇa), may you promote the exhalation (prāṇa) etc. as above at 17. 4); you are the sustainer, I resign you to the inhalation, may you promote the inhalation (etc.); you are a sneak, I resign you to sight, may you promote sight (etc.); you are vigorous, I resign you to hearing, may you promote hearing’ (etc.) (such is indeed for the first paryāya).

2. During the distribution of the gift of the Soma-spoonful, intended for Indra, he recites appropriate stanzas. After the performance of the Āśvina (stotra and śastra) he dedicates the sacrificial cakes, reserved for the Aśvins, with the utterance of suitable aphorisms.

3. Of the Stotriya and Anurūpa (ṛcas), every time he (the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin) recites the beginning pādas repeatedly (not pāda by pāda, but) half-verse by half-verse (such indeed in the first Paryāya); but in the second Paryāya (repeating) the middle pādas and in the last paryāya (repeating) the last pādas.

4. As in the morning savana in the Paryāya too the invocation and Ukthasampad take place without the application of tune to the verses.

5. “We to you carefully” (XX. 18. 1-3) and “Oh Indra,

11 Caland suggests that after the expression *soḍaśigrāhasya* one is to think the occurrence of some such a line as *homamanumantrayate Brahmā* for the completion of meaning. Again, Caland emends the text as *Indra soḍaśinn (ojasinn) ojasvāṁstvarṁ deveṣvasi* in the place of the original *Indra soḍaśinnojah saṁstham deveṣvasi*, which is maintained in the text of Garbe.

we, who are devoted to you" (XX. 18. 4-6) are the Stotriya—and the Anurūpa (ṛcas) (respectively).

6. The following three hymns (which come after the ṛcas, cited as the Stotriya and the Anurūpa respectively and which occur in the Book XV of the Saṁhitā) always form portion of the śāstra; (in this case they are XX. 19, 20, 21). The last hymn is to be recited pāda by pāda and it stands as the concluding part.

7. "We, those at the end" (XX. 21. 11) is the concluding stanza and "Of those, cleaned in the waters" (XX. 33. 1) is the sacrificial aphorism in the first Paryāya.

8. In the middle Paryāya the Brahman issues the command to the Hotṛ and the Hotrakas with the formulas: "You are the Trivṛt, I resign you to the Trivṛt, may you promote the Trivṛt (etc. as above at 17. 4); you are the Pravṛt, I resign you to the Pravṛt, may you promote the Pravṛt" (etc.); "you are the Svavṛt, I resign you to the Svavṛt, may you promote the Svavṛt (etc.); You are the Anuvṛt, I resign you to the Anuvṛt, may you promote the Anuvṛt (etc.)".

9. (In the middle Paryāya in the śāstra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin the groups of three stanzas) "To you, Oh Bull, in the Soma" (XX. 22. 1-3) and "To the lord of the cows with the hymn", (XX. 22. 4-6) are the Stotriya and the Anurūpa (ṛcas) respectively.

10. The stanza: "If the straw for the pious work" (XX. 25. 6) is the concluding stanza; while "To the powerful drink" (XX. 33. 2) is the sacrificial aphorism.

11. In the last Paryāya the Brahman imparts the command to the Hotṛ and the Hotrakas with the formulas: "You are the Āroha, I resign you to the Āroha, may you promote the Āroha" (etc. as in 17. 4); "You are the Praroha, I resign you to the Praroha, may you promote the Praroha" (etc.); "You are the Saṁroha, I resign you to the Saṁroha, may you promote the Saṁroha" (etc.); "You are the Anuroha, I resign you to the Anuroha, may you promote the Anuroha" (etc.).

12. In the last Paryāya in the śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin the groups of three stanzas: "In every act the stronger" (PX. 26. 1-3), "They harness the pale yellow (yet) the red" (XX. 26. 4-6) are the Stotriya and the Anurūpa (tṛcas) respectively; (after 26. 6 the stanzas XX. 27-32 form the main part of the śastra and the concluding portion.)

13. "You have drunk from the former" (XX. 32. 3) is the final stanza; "By your help, Oh mighty" is the sacrificial aphorism.

14. He (the Brahman) imparts a command to the Hotṛ for the performance of the Āśvina-śastra with the formulas: "You are the Vasuka, you are the Vasyaṣṭi, you are the Veṣaśrī; I resign you to the Vasuka, I resign you to the Vasyaṣṭi, I resign you to the Veṣaśrī; may you promote the Vasuka, may you promote the Vasyaṣṭi, may you promote the Veṣaśrī (etc. as in 17. 4).

15. Such indeed is the course of the Jyotiṣṭoma, which possesses four fundamental forms and which excludes the Atyagniṣṭoma.¹²

XXVII

1. The Vājapeya occurs during the autumn.

2. It contains all, which is seventeen in number.¹³

3. The priest bears the garlands of gold.

4. At the end of the Marutvatīya-śastra there occurs the Iṣṭi, dedicated to Br̥haspati.

5. It begins with the distribution of the Ājya shares but end with the Idā.

6. The sacrificer who is asked to climb up the sacrificial post, utters: "At the command of the god Savitṛ I shall ascend the highest vault of the heaven" (and also the stanza) "From the back of the earth" (IX. 14. 3).¹⁴

7. When he has mounted upon the same, he looks around with the recital of the stanza: "As much of you" (XII. 1. 33).

12 Jyotiṣṭoma, Ukthya, Soḍaśin and Atirātra are to be understood by Jyotiṣṭoma here.

13 It possesses 17 Grahas, 17 stotras and 17 śastras.

14 Caland suggests that in agreement with one solitary ms, one should read *robeyam* instead of *ruhayam*, which occurs in the text; the former is also the reading of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.

8. After he has got down, he looks around with the recital of the stanza : "Oh mother earth" (XII. 1. 63). He distributes to the Brahman, the cloths of the sacrificial post (i.e. with which the sacrificial post has been entwined).

9. After he (the Brahman) has mounted upon the wheel of the chariot, fixed upon the way of the Tīrtha he turns his face towards the north-east (aparājita); then sitting there (upon the wheel) and casting a glance to the horses and chariots (which will shortly be engaged in a competitive race) thrice he sings the Vājisāma with the stanza: "Evidently the swift horses have come to the competition; at the command of Savitr may we, ready for the journey, gain the world of heaven."¹⁵

10. "May you sing it" (XX. 78. 1-3) is also the stotriya (-tṛca) in the Ājya-śāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin.

11. He (the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin) inserts the stotriya (-tṛcas) of the Abhiplavasādaha in the śāstra.

12. "Indra! lead us to wisdom" (XX. 79. 1-2) is the stotriya (-tṛca) for the Niṣkevalya-śāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin in the midday savana ; or "Oh Indra! to the most excellent" (XX. 80. 1-2) or "Upon this the sweetest" (XX. 10. 1-2).

13. "What new to the inviters" (XX. 50) is the Sāmapragātha in the same śāstra.

14. On the same occasion he inserts the Ahinasūkta (XX. 35).

15. In the third savana in the śāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin the groups of verses: "Who alone divides" (XX. 63. 4-6) and "Oh Indra, he who drinks the soma best" (XX. 63. 7-9) are the stotriya and the Anurūpa-(tṛcas) respectively.

16. After the Soḍaśin he (the Brahman) issues the command to the Hotṛ for the retention of the śāstra with the formula : "You are Nābhu, consisting of seventeen, 'you are prajāpati,

¹⁵ Caland suggests that the word *abhiḡāyati* has got the meaning of *abhimantṛayate*, for a performance is to be executed with the chanting of a hymn, as a hymn should follow a performance. Caland supports the reading *vājisāma*, which occurs in a ms for the word *vājisāma* of Garbe's text. The former occurs also in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.

I resign you to Prajāpati, may you promote Prajāpati (etc. as in Vait. 17. 4).¹⁶

17. In the Vājapeya some perform the Br̥haṣpati-sava as the preliminary and the subsequent offerings.

18. In the Āptoryāma on every occasion he (the Brāhmaṇācchamsin) includes “embryo making” within his śastra.

19. In the Āryaśastra both ways (i.e. at the beginning and at the end) he recites the stotriya (ṛca): “They harness the yellowish, the red” (XX. 26. 4-6) (and also the ṛca:) “Come hither” (XX. 3. 1-3).

20. Both ways (i.e. at the beginning and at the end) he recites the Anurūpa (ṛca): “Kill all the enemies” (XX. 93. 1-3) (and also the ṛca:) “Come to us” (XX. 4. 1-3).¹⁷

21. The insertion is as in the Vājapeya.

22. In the midday savana in the Niṣkevalya-śastra the Brāhmaṇācchamsin recites the usual Stotriya and the Anurūpa (ṛcas) on both sides of (i.e. both before and after) the Stotriya and Anurūpa (ṛcas) which appear as: “If to you—“Oh Indra! hundred heavens” (XX. 81. 1-2) and “If I, Oh Indra, above so many as you” (XX. 82. 1-2)¹⁸

23. After the usual Sāmapragātha there comes as the second Sāmapragātha the stanza: “Oh Indra, the threefold protection” (XX. 83. 1-2).¹⁹

24. In the same śastra he inserts the Sukīrti and the Vṛṣākapi hymns (XX. 125. and 126), the Sāma hymn (XX. 34) and the Ahīna hymn (XX. 35).

16 Caland suggests that the expression *saptadaśa* should be emended as *saptadaśaḥ*, so also *prajāpatiṣṭvā* as *prajāpataye tvā*.

17 Caland suggests that in sūtras 19, 20, 22 and 25 since the expression *abhita* construes with the preceding word in the accusative, the mark full-stop that appears between the two i.e. the expression *abhita* and its preceding word should be erased.

18 According to Caland Sāmapragātha of this sūtra should go with the following sūtra i.e. sūtra 23.

19 The usual Sāmapragātha is cited in Vait. 22. 11.

25. In the third savana in the Ukthaśāstra the usual Stotriya and the Anurūpa-tṛcas on both sides of the Stotriya and the Anurūpa (tṛcas), 5 which appear as: "To the creator of beauty for protection" (XX. 57. 1-3), "Us to the strongest for protection" (XX. 57. 4-6).

26. The rest of the Atirātra is as on the sixth Pṛṣṭhya (-ṣaḍaha) day.

27. In the surplus Ukthiyas he (the Brahman) imparts a command to the Hotṛ and the other (Hotrakas) with the formulas: "You are approach, I resign you to approach, may you promote approach" (etc. as above at 17. 4). "You are going together, I leave you to going together, may you promote going together" (etc.) "You are going up, I resign you to going up, may you promote going up" etc. "You are going beyond, I resign you to going beyond, may you promote going beyond." (etc).

28. In the surplus Uktha of the Brāhmaṇācchamsin there stand as the Stotriya and the Anurūpa (tṛcas) such groups of stanzas as: "We incite Indra (XX. 47. 1-3) or 137. 12-14), "The great Indra, who by strength" (XX. 138. 1-3) or both the following (tṛcas).²⁰

29. The two sūktas, which are to be recited in this śāstra are: "Hither now, Oh Aśvins (XX. 139-142), "To this wagon of yours" (XX 143); of the first hymn he recites the tenth stanza (thus XX. 140. 5) and the twelfth (thus XX. 142. 2) and the entire last hymn pāda-wise.

30. "The herbs, which contain honey" (XX. 143. 8) is the final stanza ; the last (XX. 143. 9) is the sacrificial aphorism.

Here ends the Fourth Chapter of the Vaitānasūtra, annexed to the Atharvaveda.

(To be continued)

S. N. GHOSAL

20 Here Caland informs us that no tṛca i.e. group of three verses come after XX. 138. 1-3. So the sūtra *uttaran vā* of the text is spurious. Either it indicates a lacuna of the Atharvaveda text, or the sūtra might have been taken by the sūtrakāra from the Ṛgveda.

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Mānor Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga:
Saka Year 671

This set of two copper-plates was found some fifteen years ago while digging in a field at the village of Mānor in the Pālghar *tālukā* of the Ṭhaṇā District in the Bombay State. Along with it was discovered another set of plates dated in the Śaka year 613 (A. D. 691), which belongs to the reign of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. It has been edited by Mr. Krishna Dev of the Archaeological Department in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 17-22. The present set of plates has, however, remained unpublished till now. Nearly ten years ago, while I was studying another copper-plate inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, I wanted to see this record also. So at my request Mr. Krishna Dev sent me a set of its ink impressions, which is still with me. As the plates have remained unpublished for nearly fifteen years after their discovery, and the information they furnish is important for the ancient history of Koṅkaṇ I edit them here from the aforementioned impressions.

As stated before, this is a set of TWO COPPER-PLATES. They are inscribed on the inner side only. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The CHARACTERS are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in other inscriptions of the time found in Koṅkaṇ. The only peculiarities that call for

notice are the form of the initial *e* in *ekā(ka)-saptaty-adhikeṣu* in line 1, the cursive form of *ś* in *śrī* in line 4 and the form of the lingual *ḍ* in *Boḍavarmma* etc., in line 6. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for the vowel *r* in *Pr̥thu(thi)-vīvallabha*, line 2, the reduplication of the consonant following *r* as in *pravarddhamāna*, line 3 and the absence of concord in *kāle-pi gacchatā*, line 10. In some places the *sandhis* are either not done or are done incorrectly; see *ṣaṭsu-ekā(ka)saptaty-adhikeṣu* in line 1 and *-gramo khaṇḍa-* in line 9.

The object of the inscription is to record that in the year 671 of an unspecified era during the augmenting reign of *Pr̥thivīvallabha*, *Khaḍgāvaloka*, illustrious *Dantidurga*,¹ who had obtained the *pañca-mahā-śabda*, while the illustrious Aniruddha, meditating on his feet, was governing the town of Śrīpura, certain representatives of the Mahājana (Corporation) of the Traividya of the place viz. *Boḍavarma Bhogika*, *Durga Bhogika*, *Devamma Bhogika*, *Goviyasaṅga Bhogika* and *Goviya*, donated, near the foot-prints of the god *Brahmā*, the village *Tambasāhikā* situated in the *viṣaya* (District) of Śrīpura to the temple of *Bādeśvara* which had been caused to be constructed by *Bādaḍi Bhogika*, who meditated on the feet of (i. e. was the son of) *Svāmi Dharmabhaṭṭa*. The gift was intended to be utilised for meeting the expenses of the repairs of the aforementioned temple. Then follows the imprecation that he who would dispute this gift would incur the five great sins. The record closes with the names of some persons who are evidently cited as witnesses. The engraver of the plates was the goldsmith *Caṇḍahari* and the scribe *Devaka Tribhogika*. As the grant was made by a Corporation, the usual verses of appeal to future rulers for the preservation of the gift are naturally not cited here.

Dantidurga was the first great ruler of the Later *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* Dynasty. He was preceded by the following five princes whose

1 The name of this king appears here as *Dantiyadurga*.

names are mentioned in some early records. The reign-periods given below are approximate.

Dantivarman (A.D. 620-630)

Indra I (A.D. 630-650)

Govinda I (A.D. 650-670)

Karka I (A.D. 670-690)

Indra II (A.D. 690-710)

Indra II was followed by Dantidurga (*circa* A.D. 710-755). This family originally hailed from the Aurangabad District and seems to have first owed allegiance to the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. Dantidurga was the first great ruler who made several conquests and raised the prestige of his family.

Only three records of the reign of Dantidurga have been discovered till now—of which one is a cave inscription and the other two copper-plate grants. The former is in the Daśāvatār Cave at Ellorā and records Dantidurga's victories over the rulers of Kāñcī, Kośala, Kalinga, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Ṭaṅka and Lāṭa. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, one was found in the fort of Sāmāngad in the former Kolhapur State² It is dated in the Śaka year 675 (A.D. 753). On account of the developed forms of letters and the decimal figures used therein, it is regarded as spurious. The second copper-plate inscription was found at Ellorā.³ Its date has been differently read. Mr. S. K. Dikshit, who has edited it, reads it as 663, which he refers to the Śaka era and takes as equivalent to A. D. 741. I have stated elsewhere⁴ the reasons for reading it as 463, which I refer to the Kalacuri era and take as corresponding to A.D. 715. The present grant dated in the year 671, evidently of the Śaka Saṁvat, corresponding to A. D. 749-50, is the last record of Dantidurga's reign. He must have died soon thereafter; for

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 12 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.

⁴ *JBBRAS. NS.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 163 f.

only nine years later, his uncle and successor Kṛṣṇa I granted the Bopkal plates in the Śaka year 680 (A.D. 758-59).

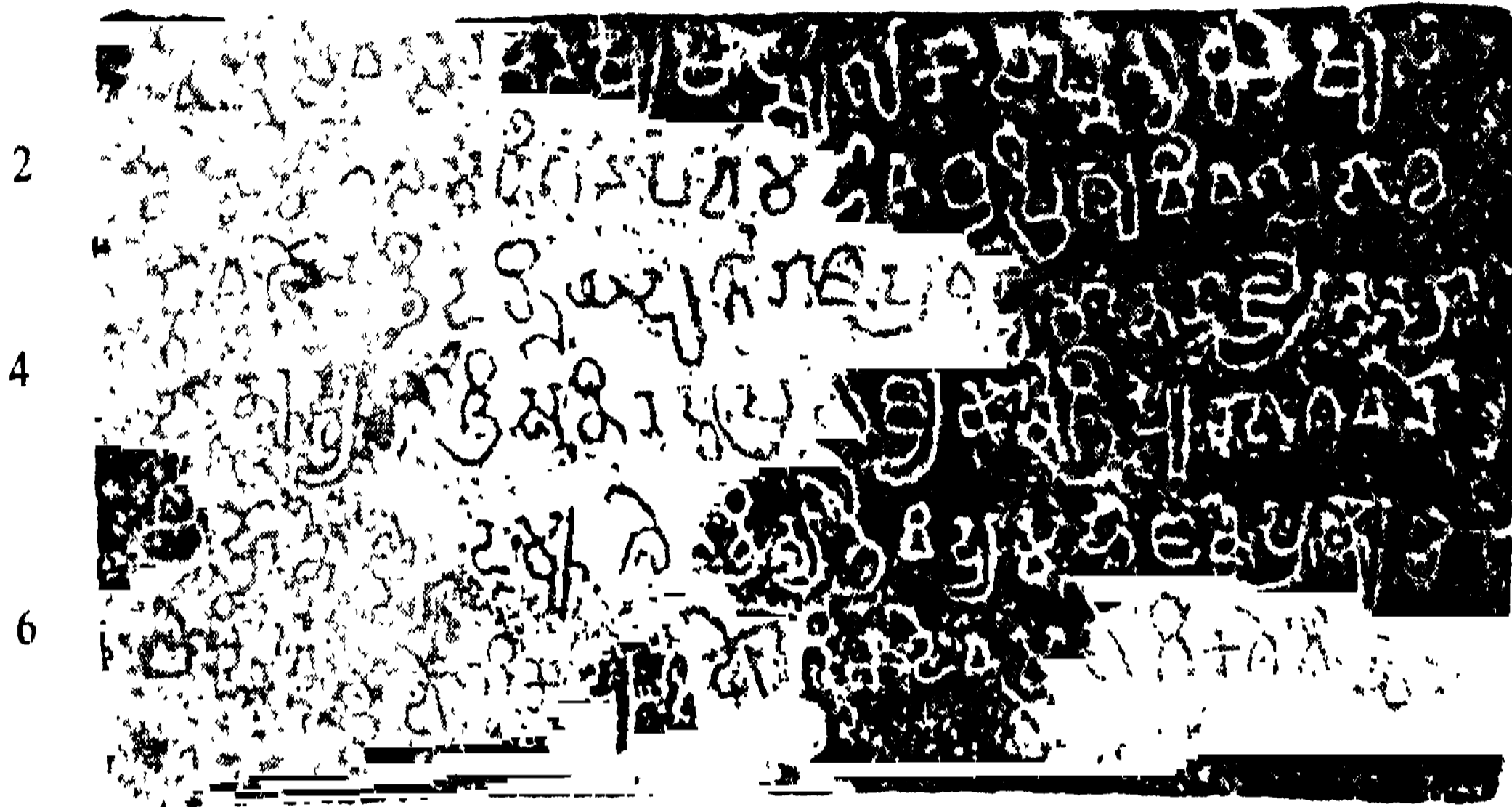
Though the present inscription is thus the last record of Dantidurga's reign, it does not mention any of his victories; for it was issued not by him but by the Corporation of the city of Śrīpura. It mentions his *birudas* *Prthivīvallabha* and *Khadgāvaloka*, which are also noticed in the earlier Ellorā plates. Curious as it might appear, Dantidurga is described herein as one who had won the right to the five musical instruments. Such a description is usually noticed in the case of feudatory princes and not of paramount sovereigns.

The present inscription is, however, important in several respects. It clearly shows that at Śrīpura in Koṅkaṇ there was a temple dedicated to the god Brahmā, who was worshipped therein in the form of his foot-prints (*pādamūlas*). Temples of Brahmā are rarely mentioned. There is still a famous temple of Brahmā at the holy place of Puṣkara near Ajmer, but generally the images of Brahmā are seen on the outer walls of the temples dedicated to other gods like Viṣṇu or Śiva. It is interesting to note that there was a temple of Brahmā at Śrīpura in North Koṅkaṇ, which testifies to the cult of that god flourishing there in the 8th century A.D.

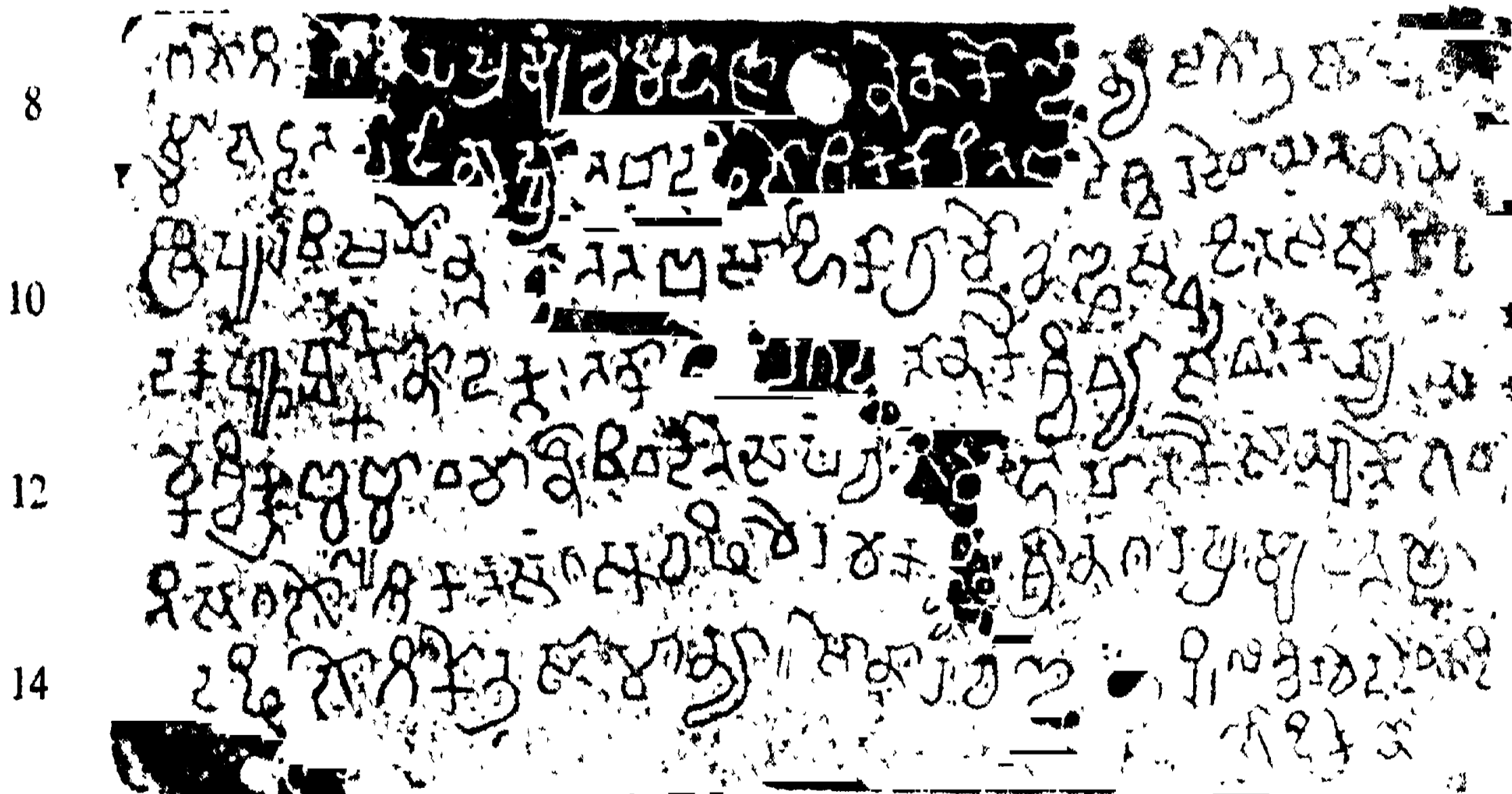
Another interesting information furnished by the present record is that the grant was made not by a king or a royal officer but by the *Mabājana* (Corporation) of the city of Śrīpura. The Corporation evidently consisted of the representatives of the city and managed the civic affairs including charitable endowments of the city. It had evidently proprietary rights over the surrounding villages, of which it could donate one or more for charitable purposes. Such references to gifts of whole villages made by Corporations are rarely noticed. One such instance is the gift of the whole village Dhambhika made by the people of Nāsik as recorded in a Nāsik Cave inscription.⁵ Another

5 Cf. *Nasikakanam Dhambhika-gāmasa dānam* in Lüders' List, No. 1142.

MANOR PLATES OF RAŚTRAKŪṬA DANTIDURGA: ŚAKA YEAR 671



First Plate



Second Plate

similar gift is recorded in an inscription discovered at Ukkal in South India.⁶ It mentions that the Corporation of the place granted a village to a local temple and thereby renounced its right to levy taxes and to claim forced labour from that village.

This grant sheds also important light on the history of Koṅkaṇ. The Cālukya prince Maṅgalarasa was ruling in Koṅkaṇ from his capital Maṅgalapurī, which he himself had evidently founded, but the exact location of which has not yet been determined. As stated before, one of his grants dated in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691) has been discovered at Mānor itself. That he continued to rule till the Śaka year 653 (A.D. 731-32) is known from another of his grants discovered at Balsad in Gujarat. Soon thereafter Koṅkaṇ seems to have been conquered by Dantidurga; for at the time of the grant of the present plates (A.D. 749-50) it was governed by Aniruddha, who, in the absence of a title like *Sāmanta* or *Māṅḍalika*, seems to have been only a Governor appointed by Dantidurga. About 50 years later in *circa* A.D. 800 the Rāṣṭrakūṭas made over Koṅkaṇ to the Śilāhāra prince Kapardin I, whose descendants remained loyal to their suzerains up to the last.

The present inscription mentions only two place-names viz. *Śrīpura* and *Tambasāhikā*. *Śrīpura* is called also *Śrīnagara* in line 12. There is no place exactly corresponding to it in the vicinity of Mānor. Perhaps Śirgaon of the sea-shore, about 14 miles west of Mānor and 4 miles from Pālghar, represents ancient *Śrīpura*. It is said to have been an old fort and therefore seems to have been a place of some importance in former times.⁷ *Tambasāhikā* may be *Tamsāhi*, which, according to the information supplied by Mr. D. D. Vaze of Ambarnath, lies about 2 miles from Mānor. I have not, however, been to trace it on the Survey of India maps available to me.

6 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, part I.

7 Dr. H. G. Shastri informs me that a recently discovered set of plates granted by the Cālukya prince Maṅgalarasa was also issued from *Śrīpura*.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्^२ स्वस्ति [१*] संवत्सरशतेषु षट्सु एका(क)सप्तत्यधिकेषु सं
- 2 ६०० ७० १ समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दप्रिथुवीवल्लभ^३ख-
- 3 ड्गावलोकश्रीदन्तियदुर्गराज^४प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये तत्पा-
- 4 दानुद्ध्यातश्रि(श्री) अनिरुद्धप्रभुज्यमाने श्रीपुर(रे) भगवतो
- 5 ब्रह्मणः पादमूले तत्रित्य^५लैविद्यमहाजनप्रमुख-
- 6 बोडवर्म्मभोगिकदुर्गराजभोगिकदेवम्मभोगिकगोविय^६सं—

Second Plate

- 7 गभोगिकगोवियप्रमुखमहाजनेन कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रस्वामि[ध]-
- 8 र्म्मभट्टतत्पादानुद्ध्यातबादडिभोगिककारितबादेश्वरदेवायतनाय
- 9 श्रीपुरविषयो(या)न्तर्गततंबसाहोकाग्रामो(मः) खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारा[र्थं*] उ-
- 10 दकपूर्वकेण^१ दक्तः (तः) [१*] तत्कालेपि गच्छता^१न कैश्चिव्या(द्ब्या)सेधः
कार्यः [१*] य-
- 11 कश्चिक्कु(त्कु)बु[ब्वा] (द्ध्या)वमानी विवदते स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैः संयुक्तो भव-
- 12 त्ति[१*] संगभोगिकसंगश्चाचडिवैरमकुराणम्मश्रीनगरप्रमु[खैः] दत्तं (त्तम् ।) बो-
- 13 दडिभोगिकोत्र सामान्या (न्यः ।) सोनार चण्डहरि । लिखितं चेदं देवकलि-
- 14 भोदि(गि)केण* [१]

V. V. MIRASHI

1 From ink impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Krishna Dev.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read पृथिवीवल्लभ-

4 Read श्रीदन्तियदुर्गराज-

5 Read तत्रित्य.

6 There appears an *anusvāra* on this *akṣara*, but it is probably due to a fault in the copper. Notice that the name *Goviya* occurs again in the next line.

7 Read उदकपूर्वम्.

8 Read तत्काले गच्छात.

The Cult of Ekānamśā

The worship of *Śakti* or *Devī*, variously addressed as Durgā, Umā, Pārvatī, Kālī, Caṇḍī, etc. was very popular in ancient and mediaeval India. The worship of *Ekānamśā* as a special form of Devī-Durgā was no less popular in those days.

Though the worship of the female spirit in some form or other can be traced to a very remote period, viz., the *Mother Goddess* in the Indus Valley Age and the *Divine Energy* (or *Śakti*) in the Ṛgvedic Age (cf. *Devī-Sūkta*, R.V., X. 125), it may be observed here that names like Ambikā, Umā, Durgā, Kālikā etc., which designate the central figure—collectively or singly—of the cult of *Śakti* do not occur in the *Ṛgveda*. These names, however, are found in the later Vedic texts (cf. *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, III. 57; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.6.10, 4-5; and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X.18; X.1.7; *Kena Upaniṣad*, III. 25; *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*, 1.2.4; *Gṛhya Sūtras—Sāṅkhyāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin*). These texts give us an idea about some of the characteristic features of the cult which were gradually taking shape and form of a type familiar in the subsequent period. (For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Dr. J. N. Banerjea's chapter on *Śakti* in the *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition and *Prabuddha Bhārat*, vol. LIX, 3, pp. 227-32).

The *Śakti* cult in its developed form appears for the first time in the *Epics* and *Purāṇas*. The *Mahābhārata*, for example, outlines the various constituent elements underlying the principal cult-picture of the developed *Śākta* cult (cf. the *Durgāstotras* in the *Virāṭ* and *Bhīṣma Parvas*).

Though Devī-Durgā is found to be associated with Rudra-Siva in some later Vedic texts, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, there are evidences to show that the above-mentioned *Parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* try to link the said goddess with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In the *Virāṭ Parva* the goddess has been variously addressed as the (a) daughter of Nanda and Yaśodā

(6.2); (b) sister of Vāsudeva (6.4); (c) Kumārī and Brahmācārīnī (6.7; 6.14) and (d) Vindhyaśinī (6.17). The *Durgā-stotra* in the *Bhīṣma Parva* appears to contain diverse concepts about the goddess. According to Arthur Avalon, the date of the composition of these stotras may go back to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. (*Hymns to the Goddesses*, pp. 70-1, 114 ff.).

The *Harivaṁśa* (sometimes designated as a *Purāṇa*), the *Khila* or the Appendix portion of the *Mahābhārata*, is possibly a work of the 4th century A.D. The *Āryāstava* (III.3) of this work shows that the goddess Durgā was very popular in the early centuries of the Christian era, and that she was identified with all the chief deities and had appropriated their characteristic epithets.

In the Gupta period, the worship of Durgā (also called as Ambikā, Simhāvahinī, Umā etc.) was very popular.

The composition of the *Devī-Māhātmya* or the *Saptaśatī Caṇḍī* is an important landmark in the history of the Devī worship in ancient India. This work, probably composed in the 6th century A.D., was later on incorporated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (81-93). It celebrates the mighty deeds of the goddess Caṇḍī, a form of Devī-Durgā. It is still very popular in almost all parts of India, and in the language of Barth we may describe it as 'the principal sacred text of the worshippers of Durgā in Northern India' (*Religions of India*, p. 197 n.).

The *Tantras* are the special scriptures of the Śāktas (*Avalon, Principles of Tantra, Pt. I, Introduction*, p. xxix), and it is from the 7th century A. D. (the date may be earlier) that the early Śākta Tantras date. In the opinion of Glasenapp the *Tantras* may date back to A.D. 500 (cf. *Brahma und Buddha*, p. 149).

In the 11th and succeeding centuries appeared several *Śākta Upaniṣads*—the most famous being the *Kaula*, which is specially connected with the Śāktas. In the general literature of the period under review the invocation to Śiva and his consort Devī Durgā (variously called as Hara-Gaurī or Hara-Pārvatī or Umā-Maheśvara) became a favourite literary epithet.

Śāktism held its sway over the people throughout the period of Muhammadan ascendancy in India. Many *Purānas*, *Tantras* and *Religious Codes*, devoted to the worship of *Śakti* in her various forms, were either composed or compiled in this period. Even in modern times the worship of *Śakti* is popular, particularly in eastern region (roughly comprising the states of Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Assam).

By far the earliest literary reference to goddess Ekānamśā is found in the *Mahābhārata*, where it has been said that Kuhū, the daughter of Aṅgīrasa, was otherwise called as Ekānamśā (*Ekānamśeti tām ābuh Kubūm = Aṅgīrasaḥ sutām — Vana Parva*, chap. 213, v. 118). Nilakaṅṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, gives the following etymology of the word Ekānamśā:

Ekā, cānamśeti Ekānamśā | Bhagavatā ekā satī avibhaktā | (see under *Vana P.*, chap., 213, v. 118). Thus we see that Ekānamśā stands for a goddess who is one and not a part of any other—both *Advaita* and *Akhaṇḍa* at the same time. Explained in this way the goddess Ekānamśā may well be compared with *Ādyāśakti* of the *Śāktas*. It has been already observed that though *Devī* or *Śakti* was generally found to be associated with Rudra-Siva, instances are there to show that she was mythologically connected with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

In the *Harivaṁśa* it is said that when gods approached Viṣṇu to relieve the earth of the demon Kaṁsa and his followers, the Lord promised to be born in the womb of Daivakī, wife of Vasudeva. He bade the goddess Nidrā (the *Māyā* of Viṣṇu) to take her birth as the daughter of Yaśodā, the wife of Nanda-gopa (*Yaśodāgarbhasambhūtān... Nandagopakulajātām*). The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* (chap. 91, v. 37) also gives us the same information, and in its *Nārāyaṇī-stūti*, the gods characterise her as *Vaiṣṇavī-śakti* (chap. 91, v. 4; chap. 11, v. 5 of the *Devī Māhātmyam*). However, it is told in the *Harivaṁśa* that when Kaṁsa will throw her on a stone she would escape to the sky, and hold in her hands a trident, sword, wine cup and lotus. People will recite the *Āryāstava* in her praise (*Harivaṁśa*

chap. 58). In chapter 160 of the *Harivaṁśa* it is said that *Yogakanyā* Ekānaṁśā was born from the *aṁśa* (part) of Prajāpati-Brahmā in order to protect Keśava-Kṛṣṇa (•••*viddhi cainām athotpannām-aṁśād devīm Prajāpateḥ | Ekānaṁśāṁ Yogakanyāṁ rakṣārtham Keśavasya ca*).¹ Chapter 58 of this work addresses the goddess Ekānaṁśā as 'Sarvagā' and 'Trailokyacāriṇī'. There is a veiled reference to the above epithets of the deity in chap. 59 also (*carisyasi mahābhage varadā kāmārūpiṇī*). The *Matsya Purāṇa* passages also attribute these epithets to goddess Ekānaṁśā (ch. 158). Curiously enough, one of these two epithets has been given to Subhadrā in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, a work of the 11th century A.D. (cf. chap. 57, v. 58). It is interesting to note that a clear reference to the association of Ekānaṁśā with the cult of Durgā is made in chapter 59 of the *Harivaṁśa*, in which it has been said that the former should be worshipped in the 9th day of the bright fort-night with animal sacrifice, wine and offerings (cf. *Kṛtvānuyātrām bhūtais tvaṁ surāmāṁsavalipriyā | Tithau navamyāṁ pūjā tvaṁ prāpsyasa sapaśukriyām*). In a late *Purāṇic* work like the *Skanda* it is said that the goddess Subhadrā should be worshipped according to the hymns of the *Devī-sūkta*. (cf. *Utkalakhaṇḍa* section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, v. 31, chap. 20). The identification of Ekānaṁśā with Subhadrā was made during the period of composition of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

In the *Harivaṁśa* Ekānaṁśā or Nidrā is described as the daughter of Nanda-gopa, and also as the sister of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa (cf. *bhagini Rāmkṛṣṇayoh*, chap. 160; *Viṣṇu-bhagini*, chap. 178; *bhagini Baladevasya rajanī kalahapriyā | Āvāsah sarvabhūtānām niṣṭhā ca paramā gatiḥ | Nandagopasutā caiva Devī tvaṁ = Aparājitā*, chap. 59). It may be pointed out here that *Aparājitā*, an epithet attributed here to Ekānaṁśā—the daughter of Nandagopa, is a well known name of *Devī-Durgā*. (See *Aparājitā-stotra*, *Brahm. P.*). The *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Utkalakhaṇḍa* section, chap. 5, verses 11-12, 14) gives almost identical epithets to

1 Also see *Viṣṇudh.*, III. 106. 119, for a similar description.

Subhadrā (an *aṁśa* of Lakṣmī) which are attributed here to Ekānaṁśā.

In the *Devī Māhātmyam* Devī Caṇḍikā is described as a daughter of Nanda-gopa. The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* of king Puruṣottamadeva of Kaliṅga, a lexicon work of the 14th century A.D., also describes Ekānaṁśā as a Yādavī, (cf. *Prathamakāṇḍa-svargavarga*, v. 53).

Though Ekānaṁśā is described as a daughter of Nanda-gopa or a Yādavī, there are instances to show that the Yādavas worshipped her as their tribal guardian, and invoked her aid in times of difficulty (cf. *Harivaṁśa*, chaps. 166, 168, 178). It may be that Ekānaṁśā, originally a Yādavī, was later on deified for her miraculous power, viz., protecting Kṛṣṇa from the hands of Kaṁsa (cf. *Harivaṁśa*, chap. 160.).

From a study of the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and other works it is clear that Ekānaṁśā was but an aspect of goddess Durgā.² In some later works like the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* the former is described as a part of Pārvatī (cf. *Ekānaṁśeti vikhyātā Pārvatyaṁśa-sumudbhavā—Brahmav. P.—Śrīkṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa*, chap. 7, v. 130; *Vāralikai Ekānaṁśa ca Śivadūtī Yamasvasā—Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Prathamakāṇḍa—Svargavarga*, v, 51). According to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, I. 50 ff. Ekānaṁśā is one of the 37 Pārvatīs.

In the *Harivaṁśa* Ekānaṁśā is described as the *Śakti* or *Māyā* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (variously called as *Sarvagā*, *Trailokya-cāriṇī*, *Kāmarūpiṇī*, *Yogakanyā*, *Nidrā* etc.).

A *Brahma Purāṇa* verse (chap. 57, v. 57) gives the epithets, *Sarvagā* and *Śubhasaukhyadā*, to goddess Ekānaṁśā. But in the next verse these epithets are attributed to goddess *Kātyāyanī*. These two verses tend to show that goddesses Ekānaṁśā and Kātyāyanī were identical. But strangely enough, the above epithets

² In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (c. 11th century A.D.) Ekānaṁśā is given as a name of Durgā (cf. IV, LIII. 78 of Tawney and Penzers' edn. of *Kathāsaritasāgara*).

are not given to Subhadrā—the central figure of the holy triad consisting of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma.

It has been shown in a previous paragraph that Ekānamśā was considered as the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* (Māyā or Nidrā) in the *Harivaṁśa*. Māyā or Nidrā (variously called as Yogamāyā, Yoganidrā, Mahāmāyā) is described as the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* in many *Purāṇas* including the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* (circa 3rd century A.D.), the *Devī Māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (circa 6th century A.D.), *Bhāgavata* (circa 8th century A.D.), *Bhaviṣyottara* (circa 11th century A.D.), *Brahma* (circa 11th century A.D.), *Skanda* (circa 12th century A.D.) and *Brahmavaiivartta* (circa 10th-16th century A.D.).

The name of the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* or *Vaiṣṇavī Māyā* in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is *Mohinī*, and she is variously called as Mahāvyaḥṛti, Sāvitrī, Ekānamśā etc. (cf. chap. 25, vs. 46-49).

The *Devī Māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* lays down in one verse that the *Śaktis* of Brahmā, Śiva, Kārttikeya, Viṣṇu and Indra came out of the bodies of the respective gods, and went to help the Devī in her fight against the *Asuras* (cf. chap. VIII, v. 13). The *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* came with four attributes in her hands, viz. *Śaṅkha*, *Cakra*, *Gadā* and *Śārṅga*, and she had *Garuḍa* as her vehicle (cf. chap. VIII, v. 18). The said *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* (*Tvam Vaiṣṇavī Śaktir anantavīryā...Māyā*/chap. XI, v. 5), has been variously named in this work as Sāvitrī, Mahāvidyā,³ Mahāmāyā, Mahāmedhā, Mahāsmṛti, Mahāmohā, Mahādevī, Īsvarī etc., and Vaiṣṇavī, Nārāyaṇī, Kātyāyaṇī, Śivāṇī, Ambikā, Vindhyācalavāsini, Durgā, Bhīmā etc. (cf. chap. I., vs. 70-79; chap. XI, vs. 2-55). It may be pointed out here that some of these names denote the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti*, while others the *Śiva-Śakti*. In one of the verses of chap. XI of this work goddess Caṇḍikā expresses her intention to be born as a daughter of Nanda-Yaśodā (cf. *Nandagopahṛidejātā Yaśodāgarbhasambhavā*, v. 42). This verse may be compared

3 In the *Aparājitā-stotra* of the *Brahmāpurāṇa* and *Ādi-Varābapurāṇa* (169. 37) Ekānamśā is addressed as Mahāvidyā or Mahāvidyēśvarī.

with that of the *Harivaṁśa*, viz. *Yaśodāgarbhasambhūtān* etc., as quoted above. These two verses are almost identical with this difference that while in the former Caṇḍikā is meant, the latter ascribes it to Ekānaṁśā. In the *Devī Māhātmya* Caṇḍikā has been described as both the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* and sister of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

There are distinct references to the golden images of just born Kṛṣṇa and *varakanyakā* Caṇḍikā and of Bāladeva in the *Bhaviṣyottara* and *Brahma Purāṇas* as quoted in the *Varṣakriyā Kaumudī* (pp. 308-10) under *Janmāṣṭamī*.

The 10th *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (chap. III, v. 47) describes Yogamāyā as the *Śakti* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (*Bhagavacchakti Yogamāyā*). In X. 2.6 of this *Purāṇa* Yoganidrā and Bhadrā have been mentioned again as the *Śaktis* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (also see, *Tripura-rahasyam*, chap. 40). The same verse also makes the former a younger sister of Kṛṣṇa. It may be interesting to note here that Ambikā, an aspect of goddess Durgā, appears first as Rudra's sister in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, III. 57 and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 6.10, 4-5, and then as his consort in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X. 18. In X. 2. 11-12, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* addresses the *Śakti* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa as Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Vijayā, Vaiṣṇavī, Kumudā, Caṇḍikā, Kṛṣṇā (being the sister of Kṛṣṇa?), Mādhavī, Kanyakā, Māyā, Nārāyaṇī, Īśāṇā, Śāradā and Ambikā. Most of these names, by which the *Śakti* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa was known, are applied to Devī Durgā (cf. names like Ambikā, Caṇḍikā, Vijayā, Īśāṇā and so on). Names like *Kanyakā* and *Māyā* may well refer to Ekānaṁśā, who according to the *Harivaṁśa* (chap. 160) and *Vāyu Purāṇa* (*Ādikāṇḍa*, chap. 2, v. 45), had her origin in the meditation of Prajāpati-Brahmā. Thus, it follows that Caṇḍikā and Ekānaṁśā were different forms of Devī Durgā, and that they were related with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as their only sister⁴. It may be pointed out here

4 It may be pointed out here that in the *Kālyāṇasundara* form of Śiva marrying Pārvatī, the *Kanyādāna* ceremony was done by Viṣṇu, brother of the bride.

that Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as a *Śakti* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, as a name of Subhadrā occurs in works like the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* and *Skanda Purāṇa*.

Since the days of the *Mahābhārata* Subhadrā and Ekānaṁśā have been described side by side as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. In the *Brahma* and *Skanda Purāṇas*, however, Subhadrā is described as both the *Śakti* and sister of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva (in these *Purāṇas* Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are almost identical).

In chapter 221 of the *Ādi Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, Subhadrā, the daughter of Vasudeva, is described as the common sister of both Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Sāraṇa (one of the 5 heroes of the *Yadavas*?). But, in another place of this chapter she is mentioned as a uterine sister of Sāraṇa and not of Kṛṣṇa—thereby giving us an impression that she was a step-sister of the latter (cf. *Mamaṣā bhaginī Pārtha Sāraṇasya sahodarā/ Subhadrā nāma bhadrām te piturme dayitā sutā/- Ādiparva*, chap. 226).

By the 8th century A.D. the identification of Ekānaṁśā-Durgā with Subhadrā was complete (see the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*). In the ancient and early mediaeval times Yogamāyā was described as both the *Śakti* as well as *bhaginī* of Kṛṣṇa, but later on Subhadrā came to occupy that honoured position.

Now, the problem is—how and when Subhadrā came to be identified with Ekānaṁśā-Durgā? In his attempt to solve this problem Mr. J. C. Ghose (*JRASB., Letters*, vol. 2 1936, page 41 ff.) suggested it long ago that the Yādavas seeing the daughter of Yaśodā so much instrumental in saving the lives of their favourites, Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva, took her as their household deity—Ekānaṁśā. It may be pointed out here that ‘*Kaumudī-mahotsava*’ also refers to Ekānaṅgā⁵ (misread for Ekānaṁśā ?) as the tribal deity of the Yādavas. The work further attempts to show the goddess in her dual capacity, viz. as *Vindhyavāsini-Durgā* and as the tribal deity of the Yādavas (cf. *Lokākṣih-*

5 Cf. also the *Mahābhārata*, II. 39. 136.

Bhagavatyaiiva Vindhyācalavāsini). *Lokarakṣitaḥ-Kuladaivatam bi Yadūnām Ekānaṅgā*[- p. 38 of *Kaumudī-mahotsava* (quoted by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh in p. 212 of vol. 4 of the *Indian Culture*).

So, we see that the attempt to identify Ekānamśā with the tribal deity of the Yādavas, first made in the *Harivaṁśa*, is complete by the time of the composition of the *Kaumudī Mahotsava*, a work of circa 7th or 8th century A.D. (see Sakuntala Rao Shastri's edn. of *Kaumudī-mahotsava* by Vijakā).

Verse 11 of chapter 42 of the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions Subhadrā as one of the 32 *Mātrikās* (e.g. Subhadrā, Subhadrikā, Bhadrakālī, Bhadrabhīmā etc.). In verses 5, 12-13 of the same chapter *Viṣṇuprayuktā Yogamāyā* has been variously called as Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Kṣemaṅkarī etc. Bhadrā is mentioned in the (a) *Vāyu Purāṇa* as a name of Durgā, (b) *Pañcatantra* as the name of a goddess, (c) *Harṣacarita* as the name of Śakti, (d) *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as a wife of Kṛṣṇa. *Bhadrā*, meaning blessed, auspicious, fortunate, prosperous, happy etc. ; and good, gracious, friendly, kind, pleasant, dear, excellent, etc. occurs in the *R̥gveda* and *Mahābhārata*. *Bhadrā*, as a familiar address, occurs in many texts including the *Manusāmbhitā* and *Mahābhārata* and also in chapters 5 (v. 61), 19 (vs. 8 and 45), 20 (v. 31), 27 (vs. 53 and 56-57), 29 (vs. 27, 32-33) and 30 (v. 62) of the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. Subhadrā has been variously addressed as Bhadrā, Bhadrarūpinī, Bhadrarūpā, Bhadradāyini, Bhadrābhadravarupā, Bhadrakālī. Verse 56 of chapter 27 says that Subhadrā was so-called for her beneficial attitude to every body (*Subbadre tvaṁ sarveṣāṁ bhadradāyini*). Subhadrā is identified with Viṣṇumāyā, Lakṣmī, Gaurī, Śacī and Kātyāyanī in verses 54-57 of chapter 30. Verses 52-56 of chapter 27 and verses 57, 61-62 of chapter 30 describe her as the Primal Energy. Verse 31 of chapter 20 says that Subhadrā should be worshipped according to the hymns given in the *Devī Sūkta* for the worship of *Devī Durgā*. In verses 32-33 of chapter 29 Jagannāthadeva is made to say that Bhadrā with Rāma (Balarāma) and himself

should be placed on the chariot in the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āṣāḍha* which falls in the *Puṣyānakṣatra*, because that day is the most auspicious for the observance of the *Guṇḍicā Mahotsava* (cf. ...*Guṇḍicākhyamahotsave/Viśeṣān-mokṣad-Āṣāḍha Puṣyā-samyutā*||, v. 32. *Tasyām rathe samāropya Rāmañca Bhadrāyā saba*/...v. 33, chap. 29, *Utkalakhaṇḍa*). It may be pointed out here that Dr. J. N. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, Second Edition, p. 133) tries to identify the female deity, represented on the reverse side of Bhadrāghoṣa's coins (*Pañcāla-Mitra series*) and tentatively identified by Allan (*Catalogue of Coins in Ancient India in the British Museum* pp. cxvii, 197) as Bhadrā, with Durgā-Ekānamśā or Lakṣmī on the authority of a verse quoted in the *Śabda Kalpadruma* from the *Skanda Purāṇa* (almost the same as quoted above), and of another verse (v. 37, chap. 57) from the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. But, the deity on Bhadrā-ghoṣa's coins (be it Bhadrā or not) can hardly be identified with Ekānamśā at such an early period (2nd c.-1st c. B.C.)—though the possibility of her being identified with Umā-Ambikā-Durgā may not be ruled out. The 'city deity of Puṣkalāvati' also cannot be described as Ekānamśā.⁶

Curiously enough, the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* attempts to identify Subhadrā with Lakṣmī. In one passage (verse 17, chap. 19) of the same, Subhadrā is described as the *Śakti* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in spite of her being a sister of the latter. Now, the anomaly is—how can the sister of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa be described as his *Śakti* or be identified with his consort Lakṣmī? In order to solve this anomaly the said *Purāṇa* observes that Balabhadra and Subhadrā are related with each other as brother and sister only in their mundane existence, and the *Purāṇas* also describe them as such (cf. vs. 11-12) 40-41 of chap. 27).

6 This deity appears on a unique gold coin of the *Indo-Scythians*. For a description, see, Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, p. 162; and Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Not only the literary evidences but the archaeological records (chiefly iconographic ones) also throw a welcome light on the association of goddess Ekānaṁśā with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. For example, we may refer to two Sanskrit works, viz. the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (circa 400-500 A. D.)⁷ and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (c. 550 A. D.)⁸, which are by far the earliest texts giving iconographical details.

According to some scholars, the numismatic evidences also throw some light on the worship of Ekānaṁśā during the Śaka age in India. For example, Dr. J. N. Banerjea identifies the deity, appearing on some copper coins of Azes, and showing the *Kaṭisaṁsthitabasta* pose, with Ekānaṁśā or Siṁhavāhini-Durgā on the authority of a *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* passage which describes (the image of) Ekānaṁśā as *Kaṭisaṁsthitavāmakara-sarojam itareṇa codvabatī* (i.e. with her left hand placed on her waist while the other right hand holds a lotus flower (*Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, chap. 57, v. 37; and p. 780 of *Dvivedī's* edn.) (J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

But there is a great doubt as to the existence of the cult of *Ekānaṁśā* at such an early period. It is said that the earliest reference to the said deity occurs in the *Mahābhārata*. But the passage in question may not be earlier than the 3rd century A.D. So, the deities, representing the coins discussed above, may be identified with Durgā-Pārvatī rather than with Durgā-Ekānaṁśā.

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, an iconographic text of circa 5th century A.D., it is said that the image of Ekānaṁśā should be placed in between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa, and that her left hand should rest on the waist and the right should carry a lotus (cf. *Ekānaṁśāpi kartavyā devī padmakarā tathā/Kaṭisthavāmahastā sā madhyasthā Rāma-Kṛṣṇayoh/-* Book III, chap. 85, vs. 71-72).⁹

7 See Dr. H. C. Hazra's *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, (1958), p. 212.

8 For the date of this work, consult Dr. Hazra's *Purāṇic Records* etc. (1940), pp. 40-41; and MM. P. V. Kane's article in *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vols. 24-25, pp. 1 ff, (According to Kane, Varāhamihira flourished in the first half of the 6th century A. D.)

9 Also see, v. 119, chap. 106 of the same Book, where Ekānaṁśā is described as *Devīmāvābhayīṣyāmi Ekānaṁśeti viśrutām/Ekānaṁśe tvāmahyehi Kṛṣṇarakṣārthamudyate//*.

The *Pratimālakṣaṇa* chapter of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (circa mid 6th century A. D.) gives almost an identical description (cf. *Ekānaṁśā kāryā devī Baladeva-Kṛṣṇayormadhye/Kaṭisaṁsthita vāmakara sarojamitareṇa-codbahatī*, chap. 57, v. 37). The latter work goes on further by saying that the goddess may be represented in as many as three varieties, viz. two-, four-, and eight-armed ones (cf. *Kāryā caturbhujā yā vāmakarābhyāṁ sapustakaṁ kamalam/Dvābhyāṁ dakṣina-pārśve varamarthiṣvaksasūtraṁ ca// v. 38. Vāme' thāṣṭabbujāyāḥ kamaṇḍaluścāpamambujāṁ śāstram/Varāsaradarpaṇayuktāḥ sauyabbujāḥ sākṣasūtraśca// v. 39, chap. 57*). Varāhamihira while describing the four- and eight-armed images of Ekānaṁśā, says that one right hand of either variety of the goddess is to be shown in the *varada* pose.¹⁰ Utpala, the commentator of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, explains the term *varada* as the pose 'in which the palm with fingers pointing downwards is shown inside out' (cf. *Uttāno 'dho'ṅgulirhasto varadaḥ, Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, Sudhākara Dvivedī's edition, p. 780).

The *Hayaśirṣa-Pañcarātra*, a Sanskrit text of circa 800 A.D., also deals with iconography. This date has been tentatively fixed by Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya in his *Foreword* (pp. v- vi) to the edition of the text (*Ādi Kāṇḍa, Pt. 1, Pāṭalas 1-14*). It may be pointed out here that the *Agni Purāṇa*, a work of circa 900 A. D., not only refers to this *Pañcarātra* text, but quotes many verses from it. It may not be out of place here if we make mention of the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, a Vaiṣṇavite religious compendium of circa 16th century A. D. (said to have been composed by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but there are some scholars who say that the work was actually composed by Sanātana Gosvāmī but passed on under the name of the former due to some reason), which also quotes many passages on the consecration of images etc. from the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*.

The *Sankarṣaṇa Kāṇḍa* Section (Book II) of the *Hayaśirṣa-Pañcarātra* deals mainly with the consecration of images of

¹⁰ According to Kern, 'Ekānaṁśā is one of the forms of Durgā in her quality of Hecate' (*Br. Sam*, Vol. 2, Eng. Tr., p. 48 fn.).

Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and his other aspects, Brahmā, Ardhanārīśvara, Harihara, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Gaurī; construction of wells and tanks, and reconstruction of temples etc.¹¹.

According to the *Ādi* and *Saṅkaraṣaṇa Kāṇḍas* of the *Haya-sīrṣa Pañcarātra* the images of Puruṣottama may be of three varieties, viz. two, four and eight-armed,—of this the last mentioned one has been discussed in the *Ādi Kāṇḍa* (Book I), and the first two in the *Saṅkaraṣaṇa Kāṇḍa* (Book II). Now, as regards the two armed deity the text says that it may be again of two varieties. One such variety should represent the deity as showing the *abhaya* pose in one hand and holding a discus in the other, and his two consorts, viz. Śrī (Lakṣmī) and Sarasvatī, should be placed in the same shrine (with *prabhābali* in the back ground). In another variety the deity showing the mace and discus (naturally referring to Puruṣottama) should be represented along with Balarāma (*Śirapāṇi*) and Ekānamśā, and ought to be placed in a quadrangular shrine (*Caturāsrāyata*).¹²

The goddess Ekānamśā of amiable disposition should be made between Puruṣottama and Baladeva; her right hand should either show the *varada* pose or hold a lotus, while the left (of Bhadrā i.e. the gracious goddess Ekānamśā) should rest on her hip. This variety of the two-armed Viṣṇu image, represented along with Baladeva and (Su-) Bhadrā, is said to be auspicious, and should be installed specially in a palace or in a dwelling house (here palace may stand for a shrine). These images should be consecrated separately if one wishes to prosper.

The worshipful (*arcā*) images of these three deities should be installed either in a beautiful quadrangular or round (*urttāyata*) palace or shrine, or in an open pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) in (three ?) rows. The deity Subhadrā (another name for Ekānamśā) should

11 I have utilised an 18th century MS. of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (no. 1586-60-A. 8), belonging to the *Indian Museum* collection of the *Asiatic Society*, at Calcutta. Specially see folia 65A-67B.

12 Cf. 'Gadācakradharam vāpi dvibhujam Puruṣottamam/Sirapāṇi samopetam-Ekānamśānvitam vibhum/Caturāsrāyate dhāmni sthāpayet sarvakāmadam' // (folio 65A of *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*).

be placed on the right side of the Lord (Puruṣottama) and Balarāma whose eyes are rolling through excessive drink—on the left.¹³ This procedure should always be followed at the time of installation of images. The deities should be taken to the bathing-platform, and after placing them there they should be worshipped by sprinkling holy water. Then they should be bedecked with ornaments after being purified by the *Pañcagavya* and besprinkled with the perfumed water. After that, they should be taken out of the said platform (*Snāna-vidhi*).

The goddess Ekānamśā-Subhadrā, placed in between Puruṣottama and Balarāma, should be consecrated according to the procedure of installation followed in the case of Lakṣmī.¹⁴

As regards the disposition of arms of the two-armed image of goddess Ekanāmsā the above texts agree well with that given in earlier iconographic texts like the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, but with this slight difference that the right arm of the goddess may also be shown in *varada* pose. It may be pointed out here that the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* represents one of the right arms of the eight-armed image of the said goddess as showing the *varada* pose.

So, we see that in Book II—*Puruṣottama Sthāpana Pāṭalam*—of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* the identification of Ekānamśā with Subhadrā is an established fact. Moreover, the text says that the goddess should be consecrated according to the procedure of installation followed in the case of Lakṣmī (see the 2nd paragraph). It may be pointed out here that the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* also attempts to identify Subhadrā

13 Cf. 'Ekānamśāntayormadhye kārayet-saumyarūpiṇīm/Varadām padmahastāmbā dakṣiṇena bhujena tu//Sronistha vāmahastam tu kuryād-Bhadrām sureśvarīm/Evaṁ te dvibhujo Viṣṇuḥ kathitaḥ sarvakāmadah/Baladeveṇa sabito Bhadrāyā ca samanvitaḥ/.....Devasya dakṣiṇe pārśve Subhadrām viniveśayet/Tataḥ param madakrāntalocanam sthāpayed-Balam // (folio 65 B-Hay. Pan.).

14 Cf. 'Lakṣmyā pratiṣṭhāvidhinā-samyag-devīm niveśayata/Ekānamśām mahābhāgām Subhadrām madhyasamsthitām// (folio 67B-Hay. Pan.).

with Lakṣmī' (cf. v. 17, chapter. 19; and vs. 11-14, 40-41, chapter. 27).

Iconographic representations of the holy triad of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva (Puruṣottama), Subhadrā and Balarāma, both in plastic and bronze, have been found in the states of Bihar (*Imādpur*) and the U. P. (*Etab*). On palaeographic and stylistic grounds these images belong to circa 10th-11th century A.D. The Bihar images are slightly later in date than those of the latter.

A stone slab (now in the collection of the *Lucknow Museum*) depicting a group of three images (presumably representing Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, Ekānaṁśā-Subhadrā and Balarāma) has been found from the Etah District in the U. P. These images were identified long ago by Rai Bahadur Prayāg Dayāl with Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa (*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. 7, 1934, pp. 74-75). But, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has rightly shown that these images do actually represent the holy triad consisting of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā-Ekānaṁśā and Balarāma. He has quoted a passage from the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* in his support, and has made the following observation :—

“But the pose of her hands and the position of the lotus are not exactly as described by Varāhamihira in the case of the two of the arms of the four-armed deity. This slight inaccuracy is immaterial. It may be due to artists' following other canon than that of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*” (J. C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 44). Though the Lucknow Museum specimen (discussed above) does not bear any date, it may be surmised that as some of the sculptural pieces adorning the Gallery of the said Museum belong to circa 10th century A.D. (noticed by Prayāg Dayāl, *op. cit.* pp. 71-73, while describing the Jaina and Buddhist sculptural pieces), it also belongs to the same period.

Several mediaeval eastern Indian stone and bronze reliefs of Ekānaṁśā have been discovered, and the principal object of worship enshrined in the main sanctum of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara (Orissa) is nothing but this goddess with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on her two sides. Mention may be made in this connection of very fine inscribed bronze images of

Ekānaṁśā (shown along with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma), belonging to the reign-period of king Mahīpāla I of the illustrious *Pāla* Dynasty (dated in the *Newāri Samvat* 148 = 1028 A.D.?) and originally recovered from Imādpur in the district of Muzaffarpur in Bihar. They now adorn the King Edward VII Gallery of the British Museum. These images show the fine sense of artistic balance and proportion on the part of the artist. According to Dr. C. C. Dasgupta, the aforesaid images represent Lakṣmī, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Balarāma (*Proc. of Indian History Congress*, 1947, p. 245 ff.). But his view has been refuted by Dr. J. N. Banerjee, and it was the latter who first identified them with Ekānaṁśā-Subhadrā, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Balarāma. He quotes some passages from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (already discussed) in order to identify the female deity with Ekānaṁśā and observes that though the disposition of hands of the goddess does not tally with descriptions given in the aforesaid texts, there is little doubt that this two-armed goddess standing erect on the lotus with her right hand stretched down in the *varada* pose and left holding the mirror between the four-armed figures of the snake-hooded Balarāma on her right, and Kṛṣṇa on her left, definitely stands for Ekānaṁśā-Subhadrā (*Banerjee, JASB.*, vol. 16, *Letters*, pp. 247-51).

The principal object of worship in the main sanctum of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhubaneśvara is nothing but the goddess Ekānaṁśā with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on her two sides. From a study of the *Bhubaneśvara Praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (2), composed in circa 1070-1085 A. D., we learn that the grantee caused the erection of a temple crested with a high wheel and placed the images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Narasiṁha in its inner-sanctum (v. 29). In v. 15 two consorts of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, viz. Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, Bhūdevī, Garuḍa (Patrin) are mentioned. This Lakṣmī was probably no other than Ekānaṁśā-Subhadrā, for the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* Section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*

15 Also consult the *Ekāmra-Candrikā* (MS. No. 1560, described by R. L. Mitra in *Vol. IV of Notices of Skt. MSS.*, pp. 136-37), which

identifies the former with the latter. Book II of the *Śiva Purāṇa* refers to a *Sarvapāpaharā Devī*¹⁵ (a goddess who expiates a devotee from his sins), and remarks that a devotee after taking his bath in the *Vindu-Sarovara* should see Puruṣottama (Ananta-Vāsudeva ?) first, and then the *Devī* (Ekānaṁśā-Subhadrā ?) and other deities including *Liṅgarāja* of the great town. This injunction makes the sanctity of Ananta-Vāsudeva very clear. This shrine must be one of the oldest of the town.

However, a living example of the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Ekānaṁśā (Subhadrā)-Balarāma will be found at Purī in the temple of Jagannātha. The central figure is not named there as Ekānaṁśā but as Subhadrā. It may be that the latter, a manifestation of Durgā, was later on identified with Ekānaṁśā. The *Brahma Purāṇa* mentions the central figure of the shrine of Jagannātha as Subhadrā, and cites the following as her *Namaskāra-Mantra*:—
*Namaste sarvage devi namaste śubhasaukhyade/Trāhi mām
 padmapatrākṣi Kātyāyani namostute//*—v. 58, chap. 57—
Brahma Purāṇa. In another verse (i.e. verse 58) of the same chapter Ekānaṁśā has been addressed as “*Namaste sarvage
 devya ekānaṁśe śubhasaukhyade*”¹⁶.

quotes vs. from the *Śiva Purāṇa*, and describes Ananta-Puruṣottama (*pra.* 1 & 4 and *Devīpādatīrtha* (*pra.* 3). “The date of the aforesaid MS. is circa 9th c. A.D.”

16 It is said in the *Brahma Purāṇa* that king Indradyumna of Avanti, who built the temple of Purī and introduced the worship of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha along with other associates, used to worship the Lord in the *Pañcarātra* mode (ch. 48, v-12). In verse 31, chap. 20 of the *Utkalakhanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, however, it is said that Subhadrā should be worshipped according to the hymns of the *Devī-Sūkta*. Now, as Ekānaṁśā was a Śākta deity, she required to be worshipped according to the Śākta rituals. But, as this was repugnant to the *Pañcarātrins*, they had to take recourse to the expediency of changing the deity to inoffensive Subhadrā. This required only a change in name. This was helped by the fact that Ekānaṁśā, having been born as the daughter of Yaśodā (a foster-mother of Kṛṣṇa), she was a sister to him. (J. C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 44ff.

The presence of three symbolic images (representing Balarāma-Subhadrā-Jagannātha of the holy triad) in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple of Jagannātha at Purī has given rise to various speculations as to their original character. Thus, while some scholars would see in these images an influence of the Buddhist doctrine of *Tri-ratna* (but this view has been ably contradicted by Mr. J. C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.), a few of the Śaivite *Trisūla*, and others, of the Vaiṣṇavite representations of Balarāma-Subhadrā-Kṛṣṇa. In the joint worship of these three images some would notice a modified form of *Vyūhavāda*, and would refer to the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira and the *Bhuvaneśvara Praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (2) in their support (see the view of Dr. D. C. Sircar in the *Classical Age*, p. 418). It has been observed by Dr. Banikanta Kakati that as the story of the triple form of Jagannātha could not be found in any Purāṇa (which was possibly grafted upon some originally different legend of the origin of Jagannātha)¹⁷, the *Utkalakhanda* section of the *Skanda*

17 It may be pointed out here that Dr. H. K. Mahtab, while giving an explanation for the origin of the three images of the aforesaid triad, observed that of the three ancient images the principal one was known as Jagannātha—who became identified with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva (without any change in name, however) when the worship of the latter became predominant in Eastern as well as Southern India,—and the other two (one male and other female) as a matter of fact came to be addressed as Balarāma and Subhadrā (the sister of the two) respectively (Mahtab, *History of Orissa*, p. 153). It has been elsewhere observed by the same scholar that it was impossible to deny that Subhadrā was regarded as the sister of Jagannātha, and that she had nothing to do with Ekānamśā, described by Varāhamihira (*Ibid*, p. 151). It appears that Dr. Mahtab has based his arguments on the accounts given in the *Brahma Purāṇa* and *Skanda Purāṇa*. The all-pervading character of Jagannātha has been described in the above *Purāṇas*. From a study of the first mentioned *Purāṇa* it appears that *Srikṣetra-Purī*, the holy place of Jagannātha-Puruṣottama (well known epithets of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa), was known as *Nilācala* in ancient times; the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was introduced there from North India; and that there were three wooden images in early times. It may be pointed out here that many *Purāṇas* and

Purāṇa while glorifying the deity, just mentioned, found it rather hard to reconcile the said triple form of the Lord with any known manifestation of Viṣṇu (worshipped in a quadruple form of the *Vyūhas*), and made it a four-fold manifestation with the discus *Sudarśana*, representing his body (Kakati, *Viṣṇuīte Myths & Legends etc.*, 1952, pp. 93-94).

It has been already shown that Ekānaṁśā had been replaced by Subhadrā in the *Utkalakhaṇḍa*. Dr. Kakati would see in it a Vaiṣṇavite version of the Ekānaṁśā episode. By replacing Ekānaṁśā for Subhadrā the Vaiṣṇavas seem to have wiped out all traces of *Śaktism* from the aforesaid holy triad. Mr. J. C. Ghosh, also, has tried to show that the said triad represent only the superimposition of Vaiṣṇavism over Śaktism (op. cit., p. 44 ff.). But traces of Śaktism can still be noticed in the two subsidiary shrines of Vimalā (= *Vindhyavāsini-Durgā* of the *Sabarā*?) and Annapūrṇā at the temple-enclosure of Jagannātha at Purī. Though the main attraction of Purī is Jagannātha himself, the *Śāktas* consider Vimalā as the presiding deity of the same. Separate existence of the images of Subhadrā (in the main shrine) and Vimalā (in a subsidiary shrine) in the aforesaid temple-area may lead one to consider them as representing two aspects of Durgā-Ekānaṁśā, viz. (a) the *Viṣṇuīte* aspect in Subhadrā, and (b) the *Śākta* aspect in Vimalā. It has been elsewhere shown that the identification of Ekānaṁśā with Subhadrā was more or less complete by the end of the 8th century A.D. (the date of *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*). It may be observed here that by the time of the composition of the *Utkala khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* i.e. 11th century A.D., Subhadrā has been able to oust Ekānaṁśā. It may be that when the *Śākta* deity, Ekānaṁśā, became vaiṣṇavised and identified with

Religious Digests of the mediaeval times deal extensively with *Puruṣottama-kṣetra* at Purī. From what has been discussed above, it is clear that whatever might have been the origin of the triad (representing Balarāma-Subhadrā-Jagannātha), the same was completely vaiṣṇavised by the 10th century A. D. if not earlier.

Subhadrā, the *Śāktas* then had no other recourse left but to start the worship of Vimalā, who was no other than *Vindhyavāsini-Durgā* (?). Thus, the *Śākta* deity was driven out from the main temple (at Purī), and had to seek shelter in the temple of Vimalā.

From the above discussion we may reasonably conclude: —

(A) That Ekānaṁśā was originally an aspect of goddess Durgā;

(B) That she was later on associated with Yogamāyā or Yoganidrā (the *Vaiṣṇavi Śakti*), who as a daughter of Yaśodā i.e. as a sister of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, saved their lives;

(C) That as Ekānaṁśā and Subhadrā were described side by side as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the days of the *Mahabhārata*, it was but natural that the two should be treated as identical by the 8th century A.D. (i.e. at the time of the composition of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*);

(D) That Caṇḍikā and Yogamāyā (identified with Ekānaṁśā) were described as both *Vaiṣṇavi Śakti* and sister of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Bhāgavata Purānas*;

(E) That Subhadrā was also described in the *Skanda Purāna* as both *Śakti* and sister of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa;

(F) That Subhadrā and Vimalā were but representations of the two aspects of Ekānaṁśā-*Viṣṇuite* aspect in the former and the *Śākta* aspect in the latter; and

(G) That the *Śāktas* started the worship of Vimalā when the *Śākta* deity Ekānaṁśā became vaiṣṇavised and identified with Subhadrā.

SHYAM CHAND MUKHERJI

The Institution of Slavery in Mithilā

(An Historical Survey)

I

Slavery is one of the oldest social evils in the history of mankind. It is the first form of exploitation, peculiar to the ancient world; it is succeeded by serfdom in the middle ages and wage labour in the more recent period. These are the three great forms of servitude, characteristic of the three great epochs of civilisation ; open, and in recent times disguised, slavery always accompanied them.¹ In India, slavery worked in its early growth under the patriarchal form, attached to the house-hold community. Under the vigilance and watchful eye of the *Gṛhapati* (father of the family) the slaves worked along with the men and women, sons and daughters of the house-hold. But, in course of time, with the development and growth of production for exchange, slavery lost its patriarchal form and became “an excruciating tyranny for the slave,” and “greed and accumulation of wealth for the slave-owner.”² It is, however, to be remembered in this connection that slavery had not assumed the commercial form in the Ṛgvedic times, as it did immediately after.

The birth and rise of *Rājyam* or State in the following period disarmed, suppressed and exploited the great *Viśa* democracy and *Sūdra* slavery. In the name of *Yajña* and *Dānam* these *Brāhma-ksatra* rulers expropriated the cattle and wealth of the general masses and gradually grabbed the vast lands brought into cultivation by the *Vaiśya-Sūdra* tillers. As a result of these prolonged struggles this section of the defeated and disarmed humanity was forced into submission, and compelled to accept the new order.

¹ Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery* (1955 ed.), p. 187.

² *Ibid.* p. 116 ; Also see Kosambi, *Introduction to Indian History*; R. S. Sarma, *Sūdras in Ancient India*.

This new order ushered in a new era of mass-exploitation and subjugation—a living tale of groaning slavery.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*³ declares: “The *Śūdra* is the servant of another, to be expelled at will and to be slain at will,” *i.e.* he had no rights of property or right against the Kṣatriya or the king. This statement clearly points to the *Vaiśyas* or Commoners and the *Śūdras* being denied the right of property and land-holding. Moreover, grants of lands and slaves came to the *Brahma-Kṣatras* as gifts from the king for their conquest of the aborigines. The *Śūdra* was the worst victim of this system and was afterwards idealised in Manu’s code, though with some reform here and there⁴. The Aryans claimed that the *Śūdra* had no right to approach the sacrificial fire and to read the sacred texts. The social barriers between the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śūdras* were so widened that the performance of *tapasyā* by a *Śūdra* Śambūka, was treated as a capital offence by Rāma, and the *Śūdra* was killed outright.⁵

Thus, deprived of his land and property, the *Śūdra* was reduced to serfdom. He was often given as presents to the *Brāhmaṇas* or the Kṣatriyas. Even Janaka (Kṛti-Janaka), the great philosopher-king of Mithilā, felt no scruples in offering *Śūdra*-slaves as gift to the *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Bṛhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad*⁶ says that Yājñavalkya, the great philosopher, was the recipient of such gift.

Coming to the age of the Buddha we find that slavery had by now become an established institution. The entire Buddhist literature is replete with such evidences. The *Jātakas* refer to *oṇḍālas* who were despised by the nobler sections of

3 VII. 29, cf. *CHI.*, I. 127-29; Majumdar-Pusalker, *The Vedic Age*, 450-52; Majumdar, *Corporate life* (2nd ed.), 347ff.

4 Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, x. 2; *The Vedic Age*, 449-50; Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, 74.

5 *Mbh.* x (*Anuśāsanaparva*-“*Śaudramuni-samvāda*”)

6 IV. 4. 30; II. 1. 20.

the society.⁷ In the city of Vaiśālī they lived outside the divisions of the capital city. "This down-trodden fraction of humanity could never raise its head even though the great Buddha and Mahāvīra had come and gone."⁸

Employment of slaves appears to be a common practice in those days. They were mostly employed as house-hold servants. They were regarded as the property of their masters. The *Jātaka*⁹ speaks of manumitted slaves. Children born of slave parents generally took up the same profession. The male and female slaves lived in the house of their masters and performed all house-hold duties.¹⁰ The Buddha in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* describes the position of a servant as "a server rising up earlier, sleeping later, always waiting for the bidding, working to please, speaking to flatter and looking to another person for favour."¹¹ The *Vidburapaṇḍita Jātaka*¹² speaks of four kinds of slaves: (i) those by birth (*āmāya*), (ii) those by purchase (*dhanena kītā*), (iii) those by choice (*sayam upayanti*) and (iv) those by fear (*bhayā bhavanti*). There are references to the sale and purchase of slaves. It is said that the slaves were bought for 700 *Kahāpaṇas*.¹³ There are also statements in the *Pāli Nikāyas* to show that male and female-slaves were received as gifts by certain sects of the *Śramaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁴ The Buddha, however, prohibits five trades on the part of a lay-devotee, the second of which is *Sattavaṇṇijā* explained by

7 *Satadhamma Jātaka*, No. 179.

8 Thakur, *History of Mithilā* (abbreviated as *HM.*), p. 131.

9 *Suruci J.* No. 489; *Visayha J.* No. 340.

10 *Kulāvaka J.* No. 31; *Nanda J.* No. 39; *Illisa J.* No. 78; *Kaṭābhaka J.* No. 125; *Kāka J.* No. 140; *Uragi J.* No. 354; *Gaṇḍatīndu J.* No. 520; *Kusa J.* No. 531; *Kuṇāla J.* No. 536; *Khaṇḍabāla J.* No. 542.

11 Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pt. II, p. 307.

12 No. 545.

13 cf. *Sattubhastu J.* No. 402.

14 Barua, *op. cit.*, 307.

Buddhaghosa as *manussa-vaṇijjā*, “traffic in human beings.”¹⁵ The Buddha paints slavery or servitude as “a state of woe” and compares it with “the state of indebtedness, disease, imprisonment and journey across a wilderness.” He not only abstained from receiving the slaves—male and female—as gift but also restrained his disciples from it.¹⁶

Thus, we find that the Śūdras, the untouchables of the society, constituted the lowest grade in the society all through the ages, whose shadow was enough to contaminate a Brāhmaṇa.¹⁷ The slaves had the same tale to tell all over the land, and in all ages, irrespective of any political or religious changes. Right from Kauṭilya down to Vidyāpati,¹⁸ and later,¹⁹ our Sanskrit literature is full of references to the existence of this system in Mithilā and elsewhere.

II

From various accounts we learn that this age-old evil infested the Maithila society during the 17th, 18th, 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries. The slaves had nothing of their own and were completely at the mercy of their owners, who disposed of them as they pleased, like so many commodities. Sometimes the question of actual ownership of slaves involved title-suits and one such case was actually fought and judgment delivered in conformity with the ancient Indian legal texts by the judges of Mithilā. This judgment is one of the few rare documents of history. This memorable Sanskrit judgment was delivered by

15 Cf. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*; *Pañcaka-Nipāta*; *Upāsakavagga*; Barua, *op. cit.*, 308.

16 *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 1. 5; Barua, *op. cit.*, 308; *JBORS.*, IX, 369-75; *Law, Indological Studies*, II. 78; *JH.*, xxxii. 264; *IC.*, IV. 438; *HM.* 131-32.

17 *HM.* 368.

18 *Arth.* III. 13; *Nārada*, V, 24-28 (Nārada mentions fifteen kinds of slaves); *Manu*, VIII, 415.

19 *HM.*, 366-70.

Mm. Sacala Miśra of the Maithila court of 1794 A.D., published by K. P. Jayaswal.²⁰ This *Jayapatra* was discovered by Paṇḍita Viṣṇulāla Jhā in a village in the district of Darbhanga and is dated Śāke 1716 i.e. 1794 A.D. This judgment was written during the time of Rājā Mādhava Siṃha of the Khaṇḍavalā dynasty of Mithilā.²¹ It decides possession of two rival Brāhmaṇa families of Mithilā and is of unique importance, as enumerated elsewhere in the present paper. The rules regarding the composition of a *Jayapatra* are given in Sanskrit Law Books, and “the present *Jayapatra*”, according to Dr. Jolly,²² “has been composed in strict conformity with these rules. It abounds in learned disquisitions and references to the authoritative declarations of celebrated sages and commentators showing how stiff, severe and dignified, technical, methodical and scrupulously formal a Hindu judgment used to be.”

On the other hand, the above judgment shows that the conditions of the *Śūdras* (slaves) had gradually become worse during the period under review. From the various kinds of state-papers, judgments, grant-deeds, slave-deeds and contracts we learn that slavery was a deep-rooted institution in the mediaeval age and also in the 19th and the early part of the 20th century in Mithilā. These documents invariably record the sale, gift and emancipation of the slaves or servants.

There are numerous kinds of such service-documents available. Of these the commonest ones are the *Bahīkhātās*, the sale or purchase-deeds of servants, the deeds of emancipation, called under certain circumstances *Gauriva-vā (cā)tikāpatras* and *Ajātapatras* or *Cāṭilas*.²³ They are executed in set forms. Some

20 *JBORS.*, vol. VI, pt. ii.

21 For a detailed account of this dynasty, see the author's forthcoming book, *History of Mithilā*, vol. II, chap. II f.

22 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pts. ii-iii, p. 117.

23 Mishra, *History of Maithili Literature*, vol. I, p. 381 (abbreviated henceforward as *HML.*),

of them are in pure Sanskrit, and some are in mixed Sanskrit and Maithilī (*i.e.*, bilingual documents). Some are in the nature of an agreement form duly signed by the parties concerned. There are others in the shape of letters addressed by one party to the other. In several of these documents there is a clear reference to the fact that these deeds were prepared by a *kāyastha* (= clerk?) for which he was given a fixed sum as remuneration, probably by the State.

The Sanskrit documents of this class are the most elaborate and formal ones, giving various legal and religious details so as to make them appear as duly executed deeds.²⁴ In later times, however, these documents were executed on stamped papers in strict conformity with the laws of the land. These documents supply us with the following valuable information—(i) the date in L. S. Śāke or Śaka, Vikrama Saṃvata and Fasli San, (ii) the ruling authorities right from the Moghul emperor, the titular head of the Indian empire, or the East India Company or their Agents to the ruling sovereign of Mithilā, (iii) the names of the persons purchasing, transferring or emancipating a slave, (iv) the caste, age, price and the distinguishing marks on the body of the slave, (v) the conditions governing the durability of the deed and the obedience of the slave, and (vi) the signature and consent of the parties concerned and their witnesses.²⁵

Thus, the *Gaurīva-Cāṭikas* are the earliest dated vernacular deeds (in Maithilī) of this kind, extant so far. They were first brought to light by the Late Mn. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā in a

24 Cf. Viṣṇulāla Śāstri's discoveries dated 528 and 549 L. S. (Vide *JBORS.*, June. 1921). Some of these documents are preserved in the Raj Library, Darbhanga, and some are lying in possession of Dr. Jayakānta Miśra, already noticed in *HML.*, vol. I.

25 Cf. *JBORS.* VII. ii-iii, pp. 123-24: खस्ति ॥ लसं ५२८ श्रावण-
शुक्लष्ट्यां शुके श्रीमहथादेवी श्रीकमलनयनमिथौ श्रीउमापतिशर्मसु गीरीववाटिका-
पत्रमर्पयति (*Sic* -) भवत्सकाशादावाभ्यां मुद्राद्वयं गृहीत्वा भवद्वास विश्वम्भरपत्नी
महामबालकपुत्री गाङ्गीनाम्नी भवत्स्वत्वभारोपिता अतः परं तस्या अस्माकं स्वत्वं

note,²⁶ on a Sanskrit judgment of Mm. Sacala Miśra,²⁷ already noted above. The judgment in question decides possession of two rival Brāhmaṇa families in Mithilā over a slave-girl. Dr. Jhā explained the term *Gaurīva-Cāṭika* as referring to slavery or service. The term, however, seems to have been applied “to the act of emancipating” the daughter of one’s *Bahiā* (servant) when she was married to some one else.²⁸

The first *Gaurīva-Cāṭika* referred to by Dr. Jhā is in mixed Sanskrit and Maithilī, and is dated 1537 Śāke or 1615 A.D. As regards the subject-matter of the document it is interesting to note that “the deed is drawn in favour of the father-in-law of the girl concerned, and as such would appear to be more in the nature of a deed of emancipation than of sale. The executor of the deed talks of having ‘given away’—‘not sold’ the girl”.²⁹ Thus, this document records that “fair complexioned Padumi (daughter of Harai, slave of Rāmabhadra) married to Śrīkrṣṇa

नास्ति अत्रार्थे साक्षिणः श्रीरामकृष्णशर्म तथा श्रीनन्दीशर्म तथा श्रीचतुर्भुजशर्माणः
लिखितमुभयानुमत्याश्रीरुचिदेवेनेति साक्ष्यमत्रश्रीमहीपतेः ।

महथा देवी क सम्मति

सही कमलनयनक

(The above is a deed of transfer of a slave).

26 *JBORS.*, VII, pt. ii-iii. (1921), p. 122.

27 Vide K. P. Jayaswal’s paper on Judgment of a Hindu Court in Sanskrit in *JBORS.*, vol. vi 1920, pt. ii. June; also cf. *CIVN.*, cxlix. 24.

28 *IIML.*, I, 382.

29 Vide—*JBORS.* VII. pts ii-iii. p. 121: “शाके १३५७ वैशाखशुक्ल-चतुर्थ्यां शुक्ले श्रीरामभद्रशर्म्मा श्रीकगालदासेषु गौरीव-चाटिकापत्रमर्पयति तदत्रे-ल्यादि (so far in Sanskrit) हमरा बहिआक हराइक बेरी पदुमीनाम्री गौरवर्णा जे तोहरे’ बेटाजे श्रीकृष्णाजे विआहलि से हमे एक टका लए तोहरा देलिआवे ताहि सजो हमरा कजोन सम्बन्ध नहिं (so far in Maithili) साक्षत्वमत्र श्रीरामालमिश्र श्रीसिद्धिनाथ भा श्रीमदनन्तमहशयानां लिखिलमिदमुभयानुमतेन श्रीगङ्गाधरशर्म्मेति श्रीरामभद्रस्य” (so far again in Sanskrit). For the translation of this passage, see *ibid.*, 121-2).

was let off on payment of Re. 1/- only and the witnesses also signed the document.”³⁰ In other words, it relates to the act of emancipating the daughter of one’s *Babiā* (servant) when she was married to some one else, usually after taking one rupee from the girl’s father-in law. The interesting point to note is that the moment the owner received his sum, he had no control over his slave.

Dr. Jayaswal has also referred to two such *Gaurīva-vāṭikā-patras* which are dated in La. Sam 528³¹ (= 1647 A. D.) and 549 (= 1668 A. D.).³² Both these documents are deeds of transfer of slave-girls. The slave-girl in each case was bought evidently to be married to the slave of the purchaser. The document is drawn by the old master in favour of the new one, giving up all his right, title and interest in the slave. These two documents and the one given by Dr. Jhā show that the slave-girl had been a virgin at the time of the transfer. A slave-girl, however, became free (according to *Aparārka*) when she was married to the master. Here, in one case we find her being married to the son of the master. Thus, these *Gaurīva-vāṭikas* continued to be executed till at least the days of Mm. Sacala Miśra (c. 1794 A.D.) for people could claim the right of granting *Gaurīva-vāṭika-patras* to the daughters of their slaves in his days,³³ as is clear from his judgment.

30 *Ibid.*

31 The document dated 528 L.S. has already been reproduced in the preceding page.

32 The document dated L. S. 549 (in Maithili) reads as follows :
“लसं ५४९ अगहन ८ बुधे श्रीगंगापतिशर्मणि बेलचोचमं श्रीभोराशर्मा गौरीव
वटिकापत्रमर्पयति देशव्यवहारे गोराचोड १ रुपैया लेल गतिराम कैवर्तक बेटी
जलिआ श्रीगंगापति भाके घुषदशा क विवाहार्थ स्वत्वपरित्यग कय देलियेन्हि ।
एहि अर्थ साक्षी लेखक श्रीलाला । सही श्रीभोरा भा क (Vide *JBORS.*, vii.
pts. ii-iii, 123-24).

33 *JBORS.*, VI, pt. ii (Vide—Sacala Miśra’s Judgment). Also cf. the story relating to a slave-girl of a Hindu clerk and dispute over her

These documents are invariably called *Gaurīva-vāṭika*. The real significance of this term is not yet clear. Nothing definite, can be said in the present state of our knowledge, though this much is clear that it technically refers to slavery. The use of the term *Deśa-uyavahāra*³⁴ indicates that the institution of slavery had been well established in this part of the country.

The judgment of Mm. Sacala Miśra³⁵ relates to a case arising out of the question of the ownership of the slaves in Śaka 1716 (=1794 A.D.) *i.e.*, 29 years after the grant of *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765 A.D. to the British East India Company by the last Moghul emperor, Shah Alam II. The fact of the case, in brief, is as follows:

“Tulārāma, the plaintiff, claimed that Maninātha should restore him his domestic slave-girl of the name of Saito, daughter of the plaintiff’s slave Mati. Tulārāma failed to prove his claim and the Judge Mm. Sacala Miśra delivered his judgment in favour of Maninātha who put forward evidences, proving possession well over hundred years, as required by law in respect of his proprietary right over the slave-girl.”

The learned Judge has quoted from the famous digest-writers and law-givers of Mithilā, *e.g.*, Misaru Miśra, Harinātha Upādhyāya and a host of others. Subtle arguments on the issues of slave and slave-trade have been discussed and decided. The present judgment thus shows how the actual administration in this respect was carried out in accordance with the law of the land.

Another kind of such documents was the *Babīkhātā* or the slave-sale-deeds. It was a sort of contract to serve in return for

possession between the owner and a Muslim in the time of Shah Jahan (Vide—Manucci’s *Storia do Mogor*. Trans. by W. Irvine, vol. I. p. 203) The accounts of the foreign travellers in the Moghul period are full of such references.

34 *Supra*, fn. 32.

35 Cf. *JBORS*. VI, pt. ii.

some money which bound the servant to one master alone. Most of these deeds are in pure Sanskrit. The earliest extant *Babikhātā* is dated as far back as 509 L. S. *i.e.* 1627/28 A. D.³⁶ in the reign of the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan. Other extant documents are dated 1746, 1755, 1812-13, 1820, 1836 and 1838 A.D.³⁷ Documents of this nature in Maithilī are rare. They are, however, in the nature of gift or transfer of slaves from one master to another. We have a deed dated 1177 Fasli *i.e.* 1770 A.D. It speaks of Mahārāja Pratāpa Siṃha of the Khaṇḍavalā dynasty of Mithilā (1556-1947 A.D.)³⁸ transferring two slaves to one Rucipati Jhā.³⁹ Another document of this

36 “सिद्धिरतु परमभट्टारकेत्यादि राजावलीपूर्वके लक्ष्मणसेनदेवीय गत-
नवाधिक पर्थ (?) शताब्दे लिख्यमाने यंत्वाकेनापि गत संवत ल० सं० ५०६
श्रावणवदि १४ रवौ पुनः परमभट्टारकाश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजलयाधिपति
सुरताणशासत् साहजहां सम्मानित नञ्चोवाव हकीकति खाणसम्भुज्यमान तीरभुक्त-
यन्तरित तीसाठया संलग्न भोरिआग्रामे महोपाध्याय श्रीप्रद्युम्नमहाशया दासी
क्रयणाथं स्वधनं प्रयुज्यते धन ऐहकोप्येतत् सकाशात्तु लियास—सं श्रीवाञ्छलिशर्मा
एतदत्र नानामध्यस्थ कृत्यमूल्यनृरी राजत । स्तौ (?) शूद्रीमादायामीषु धनिषु
षाड्निजातीय स्वदेशित द्वादशवर्ष वयस्कां सुकुमारो नाम्नो दासीं विक्रीतवान् यत्र
विक्रीतधात्री ६१ शून्याङ्कुरं...मत्र हरिअम्ब—सं श्रीखेदूशर्म कर्महासँ श्रीगोडाइशर्म
परौलीसँ श्री...” (Quoted *HML.*, I. 385).

This document is very important as it shows that even during the time of the Moghul Emperors, the Hindu Court in Mithilā maintained its independent existence and delivered judgement on traditional line in Sanskrit, which continued till the days of Mm, Sacala Miśra in 1794 A.D.

37 Cf. *HML.*, I. 385, fn. 8-10.

38 For a detailed account of this dynasty see the writer's forthcoming book, *History of Mithilā*, vol. II, chap. III.

39 *HML.* I. 386: “(नागरी में) महाराजश्रीप्रतापसिंहबहादुर देवदेवानां सदासमरविजयिनां श्रीधैरजीआ ओ भैरविआ...लीखतं आगौ तोरा दूहुभाइके श्रीरुचिदत्तभाक सुपुर्द कएल अछ खतीर जमासौ ओभा मजकुरक ओतए कामकाज करिहह हुनका ओतए वेशुमहा कमाएल करिहह चैत शुदि ५ रोज सन् ११६६साल । (in Maithili)

nature, dated 1218 Fasli, *i.e.*, 1811 A.D., grants the services of the son of one Ratneśvara to one Jayadatta Jhā.⁴⁰

The third kind of the deeds of emancipation are known as *Ajātapatras*.⁴¹ According to these the slaves were emancipated after taking their price as fixed beforehand.

The fourth kind of the known deeds are *Akarārapatras*. From the nature of this kind of deeds it appears that from the beginning of the nineteenth century or mid-nineteenth century slave-sale began to be looked upon with disfavour by the Court. Besides selling and purchasing slaves, the tendency of entering into partial contracts or service-contracts seems to have found favour with the people. They are known as *Akarāpatras* or *Janaudbīs* or *Janauṭī* or *Janaudī*. They differ from the *Babī-khātas* in that they do not “bind the servant to the master in every respect.” The servant remained free to choose his way of life as he pleased so long as he accepted the conditions of the *Akarārapatra* and the *Janaudhī*. These documents were generally executed by potters, washermen and labourers in the field in favour of one or many persons.⁴² Compared to the *Akarāra-*

40 *Ibid.*, I. 386.

41 The following is an *Ajātapatra*, dated 1235 Fasli *i.e.* 1828 A. D :
 “खस्ति अजातपत्रमिदे ॥ श्रीबाबूनाथमिश्रक ओ श्रीमुनिमिश्रक ओ श्रीअनाथीमिश्रक
 श्रीहलमना बहि (आ) के आशोष । आगों तोहरो माइक तोहरा बहि (नि) क
 तोहर तीनू प्राणी क मोल रुपैया १६ से सोढो रुपैया भरि पाओल । तोहरा
 तीनू प्राणीक अजातपत्र लिखि देल काल्हि काला कोनो तकरार न करी तं हाकिम-
 पत्रक घर भुठा होइ सन १२३५ साल भादव बदि दशमी रोज शुक्र...मोकाम
 पडरिआही...” (in Maithili. Quoted, *ibid*, I. 387).

42 *HML*. I, 387-88. cf the following *Akarārapatra* in which the potters undertake to do all the repairs and general up-keep of the well of of one Kapiladatta Mīśra : “अस्य सा (?) द्य श्रीवठ (?) हार भा ओ श्रीभैया
 भा ओ श्रीबम्मे भा । लिखितं बैजू परडीत ओ योछी परडीत ओ गरिधरी परडीत
 ओ मगहू परडीत ओ ऐका परडीत कुम्हारक श्रीकपिलादत्त मिशर के प्रणाम आगों
 हमरा सबहि एहाँ के अकरार लिखि देल अछि जे अखन जखन इन्दार टटाय

patras, the *Janaudhīs* show a slight change in form. The latter are the “agreements of service”. The *Jana* or ‘labourer’ agreed to serve a particular person, and no other person, in lieu of some payment. From the nature of this document it is obvious that there was a clear distinction between the slave (*bahiā*) and this kind of labourer. The latter had to be paid regular wages in return for his conditional services. The former, however, was bound to serve the master without any regular wages, though he was always treated as a member of the family and was provided with all the necessaries of life by his owner.

There are several documents of this kind dated 1819, 1851, 1857, 1859 A.D. etc. In these documents the labourer sometimes agrees to serve as a “labourer” twice a month; sometimes for half day per month and often once in a month only.⁴³ The last mentioned document shows that the labourer was under the control of the person from whom he took a *Janaudhī* though he served him only for a limited period.

वा भँगठाय तखन-तखन त उड़ाह भगठाह छोड़ा दीअ...अपने खुस बजाय
सँ अकरार-पत्र लिखि देल सन १२२३ पूस भरि १० रोज मंगल.....”

For a similar deed executed by a washerman see *ibid.* I, 388. (in Maithili).

43 Cf. the following *Janaudhī* (Quoted *Ibid.*):

गो :	श्रीदुबरी भा	सही श्री गिरिधारी साहु
	श्रीभुञ्जी साहु	जिम्मा श्रीमानिक साहु
	साकिन गजहड़ा	जनौटि लिखि देल से सही =
	प्रगन्ना यवदी	

लि० श्रीगिरिधारी साहु स आइ साकिन गजहड़ा प्रगन्ना यवदी आगाँ हम श्रीवखेड़ी
मिथ्र सौं जनौटि लेल । आठ—८ आना जिम्मा श्रीमानिक साहुक ताके करार
कएल अछि जे महवारी एक गोटक जन देल करी बेउजूर ताहि मध्य कोनो खटका
करी चासक ह्यर्या (हर्जा) दी शिवाए एहाँ क काज नहिं रहे तषन आन गिरहस्त
क खेत कमाइ तान्हि मध्य कोनो बात क बलवा ने करी इति सन १२६६ साल
तारिक पहिल दीन चैत...” (in Maithili).

The fifth kind of this document is known as *Nistārapatra*. This was a sort of contract for payment of debts and for their remittance (*nistārapatra*). Sometimes a person promised to make his wife the slave-maid-servant if he could not pay the amount back by a certain date.⁴⁴ Very often persons promised to pay fines and grind some corn if they allowed their cattle to graze in the fields of any one or cut away the fodder from the fields.⁴⁵

From the nature of these deeds it is clear that this practice was widely current in the Muslim period⁴⁶ and after⁴⁷, and enjoyed full protection of the law of the land. The only marked difference to be found was that while in the preceding ages the Candālas and the downtrodden Sūdras were the victims of

44 The following document was executed by one Lakṣmaṇa dated 1270 Fasli, i.e., 1863 A. D. “लि० लक्ष्मण खवास साकीन पिलखवाड़ प्रगना हाटी आगौं हम श्रीलक्ष्मीकाँत (भा ?) सँ कर्य (कर्ज) लेल अछि रुपैया दुइ— २ क नकर करार कएल अछि ये चैत पूर्णिमा लगात महाजनी दर सँ सूद लगाए रुपैया दीअ नहिं दीअ तँ एही दुइ रुपैया मध्य अपन बहु नौडी कए दी बेउजूर सन १२६० साल चतु वदि अष्टमी रोज शुक्र वैः घोड़ी मिश्र साः ककरोल प्र० यरैल...सही लक्ष्मण अमात ये लिखल से सही घोड़ी मिश्र, साः ककरोल, प्र० यरैल ।

45 Quoted in *HML.*, I, 390. The document is dated 1199 Fasli or 1792 A.D.

46 Slavery was an established institution also in the Muslim society. Sale and purchase of slaves was a common practice. The harems and places of the Muslim kings, chiefs and nobles abounded with hundreds of slaves. The accounts of Muslim historians are full of such documents that need no elaboration—cf. the document regarding the sale of a female slave for Rs. 14/- only by Shaikh Badloo of village Nagar Nuhsa, Paraganah Shah Jahanpur, Bihar province to Shaikh Abul Muali, dated 4th year of reign or 1116 Fasli (Vide—*Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee*, Bihar, 1949-50, p. 4).

47 Slavery also prevailed in Bengal in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries (Vide *BPP*, lxxix, 1950, pp. 46-50).

slavery,⁴⁸ in the period under review even the *Dhānukas* (the cultured Sūdras of to-day who were invariably employed as domestic servants) came to be ranked with them by the law-givers of the land.⁴⁹

Thus, the real status of a slave (called *Babiā* in several deeds) is clear from the documents quoted above. They were attached to the master and they had nothing of their own. As we know from the contemporary social relationship existing between different classes of people, the slave had no social standing whatsoever. He was given a piece of land and in return he had to dedicate his life to the service of his master. The modesty of the slave-girl depended more or less on the good-will of the slave-owners. These slaves were responsible for the tilling of the land, sowing the seeds and reaping the harvest for their masters. Moreover, they had to look to the comforts of the owners. It was because of their attachment to their masters that there arose the necessity of registering their sale or purchase in the presence of a number of witnesses in addition to the title-suits of which we have already quoted one specific instance above.

Further, the use of the term 'Rupee' indicated that currency was in vogue and that same sort of stabilised currency had come to stay as the medium of exchange in the 17th century which was the age of the great Moghuls. From all these evidences it is clear that the institution was one of vital importance in the economic set-up of the age when the slaves produced and others enjoyed all round comforts of life. There are no documentary evidences to show whether there ever was any strong opposition to this long standing evil or not. There is, how-

48 cf. Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇana-Ratnākara* (edited by S. K. Chatterji & Shrikant Miśra, Calcutta), p. 1: तापसि, तेलि, ताति, तिवर...धाङ्गल, धाकल, धानुक, धोआर, धुनिया, धलिकार, डोव, ...डाढि...चमार...गोआर...साव, पटविआ...नागर प्रभृति मन्दजातीय'. Also cf. *JBRS.*, xxxvi. pts. iii-iv. pp. 180-81.

49 Cf. *Ibid.*, 1-2, 23-26; Candēśvara Thākura's *Rājanīti Ratnākara* (edited by K. P. Jayaswal), p. 61.

ever, a sole instance of a Kurmi *khawas* (*bahiā* or servant) of one of the ancestors of the present Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga, rising in revolt and assuming independence in the Dharampur paragana of the Saharsa-Purnea district. The lack of smooth relations was probably one of the potent factors which emboldened Biru Kurmi (who was also an officer of the said paragana) to assert his authority in that far-off area. Whatever be the real cause, the fact remains that he raised his head against his sovereign authority, and that too with success. Later on, he became famous as Birū Shāh.⁵⁰ When commanded by Rājā Rāghava Simha⁵¹ to report to the court to answer the charges levelled against him Biru refused. He was, however, soon defeated and crushed. The actual nature of this revolt or assertion of power is not known. There might have been many more instances of such occasional protests on the part of the slaves but unfortunately there is no record of it.⁵²

III

The general scarcity of labour in the eighteenth century throughout Bihar was so acute that very often the Government was forced to employ convicts for the repair and construction of public roads. In a letter to the Secretary, Public Department, dated the 12th December, 1809 Mr. Cunningham, Magistrate of Tirhut, wrote that one hundred and ten convicts were then "employed on the repairs of the great road from Muzaffarpur to Hajeeppore" and that such of the others as were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment either by the Court of Circuit or by the

50 Cf. the following verse: वीरनगर वीरसाह का बसे कौशिका तीर । का पति राखे कौशिका का राखे रघुबीर" (Vide Singh, *History of Tirhut*, 219 fn. 3; Dās, *Mithilā-Darpana* 80).

51 He was one of the rulers of the Khaṇḍavalā dynasty which ruled over Mithilā after the fall of the Oinavārās of Mithilā. The present Mahārājā of Darbhanga is the last scion of this dynasty [For detailed study, see the writer's forthcoming book *History of Mithilā*, vol. II. chap. III].

52 Also see Prof. R. K. Chaudhari's paper, *Traces of slavery in the late mediæval period of Tirhut* in *Spark*, Patna.

Magistrate “were daily employed in making new and repairing old roads in the vicinity of this place (Muzaffarpur) and other public works.”⁵³

Thus, from the above instance, it is clear that the dearth of labourers necessarily led to the employing of forced labour in Bengal and Bihar. Sometimes ryots were dragged from their fields and forced to make and repair the roads in their localities. More often the weavers of road-side villages were called upon to perform the duties of porters—a practice which did not escape Buchanan’s notice.⁵⁴ This practice caused great distress to the weaving population as a result of which the weavers of road-side villages sometimes migrated bag and baggage to some out of the way places. Important villages practically became depopulated on account of such forced emigrations for which the Company’s Sepoys commanded by European or native officers were mostly responsible. This obnoxious practice, so degrading and revolting, could be stopped only after repeated stern measures taken by the Company’s government.⁵⁵

This scarcity of free labour, according to some scholars,⁵⁶ was partly due also to the prevalence of slavery in the province. While the sale of slaves for transportation to other countries had been prohibited by a proclamation of the Governor-General-in-Council in 1782, and again in 1794⁵⁷ and their importation from outside was forbidden in 1811,⁵⁸ the employment of slaves for domestic and agricultural purposes, and their sale and transfer

53 Patna Judge’s Court Records; H. R. Ghosal, *Labour in Early Nineteenth Century Bihar* in *JBORS.*, XXXII. 10 ff.

54 *Patna-Gaya-Report.* ii. 654, 707; *Shahabad Report*, 443; *Patna-Gaya Journal*, 4; also cf. *Minutes of Evidence taken before Select Committee of Lords*, 80.

55 For details, see *Minute of the Council*, 11th July, 1782; *Patna Judge’s Court Records*; Ghosal, *op. cit.*, 101 ff.

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Slavery in India*, 47.

58 *Ibid.*, 99-100.

under bonafide conditions within the Presidency of Bengal (which also included Bihar) were not declared illegal. The institution of slavery, therefore, continued all through the period.

In view of the extreme poverty of a section of the population, many persons voluntarily sold themselves through necessity, especially in times of famine.⁵⁹ However, the severities generally incident to slavery in the western countries were by no means common in India.⁶⁰ It is true that slaves in this country were generally considered chattels and as such liable to be transferred along with the estates of their masters, but it is also true that they were, on the whole, better treated and better fed than the hired servants and accorded much the same treatment as the children of the families to which they belonged, as already noted above. In fact, the proprietors of the slaves found it to their interest "to act humanely towards them to secure their services and promote their increase."⁶¹

Slaves in Tirhut in particular and in Bihar in general consisted mainly of three classes—(i) domestic slaves, (ii) agricultural slaves and (iii) those that were partly employed in agriculture and partly in domestic service. Those who belonged to the class of domestics lived entirely in their master's house, and were almost always allowed to marry. Their women and children also generally worked as slaves in the same houses. They were variously known as *golams*, *nafars*, *khawas*, *dingars*, *kāmakaras* etc. Those, partly engaged in agriculture and partly in household works, were known as *khawas*. The institution of *khawas* is still prevalent in Mithilā. They chiefly belonged to Hindu nobles or Zamindars or *kulins* and upper middle class and their women and children, too, were fed by their master.⁶² A boy of sixteen belonging to this class was generally sold at from twelve

59 *Ibid.*, 243-44, 381; B. N. Banerji, *Samvādapatre se Kālerkathā*, iii. 76.

60 *Slavery in India*, 243-44.

61 *Ibid.*, 243-44; *JBRS.*, xxxii. 104 fn. 3.

62 *Shahabad Report*. 166.

to twenty rupees while a girl of eight or ten cost from five to fifteen rupees.⁶³ Usually a man and his wife, provided they belonged to the same master, were not sold separately, nor was it the custom to segregate the children from their parents until they were marriageable. Sometimes, as we have already noted above, slaves were married to free persons.⁶⁴ But in Shahabad no such marriages were allowed to be negotiated or completed.⁶⁵ A family of slaves belonging to a rich landlord was sometimes allotted a rent-free land for its "comfortable subsistence"⁶⁶—a practice which yet holds good in Mithilā.

By an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1833 slavery was abolished in the British Empire. But in India, and especially so in Mithilā, it continued to operate even after this date. We learn from the *Jñānānveṣaṇa* (a Bengali newspaper of the early nineteenth century) of the 11th January, 1840 that a Calcutta Zamindar bought a slave at the Bhagalpur Bazaar at forty rupees and that many other persons were then sold as slaves in that market.⁶⁷

In 1843 slavery was finally declared illegal in India. But in Mithilā, and certain other districts of Bihar it continued to exist in some form or other down to 1860 A. D. and even afterwards,⁶⁸ say till the first decade of the twentieth century. Though no such laws exist now, the institution, however, partially operates in practice and the dying vestiges of this age-old institution can yet be seen in remote villages of Mithilā of the present.⁶⁹

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63 *Ibid.* 64 *Ibid.*,

65 *Ibid.*

66 *Purnea Report.* 164.

67 B. N. Banerji, *op. cit.*, ii. 253; *Calcutta Courtier*, Jan. 2. 1841.

68 *Indian Journal of Economics*, xv, 69; H. R. Ghosal, in *JBRS.*, xxxii, 98-105.

69 Also cf. *JBORS.*, xxvii, 292 ff.

Some Dates in the Bhāṭika era and its connected problems

The earliest dates in the Bhāṭika era, known to scholars so far, have been Māgha sudi 6, Bhāṭika Saṁvat, 813, V. 1494, and Māgha Śukla 5, Bhāṭika Saṁvat, 993, V. 1673. These dates being very late, it is obviously difficult to base on them any sound theory about the origin of the Bhāṭika era; and the attempts of Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi to connect it respectively with the Hijrā era of 622 A.D. and the ancestors of a ruler named Bhetṭika¹ can hardly be regarded as very successful. The Hijrā era, as pointed out by the Mm. Mirashi, even though it might have been current in the Muslim province of Sindh, could not have been in vogue in Rājasthān which was not under the Muslims in the eighth century A.D.² As to the Mm. Mirashi's own view, there is unfortunately nothing to prove that the ancestor of Bhetṭika, who is supposed to have started the Bhāṭika era, bore at any time the name Bhatṭika; and even if he did, there is not much probability of the chieftain of a minor principality like Kiṣkindhā having started an era. We are left unconvinced also by his attempt to explain away the occurrence of Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* in Bhetṭi's grant; for the actual *saṁvatsara* could have been only Kārttika or Mārgaśīrsa, the former if the year be regarded as current and the latter if it be taken as expired.

Obviously, we need more data to come to any safe conclusions about the Bhāṭika era; and even though the dates³ in the form

¹ See *IHQ.*, XXIX, pp. 190-95.

² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

³ Culled from the Jaisalmer inscriptions transcribed and forwarded to me by my friends, the indefatigable researchers, Sri Agar Chand Nahta and Sri Bhanwar Lal Nahta. After this paper had been typewritten, I found seven of these dates presented also in the latest issue of the *IHQ* on the basis of Dr. Ojha's reports. The present paper is much more comprehensive in many ways.

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I am giving them cannot satisfy all the requirements of a research worker, their knowledge is bound to be of considerable use to him in many ways. The earliest date that I give here is in the Bhāṭika year 534 and the latest in the year 1018 of the same era; and all of them are in inscriptions in the old Jaisalmer State.

1. *Bhā(ṭika) Saṃvat 534*—Lodravā inscription recording the death of Ādivarāha of Atrisa gotra. *Iyeṣṭha sudi 11*.

2. *(Bhāṭika) Saṃvat 534*—Lodravā inscription. *Bhādrapada vadi Bho...*

3. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 534*—Lodravā inscription. *Kārttika vadi 2 Some*.

4. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 539*—An inscription on a *govardhana*, 10 miles from Jaisalmer. *Bhādrapada sudi 10 Sunday*.⁴

5. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 541*—Āsnīkoṭ inscription of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Vijayarājadeva* commemorating probably the building of the *Vijaḍāsar* tank. *Bhaṭṭike 541 Vaiśākhe...suda 11 Guruvāre*.

6. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 543*—Āsnīkoṭ inscription of *Mahārāja Śrī-Vijayarājadeva* recording the building of a shrine of the goddess *Cāhaṇīdevī*. *Vaiśākha sudi 10*.

7. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 552*—Āsnīkoṭ inscription of the *Pattarājñī* of *Mahārāja Śrī-Vijayarājadeva*. *Saṃvat Bhaṭṭike 552 Śrāvāṇa vadi 1*.

8. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 560*—*Ḍahrī* (a village 8 miles from Jaisalmer) inscription recording the death of *Brā(hmaṇa) Thirapāla*. *Caitra sudi 7*.⁵

9. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 594*—*Ḍahrī* inscription recording the death of a son of *Thirapāla* of *Upanasya gotra*. *Kārtika-māse...pakṣe aṣṭamyām vadi 8 Guru-dine*.

10. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 596*—*Ḍahrī* inscription recording the death of *Jiyā*, a son of *Thirapāla*. *Iyeṣṭha vadi 10*.

4 The first inscription noticed by Dr. Gai (*IHQ.*, xxxv, p. 66). The date corresponds to 11th August, 1163 A. D.

5 Village *Dāblā* has a fragmentary inscription of *Bhāṭika Saṃvat 584* which should be put before our next inscription.

11. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 597—Ḍahrī inscription recording the death of Dolā, a son of Thirapāla. *Phāgaṇa (Phālguna) sudi* 12.

12. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 628—Eklī-borī Hill inscription. *Saṃvat Bhāṭike Āṣadha sudi* 11 *Budhe*.

13. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 976—Māldesar Tank (6 miles from Jaisalmer) inscription. *Bhādrapada vadi* 3, *Śukra*.

14. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 677—Kāsmīradesar Tank (3 miles from Jaisalmer) inscription of Śrī-Jayatasimha. *Āsū (Āśvina) sudi* 3 *Somavāre*.

15. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 677—Dābhlā inscription. *Māgha vadi* 8 *Guruvāre*.

16. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 683—Ḍahrī inscription recording the death of Mohana of Upavasya *gotra*. *Āṣadha sudi* 2 *Sanau vāre*.

17. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 684—Dābhlā inscription of Bhojadeva (?), son of Jaisinghadeva. *Āṣadha vadi* 1.

18. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 685—Gogātalāi inscription recording the death of Cāhuina (Cauhān) Dhunā of the Vatsa *gotra* who fell in defence of cows. *Āṣadha vadi* 3, *Guru*.

19. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 685—Gogātalāi inscription recording the death of another (Cauhān) hero of the Vatsa *gotra* who died defending cows and honour of women. Some horses andare said to have been captured by the Thāpharas, probably Kharpharas, i. e., Muslims. *Āṣadha vadi* 3, *Guru*.

20. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 685—Gogātalāi inscription recording the death of another Cauhān hero, Palāṇiā Ukaḍiā, in defence of cows. *Āṣadha vadi* 3 *Guru*.

21. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 685—Gogātalāi inscription recording the death of one belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. *Āṣadha vadi* 3 *Guru*.⁶

22. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 687—*Ieṭha (Iyeṣṭha) vadi* 12 *Bhume (Bhaume) Rohiṇī nakṣatra*.

6 Only the date of the Gogātalāi inscriptions has been noted by Dr. Gai (*IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 66-7). The date according to him corresponds to 26th June, 1309 A. D.

23. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* (7) 16?—Rāṇīsar Tank, Jaisalmer, inscription. *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1(3?) 96.

24. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 738—Jaisalmer Fort inscription recording that Rāṇī Sodhī Lachulāde became a *satī* on the death of *Mahārāja-Śrī-Ghaḍasiṃha-sāhi* on *Wednesday, the 11th of the dark half of Mārgasīra (Mārgasīrṣa)*. *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1418 and *Bhāṭi varṣa* 738.⁷

25. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 738—Jaisalmer Fort inscription recording that *Mahārāṇī Devaḍī Śrī Ratnāde*, daughter of *Śrī-Vaṇavīra*, became a *satī* on the death of *Mahārāja Ghaḍasī-sāha* on *Wednesday, the 11th of the dark half of Mārgasīra (Mārgasīrṣa)*, *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1418, *Bhāṭika Varṣa* 738.

26. *Bhāṭi (ka Saṃvat* 738)—Another Jaisalmer Fort *satī* inscription, V. 1418.

27. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 738—Jaisalmer Fort inscription, recording the death of *Mahārāja Śrī-Ghaḍasiṃha* on *Wednesday, the 11th of the dark half of Mārgasīra (Mārgasīrṣa)*, *Saṃvat* 1418, *Bhāṭika varṣa* 738. The inscription refers to the 'victorious reign' of *Śrī-Kesarī*.

28. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 738—Jaisalmer Fort inscription recording that the *Johiyāṇī Rāṇī Tārangade* became a *satī* on the death of *Mahārāja Śrī-Ghaḍasiṃha-sāha*, on *Wednesday, the 11th of the dark half of Mārgasīra (Mārgasīrṣa)*, *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1418, *Bhāṭika Varṣa* 738.

29. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 739—Jaisalmer inscription. The last word of this fragmentary inscription is *Ghaḍasīha*.

30. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 739—Inscription near the tank at the foot of the *Temadārāya Hill* recording its construction by some *Gogalīs* in the reign of *Rāja Kesarisīṃha* on *Monday the 1st of the bright half of Āśvina, Saṃvat* 1419, *Bhāṭika Varṣa* 739, when the Moon was in *Kumbha (?) rāśi*, and the *nakṣatra* was *Hasta*.

31. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 748—Jaisalmer inscription of the reign of *Kesarī*. *Saṃvat* 1428, *Bhāṭika Varṣa*, 748 *Mārgasīra*

7. The corresponding date, as calculated by Dr. Gai, is 24th November, 1361 A. D.

(Mārgasīrṣa) sudi 5 Guruvāre.....uradhi-(urddhi) nāma-yoge
Makarasthe Candre.

32. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 752—Temaḍārāya Hill inscription recording the construction of a shrine by some Gogalis in the reign of *Mahārāja Śrī-Kesarideva*. *Āśvina vadi 5 Somavāre Puṣya Nakṣatre Karkasthe Candre, Vikrama Saṃvat* 1432.

33. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 769—Dhāndh Tank inscription of *Mahārājādhirāja--Paramēśvara--Umāpativaralabdhapraudhapratāpa-Abhinava-Mārtanḍa-Jādava-vaṃśa--cūḍāmaṇi--ripurājyaśrī - svayamvara-Bāla-Nārāyaṇāvatāra-Śrīmad-Keharideva*. *Saṃvat Bhāṭike* 769 *Saṃvat Vikrame* 1449 *Āśādhā vadi 12 Budhavāre Harṣaṇa-yoge Mṛgasīrānakṣatre Mithuna Sūrya*.

34. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 772—Jaisalmer inscription recording that Rāṇī Karpūrade became a *satī* on the death of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Keharideva* (called also *Kesaradeva* in the epigraph). *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1453, *Bhāṭika Varṣa* 772

35. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 813—Jaisalmer inscription of the *Lakṣmīnātha* temple recording its *pratiṣṭhā* in the reign of *Vairisīmha*. *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1494, *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 813 (*current*) *Māgha sudi 6 Sukravāra Āśvini-nakṣatra Sukla-yoga*.

36. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat*, 813. Jaisalmer inscription, *Māgha sudi 10 Wednesday*.⁸

37. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 824—Jaisalmer inscription recording the death of *Mahārāja Vairisīmha*. *Mārga-sitādi Vikrama Saṃvat* 1505 *Bhāṭika* 824 *Vaiśākha sudi 13 ghaṭi 24 trayodaśīmāye Somavāre Purvāphālguni nakṣatre Gaja-nāma jo(yo)ge*.

38. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 824—Jaisalmer inscription recording a *satī* on the death of *Mahārāja Vairisīmha*. *Saṃvat Vikrama* 1505 *varṣe Caitra sudi 13 Somavāre Mārgasirādi Bhāṭike* 824 *pravartamāne*.

39. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 832—Māldesar Tank inscription recording the building of a tank by a wife of *Rājā Vairisīmha* in the

8 The corresponding date given by Dr. Gai is 4th February, 1438 A. D. which however is Tuesday, as it should be according to our last inscription also.

reign of Cācigadeva. *Samvat 1512 Varṣe Bhāṭika 832 Kārtika vadi 10 Somavāre.*

40. *Bhāṭika Samvat 840*—Jaisalmer inscription of the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Cācigadeva. Jyeṣṭha vadi 11 Some Krataka (Kṛttikā) nakṣatre.*

41. *Bhāṭika Samvat 882*—Jaisalmer inscription recording the death of *Rāṇī Śrī Anārade*, wife of *Rāula Devakarna* and daughter of *Rāṇā Śrī-Bhīmasimha*. *Vikrama Samvat 1562 Margairādi Bhāṭika 882 Pauṣa śukla dvādaśi ghaṭi 6 taduparānta trayodasī-madhye Somavāsare Robinī-nakṣatre.*

42. *Bhāṭika Samvat 882*—Ghadṣīsar Tank (Jaisalmer) inscription of the reign of *Rāula Śrī-Jaitasimha*, son of *Mahārājādhirāja Rāula Devakarna*. *Vikrama Samvat 1563, Bhāṭika Varṣa 882. Vaiśākha vadi pratipadā Bhomavāre ghaṭi 25 svāti nakṣatra ghaṭi 42...nama yoge Bālava karaṇe Tulāraśi-sthite Candre.*

43. *Bhāṭika Samvat 954*—Jaitsāgar (Jaisalmer) inscription recording that on the death of *Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāula Śrī-Harirāja* his two queens and six courtesans became *satīs*. *V. 1634, Śaka 1499, Māgha Śuklapakṣa 8, Bhu (Bhu) mavāsare.*

44. *Bhāṭika Samvat 954*—Recording that the queens *Bāhaḍamerī Rukhamāde* and *Pārakarī Lālimade* became *satīs* on the death of *Harirāja*. Date as in the last.

45. *Bhāṭika Samvat 973*—*Vaiśākhī-kuṇḍa* (Jaisalmer) inscription recording the repairs to the temple of *Bhūtesvara Mahādeva* in the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīma*. *V. 1654, S. 1519 Māgha Śukla 10 Ravivāra.*

46. *Bhāṭika Samvat 993*—*Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva* Jaisalmer inscription recording the building of the temple by *Dāḍimade*, a queen of *Bhīmasimha*. *V. 1673, S. 1538, Bhāṭika 993, Māgha Śukla-pakṣe pañcamīthau kavivāsare.*

47. *Bhāṭika Samvat 1012*—*Jaitabandha* (Jaisalmer) inscription.⁹

9 The transcriber is not sure of the correctness of the date.

48. *Bhāṭika Saṃvat* 1078—Jaisalmer inscription of the reign of *Mahārāja Śrī Amarsimhajī*. V. 1756 *Vaiśākha Śukla* 3 *Thursday*.¹⁰

Even a cursory look at these inscriptions makes it obvious that the Bhāṭika era was not only fairly old but also important enough to have an exclusive sphere of its own. Even though the Vikrama era was by no means unknown to Rājasthān and was actually being used in the territories adjoining the State of Jaisalmer, the Bhāṭis used exclusively their own era from 1157 A. D. to 1310 A. D. Who started the era remains unknown, there being more than one view about it. But its originators were the Bhāṭis themselves. Epigraphic as well as literary evidence prove that for centuries they wielded considerable power in Western India. If Bhaṇḍī of Bhoja's Gwālior Inscription, verse 7, be the equivalent of Bhaṭṭi, Vatsaraja had to fight against this clan to attain his imperial status.¹¹ Similarly Śiluka Pratihāra of Maṇḍor acquired the "*Chatra-cibna*" by fighting against Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of Vallamaṇḍala.¹² Kakka Pratihāra was proud of his matrimonial connection with the Bhaṭṭis; his "*Bhaṭṭi-vaṃśaviśuddhā "mahārājñi"*" Padminī was the mother of his son and successor, Bāuka.¹³ Nainṣī's view that the Bhāṭis were called "*Chatrālās*", i.e. people with *Chatra*, theirs being the (only) Hindu *chatra* in Bhārata,¹⁴ can only be reminiscent of their past glory, because in Nainṣī's own time the Bhāṭis were no longer a very strong power. And this glory of the Bhāṭis appears to have lasted at least up to the eleventh century, for

10 If the *Saṃvat* has been taken down correctly by the transcriber there is some irregularity or mistake most probably in the *Bhāṭika Varṣa*.

11 *Khyātad* = *Bhaṇḍi-kulān* = *madotkata-kari-prākāra-durlaṅghato yaḥ sāmraṅyam* = *adhijya-kārmuka-sakhā samkhye haṭhād* = *agrahit*/

12 Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, verse 19.

13 *Ibid.*, verse 26.

14 *Nainṣī's Khyāt*, Vol. II, p. 261, Hindi Translation.

the Bhāṭis were the most redoubtable of the Rājput clans which resisted Ghaznavite aggression.¹⁵

The actual records in the Bhāṭika era, discovered so far, begin with the traditional reign-period of Jaisaladeva but without any direct reference to him. In 1307 A. D. we have the last inscription, exclusively using the Bhāṭika era. In 1339 A. D. we find it combined with the Vikrama Sainvat ; in 1362 A. D. even the death of a Bhāṭi ruler, Ghaṭasiṃha or Ghaḍṣī, is given both in the Bhāṭi and Vikrama eras. These changes are not without some political significance.

Writing in the pages of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1935, we proved, as against the view of Sir Wolseley Haig and his followers, that the account of the Khaljī invasions of Jaisalmer is true in the main.¹⁶ A few years later we added further details on the basis of *Nainsī's Khyat* and showed that Kamāluddīn Gurg was the Khaljī general who captured Jaisalmer during the reign of Mularāja. The Bhāṭi chiefs, Dudā and Tilokasi, re-occupied it for a while, even though they were not in the direct line of succession;¹⁷ and on its re-capture by the Muslims it had to be re-conquered by Ghaṭasiṃha who, according to our inscriptions 23-27, died in 1361 A. D. It was probably during the interregnum, when the Bhāṭi State lay prostrate before the Muslim marauders, that the Bhāṭi era lost some of its old significance. It was now a measure of time in general, not of the time when the clan had first achieved greatness and ruled gloriously and independently for centuries ; and if it was time alone that had to be signified it was better to have also a more generally used era, that of the *Sakāri* Vikramāditya. Thus in 1339

15 See for instance the account of the resistance of the Bhāṭia ruler in the *Tārikh-i-Yāmini* and *Tārikh-i-Firishta*.

16 I have the satisfaction of knowing that this view is now generally accepted, even though the present writer's name may not be mentioned by the users of the information.

17 Dudā can be proved to have ruled over Jaisalmer on the basis of the unimpeachable epigraphic evidence provided by the *Sambhavajinālaya, praśasti* of V. 1494.

A. D. we come to an inscription which combines the Vikrama and Bhāṭi eras. As the Bhāṭis never recovered their former greatness, this policy of combining the two eras continued for nearly four centuries, after which period the Vikrama era almost monopolised the field.

The importance of these dates in determining the correct dates of important events and rulers of Jaisalmer scarcely needs any emphasising. Traditional history makes Jaisaladeva the founder of the fort of Jaisalmer in V.1212, and he is said to have been followed on the throne by Sālivāhana. If this account be correct, they did not rule long, for in Bhāṭika Saṁvat 541 (V. 1221 ; A. D. 1164) we find Vijayarājadeva, who obviously is identical with Vījaladeva of Naiṁsī and Vijaṛ of Tod, ruling at Āsṇīkot, a place not far from Jaisalmer. Naiṁsī's account makes Vījaladeva a foolish ruler who had to be deposed by the Bhāṭis.¹⁸ According to Tod, Vijaṛ usurped the throne of Jaisalmer during his father's lifetime but did not rule long.¹⁹ Inscriptions, however, give us quite a different tale. His title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* in inscription No. 4 commemorating a grant by him in the Bhāṭika year 541 (V. 1221; A. D. 1164) is indicative probably not only of his ambition but also of his power. In Bhāṭika year 543 (V.1223) he built a shrine of the goddess Cāhaṇīdevī ; and nine years later, in Bhāṭika year 552 (V.1232 ; A. D. 1175) we have a record of the installation perhaps of some image by his *paṭṭarājñi* whose name has become undecipherable. Thus Vijayarāja ruled at least for 11 years, from V.1221 to V.1232 and had probably a fairly successful reign.

Vaijalladeva was succeeded in order by Kelhaṇa, Cācigadeva and Karnadeva, the last one of whom was according to the *Kharataragacchapattāvali* on the throne of Jaisalmer in V.1340.²⁰ According to Naiṁsī, the rule of these three totalled about 80

18 Vol. II, Hindi Translation, p. 282.

19 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, O. U. P., p. 1208.

20 See my paper on the *Kharataragacchaapattāvali* in *IHQ.*, XXVI, p. 229.

years. This estimate is now corroborated by the inscriptions of Vijayarāja noted above and the account of Karṇadeva in the *Kharataragaccapaṭṭāvali*.

From the same *paṭṭāvali* we learn that “*Rājādhirāja*” Jaitra-siṃha was ruling at Jaisalmer in V. 1356 and assisted in the *praveśaka-mahotsava* of Jinacandra Sūri.²¹ Our inscription No. 13 refers to his rule in the Bhāṭika year 677 (V. 1357 ; 1300 A. D.). Therefore the two rulers, Lākhaṇasena and Puṇyapāla, who are mentioned by Naiṇsī, Tod and the *Vīravīnoda* must be put somewhere between V. 1340 and V. 1356.

According to Naiṇsī, it was during the reign of Jaitsī, a son of Karṇadeva, who had deposed Puṇyapāla, that the Bhāṭīs came into conflict with the Khaljīs. That there is nothing improbable about this has been shown in the note on the subject referred to above. The inscriptions in the Bhāṭika era help us in fixing the exact year of the invasion. We have no less than four inscriptions of the Bhāṭika year 685 (V.1365: A. D. 1308) which commemorate the death of a number of heroic Rājapūts who fell fighting in the defence of cows and women ; and of these the most interesting is inscription No. 18, because it shows that in spite of the best efforts of these valiant people the *Kharparas* succeeded in capturing some horses and a few other things, the nature of which is not clear. 1308 A. D. may therefore have been the year when the Khaljīs reached Jaisalmer, sacking and pillaging towns and villages on the way, according to their wont.

It is difficult to write any thing positive about the political history of the period 1308-1352 on the basis of the inscriptions in the Bhāṭika era. But traditional accounts speak of Jaisalmer being occupied twice by Muslims, the first time by Alāuddīn Khaljī and the next, probably by one of his successors, may be by Muhammed bin Tughlaq. In the first invasion the Muslim generals were Kamālādīn and Kāfrā,²² who obviously are the Khaljī generals Kamāluddīn Gurg and Malik Kafūr. That after the second Muslim invasion Jaisalmer remained under the Muslims

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Naiṇsī's Khyāt*, II, pp. 291, 292, 309

for some time can be seen from the statement in the *Pārśvajinālayaprasasti* V. 1473 (A. D. 1416) that Ratnasimha's son, Ghaṭasimha, captured the fort (of Jaisalmer) by destroying like a lion the elephants called *Mlecchas*.²³

About Ghaṭasimha's reign again we have no details from the Jaisalmer epigraphs. But we know from them, as pointed out above, that he came to the throne some time after the death of Dūdā, a ruler who was not in the direct line of succession, and died in Bhāṭika year 738 which corresponded to V.1418. Our inscriptions 23-28 which supply this date show also that he was matrimonially well-connected, though most probably many of these marriages took place after he had made himself master of Jaisalmer. His queens, for instance, included Sodhī Lāchulade, daughter of Mahārāṇā Acalasimha, Mahārāṇī Devadī Batnāde, daughter of Vaṇavīra, and Johiānī Tārangde, daughter of Rāṇā Śrī Rājadhara. We do not, however, find any mention of the Rāṇī Vimalade, who is said to have shut the gates of the fort on the assassination of Ghaṭasimha by Tejasī Bhāṭī. Ghaṭasimha was a contemporary of Firūz Tughlaq, and if traditional accounts have any foundation in fact he might have tried to recover Jaisalmer even by entering imperial service and serving the Sultān in the campaign against Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh.²⁴ His title Sāhi and Sāha, found in our inscriptions, encourage one to speculate whether the Bhāṭīs were not in some way, political, matrimonial

23 *Śrī-Ratnasimhasya mahidhavasya babbhūva putro Ghaṭasimhanāmā/
Yah Simhavan-Mleccha-gajān vidārya balādalād = vapradarim =
aribhyah//*

Vapra in the sense of a fort is common enough in the Sanskrit literature produced at Jaisalmer. Jodhpur and Jaisalmer are very often called Jaisalavapra and Yodhavapra.

24 See *Nainsi's Khyāt*, II, pp. 311-2. Shamsuddin is called an "eastern Pādshāh," obviously because he was a ruler of Bengal. His independence was ultimately recognised in Firūz Shāh's reign. The capture of Jaisalmer by Ghaṭasimha may tentatively be placed in 1357-8 A. D. when Firuz attacked Shamsuddin's successor, Sikandar Shāh.

or ethnical, connected with the Shāhīs of Kābul, with whom they had friendly relations in the tenth century at least.

Our inscriptions 26, 29, 31, 32 and 33 refer to Ghaṭasiṃha's successor, Keharideva or Keharadeva as *Rājā, Mahārāja, Maharājā-dhirāja* and *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* which would mean that he succeeded in holding his own against his rivals and enemies. It is also easy to fix on their basis his reign-period as Bhāṭika 738 (V. 1418)-Bhāṭika 772 (V. 1453). Tod's dates 1335-1402 A.D. (V. 1392-1459) are obviously wrong, both for the beginning as well as the end of his reign. Specially interesting is our inscription No. 22 giving him a number of high-sounding titles²⁵ which remind a student of Rājput history of similar titles borne by the Caulukyās of Aṇahillapaṭṭana.

Keharī disinherited his son, Kelhaṇa, for whom and his son, Cācā, we have an inscription of V. 1475 in the Bikaner Museum, Bikaner.²⁶ For Lakṣmaṇa, the next eldest son and successor of Keharideva, we have no inscriptions in the Bhāṭika era. But there is one of the Vikrama era 1473. A fragmentary inscription records his death. The date in it is illegible. Nainsī assigns him a long reign of 31 years. He was a contemporary of Timūr who invaded India in 1398 A.D., i.e. in the beginning of Lakṣmaṇa's reign. We have no means to determine his relationship to Kulchand of Bhaṭner who fought against the invader.

For the next ruler, Varasiṃha, we have three inscriptions, 34, 35 and 36 which range from 1494 to 1505. As the last one is a record of his death and as he is generally believed to have ruled for 20 years,²⁷ he must have come to the throne in V. 1485 or so. The total period of the reigns of Varasiṃha and his predecessor, Lakṣmaṇa, would be 52 years, from 1453 to V. 1505.

Varasiṃha's successor, Cāciga, has two inscriptions in the Bhāṭika era, one in 832 = V. 1512 and the other in 840 = V.

25 See above.

26 Published by us in the *Rājasthāni*, Bikaner, I, Part I,

27 See *Nainsī's Khyāt*, II, p. 325.

1520. He died before Kārttika, V. 1524 when we find his son, Devakarna or Devīsiṃha on the throne of Jaisalmer.²⁸

Devakarna is said to have razed the fortress of Umarkoṭ to the ground to avenge the death of his father at the hands of the Sodhās. There may be some truth in it, as it is repeated by Naiṅsī as well as the *Bhāṭi-vaṃsa-prāśasti* of Vyās Govinda Madhuvana. But the epigraph in the Jaisalmer fort which mentions this may not be authentic or has not been read properly. Its date V. 1512 is against epigraphic evidence. For his queen Anārade, a daughter of Rāṇā Bhīmasiṃha, we have an inscription in the Bhāṭika year 882 (V. 1562). Devakarna was, according to Naiṅsī, one of the greatest rulers of Jaisalmer.

For Devakarna's successor, Jaitsī, we have an inscription in the Bhāṭika year 882 = 1563. His death in V. 1585 is recorded in an unpublished inscription of the Vikrama era. The next two rulers, Luṅkaraṇ and Mālde died respectively in V. 1607 and V. 1618.²⁹ The date of the death of Mālde's son, Harirāja, is given by our inscriptions 41 and 42 as the Bhāṭika year 594 = V. 1634, i. e. 1577 A. D. A number of inscriptions in the Vikrama era show that he had become a vassal of the Mughal emperor, Akbar. Extremely interesting is an inscription in the Bhūteśvara temple describing his daughter Bāi Śrī Nāthibai as a *bhāryā* (wife) of Akbar who ruled at Agra.³⁰ The Rājput̃s generally do not like to refer to these matrimonial connections.

For Harirāja's successor, Bhīmasiṃha, we have an inscription in the Bhāṭika year 973 = V. 1654. His death in V. 1670 is recorded in an unpublished inscription in the Vikrama era. Inscriptions in the Bhāṭika era after Bhīmasiṃha are rare.

The Bhāṭika era begins in V. 680. Our inscriptions 36 and 39 describe it as *Mārgasirādi*.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

28 The date is from an unpublished inscription with us.

29 Unpublished inscription with us.

Bhadrak Inscription of Gana: Regnal Year 8

The above named inscription has been edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIX, pp. 169ff and plate. It was discovered in the Bhadrakālī Temple about five miles from Bhadrak, a subdivisional headquarter of the Balasore District in Orissa. There are certain things in his reading and interpretation, which provided a *prima facie* case for re-editing it. According to his interpretation, by *mūla japa* three idols and 80 *adhavāpas* of land were given and this was accepted by the Mahākulapati Agisama (Agnīśarman). Inscriptions recording the donation of images or idols, are not rare, but no epigraph records the donation of an image or images by *mūla-japa* which indicates a procedure for their consecration. The consecration of images was the work of the priesthood and not of the donors. Again, if the epigraph records the donation of 80 *adhavāpas* of land, it is strange that no specifications of the same occur in it. There is hardly any inscription recording a gift of land, wherein the specifications of the land donated do not occur. The land, unlike other objects, requires exact specifications to make a deed of gift valid. Besides, in Dr. Sircar's interpretation of the text the name of the donor does not occur, an omission which can hardly be expected in a votive inscription. These and certain other points provide a necessity for re-editing the inscription, which is attempted below. To facilitate comparison and verification, Dr. Sircar's reading and translation are also given along with mine.

Dr. Sircar's reading and translation :

- Text. 1. [Siddham] [1*] Mah[ā]r[ā]ja-sir[i]-Gaṇasa sa
[m̄ 8 1] [M]ūlajap[ena] d[e]vā 3 dat[ā]
2. [ādha?]vapa 80 [1*] Mah[ā]kulapati-ayya-Agisame-
nam[na] Paṇi[de] vaḍidaṁ paḍichhidam̄ [1*]
3.i.i.[adhivāsa(si)ka Bhada?] Apavasa [Mahā-
sa]ra Ghali Aḍasama [1]

Transl. May there be success! In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Gaṇa. By Mūlajapa are given 3 idols (and also) 80 [aḍha?]vāpas (of land). The apportionment (i.e., the land apportioned) at Panida is accepted by the venerable Agisama (Agniśarman), the *Mahākulapati*. Bhada (Bhadra), Apavasa (Apavarsha?), Mahāsara (Māhāsara?), Ghali (and) Aḍasama (Aḍasārman), residents of.....

The amended reading and translation:

- Text. 1. [Siddham] [1*] Mahārāja Suraśa[mmasa] sa[m 8]
[a]mbhala 3 meḍha 1 su 2 data
2. [suna] pa 80 Mahākulapati-āyyas-āgisarmanam
Parnadevaḍim upaḍichhidam [1*]
3. [adhivāsa(si)ka Bhada] Śrī-Pavasa bhāryā
Ranghali aḍhasamā [1*]

Transl. May there be success! In the regnal year 8 of Mahārāja Suraśamma 3 pieces of garments, one pedestal (and) two pieces of gold, the gold given being 80 pa[ṇas], were settled with the Honourable Mahākulapati Agisarma (Agniśarman) for (the goddess) Parnadevaḍi (Parṇadevatī). Ranghali, wife and the better half of the respectable (*bhada* or *bhadra*) Śrī-Pava, an inhabitant of.....

Note—In l.1 the first six letters are quite distinct and they have been read by Dr. Sircar as *Mahārāja-Siri*. It is however to be noted that no trace of the medial *i* which has assumed here a distinct cursive form with a loop at the end, is to be seen either in *sa* or in *ra*. On the other hand, there is a short vertical line below the left limb of *sa* which may be taken as the sign for the medial *u*. Dr. Sircar reads the name of the king as Gaṇa, but he does not account for his omission of a distinct loop on the right limb of the letter which he reads as *ga*. This letter is in reality a palatal *śa* and not *ga* and this type of palatal *śa* has been used throughout the long text of the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman belonging to the second century A. D.¹

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 36 ff. and Plate.

The second letter of the name, read by Dr. Sircar as *na*, appears to be the conjunct *mma*, of which only the lower portion has survived. It will therefore be better, if the first nine letters are read as *Mahārāja Surāśa* [*mmasā*].

No better suggestion can be offered for the improvement of Dr. Sircar's reading *sa* [*m̄ 8*], but he does not appear to have noticed the distinct traces of the letter *a* which comes immediately after *sa* [*m̄ 8*]. His reading of the next letter as *mū* is also doubtful. It is true that the sign for the medial *ū* sometimes occurs in the early Brāhmī inscriptions in the form it is to be found here under *ma*, but the prominent manner in which it occurs here, rather makes it the subscript *bha* of the conjunct *mbha*. It is to be noted that *bha* occurs in the last line of the present inscription in the same form as it occurs under *ma* here. A further point to be noted is that in the formations of the conjunct letters super-scripts are sometimes found in their earlier forms. In the conjunct *mbha*, the component *ma* is found here in an earlier form which is very different from several other *ma* letters used in the epigraph. The next letter is clearly *la*, but the letter that succeeds it is not *ja* as read by Dr. Sircar, but is the sign for the numeral 3. It consists of three horizontal lines without a common vertical straight line on the left, which is to be found in the Brāhmī *ja*. The two letters which have been read by Dr. Sircar as *pena* are in reality *medha*. It is not at all possible to take the second letter as *na* as the form of *na* that twice occurs in 1.2 is quite different. It is *dha* which also occurs in 1.3. There is a space between *dha* and the next letter *su* and in this space occurs the numeral 1 as a single horizontal line. Again between *su* and *da* there is a space in which the sign for the numeral 2 in the form of two horizontal lines, occurs.

The second line begins with a letter that has been partly damaged. Since this letter occurs just below the first letter of the first line, no other letter appears to have preceded this mutilated letter in 1.2. The mutilated letter appears to be a dental *sa* as it closely resembles the right limb of the dental *sa* used in the epigraph. So we have read this letter and the succeeding ones as

[*ṣuna*] *pa 8o*. We have practically no difference of opinion with Dr. Sircar about his reading of the next portion of the inscription up to *Agisarmanam*, but what he reads next does not give any sense. The words that succeed *Agisarmanam* are *parnadevadiṃ* and *upadichhidam*. We have already stated that the medial *i* used in the epigraph has a distinct cursive form with a loop at the end, which is not to be confused with the super-script *r* which is found here to be more or less a straight line e.g. *Agisarmanam Parnadevadiṃ* and *bhāryā*.

The reading of the damaged letters of the third line as given by Dr. Sircar appears to be most probable, but we have differed from him with regard to his reading of those letters of the third line, which have not been damaged. It is hoped that our difference is justified by the letters themselves.

The language of the inscription is in Prakṛit, but it cannot be said with certainty that the text has strictly followed the Prakṛit grammar. Even on the Sanskrit texts of many inscriptions local languages have exerted their influences and have sometimes imposed their words and idioms. It will therefore be not surprising, if words and idioms of the locality in which the present inscription was inscribed, have also got into its Prakṛit text. We have taken the words *ambhala*, *sunā*, *Parnadevadi* and *adhasamā* of the epigraph as having been derived from the Sanskrit *ambara*, *svaṛṇṇa*, *Parnadevatī* and *ardhasamā* respectively. It has not been possible to find out a Sanskrit word from which *medha* might have been derived. But the word *medha* is still used in Orissa. *Medhas* are generally made of wood in the form of couches and are sometimes plated with copper or silver. They are used as the pedestals of the images and are also sometimes taken in procession along with the images. We have taken the word *upadichhidam* in the sense of settling or deciding. It appears to have been derived from the Sanskrit *parichhid* which means "to define or fix accurately, to decide, to determine etc."

Two abbreviations have been used to denote the number and quantity of the gold donated; *su 2* (l.2) and *pa 8o* (l.2) most

likely stand for *svaṛṇṇa* or *suvaṛṇṇa* 2 and *paṇa* 80. Since the mere mention of the number of gold pieces does not convey an accurate idea about their quantity or value, it has been made clear by the succeeding expression *data suna pa 80* i.e. the donated gold being 80 *paṇas*. *Paṇa* is a weight of copper used as coin, equivalent to 20 *māshas* or 4 *kākinīs* and *paṇa* also means a copper coin. I have been unable to determine whether the two pieces of gold presented were equivalent in weight to 80 *paṇas* or equivalent in price to 80 copper coins (*paṇas*). The former interpretation will however be more probable.

The procedure through which the objects mentioned in the inscription were presented to the goddess Parṇadevatī, is analogous to the procedure to be found in the Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription.² In the Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription the donor Gomibhaṭa first prayed the *Kulapati* Bhānubhaṭa³ and the temple committee and then with their permission built the Viniteśvara *Maṭha* in the temple shrine of Nārāyaṇa. He further donated in perpetuity an oil lamp and two *prasthas* of rice for the daily offerings of the deity and made over to the temple committee cows and other articles to the values of 50 *dināras*. The present epigraph which is earlier than the Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription by a century or a little more, indicates the same procedure in presenting objects to a temple shrine. The donor Ranghali, wife of the *bhadra* (respectable) Śrī Pava, made a settlement with the Mahākulapati Agisarma (Agniśarman) for presenting her objects to the goddess Parnadevadi (Parṇadevatī). It appears that in every important

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX. p. 289ff and Plate; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLIX, 1920, p. 21ff; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1257, p. 170 and fn. 4.

3 *Kulapati-Bhāgudalanas-sa-devanikāyam* (ll. 3-4) as read both by R. D. Banerji and N. G. Mazumdar, editors of the inscription, should be corrected into *Kulapati-Bhānubhaṭam-asma-de(dde)vanikāyam*. The scribe had inadvertently omitted a letter of the name of the *Kulapati* which he later on inscribed above the line. This letter is not the fourth letter of the name as Banerji and Mazumdar have taken, but it is the third letter *bha* inscribed in the available space, but not exactly above the second letter *nu*.

temple shrine there was a *kulapati* or *mahākulapati* with whom a settlement had first to be made before donations could be made to the deity.

There was something in the inscription about the residence and the status of the *bhada* (respectable) Pava, husband of the donor Ranghali, but unfortunately that portion of the inscription has been damaged or lost.

Parṇadevatī of the present inscription, like Yakṣīs, and Nāgīs, appears to have been a popular deity. Her name indicates that she was a sylvan goddess. Even now a deity known as Patarasuṇī (the goddess of leaves or jungles) is worshipped in the rural areas of Orissa.

The inscription was engraved in the 8th regnal year of Mahārāja Suraśarmā who is not known from any other source. Suraśarmā, as his title indicates, appears to have been a local ruler, holding a subordinate rank under a sovereign power. So far as the history of Orissa is concerned, the present record is, in point of antiquity, only next to the inscriptions of Khāravela and of his supposed successors in the Udayagiri caves. No epigraphic record for the history of Orissa is available till we come to the Gupta Era 250 (A.D. 569) which is the date of the Sumaṇḍala Copperplate of Pṛthvī-vigraha⁴. The present inscription which can palaeographically be assigned to the third century A. D., throws some side-light on this darkest period of the Orissan history. A gold coin found from the Śiśupālagarh excavations clearly imitates a coin-type of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva I on the obverse and bears a Roman head on the reverse.⁵ The legend on the coin has been read and restored by Dr. Altekar as *Mahārājadhasa-Dharmadāmadharasa* which was intended to stand for *Mahārāja-rājādhirāja-Dharmadāmadharasya* Dr. Altekar assigns it to the third century A. D. and thinks that the king Dharmadāmadhara of the coin might have been a Muṇḍa king ruling over a part of Bihar and Orissa with his capital at Pāṭali-

4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 79ff and Plate.

5 *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 97-101, and Plate.

putra. The existence of a Muruṇḍa ruling family at Pāṭaliputra, is suggested by the *Bṛhatkalpavṛtti* of the Jains, quoted in *Abhidhāna-rājendra*. The Purāṇas also vaguely speak of thirteen Muruṇḍa kings as ruling in the post-Āndhra and pre-Gupta period. Since the present record belongs to the third century A.D., it is likely that Mahārāja Surasarmmā was a subordinate ruler under the Muruṇḍa ruling family. This conclusion should however await further discoveries.

KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI

New Light on Vijayanagar History

The Vijayanagara Empire was divided for the sake of administrative convenience into various provinces known as Rājyas. Of all the Rājyas in the Telugu area, Udayagiri played a prominent part because of its strategic importance and also because it was a bone of contention between the Rayas and the neighbouring powers viz., the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and the Gajapathis of Orissa. The kingdom of Udayagiri, generally speaking, comprised of all the area which today forms part of the Cuddapah District, a major portion of the Nellore District and the Southern portions of Cumbum and Nandyal Taluks of the present Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. Udayagiri Rājya was so carved out as to centre round the fort of Udayagiri and so the word 'durga' was also added to the name of the province. In some inscriptions the province is referred to as Udayagiri Rājya and in others as Udayagiri Durga. Because of its importance, Udayagiri Rājya is referred to in inscriptions as the first fort or the chief fort (Tel. Modalidurgamu) of the empire.

The early kings of the Saṅgama dynasty used to appoint princes of royal blood as governors of various Rājyas. This was intended to give administrative training to the princes so that they would be in a position to shoulder heavy State responsibilities when called upon to do so. Virūpaṅṅa was the first prince of the royal family to rule over the Udayagiri Rājya. He was the son of Bukka I.¹ The term Uddagiri is frequently affixed to his name in inscriptions. Uddagiri is another form of the word Udayagiri. The very fact that the word Uddagiri is prefixed to his name clearly shows that he was intimately associated with Udayagiri in some capacity or other. Being a prince of the royal family, he could not have been associated with Udayagiri in any ordinary official capacity except as the commandant of

1 E. C. VIII Ti 16, 28, 27, 125.

the fort and governor of that province. The same Virūpaṇṇa was appointed in Śaka 1266 as governor of Penugoṇḍa² which was conquered by the Vijayanagar kings earlier. Evidently before his appointment as the governor of Penugoṇḍa Virūpaṇṇa held the post of governor of Udayagiri. It is interesting to note that Virūpaṇṇa is also known as Penugoṇḍa Virūpaṇṇa. The word Penugoṇḍa was prefixed to his name because he was associated with the administration of that province in the capacity of a governor. So also the word Udayagiri was prefixed to his name because, for sometime, he acted as its governor.

Virūpaṇṇa was succeeded by Kaṁpaṇa I as the governor of Udayagiri. From the Koḍavalūru epigraph dated Śaka 1268 it may be inferred that Kaṁpaṇa I, assisted by his mahāpradhāna, mudradhiḍḍa Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu, was ruling in the Nellore District.³ There is a piece of evidence in the Mackenzie manuscripts to show that the country around Nellore was ruled by Kaṁpaṇa. The names of rulers who administered Nellore successively are given in the following order in a Cātu verse preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts,⁴ viz, Tirukāladēva, Tikkanāyaka, Manma Siddhana, Dādi Nāgana, Manumaḡaṇḍa Gōpāla, Swarṇadēva, Gōpinātha, Sri Raṅga, Muppaḍi, a Mussalman, Tikkana, father of Saṅgama. The Cātu verse may be assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century since it was addressed to king Saṅgama of Nellore who was no doubt prince Saṅgama II, son of Kaṁpaṇa I of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. Kaṁpaṇa I acted was the governor of Udayagiri from Śaka 1266 to 1270.

Kaṁpaṇa I was succeeded by Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu who appears to have started his rule in Śaka 1270-71. According

2 Sewell, L. A., i, p. 119-20 Penugoṇḍa 23.

3 NDI, Part II, No. 28, p. 789: Another epigraph (NDI, Part II, No. 29, p. 791) from the same place records a gift of Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu. A third epigraph (L. R. 46, pp 236-27) near the Buggabavi at Udayagiri dated in Śaka 1264-65 records a gift of Kaṁpaṇa to a deity.

4 Quoted by Mr. M. S. Sarma in his book 'A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History', p. 18 (1945) Waltair.

to an inscription at Kālahasti⁵ Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Udaiyar's 15th year corresponded to the cyclic year Śōbhakṛit. His accession must therefore have taken place in Śaka 1270-71.⁶ So far five inscriptions, besides the Kālahasti inscription, belonging to this ruler have been noticed.⁷ They are dated from Śaka 1273 to 1286. They mention "the Vijayanagara king, Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeya, Lord of the Eastern Ocean ruling at Udayagiri paṭṭaṇa". Therein he is stated to be the son of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyalu and Maṅgidevi-amma. It appears that he made all these grants in the capacity of the governor at Udayagiri paṭṭaṇa and also as Lord of the Eastern Ocean. Evidently the title "Lord of the Eastern Ocean" indicates that he was ruling over Udayagiri Rājya, whose eastern portions extended upto the Bay of Bengal. He governed the provinces of Udayagiri from Śaka 1270 to 1286.

In allotting a rule of 16 years from Śaka 1270 to 1286, one obvious difficulty arises. The Biṭraguṇṭa grant⁸ of prince Saṅgama II, son of Kaṁpaṇa I and grandson of Saṅgama I is dated in Śaka 1278. He was evidently a brother of Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeya. Saṅgama II is referred to as a king making donation of a village Biṭrakuṇṭa. If Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu ruled over Udayagiri Rājya from Śaka 1270 to 1286 how could it be possible for Saṅgama II to exercise his control over the same area in Śaka 1278? H. Krishna Sastry offers a solution to the problem when he writes,⁹ "perhaps Sāvaṇṇa and Saṅgama II divided betwixt them the Nellore and Cuddapah districts which must have formed the eastern portion of the Vijayanagara empire". But available facts point out to the contrary. There was no division as such of the eastern portions of the Vijayanagar empire between the

5 Epi. Coll., No. 188 of 1903.

6 A.R.S.I.E., 1906-07, page 81 paragraph 52.

7 Epi. Coll. No. 503 of 1906; V.R. 604 Nellore: No. 500 of 1906: No. 504 of 1906: No. 327 of 1935-36: No. 80 of 1953-54; NDI, Part II, p. 848 No. 78.

8 E.I., Vol III pp. 21-35; CP No. 20 of NDI, part I; CP 58 of Mr. Sewell's list of Antiquities; V.R. 404 A. Nellore.

9 A.S.R. for 1907-08 pp. 238-39.

two brothers. There are some inscriptions¹⁰ in South India in the name of Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu. They are dated from the 4th year to the 10th year of his reign. These inscriptions vouchsafe his presence in the Tamil country in some connection or other. It is a well known fact that the Tamil country was freed from the yoke of the Muslims by Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa. The destruction of the Muhammadan power must have occurred some time before Śaka 1280. Since according to Mr. Sewell¹¹ the Muhammadan chiefs of Madura ruled for 48 years from Śaka 1232 to 1280, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa must have spent five or six years in making preliminary preparation for ultimately overthrowing the Muslims. In that event Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa's first invasion must have taken place in Śaka 1276. The presence of Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu in the Tamil country can be explained in no other way except that he accompanied Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa in his South Indian campaign on several occasions beginning from the fourth year of his reign. An inscription¹² of Sāvaṇṇa from Tiruvorṟiyur is dated in the 7th year of Vijaya. As we have shown already his accession took place in Śaka 1270-71 and the seventh year of his reign falls in Śaka 1278. This inscription which is in his name necessarily warrants the assumption that Sāvaṇṇa was in Tamil country in that year. Hence it may not be improbable to infer that Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu left for South India along with Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa to assist him in liberating that country from the yoke of the Muslims, having left the administration of the Udayagir Rāja in the hands of his brother Saṅgama II who acted for a temporary period as the governor of that province. While acting as governor Saṅgama II granted the village Biṭraguṇṭa in Śaka 1278 to Śrikanṭhanātha.

The conclusion of H. Krishna Sastri that there was a division of the Vijayanagar empire under the early Saṅgamas and that

10 Epi. Coll. Nos. 213 of 1913; 240 of 1913, 357 of 1929; 369 of 1929.

11 Sewell: *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 223.

12 Epi. Coll. No. 213 of 1912.

Kaṁpaṇa I and Saṅgama II ruled over the Udayagiri Rājya as independent kings cannot be accepted. The idea of Saṅgama II in the Biṭraguṇṭa grant was only to give the pedigree—his name, his father's name and his grand-father's name but not to indicate any facts of great political importance. Even in the inscriptions of Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu the reigning emperor's name is not given. Further he is also referred to as the "king of Vijayanagara". We know that during 1273 to 1286 there was no king by name Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyalu sitting on the throne at Vijayanagara. It only means that he was a prince belonging to the royal family ruling at Vijayanagara. Krishna Sastri says¹³ "...But so much is certain that Saṅgama II held portions of the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts, while his uncle Bukka I was governing at Vijayanagara. Saṅgama II can scarcely have been dependent on Bukka I as he would have otherwise referred to the latter as his overlord in his inscription. The facts that he represents his own father Kaṁpaṇa as the actual successor of Harihara I also suggests that he considered himself entirely independent of Bukka I." It is true that Saṅgama II held portions of the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts while his uncle Bukka I was ruling at Vijayanagar. The fact that he did not mention Bukka I as his overlord in the inscription need not necessarily show that he was independently ruling that area. There are instances in the Vijayanagar inscriptions where the name of a governor or a subordinate chief is mentioned without reference to the emperor at Vijayanagara. Hence it is not reasonable to conclude that Saṅgama II ruled independently in the Nellore region and that a collateral branch of the Saṅgama dynasty started ruling from Nellore. Further, it is not true to say that Saṅgama represents his own father Kaṁpaṇa as the actual successor of Harihara I. There is nothing in the inscription to indicate this. What Saṅgama intended to convey was only to give the genealogy of the Saṅgama dynasty before him; but not to give any idea of succession to the throne at Vijayanagara. Even

13 E.I., vol. III, p. 24.

if Kampana is referred to as the successor of Harihara I, it means that Kampana succeeded Harihara I as the emperor of Vijayanagara, but not to certain portions of the Nellore and Cuddapah Districts. Such a conclusion that Harihara I was succeeded by his brother Kampana to certain portions of the Nellore and Cuddapah Districts after the death or during the life time of the founder-emperor cannot be drawn from the contents of the Bitragunṭa grant, since there is nothing in the grant itself indicative of that fact.

Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeyar's rule at Udayagiri came to an end, as shown already, in Śaka 1286 or a little later. An epigraph¹⁴ dated Śaka 1291 mentions Bhāskara alias Bhavadūra, son of Bukka I who received the province of Udayagiri from his father. He was placed in charge of the Eastern country which he ruled from the fortress of Udayagiri. He was keenly interested in the improvement of agriculture and was responsible for the construction of a huge tank at Porumāmiḷla which exists even today. He might have governed the province from Śaka 1286 to Śaka 1299. An epigraph¹⁵ dated Śaka 1299 from Pērusōmula, Koilkunṭla Taluk, Kurnool District, refers to the grant of the village of Pērusōmula to a religious teacher by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Singaṇṇa Voḍeyar, son of Sāvaṇṇa Voḍeyar, on receiving initiation (upadeśa) from that religious teacher. The title Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara was assumed by an official of high dignity and power during the Vijayanagara period. Singaṇṇa Voḍeyar was the son of Sāvaṇṇa Voḍeyar, governor of the fort of Udayagiri from Śaka 1270 to 1286. He was a prince of the Vijayanagara royal family. Perhaps by the time Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Uḍaiyar died his son Singaṇṇa Uḍaiyar was a minor and so the province was placed in charge of Bhāskara. Singaṇṇa, in all probability, received training under Bhāskara and was appointed its governor during the year or some time before Śaka 1299. He had granted the village of Pērusōmula to the religious teacher in the capacity of the governor of Udayagiri Rājya of which Pērusōmula was a part and parcel. He appears to have held the governor-

14 Epi. Coll. No. 91 of 1903; V.R. 12 Cuddapah.

15 Epi. Coll. No. 681 of 1917.

ship of the province of Udayagiri upto Śaka 1304, in which year he was succeeded by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vīra Devarāya Oḍeya, son of Harihararāya II. Siṅgaṇṇa governed for such a short time because he was removed from that office by his uncle Harihara II who wanted to appoint his own sons as governors of the important provinces of the kingdom.

The foregoing discussion on the political history of Udayagiri Rājya will yield the following tentative scheme of chronology for the governors of that province. We hope that fresh historical material on this subject will throw more light on this problem.

(1) Virūpaṇṇa	Śaka 1258-66
(2) Kaṁpaṇa I	Śaka 1266-70
(3) Vīra Śrī Sāvaṇṇa Oḍeya	Śaka 1270-86
(4) Saṅgama II (acting governor)	Śaka 1278
(5) Bhāskara alias Bhavadūra	Śaka 12ṇ6-99
(6) Siṅgaṇṇa Vodeyar	Śaka 1299-1304

Y. SRIRAMA MURTY

MISCELLANY

Ujjayinī was the Capital of the Later Aulikaras

While discussing the contents of two recently discovered stone inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Gauri—one from near Neemuch, dated in the V. S. 547 (A. D. 491), and the other, a fragmentary one, from Mandasor—I suggested that Daśapura, where king Gauri excavated a tank for the religious merit of his mother,¹ was probably his capital. In the Mandasor inscription the name of king Ādityavardhana is mentioned exactly as that of Kumāragupta I is mentioned in the so-called Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman. Ādityavardhana was, therefore, probably the suzerain of king Gauri. I further showed that he probably belonged to the Aulikara dynasty, which, for a long time, had been ruling from Daśapura (Mandasor). As his feudatory was at this time ruling from Daśapura, he himself must have had his capital at some other place. In this connection I drew attention to the following verse from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (Chapter 85, verse 2) of Varāhamihira.

भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।

आवन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥

This verse shows that *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana, who flourished some time before Varāhamihira (A. D. 505),² was ruling from Avanti (Ujjayinī). His name ending in *vardhana* suggests that he belonged to the illustrious Aulikara family, which produced the redoubtable hero Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, the vanquisher of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The afore-cited verse from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, which mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti, suggests that like him, Ādityavardhana and Yaśodharman also might have been ruling from

¹ There is no ground for Dr. Sircar's conjecture that the mother had died at Mandasor, the capital of his suzerain.

² In his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* Varāhamihira has taken Ś. 427 (A. D. 505) as the initial year for calculation.

Avanti or Ujjayinī. This conjecture is corroborated by the Mandasor inscription of V. S. 589, which tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by Nirdoṣa, who was a *Rājasthānīya* appointed by Yaśodharman.³ He evidently had his capital at Daśapura, where he excavated a large tank as recorded in his Mandasor inscription. This suggests that his suzerain Yaśodharman was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place, which could have been only Avanti or Ujjayinī in view of the clear statement in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* that his predecessor king Dravyavardhana was an *Āvantika nṛpa* (a king of Avanti or Ujjayinī).

In a recent number of this Journal (Vol. XXXV, pp. 73 f.) Dr. D. C. Sircar has objected to some of my conclusions. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that he does not now feel doubtful about Ādityavardhana being an Aulikara king. He has raised the following objections to my conclusions:—

(1) The Later Aulikaras also ruled from Daśapura, because, firstly, all their inscriptions have been found at or in the vicinity of Mandasor and secondly, the Mandasor inscription of Gauri says that king Ādityavardhana was ruling from *daś-ādika pura* i.e. Daśapura.

(2) Dravyavardhana also, though he is called king of Avanti, may have had his capital at Daśapura; for Avanti was primarily the name of the country of which the capital was Ujjayinī and so may have included Daśapura.

(3) Even if we accept, for argument's sake, that Yaśodharman had his capital not at Daśapura but elsewhere, it certainly does not prove that Ujjayinī was his capital.

(4) The Mandasor inscription dated V. S. 589 does not mention that Nirdoṣa, who was appointed *Rājasthānīya* by Yaśodharman, had his capital at Daśapura.

(5) Even though Yaśodharman had his capital at Daśapura, he could have appointed Nirdoṣa a governor of the metropolitan district with his headquarters at the same capital.

³ *CI.*, vol. III, Nos. 33-34.

We shall now take up these objections for examination.

(1) The objection that no inscriptions of the later Aulikaras have been found at or near Ujjayinī has not much weight; for only two records of these kings have been discovered so far. The evidence of one of them viz. the fragmentary Mandasor inscription of *Mahārāja* Gauri is doubtful, because, as Dr. Sircar himself has admitted, it is unsatisfactorily composed. The portion of the verse which is supposed to mention *daś-ādika pura* (i. e. Daśapura) does not suit the metre,⁴ and the possibility of the reading being *pura-deśādikam* cannot be ruled out altogether, in which case there would be no reference to Daśapura at all. The second inscription is that incised on the pillars of Yaśodharman at Mandasor.⁵ I have shown that these pillars probably mark the site of the victory which Yaśovardhana gained over the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. So the evidence of that inscription also does not militate against the theory that Yaśodharman had his capital at Ujjayinī.

(2) Avanti was no doubt the name of both the country of Western Malwa as well as its capital Ujjayinī, but the expression *Āvantika-nṛpa* used in the aforesaid passage of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* has to be taken in the sense of the king of the city of Avanti (i. e. Ujjayinī) and not of the country of Avanti. This has been clearly stated in the following extract from Utpala's commentary⁶ :—यच्च शाकुनं भारद्वाजाख्यस्य मुनेर्मतं दृष्ट्वा श्रोत्रव्यवर्धनाख्यो महाराजाधिराजवंश-प्रसूत आवन्तिक उज्जयिन्या नृपो राजा प्राहोक्तवान् ।

The correct grammatical form of the word meaning 'a king of the country of Avanti' is *Āvantya'* according to Pāṇini, IV,

4 This portion of the verse has been read by Sircar as follows: जित्वा रिपुबलं संक्ले रम्यं पुर दशादि... । He proposes to emend it by reading संख्ये and पुरम् ।

5 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 154.

6 *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* ed. by Sudhakar Dvivedi, vol. II, p. 1007.

7 The affix *अपत्य* added to the name of countries ending in *इ*, which are also names of Kṣatriyas (e. g. Avanti) denotes both the senses of *apatya* and *rājan*. Later, the word came to be used in the sense of the

1, 171 and 174. The word *Avantika* used in Varāhamihira's verse is evidently formed like the word *Āyodhyika* used in the *Uttararāmacarita*⁸ and means 'one residing in the city of Avanti or Ujjayinī.'⁹

There is no evidence to show that the territory round Daśapura was included in the country of Avanti. Information regarding the exact boundaries of ancient countries are rarely available, but in the present case we are fortunate in having the following verse, which clearly distinguishes between the people of Avanti and those of Daśapura. While stating the countries where the different languages were spoken in ancient times, Rājaśekhara quotes the following verse¹⁰ :—

गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः
सापभ्रंशप्रयोगाः सकलमरुभुवष्टक्रभादानकाश्च ।
आवन्त्याः पारियात्राः सह दशपुरजैर्भूतभाषां भजन्ते
यो मध्ये मध्यदेशं निवसति स कविः सर्वभाषानिषरणाः ॥

This verse clearly states that the Paisācī language was spoken by the inhabitants of Avanti, Daśapura and (the country round) Pāriyātra (Aravali mountain). This shows clearly that the country of Avanti did not include Daśapura. Dravyavardhana, who is described as a king of Avanti, could not therefore have been ruling from Daśapura.

(3) As shown above, Dravyavardhana, who was a predecessor of Yaśodharman, was ruling from Avanti or Ujjayinī.

people of the country also. The word आवन्त used in *Brhatsambhitā*, XIV, 33 is probably a mistake for आवन्त्य.

8 Cf. एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यिकस्तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः : *Uttararāmacarita*, Act I. The commentator घनश्याम says. अयोध्यासंबंधी आयोध्यिकः ।

9 It is noteworthy in this connection that Varāhamihira has used the same expression with reference to himself in his *Brhajjātaka* and it is well known that he was a resident of Ujjayinī. Cf. आदित्यदासतनयस्तद-
वाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सपितृलब्धवरप्रसादः । आवन्तिको सुनियतान्यवलोक्य
सम्यग्घोरां वराहमिहिरो रुचिरां चकार ॥

10 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (Gaekwad's Sanskrit Series, 1916), p. 51.

It is therefore very probable that Yaśodharman, who succeeded him and may have been his son, retained the same old capital. There is no evidence to show that he shifted the seat of his government to some place different from Ujjayinī, which has, from very ancient times, been noted as the capital of the Avanti country.

(4) The Mandasor inscription dated V. S. 589 does not, of course, mention explicitly that Nirdoṣa had his headquarters at Daśapura, but he was appointed *Rājasthānīya* of the country, extending from the Vindhya mountain in the South to the Pāriyātra in the North and to the Arabian Sea in the West. Daśapura is the only well-known ancient place in this region which is likely to have been his capital. His inscription at Mandasor supports this conjecture. His records have been found nowhere else.

(5) If Yasodharman himself was ruling from Daśapura it is very unlikely that he appointed a *Rājasthānīya* to govern the territory in which his own capital was situated. We have so far had no instance of a feudatory or a *Rājasthānīya* of an Emperor governing the territory round the latter's capital. If Nirdoṣa's was an exceptional case the burden of proving that it was so lies on those who make such a supposition.

There is thus no valid objection against my conjecture that *Ujjayinī was the capital of the Later Aulikaras including Yaśodharman.*

V. V. MIRASHI

Celebration of Rājasūya Sacrifice by Jayacandra Gāhaḍavāla: Fresh Evidence

Very recently, a copper-plate of the Candella king Paramardideva has been discovered at Tikamagarh, Madhya Pradesh. I edited it along with two other Candella grants in the *Bhāratī*, the Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University. It has also been briefly noticed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.¹ The record is important as it supplies some indirect information on the celebration of the Rājasūya sacrifice by Jayacandra Gāhaḍavāla.

Purpose of the inscription is to record a grant of Iṭalā village of the Pāsuṇī district to Śrī Padmadhara Śarmā by Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kālāñjarādhipati Paramardideva on the 14th day of the bright fortnight in the month of *phālguna* of 1247 V. S. which corresponds to Saturday 9th February 1191 A. D. The Candella king issued this grant from Vārāṇasī after taking ablutions at Maṇikarṇikā-ghāṭa.

Place of the issue of the grant: Its Significance:—It is a well known fact that Vārāṇasī was the second capital of the Gāhaḍavālas and that about the time of the grant Jayacandra was ruling in all glory. On the other hand the place of the issue of the grant is generally supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the royal donor² and therefore, one may infer therefrom that the Candella king attacked Vārāṇasī, defeated Jayacandra and issued the grant from his second capital and we may produce the following evidence in its favour:—

(i) A story from the *Purātana Prabandha* preserves an echo of the Gāhaḍavāla-Candella struggle. According to it Jayacandra got engaged at the grandiloquent titles “*kopa-kālāgnirudra*” (terrific like Rudra and fire for destroying enemies), *Avandhya kopa-prasāda* (whose pleasure and anger were never fruitless),

¹ *I. H. Q.*, XXXIV, No. 2, 58, pp. 93-95.

² Kāśī is a religious place and so kings sometimes used to visit it as pilgrims. *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya* describes the pilgrimage of Cāmunḍarāja to Kāśī for the expiation of a heinous crime. But it may be noted that he visited Vārāṇasī after abdicating his throne.

Rayadrababola (?) adopted by Paramardi, and so he attacked the Candella kingdom and laid a siege around the capital. But meanwhile Vidyādhara, the Gāhaḍavāla minister became so pleased with a verse composed by Umāpatidhara, the Candella minister that he lifted the siege and returned back even without the permission of the Gāhaḍavāla king.³

(ii) The *Rambhā-mañjarī* describes the mighty arms of Jayacandra as pillars for tying the she-elephant of Candella Madanavarman's royal fortune (Lakṣmī).⁴

(iii) Likewise *Man-candella Ins.* states that the king of Kāśī was compelled to cultivate friendly relations with Candella king Madanavarman.⁵

(iv) Dr. Bose advances another argument. According to him, *Chatarpur Copper-Plate Ins. of Govindacandradeva* dated V. S. 1177 indicates the Gāhaḍavāla rule over Chatarpur whereas *Śāntinātha Image Ins.* discovered at Chatarpur and dated 1203 V. S. shows that the place had changed hands in the interval and had become a part of the Candella kingdom.⁶

These arguments in favour of Gāhaḍavāla-Candella struggle, however, are very weak. It may be pointed out that:—

(i) Story of the *Purātana-Prabandha* is repeated in the *Prabandha-kośa* with regard to the siege of Lakṣmaṇāvati (mod. Lakhnauti), the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena, by Jayacandra. This version of the story is more reliable because:—

(a) There is sufficient evidence to associate Umāpatidhara with Lakṣmaṇasena.⁷ On the other hand, Candella inscriptions

3 P. 90.

4 अभिनवरामावतार--श्रीमन्मदनवर्मदेवदयित--साम्राज्य-लक्ष्मीकरेणुकालान--स्तम्भायमानबाहुदण्डस्य—*Rambhā-mañjarī*, I. pp. 5-6.

5 कालं सौहार्दवृत्त्या गमयति सततं त्रासतः काशिराजः । 1 V. 15., *El*, I, p. 198.

6 *History of Chandellas*, p. 83.

7 *Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena* was composed by Umāpatidhara. Jayadeva, the court-poet of Lakṣmanasena, mentions him in *Gīta-Govinda*. Verses attributed to him in *Sūkti-karnāmṛta* occurs in *Deopara Ins. of Vijayasena* and *Madhanagar CP. of Lakṣmanasena*. *Prabandha-cintamani* also mentions him as a court-poet of Lakṣmanasena.

which mention the names of a number of ministers, nowhere contain any reference to Umāpatidhara.

(b) Grandiloquent titles like *Kopa-kālāgni-rudra* were never adopted by Paramardi whereas Lakṣmaṇasena was having a similar *viruda*—*ari-rāja-madana-śaṅkara*.

(c) There is an independent literary and epigraphic evidence for Sena-Gāhaḍavāla struggle. The *Madhainagar Copper Plate Ins. of Lakṣmaṇasena* and *Edilpur Copper Plate Ins. of Viśva-rūpasena* mention the claims advanced by Sena kings to have defeated the king of Kāśī and set up the victory-pillar in the domain of Viśveśvara.

(d) The *Prākṛta Paṅgalam*, on the other hand, contains a verse which describes the destruction of Sena army by the king of Kāśī.⁸

(ii) Passage of the *Rambhā-mañjarī* should be interpreted along with the verse of the *Mau Candella Ins.* which records that the king of Kāśī was forced to cultivate friendship with the Candella king. These statements cumulatively suggest that the strength of both kings—Candella and Gāhaḍavāla was so equally matched that they perforce maintained the policy of alliance.

(iii) Dr. Bose has committed a gross mistake in confusing Chatarpur of the Gāhaḍavāla Copper Plate with the Chatarpur of *Śāntinatha image inscription*. The former is in the vicinity of Kanpur (U.P.) while the latter in Panna district of Madhya Pradesh. These places bearing the same name are at least a hundred miles apart.

Thus there is hardly any evidence for Gāhaḍavāla-Candella struggle in the reign-period of Jayacandra. On the other hand there is a reliable testimony to Jayacandra-Paramardi alliance against the common enemy, Pṛthivārja III, the Cāhamāna king:—

(i) *Mahobā-Samaya* of Canda Baradai and *Parimāla Rāso* of Jaganaka narrate the story of a war between Paramardi and Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna in which Jayacandra lent considerable help to the former against the latter. Main points of the story seem to be historical although it has been greatly embellished by

bardic additions. Some of the events are known independently from *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*⁹ and *Śāringadhara-paddhati*.¹⁰ The historicity of the Cāhamāna-Candella war is attested by the *Madanpur (Jhansi) Ins. of Pr̥thvīrāja III Cāhamāna V.S. 1239*¹¹ which records the destruction of Jejākabhukti. A recently discovered copper-plate of Paramardideva Candella dated V. S. 1239¹² sanctioning the grant of Baraudā village which is only sixteen miles from Madanpur, indicates the recovery of that part of the Candella kingdom which was occupied by the Cāhamāna army within few months. In this context, an unpublished and hitherto neglected Gāhaḍavāla record of that time from Dudhai¹³ which is only 13 miles from Baraudā (mod. Barodia) and twenty four miles from Madanpur and therefore within the area of military operations is really significant. Although the complete record could not be deciphered, it may be stated that the inscription should not be construed to mean Gāhaḍavāla invasion or occupation, on the other hand, the testimony of the *Parimāla Rāso* and the *Pr̥thvīrāja Rāso* are in favour of interpreting it as indicative of military assistance given to the Candella king against the Cāhamāna potentate.

Thus, available evidence indicates Jayacandra-Paramardi alliance rather than their struggle. The issue of the grant by Paramardi at Vārāṇasī, the second capital of the Gāhaḍavālas, need not indicate Candella invasion. Paramardi seems to have come as a friendly ally to the Gāhaḍavāla capital, possibly at the invitation of Gāhaḍavāla ruler.

9 भज भंजिअ बंगा भंगु कलिंगा तेलंगा रणमुक्कि चले

... ..

कासीसर राणा किअउ पत्राणा विजाहर भण मंतिवरे, २४४

10 P. 116. Here Paramardi has been mentioned as the king of *Kuntala* country. This, however, is evidently a mistake. See also, *Indian Culture*, XI, p. 63.

11 V. 1254, *Indian Culture* XI, p. 63.

12 *CASR.*, XXI, p. 171.

13 *Bhārati, Bulletin of the College of Indology*, B.H.U. II, p. 16ff.

14 *ASIAR.*, 1936-37, p. 93.

1191 A.D. the year of the Grant : Its significance:—1191 A.D. is a very eventful year of Early Medieval period. It was in this year that Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna was finally defeated and arrested by Shahbuddin Ghorī. According to Prof. Dasaratha Sarma¹⁵ the romantic episode of Samyogitā's abduction by Pṛthvīrāja III may be dated in or about that year as this event happened immediately before his final defeat and capture. The celebration of Rājasūya sacrifice by Jayacandra has been differently dated in 1175 A.D. and 1185 A. D. respectively by Smith and Vaidya but it was performed in all likelihood in 1190-91 A.D. as all these three events—the celebration of Rājasūya sacrifice, abduction of Samyogitā and defeat and arrest of Pṛthvīrāja III took place in quick succession: —

(a) Rāso describes the abduction of Samyogitā and the performance of Rājasūya immediately before the final battle.

(b) According to Kashmir tradition as recorded by Raverty, Ghorī learnt about the conflict between Pṛthvīrāja III and Jayacandra caused by the abduction of Samyogitā by Pṛthvīrāja III and the insult of Pṛthvīrāja III in the Rājasūya by Jayacandra. So he immediately launched a military expedition against Pṛthvīrāja III in 588 Hijra.¹⁶

3. Rāso states that Pṛthvīrāja in course of his last battle used to fall asleep as his nights were spent in amorous reveleries with Samyogitā. The *Virudha-vidhi-vidhvaṁsa*¹⁷, similarly mentions that "his intellect was afflicted with the disease of overwhelming sleep" whereas the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*¹⁸ attributes the defeat of Pṛthvīrāja to his excessive drowsiness at the time of the battle. The statement of Rāso is in this way partially confirmed. The

15 *Indian Culture*, XI, p. 64.

16 Raverty: *Tabquati Nasiri*, I, p. 466 fn. 1.

17निद्राव्यसनसन्नधीः ।

व्यापादितस्तुरुष्कुस्त राजा जीवन्मृतो युधि ११२३ *IHQ*. XVI, p. 571.

18 समरसंरन्धे सजायमाने निर्भरनिद्रानिद्रायमाण एव
तुरुष्कैर्नृपतिर्निबध्य स्वसौधं नीतः । p. 117.

164 Celebration of Rājasūya Sacrifice by Jayacandra Gāhadavāla

*Purātana Prabandhasaṅgraha*¹⁹ describes the animosity between Jayacandra and Pṛthvīrāja.²⁰

Phālguna, the month of the grant:—The *Śrauta sūtras* lay down in details the performance of different sub-rites of the Rājasūya sacrifice. Dates and months for them are also fixed in the scriptures. Thus, initiation into *Pavitrā* is to be taken on the first day of the bright fort-night in the month of Phālguna²¹. Exactly after one year, the most important sub-rite of *abhiṣecanīya* is performed which lasts for five days from the first to the fifth day of the month of Caitra.²² During *abhiṣecanīya* days, allies, feudatories and independent kings are invited to participate in the ceremony.²³ So *abhiṣecanīya* ceremony of the Rājasūya sacrifice of Jayacandra must have fallen sometime between the first day and the fifth day of the month of Caitra in 1247 V. S. This should have been the most fitting occasion for arranging the *svayamvara* ceremony of Samyogitā. It is supported by Rāso as according to it, *Svayamvara* was arranged on the third day of the month of Caitra.²⁴

It is curious to note that Paramardideva, an ally of Jayacandra was taking ablutions at Varāṇasī on the 14th day of the bright fort-night of the month of Phālguna—a few days before the *abhiṣecanīya* ceremony, celebrated by the Gāhadavāla king at Kanauj. As the presence of Paramardi at Varāṇasī on such an important occasion can best be explained by supposing that he was away from his capital in the kingdom of his friend Jayacandra, in connection with the Rājasūya sacrifice; this affords an important piece of circumstantial evidence in favour of the celebration of the Rājasūya sacrifice.²⁵

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19 P. 89.

20 The story of Samyogitā's abduction is mentioned in the *Surjanacaritamahākāvya* (X, 7-125) also.

21 *Lāṭyāyana*, 1.1.8; *Āśvalāyana*, 9, 3, 2.

22 *Lāṭyāyana* 9.11. 4. 23 *Arghābbiharaṇa, Sabbāparva, MBH.*

24 चेत तीज रविवार, *Kanavajja samaya*, V. 102.

25 The problem of Rājasūya sacrifice has been discussed by the author in *Bhārati*, the Bulletin of the College of Indology, B.H.U. No. 2, Here the attention of scholars is invited only to this circumstantial evidence.

The Kuṣāṇa Influence on the 'Apratigha' Coins

The obverse of the 'Apratigha' coins of Kumāragupta I has long remained a mystery to scholars. The circular legend on the obverse, in spite of the discovery of eight coins of this type in the Bayana hoard together with the solitary specimen in the British Museum,¹ has not yet been read with satisfaction. A number of scholars attempting to explain the significance of the obverse scene has, in fact, failed to reach any definite and convincing conclusion on this point. Though the present state of our knowledge debars us from solving the problem as regards the obverse scene, the numismatic importance of the 'Apratigha' coins, however, should be taken into consideration. The present paper is an attempt in that direction.

The obverse of the 'Apratigha' type has been described by Dr. A. S. Altekar in the following words²:

Obv: A male figure standing in the centre, wearing a *dhoti*, with folds hanging between the legs; hands folded at the waist, a protuberance on the head as on the Buddha images, or hair tied in a knot. To the r., a female figure standing to l, slightly bent forward, her hair tied in a knot on the head wearing a *sāri* and tight *kañcukī*; l. hand on the waist, r. hand bent up and raised in the attitude of *vitarka* (argumentation), fingers almost touching the face of the central figure. To the l. of the central figure, another figure a male, standing to r. wearing a close-fitting cap, l. hand holding a shield in front of the torso, r. hand bent up and holding a *Garudadhvaja* just behind the central figure..

¹ Allan read the legend on the reverse of this specimen in the British Museum as 'Śrī-Pratāpa' and on the basis of this reading he described it as 'Pratāpa' type: *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Gupta dynasties*, p. xcii, 87; pl. xv. no. 15. Altekar has correctly read the legend as 'Apratigha' and on the basis of his reading, this type is now known as the 'Apratigha' type.

² *Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, pp. 303-4.

On r. side to be read from top to bottom, *Kumāra*; on left side to be read from bottom to top, *guptab*.³

This scene on the obverse of the 'Apratigha' coins reminds us of a gold coin of Huiṣka, the Kuṣāṇa emperor. The reverse of that coin has been described by Percy Gardner thus:⁴

Rev : Niche on basis, within which Skanda and Viśākha, standing face to face. Skanda holds in his right hand, standard; Viśākha holds in left hand, spear; between them Mahāsenā (horned ?) facing, nimbate, clad in chamys, sword at waist.

It appears that these two types of coins have much resemblance in regard to the device, though actually the figures represented therein are different. In both these coins we find three figures, the two side ones speaking to the central figure. Further, the figure on the left is seen carrying a standard

3 Scholars are not unanimous regarding the sex of the side figures. For example, Smith (in *IRAS.*, 1889, p. 17) and B. P. Sinha (in *JNSI.*, (xvi, p. 211) take both these figures as females and identify them as queens of Kumāragupta I, the central figure being Kumāragupta I. Allan, on the other hand, is reluctant to identify the central figure as Kumāragupta and the other figures as queens. "One of them," according to him, "very closely resembles Minerva" (*CCBM*, p. xcii). But Hoernle (*Proc. ASB*, 1883, p. 143) takes them as female figures and identifies them with unknown worshippers of the Buddha. Incidentally it may be pointed out that in the vol. XXXIV. Nos. 3 & 4 of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* a writer in a note on the 'Apratigha' coins was wrong in putting Hoernle's description of the side figures as queens of Kumāragupta. The suggestion that this type of Kumāragupta does not depict his abdication is however, well-known. The Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta shows that Kumāragupta died as a king while prince Skanda was away in the battlefield. Before the publication of the note in question Prof. N. N. Dasgupta on the evidence of this inscription had successfully shown the improbability of Kumāragupta's abdication: *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society* (New Series) vol. III, 1955, pp. 156-58.

4 *CCBM, Greek and Scythic kings*, No. 114, p. 150; pl. XXVIII, No. 20.

on both these types. There are some minor differences of course, but the striking similarities can in no way be overlooked.

Now, the coinage of the Guptas, as is known to the students of the history of the Gupta numismatics, is to a large extent influenced by the Kuṣāṇa coins. The 'Standard' type of coins of Samudragupta is a clear illustration on this point. The dress of the king, absence of any sword, standard bound with a fillet, attitude of sprinkling incense on the altar etc., all these elements and features suggest the 'Standard' type to be a close copy of the coins of the later Kuṣāṇas. Allan, who regards this to be the first in the Gupta numismatic series, holds that the Gupta coins originated "in a period when the Guptas had come into closer contact with the great Kuṣāṇas whose eastern (Punjab) coinage they copy."⁵ From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription we come to learn that the Daivaputra-Ṣāhi Ṣāhānuṣāhi, who was most probably a later Kuṣāṇa, paid some kind of homage to Samudragupta. And this piece of information enhances the probability of Samudragupta, having imitated the Kuṣāṇa species.

Besides the 'Standard' type, Kuṣāṇa influence can also be discerned on other Gupta coins. For example, the '*Simhavāhinī*'

5 CCBM., *Gupta dynasties*, p. lxvi. That the Kuṣāṇa coins reached the Gupta empire and the Gupta coins were influenced by them will be evident from historical and archaeological information. Altekar says in this connection: "We should, however, not forget that famous centres of trade and pilgrimage like Pāṭaliputra, Gayā, Banaras, Allahabad and Ayodhyā were all included in the kingdom of Candragupta I and several Kuṣāṇa gold coins must have been brought with them to these places by traders and pilgrims, who must have come to these cities from the Punjab in considerable numbers during the 3rd and 4th centuries. Gupta mint-masters therefore could have easily procured some of the Kuṣāṇa coins when they wanted to make a selection of their prototype even in the reign of Candragupta I, when the Gupta empire had not annexed the western districts of U. P. It may be added that one later Kuṣāṇa gold coin with Ardoxo reverse was actually recovered at Kumarahar near Pāṭaliputra during the excavations of 1912-13." CGGCBH, p. xlv-xlvi.

goddess on the reverse of the Candragupta-Kumāradevī type of coins (attributed by Altekar to Candragupta I and by Allan to Samudragupta) recalls the goddess named Nana who is seated on a lion with a cornucopiae in her hand and it is to be noted that this type in question is more original than the above-mentioned 'Standard' type. The common reverse device of Gupta coins, viz., Lakṣmī, having its prototype in the Kuṣāṇa goddess Ardoxo, bears an important testimony to the Kuṣāṇa influence on the Gupta coins. And last but not least is the conformity in weight-standards of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta coins, which almost definitely proves that the early Gupta coins were, to a large extent, influenced by the Kuṣāṇa ones.⁶

This Kuṣāṇa influence on the Gupta coins continued for a long time. The elements and features like high-backed throne, dress and drapery, manner of holding a crescent-topped standard by the king or of writing a name vertically under left arm, etc. are survivals of that influence. Though there was a tendency towards Indianization of the features of the coins after Candragupta I (?) and Samundragupta, the Gupta mint-masters were still unhesitating in accepting the Kuṣāṇa features and elements in cases suitable. And so it will not be surprising to find Kuṣāṇa influences on some coins of Kumārāgupta I. The 'Apratigha' coins, for example, testify to this fact.

6 According to Altekar, the Gupta kings adopted the Kuṣāṇa weight-standard perhaps because of the fact that "it was well-established in the Roman and Kuṣāṇa empires and had acquired an international recognition" Vide *CCGCBH*, p. cxxi. The Guptas from the very beginning used to follow the weight-standard of the coins of the Kuṣāṇas who in their turn, seemed to have followed the standard of the Roman *aureus*, weighing about 121 grains. The weight of the Kuṣāṇa coins generally varies between 118 and 122 grains and the early Gupta coins almost exactly follow this weight-standard. It was Skandagupta who first issued coins of a standard of 144 grains approximately, which conforms to the *Suvarṇa* standard of 80 *ratis* or about 144 grains, mentioned in the Smṛti literature. The other weight-standard prevalent in his time was of 132

That the 'Apratigha' coins bear striking resemblances to the gold coin of Huiṣka representing Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā, as regards the idea of the device, has been mentioned in the beginning of this paper. From the standpoint of metrology also, the 'Apratigha' coins are found to remain in close vicinity of the Kuṣāṇa coins. Coins of Kumāragupta I represent three weight-standards, the standards being approximately of 121, 124 and 127 grains. Among these the standard of 121 grains which is an adaptation of the Kuṣāṇa standard becomes rare but it is interesting to note that barring the 'Archer' type of coins, the 'Apratigha' coins only conform to this particular standard. The weights of the eight 'Apratigha' coins found in the Bayana hoard are as follows: 123, 121.4, 121.5, 120.7, 121.5, 121, 120.5, and 122.3 grains. The other unique specimen in the British Museum weighs 115 grains.⁷ In other words, the 'Apratigha' coins weighing between 120.5 and 123 grains closely follow the Kuṣāṇa coins, whose weight normally varies between 118 and 122 grains. The gold coin of Huiṣka in question, it may be mentioned, weighs 121 grains. The idea of representing three figures on the obverse, coupled with the conformity in metrology, therefore, tends to show that the designers of the 'Apratigha' type looked to those of the Kuṣāṇas for a suitable model, which they found in the coin of Huiṣka bearing Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā on its reverse. It might be noted in this connection that the names Skanda-Kumāra of the type of Huiṣka were identical with those of the Gupta crown-prince and the emperor respectively. This similarity might have induced the Gupta mint-masters to copy the Kuṣāṇa types.

The mint-masters during the reign of Kumāragupta I were indebted to the Kuṣāṇas not only with regard to the

7 *CCBM.*, Gupta dynasties, p. xcii, xxxiii, 87; pl. xv, 15. Allan says about this specimen: "The light weight (115 grains) of the 'Pratāpa' coin is explained by the traces of the original type below which show that it is some foreign coin restruck." But the coin in question appears to be a 'remainder' piece and not a restruck coin.

'Apratigha' coins but also with regard to another type, called the 'Elephant-Rider'. The 'Elephant-Rider' type of gold coins⁸ of Kumāragupta appears to have been inspired by Staters⁹ and copper coins¹⁰ of Huviṣka having 'Elephant-Rider' device on their obverse. The 'Elephant-Rider' type of coins of Huviṣka, again, seems to have originated from its stater prototype of Kadphises II.¹¹ The 'Elephant-Rider' coins of Kumāragupta I, found in the Bayana hoard, besides their obverse device, bear traces of Kuṣāṇa influence in the form of cornucopiae held by Lakṣmī on their reverse. In the Indian Museum specimen, however, cornucopiae is absent.¹² Thus the 'Elephant-Rider' coins, like the 'Apratigha' ones, show that even after the 'comparative originality' of the 'Candragupta-Kumāradevī' type of coins or the ingenious novelty of the Cakravikrama type of coins of Candragupta II, the Gupta mint-masters used to copy or borrow features and devices of the Kuṣāṇa coins in suitable cases.

It follows, therefore, that the 'Apratigha' coins of Kumāragupta I, not only bear a "general resemblance", in the words of Mirashi or a "superficial resemblance" in the opinion of Altekar, to the coin-type of Huviṣka representing Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā, but in fact, originated from the latter.

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

8 *CGGCBH.*, pp. cix, 300-302; pl. xxxi.

9 'Elephant-Rider' coins of Huviṣka in gold are very rare. One specimen was published by Mr. M. F. C. Martin in the *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLIV, p. 8. The other stater is in the collection of the British Museum: *CCBM.*, *Greek and Scythic kings*, Pl. XXVII, 12. Mr. P. L. Gupta informs us that in 1947 a dealer of Rawalpindi offered for sale one such specimen to the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras: *JNSI*, XII, p. 148-149.

10 'Elephant-Rider' type of Copper coins in the Panjab Museum have different deities like Śiva, Mihira, Mao, Ardoxo etc on their reverse: *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum* pp. 198-202.

11 Published by Martin. Vide *loc. cit.* XLIV, p. 7.

12 Vide, *I.M. Cat.* i. P. 115 no. 38 (pl. XVI, 7); also *CCBM*, *Gupta dynasties*, p. xciii, 88, pl. xv, 16.

Tarkkāri

A place called Tarkkāri is mentioned in the Silimpur stone inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva edited by Radha Govinda Basak.¹ The place is described as follows :

*Yēṣām tasya Hiraṇyagarubha(rbbha)-vapuṣaḥ svāṅga-prasūt-
Āṅgirō - vaiṁśe - janma samāna - gōtra - vacan - otkarṣo-
Bharadvājataḥ |*

*tēṣām = ārya-jan-ābhipūjita - kulam Tarkkārir = ity = ākhyayā
Śrāvasti-prativa(ba)ddham = asti viditam sthānam punar-
jjanmanām(nām) ||*

*Yasmin = veda-smṛti-paricay-odbhinna-vaitāna-gārhya - prājy-
āvritt-ābutiṣu caratām kīrttibhir = vyomni śubhre |
vyabhrājant = opari-parisarad-dhom-dhūmā dviḥjanām dugdh-
āmbhōdhi-prasṛta-vilasac-chaival-ālī cay-ābhāḥ ||*

Tat-prasūtaś = ca Puṇḍreṣu Sakatī-vyavadhānavān |

Varendrī-maṇḍanaṁ grāmo Vā(Bā)lagraṁa iti śrutah ||

It will be seen from the above description that Tarkkāri was attached to or lying within the limits of Śrāvasti, that it was a well known centre of Brāhmaṇas and that some of them emigrated to other places.

Now there is a controversy as to where this Tarkkāri was located. Radha Govinda Basak has shown that this Śrāvasti-Tarkkāri was situated in the land of Varendrī in Puṇḍra, along with the village Bālagraṁa described as derived (*prasūta*) from Tarkkāri.² Ramaprasad Chanda also held the same view.³ N. G. Majumdar did not accept this view.⁴ He said that there was no ground for thinking that Tarkkāri was in Varendra or Bengal. On the ground that Tarkkāri was called a centre of holy Brahmans and that a Brahmin emigration is recorded in the

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIII, pp. 283 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 286.

3 *Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 170-71.

4 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 208-11.

Silimpur inscription, he suggested that Śrāvasti should be identified with Śrāvasti of Madhyadeśa and that Tarkkāri should also be located there.⁵ Jogendra Chandra Ghosh has tried to show that Majumdar's arguments are not convincing, that Basak was right in thinking that Śrāvasti-Tarkkāri was situated in Puṇḍra or Gauḍa-deśa and that this Śrāvasti-Tarkkāri was a well-known abode of not only the learned Brāhmaṇas but also of Kāyasthas.⁶

Welcome light is thrown on the question of the identification of this place Tarkkāri by the existence of two stone inscriptions in the Bellary District of the present Mysore State. They come from Koḷagallu⁷ and Kuḍatini⁸ and both of these records belong to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga (966/67-972 A.D.), brother of Kṛṣṇa III (939-966/67 A.D.). The Koḷagallu inscription is dated 17th February, 967 A.D. while the date of the Kuḍatini record would be 23rd February, 971 A.D. Both the records refer to the setting up of the images of Kārttikeya or Skanda (apparently at the respective villages) by an ascetic named Gadādhara who is stated to have been born in a village called Taḍā or Talā⁹ in Varendra. He is called the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country (*Gauḍa cūḍāmaṇi*) in the Koḷagallu inscription.

Now the Koḷagallu inscription, which is called a *praśasti*, was composed by the poet Madhusūdana whose ancestry is given in the following verse:

*Śrī-Karmāra-kul-ābhvaya-dviija-vara-grāmastu(māt-tu) Tarkārīto
niṣkramya krama - nirmmalas = samabhavat = tasmin =
Ṛṣiḥ = paṇḍitas = []*

5 *Ibid.* This view is supported in the book *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 579 and note, to which my attention was kindly drawn by Dr. D. C. Sircar.

6 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, pp. 14-18.

7 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, pp. 260 ff.

8 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. IX, Part I, No. 70.

9 This place has been identified with Tarā, about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, p. 263.

*tat-putraḥ = prathitaḥ kṣitāv = ativa(ba)las = tasmād = abhūdaya
(d = ya)s = sutas = tēna śrī-Madhusūdan-ākhyā kavīnā śastā
praśastiḥ kṛtā ॥*

From this verse we learn that the ancestors of the poet Madhusūdana hailed from the village called Tarkkāri which is described as the abode of the excellent Brāhmaṇas of the Karmāra community. The same verse which is preserved only upto the words *kṣitāv = atibala* occurs also in the Kuḍatini inscription which fortunately informs us about the location of Tarkkāri as follows:

*Gaṅgā-pūtē sadā ramyē
Varendrī puṇya-maṇḍale (le) |
durggam-ottara-dig-bhāge grāmaḥ =
Pāhuniyojana ॥*

This verse is followed by the one quoted above so that the word *grāmaḥ* here refers to the village Tarkkāri only. Thus the verse makes it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that the village Tarkkāri was situated in the country of Varendra (*Varendrī-maṇḍala*). As for its exact location, we learn that it was situated to the north of the fort in the locality called Pāhuniyojana.¹⁰

Now this village Tarkkāri in the Varendramaṇḍala mentioned in the two records from the Bellary District may be easily identified with the Tarkkāri of the Silimpur inscription referred to above. And this would show that Radha Govinda Basak was perfectly right in placing the village Tarkkāri in Varendra or Gauḍa country, along with Śrāvasti within the limits of which the village was situated.

G. S. GAI

¹⁰ *Pāhuniyojana* appears to be the name of a locality. In the alternative it may be taken as "on the way (*yojana*) to Pāhuni" where Pāhuni may indicate the name of a village or place. I am unable to trace the modern equivalents of either Tarkkāri or Pāhuniyojana on the maps.

Observations on the Buddhist remains at Jaggayyapeta

During my visit to the ruined *stūpa* at Jaggayyapeta, I observed a few facts, which are given below.

Burgess gives the diameter of the mound (by which he evidently means the main *stūpa*) as 31½ ft.¹, and this has been repeated by others. Actually, the diameter is 63 ft.; Burgess evidently confused the radius with the diameter.

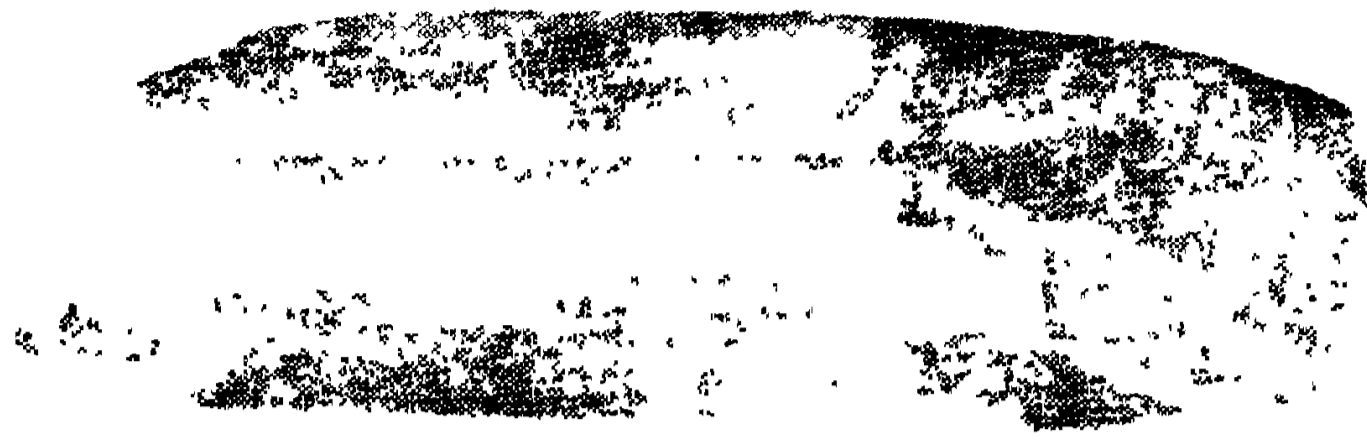
Burgess observes: 'the rail around this (*scil.* the procession-path) had evidently disappeared: not a fragment of it could be found'.² He is no doubt right in his assumption that there was originally a railing around the *stūpa*, but the latter part of his statement needs revision, for I found the upper fragment (pl. 1) of a loose limestone upright of a railing, near the edge of the procession-path, with the topmost pair of sockets complete and less than halves of the next lower pair present. With a total extant height of 2 ft. 4 in., the breadth and thickness of the fragment are respectively 1 ft.½ in. and 5¼ in. The upright is chamfered towards the top, so as to produce a plano-convex section. Its top surface has the remnants of a tenon to fit into a mortise of the detachable coping. Separated from the top by a gap of 5 in. is the topmost pair of sockets, to receive the cross-bars, lenticular in shape but truncated at the ends; they are 1 ft. 3 in. long, 1 in. deep, 2 in. broad in the middle and 1 in. broad at the ends. The gap between the bottom of the upper sockets and the top of the lower ones measures 3½ in. Thus, if the railing was a three-barred one, the total height of the upright was 5 ft. 2 in.

Burgess further says that 'the base of the *stūpa* could hardly have stopped here (*scil.* above the drum-slab): a frieze almost certainly surmounted this, but was all carried off.'³ That there

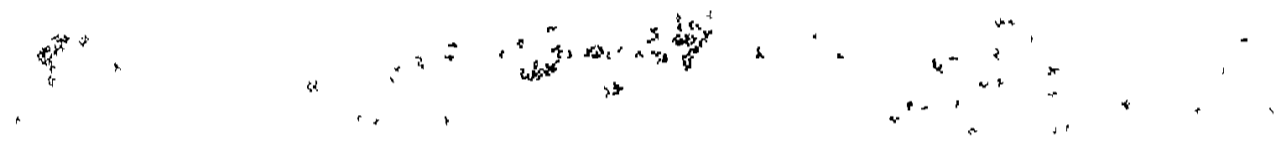
1 Jas Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Arch. Surv. Southern India, I (London, 1887), p. 107.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

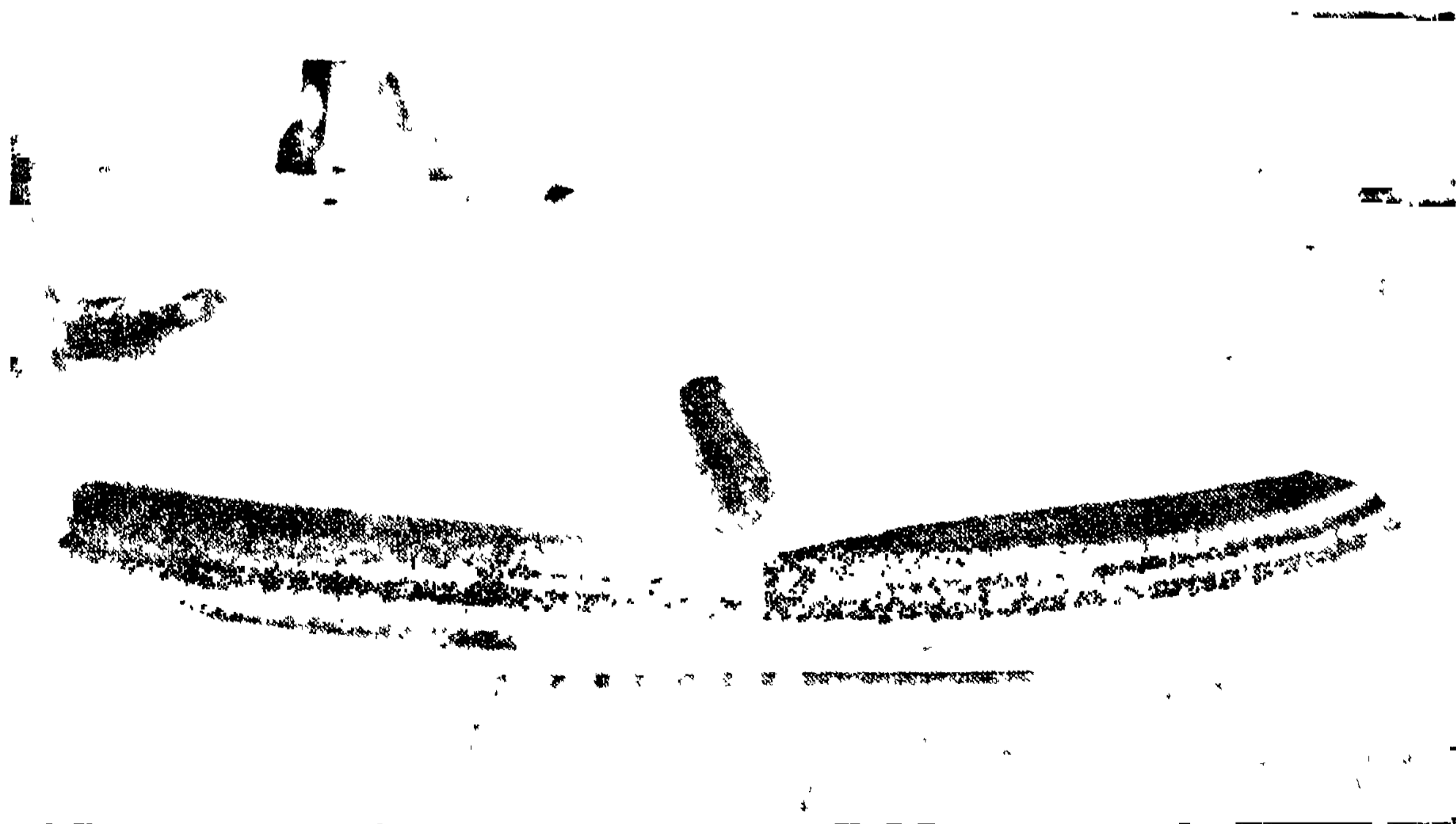
3 *Ibid.*, p. 108.



Pl. 1 Upright piece of a railing, Yaggayyapeta



Pl. 2 Drum-frieze, Yaggayyapeta



Pl. 3 A limestone *yasti* and carved pieces of the base of a votive *stūpa*

was a frieze above the drum-slab seems to be certain, for I noticed among the pieces dumped on the top of the *stūpa* a sculptured fragment (pl. 2), which no doubt formed the entablature of the drum-slab. Its height and thickness are respectively 11 in. and 5 in., the latter not incompatible with that of the drum-slab (the roughly-dressed top of the drum-slab has patches of lime-mortar suggesting thereby the existence of an entablature over it). The top of the fragment is finished and rounded. Its front face is relieved with figures of Buddha alternating with the representation of a *stūpa*, each within a separate compartment as in a particular group of drum-friezes from Amaravati.⁴ Buddha is seen in the piece with his shoulders covered by an *uttarīya*; he holds in his left hand the hem of his upper cloth, his right hand (broken) being raised, as in the *abhaya* pose. Of the representations of the *stūpas*, only one exists; from its *barmikā* flow two sets of *chattrāvalis*, each with a garland (?) again as in an Amaravati drum-frieze.⁵

The existence of a *caitya-gr̥ha* at Jaggayyapeta is suggested by two circular stone pieces (pl. 3), their edges relieved with lotus-petals in three tiers. That the *caitya-gr̥ha* enshrined a votive *stūpa* and not a Buddha image is shown by the facts that the size of the pieces is not compatible with that of the pedestal of an image and that similar decorated pieces form the base of stone-faced votive *stūpas* inside the apsidal *caitya*-halls at Nāgarjunakonda.

Nearby lies a small tapering and octagonal limestone *yaṣṭi* (pl. 3), 3 ft. 7 in. high, and a tiny fragment of an internally ribbed *chattra*, also of limestone; probably they formed part of the crowning element of the votive *stūpa*.⁶

DEBALA MITRA

4 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII, 3. 5 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII, 9.

6 The photographs published here are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1959

parts iii & iv

JOHN W. SPELLMAN—*The Legend of Devāpi*. The writer critically examines the various traditions preserved in the Ṛg-veda (x. 98), with Yāska's comment thereon, and in the Viṣṇu, Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, and Bṛhad-devatā. He regards the leprosy version as the oldest though he doubts how could a leper be allowed to offer sacrifice to the gods. He concludes by saying that the "writers felt that they could best explain the disqualification of Devāpi from the throne" by the tradition of physical disability.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES—*The Cosmological Aspect of Indonesian Religion*—He opens his paper with the general remark that there is at present a "tendency to overestimate the importance of cosmological aspect of the religion in Asian thought". In this paper he tries "to redress the balance in the case of certain non-Islamised peoples of Indonesia". He examines the opinions of a few scholars like Dr. H. Schärer, J. A. J. Verheijen, Dr. Ph. L. Tobing about the religion of the Ngadju Dayaks of South Borneo and its cosmological aspects. The writer's criticisms are directed:

- (1) to show that the appearances of oneness or totality in the "conception of God" are secondary to an earlier dualism, while, despite this secondarily conceived totality, one of the pair of deities continues to maintain a prior importance;
- (2) to consider the validity of the "sociological" interpretation of the religion, and
- (3) to show, in a widely comparative setting, the real meaning of the ritual of the dramatised repetition of the creation.

The writer thinks that Dr. Tobing underrates the extent of Indian and Indo-Javanese influences among the Bataks, and particularly Toba-Bataks. He produces evidences to show the Indian and more particularly Indo-Javanese influence among the Bataks.

- D. M. DUNLOP—*The Translations of Al-Biṭrīq and Yahyā (Yuhannā) b. al-Biṭrīq.* According to *Fihrist*, Al-Biṭrīq was in the days of al-Manṣūr was ordered to translate things from old books into Arabic. His son Yuhannā b. al-Biṭrīq was also a translator, whose forte was philosophy. He translated the books of Aristotle, Hippocrates and others. The writer gives a list of works of both the translators.

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

Vol. VI, special number, 1959.

- C. W. NICHOLAS—*Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon:* In twentyfour chapters the Topography, including the relevant historical data of the districts of Ceylon has been given. The period covered by this compilation is from the earliest time to the end of the 13th century. The topographical material is arranged regionally and follows the modern scheme of revenue districts. Materials in the unpublished Brāhmī inscriptions and Pāli works have been included. It contains an Index of ancient Pāli and Sinhalese names.

Journal of the University of Bombay,

Vol. XXVIII (New Series), Part 1, July 1959.

- ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI—*The Bracelet Controversy:* The writer has critically examined the story of the sending of a Rākhī by Rāṇī Karmeti Hadi, wife of Rāṇā Sanga to Emperor Humayun to solicit the Mogul aid for her son Vikramjit. Evidence is adduced in the paper to show that the story of Karmeti's sending of bracelet to Humayun is a myth—an instance of the incursion of poetic fancy into history.

KĪRTIDEV D. DESAI—*Non-Aryans on the Western Coast*: This is a survey of the settlement, on the Western Coast, of the Nāgas, Asuras, Dānavas, Daityas and Rākṣasas, traditionally known as non-Aryan, during the period 3500 B. C. to 324 B. C. The writer also attempts at the geographical location of the various personalities and at the reconstruction of the plausible chronology of Aryan-non-Aryan conflicts in those regions.

Our Heritage,

(Bulletin of the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research,
Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Vol. V, pt. I

F. HEILER—*The Idea of God in Indian and Western Mysticism*: The God or the Ultimate Reality of mystics is not a result of reflection and contrivance, but has been experienced. He is a living reality (*satyasya satyam*). The mystical experience of God is the same in all races, nations and religions. It is uniform though there are different types and variations. It is inexpressible but there are certain formulas for helping the mystic to think about it. The writer suggests along with data from several sources the following formulas:

- (i) Negation, often enhanced to double negation.
- (ii) Contradiction—the combination of contradictions in a “harmony of contrasts.”
- (iii) Superlation, the climax, the *via eminential*.

He concludes his paper by pointing the various important features of the mystical idea of God.

DURGAMOCHAN BHATTACHARYYA—*Materials for Further Study of the Vaitānasūtra*. The paper dealing with the chronological relation of the three Ātharvaṇa texts—*Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, *Kauśikasūtra* and *Vaitānasūtra*—is based on a rare manuscript of Somāditya’s *Ākṣepānavidhi*, an early commentary on the *Vaitānasūtra*. This little known work embodies evidence which assigns the otherwise authorless *Vaitānasūtra* to Kauśika, the celebrated author of the *Kauśikasūtra* known also as *Samhitāvidhi*. Statements in the *Ākṣepānavidhi*

show that the two *sūtras* were prepared under a common plan by a single author. Somāditya who seems to have recorded old and genuine tradition, takes the *Vaitānasūtra* to have been based on the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, and not the other way round as is supposed by some scholars. He also considers the six chapters of the *Atharvaprāyaścitta* as the authentic supplement of the *Vaitāna*.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACARYA—*The Śakāra in the Sanskrit Drama*: The writer divides his paper into three sections, viz. (1) the characterisation of Śakāra in Indian dramaturgy, and an explanation of the total absence of the term in literature in general and its vocabulary-bearing in the lexicons, (2) the problem of the low lineage of Śakāra and his connexion with the tribes such as the Ābhiras and others, and (3) the problem regarding his culture and alien character.

SUKUMAR SEN—*Three Etymologies*: The writer has critically examined the meaning of the words Kaviputra, Pusta and Pustaka, Mahābhārata and Bhārata, and Bhaṭṭa, utilising data from the O. I. A. and the M. I. A. group of languages. He has arrived at the conclusion that—(1) Kaviputra meant a superior poet; (2) Pusta meant a dignitary that exercised jurisdiction over settlements and transfer of landed property; Pustaka primarily meant a bundle or bunch of written sheets kept under a cover and later on it came to mean the manuscript of a book placed between wooden covers and with a covering of coarse cloth; (3) Bhārata originally meant the composition of a Bharata singer, but in the Yājñavalkya Samhitā it meant an actor or dancer, (4) the word, 'Bhaṭṭa' originally meant "a roving armed men," later on it was used in the sense of an honorific epithet.

KALI KUMAR DUTTA—*Prologues and Epilogues in Sanskrit Drama*: The object of this paper is to study various explanations offered by different authorities, for the justification of writing Prologues and/or Epilogues in all dramas, and to find out if there is really any violation of dramaturgical canons or not. For this purpose the paper has been divided

into two sections—(1) Prologues,—dealing with the Nāndi problem, mention and non-mention of the name of the drama in the prologue either in accordance with the rule or not; the use of the word “Sthāpanā” by Bhāsa in his drama instead of “Prastāvanā” and (2) Epilogue—showing that the Indian dramas closely follow the rules laid down by Bharata.

APPENDIX: *Śavasūtakāśaucaparakaraṇam.*

The Vaitānasūtra*

XXVIII

1. The (distribution of) fire is optional in a sacrifice, which is not the first.

2. But it is constant in the Mahāvratā.¹

3-4. In a Sattra on the full-moon of the Phālguna or of the Pauṣa with due consideration to the merits of the same (i.e. the Sattra) he (the Brahman), while performing the animal sacrifice in honour of Prajāpati, mutters the hymn: "The years to you, oh Agni" (II.6) after the Sāmidhenī stanza, that contains the words "Being kindled."²

5. He (the Brahman) performs the dedication of the dissected fragments of the animal with the hymn: "He, who grants life" (IV.2).

6. (After the day of the full-moon, described in sūtras 3-4) on the eighth day there follows the Iṣṭi, in which the preparation of the cauldron takes place.

7. He performs the sacrifice of the butter, drawn for eight times, with the stanza: "To the hymn with the stanza" (Kauś. sūtra 5-7).

*Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. xxxv, No. 2, June, 1959, Supplement, page 82.

¹ Caland reads *samahāvrate* instead of *sa mahāvrate*, which Garbe maintains, obviously his translation differs from what we have given. He translates it as: "Bei einer mit Mahāvratā verbundenen (Somaeifer) ist sie beiständig" Trans. "In a Soma rite, which is connected with the Mahāvratā, it is constant."

² Caland observes that the sūtra is difficult to explain, specially the expression *tadguṇānurodhāt*. He translates it as: "mit Rücksicht auf die Beschaffenheit derselben (?)," Tr. "in consideration of the constitution of the same.?" Does it refer to the constitution of the Sattra, specially to the rules, which are employed in it? But we have interpreted it as referring to the merits, which will accrue to the sacrificer by the performance of the particular sacrifice.

8. During the encircling of the clod of earth (i.e. of the place where the earth should be dug) he utters the hymn: "Round about you, O Agni" (VII. 71).

9. The contact with the same is to be performed with the utterance of the stanza: "You are born of clay" (Vait. 5.14).

10. While the same is placed upon a leaf of lotus he utters the stanza: "To you, Oh Agni" (VII. 71).

11. While the pouring down of the boiled juice of the Palāśa leaves over the clod of earth takes place he utters the stanza: "You are water indeed" (I. 5).³

12. While the cauldron is prepared from the clod of earth, he, the Brahman, utters the two stanzas: "To you, the earth into the earth" (XII. 3. 22-23). According to Bhāgali this happens during the renewed attempt of preparation (if the first vessel is broken).

13. While the burning of the same takes place he utters the third stanza.

14. After the New-moon sacrifice is performed (on the following day of the new moon) in the Dīkṣaṇīyā (-iṣṭi) he (the Brahman) dedicates gifts to Vaiśvānara and Aditi with suitable stanzas. During the placing of the firewood into the fire, which occurs within the cauldron he utters the stanza: "If, Oh Agni, whatever" (XIX. 64.3).

15. The lifting of the fire (i.e. removing of the fire), which occurs within the cauldron, takes place with the utterance of the stanza: "Sharpened is mine" (III. 19).

16. While the fire is completely brought out (from the vessel) he recites the stanza: "I have brought you" (VI. 87).

17. While the separation of the snare (knot) (with which the vessel is carried) takes place he recites the stanza: "Away, the superior" (VII. 83. 3).

18. He preserves the fire, which occurs within the vessel for one year or for that very day.

3. Caland suggests that the expression *palāśapāṇṭenā*, which Garbe maintains, should be emended as *palāśaphāṇṭenā* etc.

19. During the journey of the fire (which occurs with the cauldron) in a chariot he (the Brahman) asks the sacrificer to pronounce the hymn: "May you bring up us" (V. 7).

20. While the ashes, which remain within the vessel, are poured down into the water, the Brahman recites the stanza: "You are the embryo of the herbs" (V. 7).

21. While the ashes, poured down into the water, are taken back, he utters the two stanzas: Come back here with the riches (Kaus. sūtra. 72.14).

22. When the fuel is, again, supplied to the fire, which occurs within the vessel, he utters the stanza: "Again, to you" (XII. 2.6).

23. At the end of the consecration when the Mahāvedī is measured, so also the ground for the classification of the different fires, he (the Brahman) pronounces the stanza: "Measure out" (XIII. 1.27).⁴

24. During the carrying (by means of the Palāśa twig) of the Gārhapatya (to the place, where it should be installed) he (the Brahman) recites the stanza: "Be off, remove" (XVIII. 1.55).

25. During the placing of the Iṣṭakās of the Gārhapatya there occurs the recital of the stanza: "This is your birth place" (III. 20.1)

26. During the placing of the Iṣṭakās for Nirṛti he, who is invested with the thread, sacred to the fathers, recites the stanza: "Obeisance to you, Oh Nirṛta" (VI. 63.2).

27. During the throw of the string, the stool (by which the Ukhya-fire is carried), the gold-plate (upon which the stool is borne) and the snare into the south-western direction he utters the stanza: "Which to you the gods" (VI. 63.1).⁵

4 Caland suggests that the expression *vedyagnim* might be a shortening of *vedyagnimānam*; or it might be that the complete text was *vedyagni mimānam* (sc *adhvaryum*).

5 Caland suggests that instead of the word *prāsane* of the text one should read *prāstān*, which Sāyaṇa has done. Here the word *nairṛtyām* stands for *nairṛtāyām diśi*.

28. After they return without casting a glance behind, they worship the Gārhapatya fire with the stanza: "The depositor, the accumulator" (X. 8.42), which is addressed to Indra.⁶

29. Here take place certain performances of which the Prāyaṇīyā (-iṣṭi) is the first.

30. During the harnessing of the plough the Brahman recites the stanza: "They harness the plough-shares" (III. 17.1).

31. To the ploughing (Adhvaryu) he addresses the stanza: "The plough with the metallic share" (III. 17.3).⁷

32. He addresses the stanza: "In the ready abode" (III. 17.2 b.c.d) to the Adhvaryu, who sows the grains.

33. While the gold plate is placed down he utters the stanza: "The Brahman, who is born" (IV. 1.1).

34. While laying down the golden man he pronounces the stanza: "The golden Embryo" (IV. 2.7).

XXIX

1. While the tortoise is anointed the Brahman recites the three stanzas: "Sweet the winds" (Kauś. sūtra 91.1).

2. While the mortar and the pounder are placed (below), there occurs the recital of the stanza: "The Activities of Viṣṇu" (VII. 26.6).

3. While the head of the goat is placed down, there occurs the recital of the stanza: "The goat indeed" (IV. 14.1).

4. After the fore-noon Upasads they always arrange the layers (of iṣṭakās i.e. bricks).

5. When each of the (first four) layers is covered with rubbish, the following stanzas are recited: "For the killing of

6 As mentioned above, Caland translates *upatiṣṭhante* as: "richten sie an den gārhapatya die an Indra gerichtete Strophe." Trans. "They address the stanza dedicated to Indra, to the Gārhapatya fire." As mentioned before *upa + sthā* gives the sense of "worship", which should be taken into consideration here.

7 Caland suggests that instead of the expression *karṣamānam*, which occurs in the text of Garbe, one should read either *kṛṣamānam* (sc *Adhvaryum*) or *kṛṣyamānam* (sc *kṣetram*).

Vṛtra, for strength" (XX. 19.1), "To us, separated, oh Indra" (I. 21.2), "Like a terrible beast" (VII. 84.3), and "Vaiśvānara for the help of us" (VI. 35.1).

6. When the Asapatna-iṣṭakā is placed upon the fifth layer, the Brahman recites the two stanzas: "Oh Agni, to those, who are born" (VII. 34. 1-2; VII 34 and 35).

7. The Stoma-bhāga-iṣṭakās are placed down with the recital of the twenty-nine Stoma-bhāga formulas.⁸

8. The Brahman pronounces over the Gāyatra (Iṣṭakās the half verse): "Oh Agni, to you born from the lotus" (Vait. 5,14), over the Triṣṭubh (Iṣṭakās) the half-verse: "Agni is awakened" (XIII. 2.46), over the Anuṣṭubh (Iṣṭakās) the half-verse: "Together, together" (VI. 3.4), over the Aticchandās (Iṣṭakās) the half-verse: "I consider Agni as the Hotṛ" (XX. 67.3). The Anumantraṇa at the Gārhapatya has been treated (before) and the same is to be observed here.⁹

9. The stanzas to be recited for Anumantraṇa during the rearrangement of the layers are: "This Agni, the hero" (VII. 62.1), "By which the thousand" (IX. 5.17).

10. The Brahman dedicates the gifts to Rudra with the utterance of the stanza: "Not to us, O gods" (VI. 56.1), "Oh Bhava and Sarva! have pity" (XI. 2.1), "Which serpent to you" (XII. 1.46).¹⁰

11. Over the enclosing stones (upon which the gifts are dedicated) he pronounces: "My stony shield" (V. 10.1 or 1-7?).

12. After the throwing into the fire of (the Arka leaf, which serves as) the sacrificial spoon, the Āgnīdhra pours down

8 Caland informs us that the order of the Stomabhāgas in the Vait. sūtra is exactly the same as that in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa. Further, the number 29, which is noticed in both these two works, is in conformity with the tradition of the Mādhyandinas, who have spoken of the same number. This number varies according to the tradition of different schools, and occasionally it shoots upto 35.

9 Caland suggests that instead of the word *uktham*, which Garbe maintains, one should read *uktam*.

10 The last Pratika may mean also "which crawling of you."

(water) upon the layer with the utterance of the stanza: "Those heavenly waters" (IV. 8.5).

13. When the frog, the Avakā plant and the reed are drawn from the south to all the directions (over the arranged layers) the Brahman utters the following stanzas: "This, Oh waters, is yours" (III. 13.7), "To you, that of the snow" (VI. 106.3), "To the heaven, to the reed" (XVIII. 3.5) and "This of the waters" (VI. 106.2).

14. On the day before the Soma-celebration while distributing the first half of the butter, drawn for sixteen times he utters the stanza: "He, who dwells among all men" (XIII. 2.26) and while distributing the second half (of the butter) the stanza: "He is our father and procreator" (II. 1.3).

15. While three pieces of fire-wood are placed (upon the fire) he recites the hymn, (which contains three stanzas): "Lead this above" (VI. 5).

16. Commanded by the Adhvaryu he (the Brahman) mutters the Apratiratha hymn (XIX. 13).

17. They ascend the layers with the utterance of the hymn: "Stride with the Agni" (IV. 14.2).

18. While three pieces of fire-wood are thrown (into the fire) the Brahman recites the hymn, (which contains one stanza): "To this, Oh Savitr̥" (VII. 15).

19. He mutters (the hymns): "Four horns" "Sing" (VII. 82), further the three stanzas: "Agni, hither" (III 20. 2-4) and at least the two stanzas: "To Aryaman, to Bṛhaspati" (III. 20. 7-8).¹¹

20. During the distribution of the Vājaprasaviya gifts the Brahman recites the stanza: "By the impulse of strength" (VII. 6.4).

21. When the sacrificer is anointed the Brahman asks him to mutter the hymn (or the stanza?): "Please anoint me" (VII. 33. or 33.1).

¹¹ Here, as Caland rightly points out, it is very difficult to say whether the numbers refer to the Sūktas or the Rks. Because these are not quoted from the Atharva Samhitā but from the Vājasaneyi Samhitā.

22.23. While gifts are dedicated to Viśvakarman the Brahman recites the hymn: "Those, who take" (II. 35), and the two stanzas: "To these, Oh you places" (VI. 123. 1-2) and the stanza: "By which the thousand" (IX. 5.17).

XXX

1. (A Kṣatriya), who has performed the classification of fires, who has been purified by Soma and taken the same to such an excess (as to vomit it), is consecrated by the Sautrāmaṇī-ceremonial.¹²

2. It is prescribed also for one, who has been abandoned by fortune and who desires to achieve pre-eminence.¹³

3. One, who has not yet performed the Soma-sacrifice, shall perform it.

4. The Iṣṭi is intended for Aditi (the main offerings are to be dedicated with the recital of the stanza, addressed to Aditi).

5. The gift of the animal is intended for Indra.

6. When the surā is mixed with the herbs the Brahman recites the Rasa-prāśana stanza (V. 2.3) (and the hymn): "Which brown" (VIII. 7).

7. When the surā is strained for one, who has been purified by Soma the Brahman recites the hymn: "Purified by that of the wind" (VI. 51).¹⁴

8. While the surā is strained for one, who has taken the Soma to such an excess as to vomit it, the Brahman recites the

12 Caland's translation of the term *somātiputaḥ* is: "einer, bei welchem der soma purgirt." Trans. "one, to whom the Soma becomes clear." Again, his translation of the term *Somavāmi* too deserves notice. He translates it as: "einer, bei welchem er Erbrechen verursacht hat." Trans. "one, whom soma has caused vomiting."

13 Caland translates the expression *utkrāntaśreyasaḥ* as: "dem ein Machtigerer zuvorgekommen ist." Trans. "one, over whom the more powerful has got the advantage." Caland suggests the reading *utkrāntaśreyāḥ* (*śreyān*) *śraiṣṭhya kāmaśca*.

14 Caland translates the word *Somātipūtasya* in the same way as he did in sūtra 1. Here he translates thus: "bei dem der Soma purgirt hat." Trans. "to whom the Soma has become purified."

same hymn, in whose first stanza the expression “behind the Soma” is substituted by “before the Soma”.¹⁵

9. To the Adhvaryu, who purifies the milk, the Brahman addresses the stanza: “Oh Adhvaryu, make the Soma, which is pressed by the stones, flow into the strainer (and) refine it for Indra so that he might drink it.

10. After the fat reserved (for gifts) is drawn (i.e. made ready) while the Adhvaryu draws the milk, he (the Brahman) addresses to the latter the stanza: “Like the possessors of barley” (XX. 125.2).

11. After the purification of the omentum the Brahman performs the dedication of the spoonfuls of milk and surā with the recital of the four stanzas: “Both of you, Oh Aśvins, to the fine” (XXI. 4-7). There is no drinking of the spoonfuls of the surā.

12. Some allow the taking of the surā spoonful, dedicated to Aśvins and that with the utterance of the stanza: “The Soma-drink, which the Aśvins took away from the Āsura Namuci and which Sarasvatī pressed for strength—this bright and sweet drop of Soma, the king I take here.”

13. While the rest of the surā is poured down into a pitcher, marked by hundred holes, the Brahman recites over it the stanzas: “May you purify me” (VI. 69), “On the mountain, in the Aragarāṭa” (VI. 69) and also the stanza: “That on the mountains” (IX. 1.18).

14. He mutters over the same the two stanzas: “May you rise” (XVIII 1. 44-45), the stanza: “The fathers, who are seated on the straw” (XVIII 1. 51), the stanza: “To us our fathers, who are invited (XVIII 3. 45) and the stanza: “The

15 Here *vikṛtena* stands for the expressions *vikṛtena sūktena*. Had it referred to a Ṛk, we would have found the word *vikṛtyā* i. e. *vikṛtyā ṛcā*. As in *sūtra* I, here too the word *somavāmi* has been translated by Caland as: “bei dem der Soma Erbrechen verursacht hat” Trans. “whom the Soma has caused vomiting.”

fathers, who are offered (oblations) into the fires" (ib 44)— (the stanzas) which are in all five.¹⁶

15. After the distribution of a gift to Vanaṣpati, which is related to the animal sacrifice, in favour of Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra, he (the Brahman) asks the sacrificer, who is anointed, to pronounce the holy words om bhūh, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, janat, om.

16. Commanded by the Adhvaryu to sing the Sāmans, he (the Brahman) sings the Saṁsāna (Sāmans) arranged in the Br̥hatī stanza and addressed to Indra: "Oh you Maruts! for Indra may you sing a long hymn, which leads best to victory and by which the augmentators of the Ṛta created the ever wakeful heavenly light for the gods."¹⁷

17. The initial words (of those Sāmans) are: "They impel you with prayers" "They give back to you (with prayers)" "They injure you (with prayers)" "They influence you (with prayers)".¹⁸

18. (For a Brāhmaṇa) the concluding portions (of those four Sāmans) are: "For full fame", "For excelling fame, "For true fame", "For fame".

19. For a Kṣatriya (the concluding portions of those four Sāmans) are: "For full victory", "For excelling victory", "For

16 Caland translates the expression *pitaro'gnisvāttā* quite differently; his translation stands as: "Ihr vom feuer gekosteten Vater." Trans. "You the fathers, who are tried by the fires."

17 Caland translates the second line a bit differently. His translation of the same stands as: "Durch welches die das Ṛta gedeihen machenden das wachsame Licht den Gott dem Gotte erzeugten." Trans. "By which the augmenters of the Ṛta created the wakeful light the god for the god." It is clear that we have taken *devam* of the text as meaning "heavenly," but here in the primary sense i. e. "the god." He notes further that the words *aindryām* and *br̥hatyām* are unnecessary in the sūtra. These occur in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, which itself borrowed them from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

18 Caland suggests that one should read the word *riṇanti* for *ṛṇanti* and *śiṣanti* for *śiṣanti*. It should be said that the words, of which emendation is suggested by Caland, occur in the text of Garbe.

true victory”, ‘For victory” but for a Vaiśya (the same) are: ‘For full prosperity”, “For excelling prosperity”, “For true prosperity.”

20. All (namely the priests, the sacrificer and the wife) unite during the chanting of the concluding passage.

21. The ablution of purification follows the offering of the straw.

22. The Brahman performs the washing of the Māsara pitcher with the hymn: “That, oh gods” (VI 114).

23. During the washing of the dress (of the sacrificer) the Brahman recites the stanza: “As from the sacrificial post” (VI. 115. 3).

24. The Iṣṭi of Āmikṣā is aimed at Mitra and Varuṇa.

25. The sacrificial animal is aimed at Indra Vayodhas.

26. The Iṣṭi is intended for Indra.

27. With the stanza: “Even to him, who is in the distance” (III 3.2), of which at the end the Praṇava stands and which is to be recited in a single (shaped) tone they pay respect to him, who is mentioned in the aphorism (thus the Sutrāmaṇi).

Here ends the Fifth Chapter of the Vaitānasūtra annexed to the Atharvaveda.

XXXI

1. On the eleventh day (of the same fort-night which lies) before the Māgha full-moon, they, at least, seventeen in number, should get themselves consecrated in a manner, described in the Brāhmaṇa, if they undertake the Sattrā.

2. Only those, who have performed an Iṣṭi before, can undertake it, or at least the Gṛhapati (i.e. the arranger of the Sattrā).

3. After they have mixed their fire with that of the Gṛhapati, they perform the animal (goat) sacrifice, dedicated to Prajāpati, in the Āhavanīya fire, which is derived in common with all from this Gārhapatya fire.

4. On the Ekāṣṭaka day, which bears the name “The regulator of days” after he (the arranger of the Sattrā) has cooked

a cake, baked on four plates, he burns the bushes along with it (on the next day) early in the morning, and then ascribes the cake to the two gods, who are mentioned in the aphorisms,— during which he recites the hymn: “This lord of the clouds to us” (VI. 79).¹⁹

5. If the cake, baked with the help of the straw, burns the bush, the year will be lucky, but if it does not burn then the year will be unlucky.

6. Now the Gavāmayāṇa.

7. The first month contains an introductory day (Prāyaṇīya), a Caturviṃśa day, four Abhiplava (ṣaḍahas) and a Pṛṣṭhya (ṣaḍaha).

8. Such indeed is the condition of the next four months, which exclude the introductory (day) and the Caturviṃśa (day).

9. The sixth month contains three Abhiplava (ṣaḍahas), one Pṛṣṭhya (ṣaḍaha), an Abhijit day and three Svarasāman days.

10. The Central day (of the three) is surplus. It is the Viṣuvant day.

11. The second half of the year is arranged in the reverse order.

12. The seventh month contains three Svarasāman (days), the Viśvajit day, one Pṛṣṭhya (ṣaḍaha) and four Abhiplava (ṣaḍahas).

13. The next four months are such but without the Svarasāman days and the Viśvajit day.

14. The twelfth month contains two Abhiplava (ṣaḍahas), the Āyuṣ (day), the Go (day), the Daśarātra with the ascending (number of) Stomas, the Mahāvratā (day) and the concluding day.²⁰

15. It is stated (also) in a śloka: Two Atirātras, hundred and six Agniṣṭomas, twice hundred and twenty Ukthyas and twelve Soḍaśins: thus (in other words) there are sixty Ṣaḍahas together with the Viṣuvant day.

19 Caland suggests that instead of *devatābhyām* of the text *devatābhyah* is to be read, which is suggested by two manuscripts. In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, which suggests this reading of Caland, the three gods are mentioned as Agni, Vāyu and Āditya.

20 Caland suggests that *Gavāyuṣi* mean *Āyuṣa* and *Go*.

16. In the Caturviṃśa day for the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin the Stotriya (ṛca) of the Ājyaśāstra is: "To Indra the singers a loud" (XX. 38. 4-6) or "Indra, the brilliantly shining, may you come hither" (XX. 84).²¹

17. He inserts the Stotriya (ṛcas) of the Ājyaśāstra, which is due from the third day of the Abhiplava (ṣaḍaha).

18. The Bārhatā-pragātha, the Stotriya- and the Anutūpa (-ṛcas) in the Pṛṣṭha śāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin on the same very day are: "May you applaud the generous" (XX. 51. 1-2) and "To the generous, who are famous" (XX. 51. 3-4) or "Do not speak any thing else" (XX. 85. 1-2) and "If to you these people" (XX. 85. 3-4).

19. He inserts the Ahīna (hymn): "To him, full of strength and clever" (XX. 35).

20. The same are in the Abhihit, the Viṣuvant, the Viśvajit and the Mahāvratā. On the Caturviṃśa (day) in the Ukthya (-śāstra) of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin the Stotriya- and the Anurūpa (-ṛcas) are: "Who alone apportions" (XX. 63. 4-6) and "Oh Indra, you who drink most the Soma" (XX. 63. 7-9).

21. In the Abhiplava (ṣaḍaha) the six hymns which begin with: "Come here, we have pressed the Soma for you" (XX. 38-43) but do not contain the Ārambhaṇīyā and the Paryāsa (the concluding passage) are the Stotriya (-ṛcas) of the Ājya-śāstra (for the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin on every day).

22. On every day of the Ṣaḍaha he inserts (as the āvāpa sūkta) the hymns: "For the conquest of the enemies, for strength" (XX. 19), "To the most courageous for our protection" (XX. 20) "Hither to us, Oh Indra, turned towards me" (XX. 23) "Come to the Soma, pressed by us" (XX. 24), "If I, Indra, like you" (XX. 27) and the stanza: "Like the sportive waves of water" (XX. 28. 4 or 29.5).²²

21 Caland adds the note that the Bahvṛcas adopt the first, while the Chāndogas the second as the Stotriya.

22 Caland assumes that the text of Garbe is uncertain. Garbe's reading *iti ṛcān āvapate* is purely conjectural because the mss. read: *ity ṛcāvapati*; Caland, however, emends the text as *ity ṛcām āvapati*.

23. The hymn: "To him, who is wonderful and capable of resisting assault" (XX. 9) is the Stotriya- and the Anurūpa-ṭṛca of the Pṛṣṭha (śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin in the Abhiplava ṣaḍaha, and obviously in the odd number of days: 1.3.5).

24. (And) the hymn: "Sing in honour of the liberal" (XX. 51) in the even number of days: (2..4.6).

25. Of the Sampāta hymns: "Indra, the destroyer of cities, conquered the demons by hymns" (XX. 11), "Who alone is to be invoked by men" (XX. 36), "He like a fearful beast with sharp horns" (XX. 37), he (the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin) inserts (during the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha) one each daily (by way of variation). Similarly in the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha, in the Chandoma days and in the tenth day (of the concluding Daśarātra).

26. During the intermediate (i.e. from the second to the fifth) days of the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha the Stotriya- and the Anurūpa-ṭṛcas at the Uktha (śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin) are: "Indeed you are a hero" (XX. 60-62)

27. On the sixth day of the Pṛṣṭhya (ṣaḍaha) in the first two savanas before the Prasthita-yājyās they (i.e. the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin, the Potṛ and the Āgnīdhra insert the Parucchepa stanzas: "The treader reaches the abode of wealth" (XX. 67), "In all the pressings they incite you" (XX. 72. 1-3). After the Ṛtuyājyās (they insert) each one of the following four stanzas: "Binding you with the sacrifices, with speckled mares and spears" (XX. 67. 4-7).²³

(To be continued)

S. N. GHOSAL

23 We have given the translation of the expressions *Pṛṣatibhir ṛṣtibhiḥ* in the manner by which Caland has made. He translates the above as: "mit scheckigen Stuten und Speeren" Trans. "with speckled mares and spears." But the word *pṛṣati* seems to be an adjective of *ṛṣtibhiḥ*. In that case the translation should be: "with spotted spears". But the translation, which we have given above and which agrees with that of Caland, necessitates the assumption of the word *pṛṣatibhiḥ* as a noun that stands quite independent of *ṛṣtibhiḥ*.

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No. 4

Varuna : His Identification

Enquiry into the nature and function of the Vedic gods was started as early as Yāska (i.e., before 600 B. C.). In these days also, the western scholars have done much to ascertain the original character of these gods, and their efforts have not been altogether fruitless. We have now a clearer view of the Vedic gods than Yāska and his predecessors who initiated discussion on the subject, could have. But it cannot be said that all the different problems about the origin and development of the Vedic deities have been finally solved. For example, after identifying the Vedic Mitra with the Iranian sun-god, M. Winternitz says, "It is not so easy with all gods to discover to which natural phenomenon they owe their origin. Still the opinion of investigators differ widely in the explanation of gods like Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra, Aditi and Nāsatyas to mention only the most important ones"¹

This relieves me from making an apology for examining afresh the character of Varuṇa whose importance for the study of religion and mythology of the Aryans (Indo-Iranians) is indeed great.

Some scholars have tried to identify Varuṇa with *Ouranos* of the Greeks. But the phonetic difficulty in this regard is considerable. The Greek word means 'the sky' whereas Varuṇa of the Vedas, according to Winternitz 'is as in the later mythology, the god of the sea, a god of water.'² And besides this, the

1 Winternitz, pp. 76-77, Benveniste, p. 1.

2 Winternitz, p. 82.

Greeks had their god of sea in Poseidon (Neptune of the Romans). It is possibly from these considerations some have rejected the equation of Varuṇa with *Ouranos*.³ Hence it seems to be very difficult to ascribe Varuṇa to the Indo-Europeans. We are now to see whether like Mitra with whom he has often been associated in the *R̥gveda*, Varuṇa belongs to the early Indo-Iranians.⁴ But this scepticism about the Indo-Iranian origin of Varuṇa should not be looked upon as heterodoxy⁴ though V. M. Apte one of the latest writers on the subject, says, "The view generally held is that it (the physical basis of the idea of Varuṇa) is the encompassing sky. The original conception, it is supposed, goes back at least to the Indo-Iranian period, since *Ahura Mazdah* (the wise spirit) of the *Avesta* agrees with the Asura Varuṇa in character though not in name."⁵ This opinion has obviously its origin in that of A. A. Macdonell who wrote, "For it goes back to the Indo-Iranian period at least, since the Ahura Mazda (the wise spirit) of the *Avesta* agrees with the Asura Varuṇa in character, though not in name". But he wrote earlier, "Another and much more prominent deity of the sky is *Varuṇa*, the greatest of the Vedic gods beside Indra. He too dates from an earlier period, for in the name he is probably identical with the Greek *Ouranos* and in character he is allied to the Avestic Ahura Mazdah."⁶

As it has already been noticed that the identity of Varuṇa and *Ouranos* is untenable,⁷ and we need not subscribe to

3 Oldenberg who connects Varuṇa with the moon-god, rejects this equation. See *ERE.*, vol. II, pp. 34, 36.

4 Scholars however are not unanimous in ascribing Mitra to the Indo-Iranians. See *ERE.*, vol. XII, p. 83.

5 See Benveniste, p. 46 fn. 1.

6 *HCIP.*, p. 385.

7 *A Vedic Reader*, Oxford, 1917, p. 135; *ERE.*, vol. XII. See under Vedic Religion; see also Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*. Strassburg, 1897. Compare the view of Winternitz quoted above with that of Macdonell. B. K. Ghosh, another follower of Macdonell, writes that 'the equation Skt. Varuṇa = Gk. Ouranos has to be accepted. (*HCIP.*, p. 224).

Macdonell's opinion in this regard. But his varying statements about the relation of Varuṇa with Ahura Mazda are indeed very interesting. One may enquire here if the agreement finally envisaged by Macdonell is partial or complete. In case a complete agreement is meant, we are puzzled about the suppression of the name Varuṇa by Zarathustra. In case of a partial agreement too, one feels curious about knowing what were the features of Varuṇa, which led to the suppression of his name. Unless we know about these, we cannot be quite sure whether the conception of Varuṇa and that of Ahura Mazda had any close relation with each other. That both Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda had a highly developed ethical character and were worshipped by two neighbouring people, and Varuṇa too has sometimes been called Asura may not be considered sufficient for identifying the two. If Indians and Iranians show agreement in this one respect, Zarathustra's theory of dualism may be said to emphasise their difference too. The name of Mithra the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Mitra occurs sometimes in the *Avesta* side by side with the name of Ahura (Asura),⁸ and this may make one recall the Vedic Mitṛā-Varuṇā which according to Pāṇini signified two of the commonly paired Vedic deities (*devatādvandva*). But this will scarcely be sufficient for identifying Varuṇa with Ahura Mazda. For the supreme deity of Zarathustra has never been mentioned in the *Avesta* simply as Ahura (Asura)⁹. To arrive at a definitive conclusion about the identity of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda something more is needed. It seems that the scholars who have so far expressed their belief in the identity of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda have not paid sufficient attention to this aspect of the question. Hence the relation between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda remains practically obscure.

But as we shall see below, this obscurity was not due to any dearth of data. That the modern enquiry about the origin and nature of the Vedic gods started mostly with a pre-conceived

8 Benveniste, p. 44.

9 Ibid.

notion, which clouded the vision of the enquirers in this regard. They believed that "These gods' names originally indicated natural phenomena and natural beings. Epithets which at first emphasised a particularly important side of a natural being, became gods' names and new gods."¹⁰ It is not our intention to deny the value of this theory. But an excessive dependence on a particular theory, as we shall see below, put them off the track in their enquiry about the Vedic gods who after all might have a complex origin. It was too much to expect that these gods were entirely creations of the Vedic priests. For, the Indo-Aryans did not come to a land without any civilization. As they must have met the inheritors of the Indus culture and were constantly in touch with the mass of people who had to accept their leadership, it may be assumed that the religious and social ideas of the pre-Aryan settlers modified more or less the ideas of the newcomers. One however need not think that such an eventuality was unsuspected before the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro which testified to the existence of a well-developed Indian culture at least three milleniums before Christ. Some western scholars who followed—because of the excavations of Crete and Asia Minor—the evolution of the Greek gods from pre-Hellenic (Minoan-Mycaenean) sources, assumed similar evolution in case of the Vedic gods too, even in the absence of any archaeological evidence as we now possess. For example M. Winternitz wrote, ".....we must not think that these priests and singers created a mythology and a system of religion without any consideration of the popular belief. Certainly there may be some things that are 'old' of gods, which rest only on 'momentary fancies of the individual poet', but on the whole we must take for granted that the priests and singers started from popular tradition, that they, as Hillebrandt aptly says, stood above but not outside the people."¹¹

¹⁰ Winternitz, p. 76.

¹¹ Winternitz, p. 79. See also L. R. Farnell in *ERE*. vol. VI *under* Mycaenean Religion. Eminent Indian scholars like Suniti Kumar

Though one can scarcely disagree with a view of this kind, it may be asked, how we are to know about this "popular belief" and to exploit it with relation to our enquiry about the Vedic gods. For the excavated Harappa and Mohenjo-daro are well-nigh mute about the religion of their inhabitants. The situation is indeed difficult, but not absolutely hopeless. India possesses very little recorded history especially of political events, but the history of her religious evolution has not been entirely lost. Owing to the genius of her people, tolerance in the matter of religious belief was almost always the rule in India, and her extreme conservativeness apparently a weakness, may also be considered an asset in this regard. As a result of these, in India, there are still in existence people who continue to practise the religions of their fore-fathers in various stages of evolution (including even those of the paleolithic or neolithic time) side by side with the most advanced thinkers in religion and philosophy. For a study of the religious evolution of India, we are indeed in possession of substantial materials. Along with this, should be taken into account the vast Indian literature ancient, medieval and modern,—the last in different local idioms—which also contain copious data on the manners and customs of our people throughout their very long past. India's cultural activities in overseas countries going up to a very high antiquity (which have been brought to light by western scholars mostly the Dutch and the French), may also be helpful in this connection. All these studied together may well give us a glimpse into the popular belief of the pre-Vedic times.

An enquiry about Varuṇa rightly begins with the etymology of this word. It is usually derived from the root *vr̥* meaning to cover. But it seems hardly possible that one single root meaning covering of all sorts, came into being all at once. As all students

Chatterji have also fully endorsed the view about the debt of the post-Vedic civilization of India to the pre-Vedic culture of the land. See Chatterji's article on Race Movements and Prehistoric Culture (*HCIP.*, pp. 165-166).

of the linguistic science should know, words expressing abstract or general ideas appear rather late in the history of a language. Hence it may be assumed that there appeared initially, words expressing different sorts of covering such as, covering with a hand, covering with a foot, covering with a leaf, covering with mud, covering with water, covering from a side, covering from above etc.,¹² and with the gradual development of the society and its culture, all such coverings come to be included in one single root *vr̥* which generalised all sorts of covering. This *vr̥* undoubtedly meant in the beginning only one sort of covering. Now what could it mean then? It is very difficult to arrive at the original meaning. But still an attempt may be made. The root *vr̥ṣ*, 'to rain' and words like *vār* and *vāri* meaning water, appear to be connected with *vr̥* and this seems to give a clue to the etymology of the word *Varuṇa* which may be analysed into *var*¹³ and *-uṇa*. The suffix *-uṇa* is an adjective-forming one and seems to be allied in meaning with the suffix *-uṇa* found in *aruṇa*, *karuṇa*, *taruṇa* and *dāruṇa*. *Varuṇa* originally meant probably something like 'one who covers with water' and this suits admirably the character of the god. For according to the Vedas, *Varuṇa*'s special connection with the waters is unmistakable.¹⁴

12 See Francois Martini, *La langue cambodgienne, France-Asie* 1955, Tome XII, pp. 433-434. In this article the writer has mentioned no less than seventeen Cambodian words expressing as many different ways of carrying different things.

13 The suffix *-vara* of *urvara* (fertile) is probably connected with this *var*, and *ur* probably meant 'land' and is related to *urvi* (earth), and the word *urvara* originally meant "land with moisture."

14 G. Dumézil (in *Ouranos Varuṇa: Étude de Mythologie comparée indo-européenne*) tried to attach the meaning of 'fastening' to the basic root of *Varuṇa* and supported the same by assuming an analogy between the myth of *Varuṇa* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and that of *Ouranos* in *Hesiod*. Keith has shown the futility of this theory. But he himself believes that the same root means to shut (*vr̥*). See his 'Varuṇa and Ouranos' in *Indian Culture*, vol. III (1936-37), pp. 421 ff. Keith has also rejected the etymology of *Varuṇa* suggested by Przyluski; see *IHQ.*, IX, 1933 pp. 515 ff. On the basis of the root *vav̥r̥* the reduplicated form of

Compilers of Sanskrit lexicons also saw in Varuṇa the god of waters. For example the *Amarakośa* the best known among them gives *ap-pati* (the lord of waters) as a name of Varuṇa, and *varuṇālaya* (the abode of Varuṇa) as a synonym of ocean.

The *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* sing the praise of Varuṇa. But the *Ṛgveda* which in a few hymns very beautifully describes the ethical aspect of this deity, is almost silent about his personal features.¹⁵ In only one hymn (III. 69.11) we find that “the seven rivers flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss or ocean”.¹⁶ This seems to suggest that Varuṇa was conceived as a Titan having (two very large jaws, and a stomach as large as the ocean. The first stanza of a hymn which the *Atharvaveda* has in honour of Varuṇa, begins as follows :

*The earth is his, to him belong the vast and boundless skies;
Both seas within him rest,*¹⁷

From this alone it may appear that the *Atharvaveda* too holds a view of Varuṇa similar to that of the *Ṛgveda*. But strangely enough the stanza ends as follows :

*and yet in that small pool he lies.*¹⁸

The seer of the *Atharvaveda* knew well what he was saying and did not make any mistake in this regard. Only we need to realise the background of his inspiration. This hymn simply shows that the great god of the sea was symbolized by an aquatic being to his worshippers. The Hindus consider the cow as a symbol of the great Mother-goddess (*Bhagavatī*). Their veneration of the monkey-god Hanumān is well-known. Hence it is not unlikely that at that remote Vedic age a particular aquatic being stood as a symbol of Varuṇa the lord of waters. This finds its support from the *Bhagavad-gītā* also, where the Lord Kṛṣṇa says among other

or Bergaigne once thought to have discovered an equivalence between Varuṇa and Vṛtra (Renou, p. 104 fn. i). For Darmesteter's view on the relation between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda see below fn. 38.

15 *HCIP.*, pp. 365, 343.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 366.

17 Winternitz, p. 144.

18 *Ibid.*

things "Of the aquatic beings I am Varuṇa (*Varuṇo yādasam-aham* X. 29)¹⁹ The *Amarakośa* too cites *yādasam-pati* (lord of aquatic beings) as a synonym of Varuṇa, while the much later Mallinātha commenting on the word *yādas* occurring in the *Raghuvamśa* (I.16) says that it means *jalaṅīva* (an aquatic animal), and quotes the *Amarakośa* in support of this.

The *Nīlamata-purāṇa* of Kashmir throws light on the conception of Varuṇa as an aquatic being to our help in this matter. Written in medieval times, it records various traditions regarding the ancient manners of the people of Kashmir. J. Ph. Vogel who made a careful study of this work, writes:

"As first sight it may seem strange that in the *Nīlamata* no mention is made of the 'Nāgapañcamī' the great feast of the Snakes, which is celebrated all over India down to the present day. Among the annual festivals, however, described in the text there is one called Varuṇapañcamī, which takes place on the fifth lunar day of the waxing moon, of Bhādrapada, the second month of the rainy season. On this date Nīla declares, the lord of waters (i.e. Varuṇa) is to be worshipped, the goddess Umā and in particular Dhanada, the giver of wealth".²⁰ Commenting further on this information Vogel says, "As in some parts of India, the Nāgapañcamī is celebrated on the fifth day of the Hindu month of Bhādon (Bhādrapada), we may perhaps assume that the Varuṇapañcamī described in the *Nīlamata* is in reality identical with the festival of the Nāgas."²¹

Along with this may be remembered the fact that Varuṇa has been mentioned as a Nāgarāja in Buddhist works like the *Mahāvuyutpatti*,²² and the *Jātaka*²³ In a Nepalese legend also

19 Other translations of the passage are practically the same. E. g. "Of the dwellers in water I am Varuṇa".

20 Vogel, p. 225.

21 Vogel, p. 225.

22 Ed. Minayeff, pp. 48f (Ref. Vogel, p. 191).

23 Vidhura-jātaka (No. 545) The text vol. vi. pp. 255 ff and the trans. vol vi. pp. 126 ff. (Ref. Vogel, p. 143).

recorded by Sylvain Lévi, Varuṇa appears as a great Nāga.²⁴ From this evidence it may be concluded that the seer of the *Atharvaveda* referred to a Nāga symbolizing Varuṇa when he said "yet in that small pool he lies." Instances of Nāgas being worshipped in artificial or natural pools are not rare in later times. For according to E. Senart, Theodore, son of Datis, consecrated a tank of water to the cult of Nāgas.²⁵ Vogel also mentioned that the Nāgatīrtha in South Canara is a well-built tank around which are artificial caves containing thousands of Nāga images. From the *Kathāsaritsāgara* also, it is learnt that the shrine of the Nāgarāja in the Lāṭa country was a lotus-studded lake.²⁶ Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Kādambarī* made the queen Vilāsavatī perform various auspicious rites for obtaining a son. These included her bath in the celebrated pools where Nāgas were kept and worshipped.²⁷ The lake near the mount Kamalas is one of the great Nāgatīrthas of Bhadravāh (W. Punjab).²⁸ It is almost certain that the pool referred to by the seer of the *Atharvaveda*, was such a lake or tank in which a Nāga symbolizing Varuṇa received worship of the people.

Hence, Varuṇa originally was a serpent-god, and now we may take up the question of his relation with Ahura Mazdah. It is necessary first to ascertain, if possible, where the conception of Varuṇa had its origin. According to the orthodox view, this deity would belong to the early Indo-Iranian period i.e. when the Iranians and Indo-Aryans lived in a common home. But this goes very much against the hydrography of the Pamir region or of the plains of the Oxus and the Jaxartes the two localities considered one after another to have been such a home.²⁹ How could the seven rivers be said to have flown into the jaws of

24 *Le Nepal*, vol. I, pp. 322 f. (Ref. Vogel, p. 276).

25 *Journal Asiatique* 1899, p. 533 (Ref. Louis de La Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et les Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*. Paris, 1930, p. 241.

26 Vogel, p. 202.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 251.

29 *HCIP.*, p. 218.

Varuṇa where the rivers are far less in number? The localities were so poor in rainfall and other natural sources of water, the conception of Varuṇa the great god of waters as has been described in the *R̥gveda*, seems to have scarcely originated there. On the other hand India appears to be eminently suitable for it. The mention of the seven rivers in connexion with Varuṇa in the *R̥gveda* (VIII. 69 11)³⁰, clearly shows that the Punjab which once had seven rivers in it, was connected with this god. Thus Varuṇa seems to have been deity of Indian origin. Now if Varuṇa had any connection with the conception of Ahura Mazdah, it appears that Zarathustra was indebted to India. The question of independent formation of the conception of Ahura Mazdah seems to be ruled out on the following grounds: (a) the Asura (Ahura) element was common to the both, and (b) the idea of *ṛta* (*asa*) was characteristically attached to the both and (c) people forming the conception of Varuṇa and that of Ahura Mazdah lived as neighbours.

But this assumption about the probable borrowing from the Iranian side, meets with one difficulty. Macdonell and Keith think that the actual historical contact between the Aryans of Iran and of India "cannot be asserted with any degree of probability."³¹ And taking cue from this view, one of the latest writers (B. K. Ghosh) on the subject opines, "The two peoples turned their back upon each other as it were, and developed their distinctive civilization apparently without the least mutual influence, although in language, culture and religion their similarity in the earliest period was little short of identity. When later in history, under the Achaemenids, Greeks, Bactrians, Sakas, Iranians and Indians were forced to meet as citizens of the same empire, they met as complete strangers, not as cousins of the same family."³² In support of this view it has been said that, "The Iranians had retained a distinct memory of the common home (Eranvej) in their mythology, but the Indo-Aryans who

30 *Ibid.*, p. 366.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

32 *HCIP.*, p. 218, 219.

must have developed their distinctly Indian Ṛgvedic culture about 1500 B.C. at the latest, have nothing to say on this point.”³³ But this view about the stoppage of cultural relation between Iran and India in the Vedic period does not seem to be correct. If the indifference of the Indo-Aryans about their original home as suspected by this writer, was a fact, this may well be explained in a way other than he has done. From the fact that the ancient Iranians retained the memory of their early home (Eranvej) it is to be assumed that they had a happier life there than in Iran. But the Indo-Aryans who were surely at the van of the emigrants from Eranvej passed through Iran and stayed there for some time, possibly found much more comfort in India than the Iranians got in Iran after leaving Eranvej. Hence the Indo-Aryans could easily forget their earlier home. But it seems that they did not forget such a home. So great is the human weakness of idealizing the past. For in the Sanskrit literature we meet with the name of a land called *Uttarakuru* described as a happy locality somewhere in the extreme north.³⁴ May not this be related to Eranvej? Hence to explain the very close resemblance between the conception the Vedic Varuṇa and that of the Avestic Ahura Mazda, one has to assume that Indo-Aryans always retained a cultural relation with Iran after leaving this land behind. A survey of the historical times also shows that from the period of Achaemenid rule over Gāndhāra, the Indus basin was almost always politically connected with Iran. And this condition continued upto the time of the collapse of the Mughal empire. Due to this, India had remarkable cultural overflow towards Iran for nearly two milleniums. Indian monks carried the message of Buddha to this region; Indian elements have been traced in the redaction of the *Avesta* made under the second Sassanian king Shahpur I (241-272 A.D.).³⁵ Indian didactic fables (*Pañcatantra*) and the game of chess were

33 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

34 *ERE.*, vol II, pp. 698-700 under Uttarakuru by H. Jacobi.

35 Raymond Furon, *L'Iran: Perse et Afghanistan*, Paris, 1951, p. 73.

taken to Persia about the sixth century after Christ. Besides all this, the existence of Brahmanical religion in the pre-Moslem Iran has also been admitted by scholars.³⁶ And about the dependence of Sufism on the Vedantic teaching there can scarcely be any doubt. But this cultural relationship was possibly not an oneway traffic. India also received some things occasionally from Iran. The astrological system of Tājika and the later form of Sun-worship carried to India by the Śaka Brāhmaṇas, were two examples of Persia's gift to India. Hence there is no serious bar to assume that during the Vedic period also India had similar cultural relation with Iran. As in later times, traders and religious men were mainly instrumental in maintaining this relation. According to Rhys Davids two or three generations before Buddha, monks (probably *parivrājakas*) were, in the habit of travelling from Taxila to Bengal³⁷. There is no reason to think that they were debarred from going in the opposite direction to Iran which was not at a greater distance from Taxila than was Bengal. Taxila it may be mentioned was the place where the serpent sacrifice is supposed to have taken place, and the name of the place also may be connected with Takṣaka one of the Nāgarājas so well-known in the Indian serpent-lore.

Considering all these facts, the idea of the cessation of cultural relation between India and Iran during the Vedic period may be dismissed as a product of pure fancy. The assumption about the religious difference being the cause of the separation of the Iranians and Indo-Aryans also seems to be similarly fanciful. If the Indian daeva-worshippers were once considered so hostile to Mazdaism, how could the Parsis after the Arab conquest of their country, think of seeking asylum in India? A people who had memory strong enough to recall the happy times of Éranvej, can scarcely be expected to have forgotten about the supposed bitter hostility of the daeva-worshippers.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 186. (Ref. Louis de la Vallée Poussin).

Hence there seems to have been no difficulty about the cult of Varuṇa being carried to Iran sometime in the Vedic age or before, and Zarathustra's forming this conception of Ahura Mazda on the basis of same. Mazdaism seems to have been Varuṇism *minus* some of its unacceptable features.³⁸ It is not possible to say exactly what these features were. But from the later Nāga-worship of India, we may have the following hint regarding the same. From the legend of the dragon Azi Dahaka killed by the hero Thraetaona, it may be inferred that the so-called dragon was a royal worshipper of Nāga inimically disposed to the religion of Zarathustra. The two snakes issuing out of his two necks may be taken as his royal insignia which was decorated with the two snake-hoods, and the fable about these snakes being daily fed with the brains of two men probably points to the fact that human sacrifices were regularly made to the serpent god. Of a similar sacrifice Vogel recorded an interesting instance. He says, "In the valley of Chenab too, Nāg temples are found. At Killar in Pang there is a shrine of Det Nāg; it is said that he was originally located in Lahul, and human sacrifices were offered to him."³⁹ A story goes that the neighbouring people had to supply him with victims by rotation. It seems that with the passing of time the custom of offering human victims was changed into that of offering animals in sacrifice. Vogel recorded an instance of this also. According to him animals are sacrificed to Nāga deities in Western Himalaya.⁴⁰ And in one case at least the assistant to the priest drinks the warm blood coming out of the severed body of the goat sacrificed.

The 'Sunah-śepa' legend recorded in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII 13-18) also points to human sacrifice to Varuṇa. It is just possible that Zarathustra suppressed the name of

38 But Darmesteter said long ago that Ahura Mazda was no more different from Varuṇa than Zeus from Jupiter (*SBE.*, lii) Ref. *HCIP.*, p. 224.

39 Vogel, p. 253.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Varuṇa, even after he found acceptable his ideal of *ṛta* (*asa*) and strict adherence to justice, because of Varuṇa's association with bloody rites like human sacrifice,⁴¹ and 'applied to his supreme deity the generic name of Asura (Ahura) applicable equally to Varuṇa, only qualifying the same with Mazdaḥ (the wise).⁴²

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

41 Winternitz, pp. 211 ff.

42 Other problems connected with Varuṇa will be taken up in a second article (*Varuṇa : His Origin and Later History*).

ABBREVIATIONS

Benveniste = *Vṛtra et Vṛthragna* by E. Benvensiste et L. Renou, Paris, 1934, part I and conclusion.

ERE = Hasting's Encyclopoedia of Religion and Ethics.

HCIP = *The History and Culture of the Indian People* edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, vol. I, Vedic Age. London, 1957.

Renou = *Vṛtra et Vṛthragna*. Part II.

Vogel = *Indian Serpent-Lore or the Nagas in Hindu Legend and Art* by J. Ph. Vogel, London, 1926.

Winternitz = *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I. Calcutta, 1927.

The Simon Commission & India

The hasty formation of the Simon Commission in 1927 was the result of many factors. Section 84A of the Government of India Act, 1919 laid down that a Commission be appointed at the expiration of ten years after its passage. The word 'within' was substituted for 'at the expiration of'¹ by the Government of India (Statutory Commission) Act 1927.² This sort of acceleration of the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry was due largely to the Swarajist activities in Indian Legislatures. They must have powerfully influenced the House of Commons to expedite the process of inquiry in India. In any other alternative view of the case, the cutting down of the period of ten years, as originally provided in the Government of India Act, 1919, would otherwise remain unaccounted for.

Keith opined that the situation in India was aggravated by the cleverness of the Congress in sponsoring Youth Movement which appealed to the excitable and half-educated youngmen with irresistible force.³ It was, however, rightly pointed out that delay hindered national development in India. "If", said Smell, "haste is bad, as it may well be, it should not be forgotten that entirely senseless procrastination has in it an element of danger, which should not be overlooked on this occasion."⁴ He realised further that the Government had not pulled their full weight in encouraging the people of India along the line of self-government. "The educational system in India," said he, "is entirely unsatisfactory, the agricultural conditions are

1 Section 84A : (1)

2 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I-Survey, p. xvi.

3 A Constitutional History of India 1600-1935 by A. B. Keith, p. 288.

4 Parliamentary Debates: Official Report, Fifth Series, Vol. 207; House of Commons, Sixth Volume of Session, 1927: pp. 1411, 1412.

deplorable, the Indianisation of services is far too slow and the reform of the Indian constitution is, we think, unduly delayed.’⁵

Personnel

The Commission was constituted under the chairmanship of Sir John Allsebrook Simon under a Royal Warrant on November 26, 1927. It comprised, besides the Chairman, seven Englishmen⁶, in whose knowledge and ability great trust and confidence could be reposed by the British Parliament. On December 27, 1927, Stephen Walsh was substituted by Counsellor Vernon Hartshorn, owing to, the former's, resignation on account of ill-health.⁷ The Commissioners were granted full power to call before them such persons as they would judge likely to afford them any information upon the subject of the Commission and to call for, have access to, and examine, all such books, documents, registers and records as might afford them the fullest information on the subject.⁸ The British Parliament did not, of course, dictate to the Commission the procedure it would follow, but they were of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Legislature of India to appoint a Joint Select Committee chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter might decide. This Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the enquiry. The British Government also suggested that a similar procedure should be adopted with the

5 *Ibid.*, p. 1412.

6 Harry Lawson Webster; Viscount Burnham; Donald Sterling Palmer, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal; Edward Cecil George Cadogan; Stephen Walsh; George Richard Lane Fox and Clement Richard Attlee.

7 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I-Survey, p. xv.

8 *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

Provincial Legislatures.⁹ Full opportunity was to be given for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view to inquiry by the Commission.

(a) *First Visit*

The Commission paid two visits to India the first lasting from 3rd February, 1928 to 31st March, 1928 and the second from 11th October, 1928 to 13th April, 1929. The first act the Chairman of the Commission performed on arrival in India was to write a letter on February 6, 1928 to the Viceroy and therein he unfolded the scheme of a joint Free Conference. The plan referred to in the Chairman's letter to the Viceroy was that the two houses of the Central Legislature of India should constitute a joint Committee consisting conveniently of seven members and that each local Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body.¹⁰ These Committees of the Indian legislatures were to provide assistance to the Indian Statutory Commission. It was specifically mentioned that the Joint Conferences were to commence their work only on the second visit of the Simon Commission. The Commissioners received numerous deputations which laid their views before them. But they did not take any evidence in their first visit which was mainly devoted to attempting to master the elements of the situation, and to visiting more of the country districts, particularly in Madras presidency and the Punjab than could be possible on the second visit. "We", said the Commissioners, "travelled in India about 7,000 miles on this preliminary visit."¹¹

(b) *Second Visit*

By the time of the re-arrival of the Commission, Committees on the lines indicated had already been formed in all provinces except Burma and C.P. The Legislature of Burma appointed

9 *Ibid.*, p. xvi, xvii.

10 *Ibid.*, p. xvii, xviii.

11 The Indian Statutory Commission Report, Vol. I-Survey, p. xix.

a Committee of the type in December, 1928, but the Central Provinces did not constitute any. The co-operation of the Central Legislature in this direction was not unreserved and it decided to withhold support. But the Viceroy shortly before the return of the Commission had formed an Indian Central Committee composed of three elected members of the Council of State, one more member of the same body and five members of the Legislative Assembly. The procedure adopted in each Governor's Province was one of registering evidence and hearing witnesses by the Joint Conference, comprising the Statutory Commission, the Indian Central Committee and the Provincial Committee. Witnesses were examined and evidence was recorded in the presence of the press. Members and ministers of Provincial Governments were also associated with the Joint Conference. Since evidence taken at Delhi concerned only the Central matters, the Joint Conference was composed of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee.

The work performed was tremendous and a number of places were visited. Evidence was taken on 75 days, in all, at Poona, Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Shillong, Calcutta, Rangoon, Mandalay, Madras and Nagpur. They also visited many other areas besides these principal towns and did their utmost to make themselves familiar with various parts of India.¹² Shortly before their final departure, the Commissioners held three days' conference at Delhi and on this occasion all the eight Committees of provinces, the Indian Central Committee and the Statutory Commission sat together. Even when the Commission returned home, its work was not suspended and the Indian Central Committee was called to England, where the officials of the India Office, members of the Secretary of State's Council, the High Commissioner for India and a representative of the War Office were consulted. The Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission sought permission of the Prime Minister for investigating and reporting on Indian

¹² Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, p. xxi.

States¹³ because the constitutional development of India presupposed considerations of relations subsisting between British India and Indian States and J. Ramsay Macdonald gladly accorded this permission.¹⁴

Reception of the Commission

Lest the above survey should give an erroneous impression that the Commission had a plain sailing throughout its course of investigation of conditions and examination of evidence, it is necessary here to stop in order to have a stock-taking of its reception in the country. The Nationalist India, on the other hand, was unanimous in its condemnation of the White Commission. So great was the agitation over their arrival that even the Commissioners were constrained to admit that "the purely British composition of our own body roused resentment in many quarters in India—resentment which we did everything in our power to allay, first by seeking the co-operation of Indian Committees (for whose aid we are deeply grateful) and later by suggesting the calling of a Representative Conference after this Report and the Report of the Indian Central Committee have been made and published."¹⁵ Regarding the arrangement of their report and the data they examined, the Commissioners observed, "We have examined many schemes and suggestions. The material is abundant and, while it is true that we were denied the direct testimony of some important bodies of Indian opinion, we have had the fullest opportunity of studying the Report of the Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference, 1928 (commonly called the 'Nehru Report'), and have not failed to give due attention to its contents, and to other still more recent expositions of contemporary Indian opinion."¹⁶ Their lack of contact with representative bodies,

13 Letter, 16th October, 1929 addressed to the Prime Minister, vide Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, pp. xxii, xxiii.

14 Letter, 25th October, 1929, vide *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

15 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, p. 4.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

including the Indian National Congress, not only handicapped the Statutory Commission in its first-hand grasp of political feelings in India, but it also demonstrated, in clear outlines, the degree of boycott the Commissioners experienced in this country.

The Swarajists' attitude to the Commission was exactly the same as that of the Congress. Nor could it be otherwise, for the Swaraj Party was intensely patriotic and had never severed its connection with its parent body. It always felt very strongly for the country and was prepared to do its utmost to redeem the lost honour of the motherland. The speeches of M. A. Ansari and Motilal Nehru made this abundantly clear. Delivering his presidential address at the Madras Congress of 1927, M.A. Ansari voiced the feelings of the people when he referred to the Statutory Commission in these words, "No sane or self-respecting Indian can ever admit the claim of Great Britain to be the sole judge of the measure and time of India's political advance. We alone know our needs and requirements best and ours must be the decisive voice in the determination of our future."¹⁷ Motilal Nehru, the President of the Calcutta Congress of 1928 observed, "The solemn promises of responsible government have found fulfilment in that colossal fraud, the Statutory Commission which is now careering along our streets leaving bleeding heads and broken bones behind."¹⁸ Answering the Viceroy's characterisation of demonstrations after the return of the Statutory Commission for its second visit to India, as 'unmannerly and offensive', he said, "that such demonstrations must in their very nature be offensive to those against whom they are made, and it is hardly reasonable to except drawing room manners from a hostile crowd."¹⁹

The Swarajists whole-heartedly accepted the Congress resolution, boycotting the Simon Commission. It was moved by S. Srinivasa Iyenger and it emphasised that the only self-respect-

¹⁷ Congress Presidential Addresses, Second Series, Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras: p. 841.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 856-857.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

ing course for India was to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form.²⁰ They participated in mass demonstrations against the Commission and completely abstained themselves from giving evidence before it and fully non-co-operated with the White Commission. The Governor of Bombay, for example, like the Governors of other provinces, attempted to persuade the Swarajists and other elected members of the Local Legislature to co-operate with it. "If I admit", said he "that India and aspirations of India are misunderstood and are not fully realised by British Politicians, I ask myself how much more will they be misunderstood, if the representatives of all three political parties in Britain, appointed with the full approval of the respective leaders and following of those parties, are handicapped in their work by a decision on the part of responsible politicians in India to have nothing to do with the work, for which they have been appointed?"²¹ His persuasion was coupled with a threat that any action contemplated by a boycott of the Commission would retard the fulfilment of the natural aspirations of those, with whom he professed to be in full sympathy and towards whose patriotic ambitions he had endeavoured to give what encouragement lay in his power.²² He also emphasised the desirability of cooperating, by means of the election of a Committee, with the Royal Commission which was to make recommendations as to the future Government of India.²³ J. Addyman became all the more outspoken when he said, "The Report of this Commission will, in due course, be submitted to Parliament and from which, we have every reason to hope, will emerge a system of Government bringing happiness and contentment to the peoples of India."²⁴

20 Report of the 42nd Indian National Congress, held at Madras, 1927, p. 28.

21 Bombay Legislative Council Debates, Vol. XXII-20th February to 19th March, 1928—His Excellency's Speech: p. 53.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

23 Bombay Legislative Council Debates, Vol. XXIII-23rd July to 8th August, 1928: p. 92.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 612.

Small wonder, therefore, that in most of the provinces during the days of Swarajists' decline in Legislatures, Committees were constituted to act with the Commission. Notwithstanding this, the Swarajists or those who were in close alliance with them shortly before, successfully opposed the formation of such Committees. Lajpat Rai made it plain in the Central Assembly that the scheme of the Statutory Commission would not be acceptable to that House, as he had no faith in the *bonafides* of the Government or of the people who had appointed that Commission.²⁵ Motilal Nehru made it absolutely plain that they took their stand upon the broad principle that Parliament and the British Public and the British Government had no shadow of a right to enforce a constitution upon them against their own will.²⁶ Madan Mohan Malaviya said that even before the resolution for the appointment of the Commission was moved in the House of Commons, he published an appeal not to exclude the Indians from it.²⁷ The fact was that the Swarajists and all those under their influence thought fit to boycott it. As a matter of fact, by the time the Commission came to India, the Swarajists had completely identified themselves with the Congress.

The Commissioners' tour in India

The above survey of the Swarajist attitude towards the Simon Commission gives sufficient indication of the nature and degree of agitation that actually resulted from its visits to India. The opposition to the Commission had started even before its arrival in the country. B. Rajah Ram Pandhian informed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he was arranging to adopt a complete Hartal on the 3rd of Feb., 1928 in all the important places in

²⁵ The Legislative Assembly Debates (Official Report) Vol. I, 1st February to 7th March, 1928: p. 383.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

Ramnad District.²⁸ The Satara District Congress Committee passed a resolution in favour of the boycott of the Royal Commission, on November 20, 1927, as it felt that the Commission was totally inconsistent with the principle of self-determination,²⁹ and a similar resolution was passed by the Town Congress Committee, Banaras.³⁰ In pursuance of the resolution of boycott, non-co-operation and demonstrations passed in the forty-second session of the Indian National Congress held at Madras on the 26th of December, 1927,³¹ an All India Hartal was observed on February 3, 1928 as a mark of protest against the Simon Commission. A few instances of the nature of Hartal on this date will indicate the temper of the country against the White Commission. The Utkal Province observed it in almost all its important towns and villages—Cuttack, Balasore, Sambalpur, and Berhampur etc.³² Two thousand copies of the manifesto signed by most of the leaders of the Dharwar District were distributed among the public explaining to them what the Simon Commission was and why it should boycott it.³³

Bombay wore a deserted appearance when it landed. The Commissioners were greeted with black flags and "Simon go back". A monster meeting of 50,000 in Bombay attended by Moderate Leaders solemnly resolved to boycott it. In Madras

28 MS Letter, February 28, 1927. By B. R. R. Pandhian, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Ramnad to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Secretary, A. I. C. C., Allahabad: A. I. C. C. File No. 17, G-58 of 1928.

29 MS. Letter, December 19, 1927 by V. V. Athalye, Secretary, Satara District Congress Committee (Maharashtra) to the General Secretary, Indian National Congress, Madras: Above File.

30 MS Letter, December 7, 1927 by Kamla Pati to the General Secretary, A. I. C. C.: A. I. C. C. File No. 5, G-40 of 1928.

31 The Indian Review, January, 1918, p. 51.

32 MS Letter, Feb 11, 1928 by Asstt. Secretary, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee: A. I. C. C. File No. 17, G-58 of 1928.

33 MS letter, Feb 4, 1928 by R. S. Golikiri, Secretary, Taluka Congress Committee, Hubli-District Dharwar, Bombay; A. I. C. C. File No. 17, G-58 of 1928.

the boycott demonstrations were marked by disorderly scenes in different parts of the city necessitating the police to open fire.³⁵ In spite of Simon's boast to the Associated Press Representative at Delhi on the 4th of February 1928 that he had received about 300 telegrams of welcome,³⁶ the fact remains that wherever the Commission went, it was accorded the worst possible treatment by the public. On the 7th of February was issued the statement of Simon for the Joint Conference Scheme and the Party Leaders of the Assembly unanimously rejected the proposal. Matters reached their high-water mark on the same day when gagging orders were issued in Madras prohibiting meetings, demonstrations and propaganda for hartal, which were served on the members of the Boycott Propaganda Committee. When on the 19th the Simon Commission reached Calcutta a monster public meeting held in Shradhdhanand Park declared the boycott of British goods as the first step to attain Swaraj.³⁷ On March 1, 1928, Calcutta witnessed 32 meetings in 32 wards of the city in order to preach the message of boycott. On March 3, 1928 ten thousand ladies in a meeting at Calcutta took solemn vow to boycott the British cloth.³⁸ On March 22, 1928, the Madras District Congress Committee inaugurated a campaign in favour of boycott of British goods as an answer to the Simon Commission.³⁹

Though Jinnah refused to serve on the Board for propaganda to boycott foreign goods,⁴⁰ there were patriots who were in agreement with the idea of setting up Central and Provincial Boards for the purpose.⁴¹ Really speaking, all true lovers of the country were awfully busy with the boycott. Chandra Dhar

34 The Indian Quarterly Register, p. 2 January-June, 1928; From Chronicle of Events.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*

40 MS Letter March 4, 1928 by M. A. Jinnah to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, A. I. C. C. File No. 27 of 1928.

41 MS letter, April 13, 1928 by Govind Das, Raja Gokuldas Palace, Jubbulpore, C. R. addressed as "Dear Sir": Above File.

Johri of Agra, for instance, could acknowledge a hundred Rupee cheque long after its receipt for the Hindustani Sewa Dal, only on account of being busy with the boycott.⁴²

Nor did the Commission fare better on its second visit. J. Coatman painted a rosy picture for the British Government and turned his eyes against stern realities when he wrote, "By the beginning of 1928 the opposition to the Statutory Commission had reached its full strength and it was far from amounting to a complete boycott."⁴³ Of course, some response to the Commission was evinced by certain minority groups but beyond that the support to it was extremely limited. Writing about the Simon Commission in Bihar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad told the truth equally well applicable to the whole of India when he observed that for some days even young children were heard crying here and there in streets 'Simon go back.'⁴⁴

The whole position was well summed up in the statement that the boycott of the Commission had continued and had been intensified during its second visit to India. In spite of the tortuous manoeuvres and tactics of the Chairman of the Commission and his attempts to carry on propaganda for himself and his colleagues, and in spite of all manner of official pressure and duress, the boycott had stiffened and had demonstrated to the world that India would have nothing to do with the Commission.⁴⁵

India's protest was well-nigh demonstrated and all this happened in spite of the restless oppression by the Government. It openly took recourse to repression and lathi-charge became a common feature throughout the country. The climax was

42 MS Letter no. 25, November 30, 1928 by Chandra Dhar Johri, Bagh Muzaffar Khan, Agra addressed as "My dear Panditji", Above File.

43 India in 1927-28 by J. Coatman, Director of Public Information, Government of India: p. 63.

44 *Ātmkathā* by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, p. 303.

45 Report of the General Secretaries of the Congress for the year, 1928, p. 179.

reached at Lahore where Lajpat Rai, aged sixty-four, standing by the road-side in front of demonstrators, was assaulted and beaten on the chest with a baton by an English Officer.^{45a} Mahatma Gandhi sent a wire of congratulation and enquiry to the Lala who promptly replied by stating that the assault on him was unprovoked and deliberate but there was no cause for anxiety.⁴⁶ Gandhi well summed up the position when he wrote "The boycott of the Simon Commission is a continuing sore for the Commission and the Government. Sir John Simon and his colleagues cannot be contemplating this boycott with equanimity. They have not the courage to acknowledge defeat. The boycott itself has been given additional momentum by the unprovoked assault on the Punjab Leaders.⁴⁷ It was also probable that the Lala's death was hastened by that cowardly attack. But in spite of this charge being made openly, an impartial enquiry was denied by the Government.⁴⁸ The boycott of the Simon Commission showed us, "the fine courage of our man, specially the students, their serene coolness under the greatest provocation, their splendid strength against brutal lathi assaults with their own empty hands crossed on their chests, their gallant rescues of their comrades and leaders in utter disregard of the injuries inflicted on them."⁴⁹

Lucknow experienced several wanton and unprovoked police charges on unarmed and peaceful gatherings on the occasion of the visit of the Commission. But the citizens refused to be cowed down by these brutalities and increased their demons-

45(a) Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by D. G. Tendulkar, Vol. II, pp. 436-437.

46 Young India, November 8, 1928, vide S. Ganesan Collection, 1927-1928, p. 912.

47 Young India, November 8, vide Ganesan Collection 1927-1928, pp. 913 and 914.

48 Report of the General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1928, p. 180.

49 Report of the Forty-Third Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in December, 1928: p. 42: From Motilal's Address.

trations. They even added a touch of humor to them and set the whole city laughing at the discomfiture of the authorities. During a party given by some Taluqdars to the Simon Commission, the Kaisarbagh was surrounded by thousands of police and no one who was suspected of being a boycotter was allowed to approach even the public roads near the Bagh. In spite of these precautions the harmony of the party was marred by the arrival from the skies of numerous black kites and balloons bearing the legends, "Simon go back," and "India for Indians" etc.⁵⁰ The events of Lucknow made it clear that the authorities in the United Provinces at least were modelling themselves on the old Punjab model and Haileyism was coming to much the same thing as O'Dwyerism.⁵¹

Varied and long was the story of the Commissioners' tour, and the attitude of the Swarajists and other nationalists in the country was marked by the spirit of relentless opposition to them. Liberals and the Congressmen, including the Swarajists, often came into conflict with the police and many were the regrettable incidents that attended the march of the Commission from place to place.⁵² But nothing diminished the ardour of the patriots to defend India's self-respect.

The Causes of the Boycott

A masterly account of its general boycott is embodied in "India and the Simon Report" by C. F. Andrews. He pointed out that Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State "instead of appointing a mixed commission, on which the Indians and the British should serve jointly under a British member of Parliament as Chairman, nominated a Commission of seven members drawn solely from the British race."⁵³ Apart from the political

50 Report of the General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1928, p. 180.

51 *Ibid.*

52 India's Constitution at Work by C. Y. Chintamani and M. R. Masani, Bombay & Calcutta, 1940; pp. 9, 10.

53 India and the Simon Commission by C. F. Andrews, p. 31.

annoyance of this course, it was regarded as a racial insult to have deliberately ignored Indian representation on it as it was to decide the basis of the future constitution of India. It happened that just at the time of the appointment of the Simon Commission race feeling was running very high in the East. To ride rough-shod over national sentiment and appoint a purely British Commission on a subject so vitally and intimately affecting India was surely asking for trouble.

The Indian sense of self-respect was further wounded because of the fact that, for some years past, it had been made a precedent that on every commission dealing with the affairs of India, Indians were generally represented. In the Lee Commission and the Skeen Commission this had already been done. The British plea that since there were so many mutually hostile sections in India that it was quite impossible to choose Indians without offending some of them, could only serve to irritate the sensitive minds in India.⁵⁴ Montagu's announcement of August 1917, undoubtedly stressed the claim of the British Government and the Government of India to judge the political advance of the country. But, by no interpretation, however far-fetched, could it exclude the Indian members of the British Government. In particular, Lord Sinha could easily be taken on the Commission as "he had already been, for many years, a distinguished and honourable member of the British Parliament, sitting in the House of Lords."⁵⁵ He had distinguished himself for his integrity, devotion to duty and intellectual ability, both in India and England. He should have been an inevitable choice of the Government. In ignoring Indians as a class, Lord Birkenhead roused their political and racial susceptibilities and made a serious departure from a growing tradition.

Besides, India of 1927 and 1928 had, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, gained in courage, strength and political consciousness. The mental set-up of the country was intolerant to a

54 *India and the Simon Report* by C. F. Andrews, pp. 32, 33.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

serious imposition but ignoring this spirit of the people, Lord Birkenhead constituted the Commission only out of the Englishmen. It was true that a mention of Joint Select Committee was made along with the announcement of the Statutory Commission and that Committees were actually constituted out of the Indian Legislatures, but they were all subordinate bodies to the Simon Commission. It, therefore, roused the deepest feelings of distrust against itself.

Reception of the Report

Nor could its Report published in 1930 satisfy Indian aspirations. The first volume contained a survey of all matters which the Commission deemed necessary and, as such, dealt with the facts of the situation. It described the conditions of the problem, the existing constitutional structure, the working of the reformed constitution, the administrative system, the system of public finance and the growth of education and public opinion in India. This fact-finding volume, though not generally averse in spirit to the prevailing sentiments in the country, over-emphasised certain aspects. For example, the anxieties and difficulties of Anglo-Indians,⁵⁶ the movement of women,⁵⁷ the condition of depressed classes and the disabilities of untouchables⁵⁸ were unduly stressed.

The second volume of the Report discussed the general principles of proposals, suggestions for constitutional changes and advance in Governors' Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province and other special areas and the centres, the constitutional problem in relation to the Defence of India, the future of Burma, the future relations of the Government with Indian States, Indian Finance, the future of the Services, the High Courts and the relations between Home and the Indian Governments. It was on the side of recommendations that the Report was most

56 Indian Statutory Commission Report, Vol. pp. 44, 45.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

disappointing. It fell far short of the country's needs and expectations. It betrayed lack of understanding the young India which was rising up in a national upheaval. Mahatma Gandhi's miraculous and magnetic personality accompanied by the Swarajist-zeal and activities, in and out of Legislatures, had exerted a profound influence on the thought and action of the people and had completely captured their imagination. In the opinion of C. F. Andrews, "If only it had been possible for them (Commissioners) under the right guidance, to have travelled as private persons, meeting Mahatma Gandhi himself in an entirely informal manner in his own Ashram and sharing the atmosphere, in which its followers spent their lives, then their ideas about the future constitution of India would have been profoundly modified."⁵⁹

Though the Commissioners professed to have come in contact with the nationalist point of view, through their perusal of the Nehru Report and though the Indian Central Committee also laid special claims of getting 'ample opportunities of acquainting themselves with the sentiments of that group,'⁶⁰ the fact remains that the real India was left unrevealed to them. The proposal of federal structure for India, for example, was not in consonance with the national desire of the age. Harold J. Laski aptly said, "As a piece of analysis, its finely meshed structure could hardly be bettered. Everything is there save an understanding of the Indian mind. Gandhi, who has set half India aflame with new dreams is dismissed as an administrative incident of which the significance is never seen. You cannot deal with the hopes of a people as though they were studies in logic."⁶¹ It did not strike the British rulers that a political enquiry boycotted by the leading exponents of popular wishes

59 India and the Simon Report by C. F. Andrews, p. 78.

60 Indian Central Committee Supplementary notes by Abdullah Al-Mamun Suhrawardy, p. 66.

61 India and the Simon Report, p. 188: Appendix VI.

could not serve its purpose.⁶² Besides, Lord Birkenhead, the Conservative Secretary of State for India tried to terrify the immense Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission was being got hold of by the Muslims and might present a report altogether destructive of the Hindu position.⁶³ In the light of all this, it needs only a Sophist to convince us that the Report had been written 'in a spirit of genuine sympathy'.⁶⁴ Its publication frustrated the hopes of the Indian people and even public men of moderate views wanted to be assured that the Report would not form the basis of discussion at the Round Table Conference, a proposition which the Government accepted.⁶⁵ If adopted by the Government, the Governor-General would have become more powerful than Shahjahan and more irresponsible than Shah Alam. The American conception of an irremovable and irresponsible Executive was transplanted in a country which had been cradled in the parliamentary system and nourished on English constitutionalism. It was not a constitutional scheme but a jig-saw puzzle, and few Indians were capable of appreciating its Chinese mysteries.⁶⁶ Such a scheme was naturally unacceptable to Indians of every class and instead of allaying political discontent, aggravated the situation and intensified the demand for complete independence and severance of the British connection.⁶⁷

LAL BAHADUR

62 The Constitution of the Indian Republic by Anil Chandra Banerjee, Calcutta, 1950, p. 6

63 Letter to Lord Irwin, February, 1928 quoted by Anil Chandra Banerjee, in the Constitution of the Indian Republic.

64 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. II, p. 315.

65 New Constitution of India by Sudhir Kumar Lahiri and Benoyandra Nath Banerjee, p. 31: Calcutta, 1936.

66 The Indian Federation by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, London, 1937, p. 11.

67 *Ibid.*

Magical Kāmya-rites in the Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa

The last two chapters of the *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* deal with Kāmya-rites of a magical nature and practically attributes to it the character of a regular handbook of magic for the Chandogas. This portion is a logical outcome of the original object of the text (i.2.17) expressed by the word *kāmepsavaḥ*. The contents of this portion may be divided under four heads. Under the first head are rites or *Kalpas*, by performing which a man can enjoy full span of life free from all sorts of fear and diseases and can ensure safety for himself in every quarter. This is called the *Āyusya*-section¹ (ii.1 to ii.5) and the general tenor of this section is to enumerate some possible calamities that may bring an abrupt end of one's life with the corresponding Sāmans to counteract them. Under the second head, termed as the *Saubhāgya*-section² (ii.6 to ii.8), are dealt with rites for the attainment of those things which a man desires most to regard himself as lucky and his life successful. Under the third head are the *kalpas* as means for acquiring all kinds of earthly possessions (iii.1 to iii.3) and begins with *athā'to dhānyānām* (iii.1), the word *dhānya* being used to stand for material wealth and prosperity, namely, gold, cattle, corn etc. For convenience we may term it as the *Dhānya*-section. Under the fourth head, which opens with *athā'to 'dr̥ṣṭadarśanānām* (iii.4) are rites believed to enable the sorcerer to have prescience of future events or series of events.

A. The *Āyusya*-section or the section on longevity:—

Sāman-chants are prescribed for securing long and healthy life; avoiding fear from serpents and arms, escaping death caused

¹ *āyusyāṇy eva prathamam* (ii. 1. 4).

² *athā'taḥ saubhāgyānām* (ii. 1. 6)

by drowning, poisoning and *yakṣmā*; purging of poison from body (*nirviṣīkaraṇa*); protecting self from enemies both seen and unseen; well-being in every sphere of life; driving out enemies; getting rid of infirmity and premature death; and escaping pangs of thirst.

B. *The Saubhāgya-section or section on fortune: —*

This section contains Sāman chants and rites to enable a man to enjoy love and respect from all, to obtain reputation and *brahmavarcas*, to secure the bride he wants as his life's partner, to get his daughter married, to dislodge his enemy, to acquire the power of remembering what he hears only once, to earn fame as a skilled debater in learned assemblies and in royal courts, to have a handsome son blessed with long life, and to exercise command on many attendants.

Vaśīkaraṇa of a woman whom one desires most has been given a fairly long treatment and as many as six alternative *Kalpas* or *Prayogas* have been prescribed in this connection (ii.6.6-11). In ii.5, under the *Āyusya*-section, *Vaśīkaraṇa*-rites have been separately and extensively treated for exercising hypnotic influence on both males and females, singly or in groups, and carried to an extreme by even not sparing a king and his attendants, villages and even cities. It is difficult to find any logic in dealing with *Vaśīkaraṇa* under the *Āyusya*-section³ though its place in the *Saubhāgya*-section is somehow intelligible in view of the fact that there *Vaśīkaraṇa* of a woman is only treated and winning over an object of love may be viewed upon as adding to the fortune of the winner. The expression *veśasthāḥ pravrajitās ca bhavanti* interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *veśyāḥ patikulān nirgatāḥ svairacāriṇyaś ca vaśyā bhavanti* may obliquely hint at the sorceries often applied for immoral purposes.

A man who can remember what he hears only once is called *Srutanigādī*. There are as many as eight alternative *kalpas*

³ Probably this portion is botched in course of a subsequent recast of the text.

(ii.7.4-11) prescribed for the attainment of this power. The text does not explicitly state if it means the power of remembering the Sāman-chants by hearing them only once or the power of remembering everything in general. If it be for the former, the large number of *kalpas* show the emphasis that the Vedic society laid on Sāman-chants in one of its phases.

C. *The Dhānya-section or section on material wealth: —*

Beauty (Śrī), fame (Yaśas), prosperity (Puṣṭi), corn (Dhānya), cattle (Go), village (Grāma), heavenly enjoyments (Divya-bhoga), and rendering one's residence free from all evil influences (Vāstupraśamanam)⁴ are the desiderata here. In iii. 2. 5, a group of eight Sāmans known as *Śrattaṣṭaka* has been prescribed, the recital of each of the units in the group blesses the reciter with different objects. Prescription of rites for the dislodgment of the goddess of misfortune⁵ (Alakṣmīnodana) has naturally crept in.

D. *The Adṛṣṭadarśana-section or section on prescience: —*

This section deals with rites believed to enable the sorcerer to know beforehand: if he would be able to succeed in his mission, which crop would grow abundantly in a particular year, who would come out victorious (in wars or disputes), who would enjoy a long span of life, and also to have a prescience of future course of events through dreams. The fifth section of this chapter is a curious admixture of rites in connection with royal coronation,⁶ *Adbhuta-śānti* and *Abhicāra-śānti*. The *Prayogas* in connection with *Abhicāra-śānti* are applied not only as magic

4 *vāstu nūtanam gr̥hādhiṣṭhānam tasya śamanam tatradya-rakṣaḥprabhṛtinām nivāraṇam ity arthaḥ-Sāy.*

5 The *Khādira, gr. sū.* (iv. 1. 20) refers to the dislodgment of the Goddess of misfortune (Alakṣmī-nirṇoda) and prescribes seven libations (iv. 2. 20) in this connection. See also Rudraskanda on *Khā, gr. sū.* iv. 2. 20. See also *Gobhila, gr. sū.*, iv. 6. 2.

6 Anantadeva in his *Rājadharmakaustubha* quotes the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* on the relevancy of coronation.

antidotes but also to ruin the performer who originally applied them.⁷ The sixth Khaṇḍa is exclusively devoted to rites to be observed by the royal priest for a king ready to march against enemies and, in fact, ought to have followed iii. 5. 1-8 where rites of similar nature have been treated. It therefore appears that portions on *Adbhuta-śānti* and *Abhicāra-śānti* (iii. 5. 4-7) are only additions of a later period.

It should be noted that the rites in both iii. 5. 1-8 and iii. 6 are exclusively the functions of court-priests for their royal patrons and may be regarded as combinations of both sacred and secular magic to be practised by those who are both priests and wizards combined. The magical element is carried to the extreme in the seventh Khaṇḍa where Sāman chants are employed to attain mastery over the super-human world and to secure unlimited and often incredible power. Knowledge of previous births, power of producing fire anywhere or setting fire to anything at will without the help of external aids, controlling the Piśācas, the Gandharvas and the Apsarases, making the Gods and the Manes appear in person and unfolding earthly and heavenly riches are what the sorcerers desire through the performance of these rites.

Worship of the Goddess Night (*Rātryupāsana*) (to be undertaken by one desiring freedom from rebirth)⁸ is enjoined in the eighth Khaṇḍa. This is the only desire for the fulfilment of which, no Sāmans are prescribed. Moreover, iconic conception of goddess Night⁹ and Mantras of a different type set forth therein indisputably prove its having been inserted in the text at a later period. Most probably, like the first two chapters, the third⁰ chapter also originally consisted of eight Khaṇḍas

7 Comp. *nainam kṛtāni himsanti tāny eva pratigacchanti* (iii. 5. 5-7).

8 Comp. *punar na pratyājāyeyam*-(iii. 8. 1); *apunarbhavāya*-(iii. 8. 5).

9 She is described as: *kanyām śikhaṇḍinīm pāśabastām yuvatīm kumārinīm*. Another goddess Śaṅkaravāsini is mentioned in iii. 4. 2. Comp. *śaṅkare vāsinīm, etat samjñām tad abhimāninīm devatām-Sāyaṇa*.

and, in fact, omission of the eighth *Khaṇḍa* would not have affected the sequence of the ninth in the least.

We have discussed the divisions of the contents of the second and the third chapters broadly. Each section contains much that is foreign to its spirit and is probably an interpolation of a later period. Incidentally we have taken note of such portions in the text. Health and longevity, being the primary desiderata of mankind, are treated first and the rites ensuring safety from diseases, fear or other accidents being closely related to health and longevity, their treatment in this section is not inconsistent. Sacrificing for the unfit and accepting gifts in excess to what one really needs for the maintenance of one's family¹⁰ are considered by the text as causing some impurity, to get rid of which a *Sāman* is prescribed (ii. 1. 7). This portion is inconsistent in the *Āyusya*-section. In the *Saubhāgya*-section we find a *Sāman* meant for gaining a handsome son blessed with long life (ii. 8). A close parallel to this also occurs in ii. 2. 1 in the *Āyusya*-section, where the portion is a misfit. The fifth section of the second chapter is devoted to rites of the *Vasīkaraṇa*-category and can hardly be treated in the *Āyusya*-section. On the other hand, their inclusion in the *Saubhāgya*-section by the side of rites of like nature might not have been incompatible as they are all practised for securing luck.

The *Sāmans* are not only believed to possess a magical power of producing a desired result but also are conceived of as having the power of endowing a particular thing (namely, ghee, herbs, plants, water etc.) with a remedial power. When *ghee* is used for massaging a diseased limb in addition to a *Sāman* chant or when a person with a diseased limb is required to drink water duly consecrated by a *Sāman* (ii. 3. 1-2), it is evident that the healing capacity of particular things is taken into consideration. The fact that in many cases the *Sāman* itself cannot produce

¹⁰ The text reads: *bahu pratigrhya yājayitvā*. Sāyaṇa explains, *svakutumba-bharanāpekṣayādhikam pratigrhya ayājyān eva bahūn yājayitvā vā*.

the desired' result without the help of some remedial articles indicates the admixture of Aryan and non-Aryan elements in such practices. As some of the names of plants occurring here are Dravidian^{10a}, it seems that the Vedic Aryans adapted non-Aryan magical practices to the Aryan group by affixing a Sāman to them. The fact that the same Sāman chanted under different conditions or accompanied by different processes can yield different results (iii.2.7-9) shows that strict observance of the procedure is considered no less important than the accurate chanting of Sāmans and, in fact, a variation in the procedure is always concomitant with a like variation in the result. Inclination for endless repetition of the *prayogas* is seen in a textual passage saying that the more a *prayoga* is repeated the more it becomes beneficial¹¹. Where alternative *kalpas* are given, the practiser can take to any one of them as he thinks convenient¹². In iii.1.12, a *kalpa* for securing a large quantity of gold has been enjoined and it has been said that if the same suffers from any incompleteness in any respect, the practiser will not be deprived of at least a large quantity of silver¹³. By saying that incompleteness of a particular rite does not mar the whole effect¹⁴, the text makes the whole body of the rites lucrative.

Magical power of Sāmans is however taken to the extreme from iii.4 onwards. It is rather difficult to place faith in the power of a Sāman to make the whole course of future events reflected in a mirror (iii.4.4) or to bend or shorten a bamboo stick overnight (iii.4.7) or to enable the chanter to set fire to anything whenever he desires, and so forth. It is for this mysterious power of the Sāmans that they are frequently called

10a A. C. Burnell, *The Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa*, vol. I, introd., p. x note.

11 *eteṣāṃ kalpānāṃ yathā bhūyas tathā śreyah*-iii. 2. 12

12 *ābhiprayikaṃ karma*-iii. 9. 7.

13 *siddhe sauvarṇāny asiddhe rājatāni*-iii. 1. 12

14 Burnell's ed. reads here: *urddhāv āpy ekasya* (iii. 9. 5) while Sāmaśrami gives *vyrdhāv*. The latter one is correct.

‘Rahasya’ in the text (ii.3.1; ii.6.11; iii.5.1 etc.). This mysterious power of the Sāmans is best illustrated in a *prayoga* meant for the destruction of an unwanted person. The performer of this *prayoga* requires to procure charcoal from a funeral pyre on the fourteenth day of a black fortnight after three plenary fasts, to put the charcoal on a four-point crossing of roads and then to offer a thousand offerings of mustard oil with a Sruva made of Vibhītaka wood along with a recitation of the Saṃmīlya Mantras¹⁵ and in course of the recitation when the reciter comes to the word *br̥śca*,¹⁶ it is said, a Puruṣa with a Śūla in hand will emerge (*puruṣaḥ śūlahasta uttiṣṭhati*), whom the sorcerer is to command ‘kill such and such a person’ with the result that the person is killed. (iii. 6. 12). An *Abhicāra* can even enable the sorcerer to destroy a hostile army consisting of four divisions (*caturaṅga*). What the sorcerer is to do here is to make dolls of powdered rice (*piṣṭa*) supposed to represent the elephants, horses, men etc. whom he wants to destroy, anoint them with mustard oil, cut the limbs of those dolls with a *kṣura* and then offer those severed limbs as oblations in fire with a Sāman chant (iii.6.11). The Surūpakṛt Sāman referred to in i.4.14 has been called ‘Rāhasam’. The word there is explained by Sāyaṇa as *rahasye arāṇye geyam* (to be chanted in forest). Sāyaṇa’s explanation does not seem unlikely in view of the fact that elsewhere (ii.4.9) a Sāman is prescribed in connection with a Jarā-mṛtyu-jaya-

15 *pavimanti pañcamahāsāmāni saṃmīlyāni*-Sāyaṇa. Sāyaṇa. says that the formula contains the portion *kṣuro haro haro haraḥ vṛśca pravṛśca*. Comp. “The first of these five texts (the Rudrasūkta) is *ā krandaya kuru ghoṣam mahantaṃ harī indrasyaḥ bhīyojayāsu marmavidham dadatām anyonyam śalyātmā patatu ślokaṃ accha*/This and some other sentences not in the SV. and eked out with such words as ‘phat’ ‘mras’, repeated several times, form the pavimanti sāmāni. They end with the words quoted in the commentary and ‘pracchindhi’.”—A. C. Burnell, *The Sāmaividhānabrāhmaṇa*, Vol. 1, p. 91, note 2.

16 Burnell’s text reads *br̥śca* which Sāyaṇa’s commentary reproduced therein gives as *vṛśca*.

prayoga and is to be chanted by a *nistāntavo munih*¹⁷ who has been subsisting on roots and fruits (*mūlaphalir upavasatham kṛtvā*) for a month. A similar reference to Sāman chants in forest is also made in iii.9.1. Possibly this furnishes us with a clue to the origin of Āraṇya-gāna that consists of those Sāman chants which were perhaps originally chanted by men residing in forest-dwellings and taking to the strict vows of forest-hermits. In the passage: *araṇye śucau deśe maṭham kṛtvā* (iii. 9.1), Sāyaṇa explains *maṭham* by *tṛṇakuṭim*. The word *Maṭha* falls in both the Ardharcādi and the Gaurādi lists. M. Williams says: 'a hut, cottage, (esp) the retired hut (or cell) of an ascetic or student'. In Sanskrit literature the word is sparingly used in the sense of 'temple'. Even in the Buddhist period a *Maṭha* was used as a dwelling place for Buddhist monks and also as teaching institutions for the Śramaṇas who gathered round those monks as pupils. The sense of *tṛṇakuṭi* (hut made of straws) as Sāyaṇa wants to make it convey is something new. It is possible that in ancient period when Vedic Aryans retired to forests and devoted themselves to chanting of Sāmans, urban people flocked round them to learn the mode of their chants and lived with them as pupils. Whatever the case may be, the use of the word *Maṭha* in the text may throw a broad hint at the fact that the *Āraṇyagāna* might have been somehow connected with teaching centres located in the forests under the supervision of retired Munis.

If we are to judge from textual evidence, we cannot deny that the *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* in the form in which it is found today, is a work, at least in some of its parts, belonging to the period when the institution of kingship was highly advanced and society had outlived that stage that only put faith in the purificatory power of physical ordeals and mortifications. We hear of Grāma, Nagara, Janapada, Rājan, Rājopajīvin

17 *nistāntavaḥ tantunirmitam vastram tāntavam tena virabito 'jina-vaikalādyācchāditaḥ munir vanyaniyamopetaḥ san...Sāyaṇa.*

(iii.5.6) and a rite is enjoined to make all of them obey the will of the sorcerer exercising some sort of hypnotic influence on all of them through the performance of a rite. It is strange that the same rite can also influence the Pitṛs, the Piśācas, the Gandharvas, the Apsarases, and Vaiśravaṇa, Indra, Prajāpati and even the whole world only with the variation of its duration. This is something that defies historical explanation. The mention of Annaprāśana-ceremony referred to shows Smṛti-influence. All this shows that in the present *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* we are dealing with a work that cannot explain its confused contents.

In the light of the above discussions the title 'Brāhmaṇa' ascribed to the work is not befitting, inasmuch as, unlike the Brāhmaṇas, it is exclusively prescriptive and enumerative and not descriptive and explanatory. It is possible that a *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* was once actually extant, of which only the first section of the first chapter has come down to us, probably with modifications that time could effect. The remaining portion having been lost was recast by some later writer trying his best to maintain conformity with what he could have only guessed from the textual scope of the first Khaṇḍa of the first chapter. This supposed author begins his composition in a typically Sūtra style: *athā'tas trīn kṛcchrān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* (i.2.1). The use of the first person is unknown in the Brāhmaṇa literature. It is difficult to say if this late author could reproduce the contents of the lost original even to the minimum extent separated as he was by a considerable gap of time and labouring as he was under the current impressions of his age. Judged from this point of view, the present *Sāma-vidh. Br.* cannot be regarded as a Brāhmaṇa in the sense in which the *Tāṇḍya* is. In fact Weber questions¹⁸ the very propriety of the title and Sāmaśramī recognises it only as an Anubrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda¹⁹.

18 Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 74

19 Preface to his ed. of the *Ārṣeya-brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta, 1892. According to Sāmaśramī the four other Anubrāhmaṇas are the *Ārṣeya-br.*, the *Daiyata-br.*, the *Samhitopaniṣad-br.* and the *Vamśa-br.*

Sāmaśramī contends that the *Praūdha-Br.* (25 Prap), the *Ṣaḍvi-
mśās Br.* (5 Prap) and the *Mantropaniṣad* (10 Prap) originally
constituted the Sāmaveda-Brāhmaṇa known as *Chāndogya-br.*²⁰
Elsewhere²¹ he says that the *Catvāriṃśa Brāhmaṇa* mentioned in
Kāśikā (P.5.1.62) was an early name of the *Tāṇḍya*. Prof.
D. Bhattacharya finds an evidence in support of Sāmaśramī's
view in a reference made by Śaṅkara to the passages of both the
Mantra portion and the Upaniṣad portion of the *Upaniṣad-br* as
*Tāṇḍinām śrutih.*²² All this shows that the propriety of the title
'Brāhmaṇa' given to the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* was questioned even by
ancient authorities. Nevertheless the present *Sāma-vidh. Br.* may
point to the fact that corresponding to the Vidhāna-texts belong-
ing to each Vedic Saṃhitā there was at a time Vidhāna-brāhma-
ṇas furnishing the very bases on which their Vidhāna counter-
parts of later period grew up.

Nor is such a conjecture untenable. As a reward is
promised in the religion of both the Saṃhitās and the
Brāhmaṇas—by means of prayers and praises in the former
and pharisaically strict ritual performances in the latter—
religion in both the phases has been basically a witchcraft. In
the Brāhmaṇa period, side by side with the followers of the
ritualistic school, there was probably a section of people who ex-
clusively devoted themselves to the study of the hymnal texts as
pure sound-bodies capable of producing desired results without
divine intervention. This section carried the magical elements
in the Vedic rituals of the Brāhmaṇa period to the extreme

20 Comp. *manmate tu praudha-ṣaḍviṃśa-mantropaniṣad iti catvā-
riṃśatprapāṭhātmake eka eva granthas chāndogyabrāhmaṇo nāma...* Preface
to his ed. of the *Arṣeya-br.*, Cal. 1892

21 *adhyāyānām saṅkalanayā catvāriṃśad adhyāyātmakam kauthuma-
brāhmaṇam sampadyate tāṇḍyam nāma* (*Trayiparicaya*, p. 121). It appears
that *Chāndogya-br.* was a general name given to the *Tāṇḍya*, the
Ṣaḍviṃśa and the *Mantropaniṣad* together and all the three belonged to
the *Tāṇḍya* school.

22 *Chāndogya-Br.* (Cal. Sanskrit College Research Series), introd.
p. 21.

that gave rise to a distinct type of literature known as Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas, a dim and solitary prototype of which we find in the extant *Sāma-vidh. Br.* Burnell also contributes to this conjecture when he remarks: "That Ṛg-Veda verses were used in a like manner, and that the Ṛg-Veda had once a corresponding Brāhmaṇa to the Sāma-vidhāna is proved by the existence of the Ṛgvidhāna, a *Parīśiṣṭa*, which is merely a versified form of what must have been a precisely similar work".²³ In the case of the present *Sāma-vidh. Br.* too, except the first Khaṇḍa of the first chapter, the remaining portion seems to be a thorough recast of what only could be conjectured by its author to have once formed its original contents. To assume that this subsequent recast could follow its model faithfully is tantamount to admitting that those Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas are the earliest forerunners not only of the later Vidhāna-texts but also of the Dharmasūtras professing religious, social, moral and hygienic codes of both purificatory and expiatory character. If it were possible to have an access to all the Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas belonging to each of the Saṃhitās and if we could make a critical and comparative study of all the sections in them dealing with Kāmya-rites and enjoining different *kalpas* (Prayoga) for *Vaśīkaraṇa*, *Māraṇa* and *Uccāṭana* (to use the term of the Tantra literature) we could perhaps have made an assessment of what and how much the Tantra-cult owed to the Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas.²⁴ That the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* is not sufficient by itself for such a study is clear from its confession to the effect that it does not make an exhaustive treatment of all the Kāmya-rites with their corresponding Sāmans. The *Sāma-vidh. Br.* expressly states that it does not treat of all the Sāmans and their corresponding *Prayogas* and those not treated here are to be determined from Śruti and

23 Burnell, *The Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa*, vol. 1, introd. p. xxiii.

24 The terms and expressions corresponding to *Vaśīkaraṇa* are *ā-vartanam* (ii. 5. 1), *ā-vartayati* (ii. 5. 5), *guṇi bhā'sya bhavati* (ii. 5. 3); corresponding to *Māraṇa* we get *sarve na bhavanti* (iii. 6. 1) (iii. 6. 11), *sadyo na bhavati* (iii. 6. 13); for *Uccāṭana* (dislodgment) see ii. 6. 14.

Smṛtiliṅgā.²⁵ We are however put to difficulty in determining the exact import of the word *Śruti*. *Yathāśruti* and *Smṛtiliṅgaiḥ* may be explained as meaning “as is heard of and remembered”.²⁶ Such an explanation would mean that by the time of the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* employment of Sāmans in magical rites had been an established practice widely spoken of and remembered by a section of the populace. Sāyaṇa renders *yathāśruti* by *śrutyanatikramena mantreṣu śrūyamāṇa-phalātikramena*. According to Sāyaṇa’s rendering every Sāma-yoni-mantra professes the merits it is able to bestow. It also necessarily means that the Sāmans enjoined by the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* comply with those desires which they themselves declare they are able to fulfil. Considering that the Sāma-yoni-mantras are taken mostly from the Ṛgveda and in few cases from the Yajurveda too, we are forced to acknowledge that the hymnal texts of the Ṛgveda even were once considered as being basically magic charms and spells, and the Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas compiled on this notion gave rise to a distinct branch of literature representing the views of an independent school of Vedic interpretation running parallel to the Ritualistic school represented by the Brāhmaṇa texts. In fact, there had been several traditional schools of Vedic interpretation²⁷ each interpreting the Vedic Mantras according to its own doctrinal system. The school as represented by the Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas we may call Magico-ritual school of Vedic interpretation believing that every Mantra was originally intended to be used as a magic spell effective enough to bring about the fulfilment of desires without divine intervention. Sāyaṇa’s interpretation thus furnishes us with a very valuable information about the existence of the Magico-ritual school of Vedic interpretation hitherto given scanty attention by scholars.

25 *atha yāny anādiṣṭa-kāma-kalpāni teṣāṃ yathāśruti smṛtiliṅgaiḥ kāmākṣarasamyuktah...*(iii. 6. 9.)

26 *smṛtiliṅgaiḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *vedavidācāryānām prayogaiḥ*.

27 See my article, ‘Traditional schools of Vedic interpretation,’ *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, part I, p. 153ff.

This magico-ritual employment of Sāmans is called by the *Sāmavidh. Br.* 'Prājāpatya Vidhi' (iii.9.8). (code revealed by Prajāpati) and this appellation attaches to it a tinge of hoariness and weaves round the same a halo of sanctity as well. The *Sāmavidh. Br.* also furnishes us with a fairly long list of Ācāryas who were recipients in succession of this Prājāpatya-lore of Sāman-secrets.²⁸ In the text there are also statements from which we learn that it was obligatory upon an Upādhyāya to impart this sacred lore to his disciple on the eve of the latter's departure for home after having finished the Veda-study under his care, and the disciple, too, had to give to such an Upādhyāya the best of villages and thousand white horses as his Dakṣiṇā.²⁹ We have already referred to the term Smṛtiliṅga (iii.9.6) declared in this Brāhmaṇa as the determining source of those *Prayogas* left here untouched. Evidently, the word means the customs and traditions that were followed by the advocates of the magico-ritual school in respect of employing Sāmans as magic formulas in Kāmya-rites. All this points to the high popularity this school once enjoyed in the Vedic society. A wholesale loss of these Vidhāna-brāhmaṇas is therefore a curiously phenomenal event in the history of Vedic literature and is directly responsible for the lamentably meagre treatment this school, though once enjoying a wide popularity, receives at the hands of scholars. It remains a matter of conjecture as to why the agencies of destruction

28 The successive Ācāryas are: (from Prajāpati) Bṛhaspati, Nārada, Viṣvaksena, Vyāsa Pārāśarya, Jaimini, Pauspiṇḍya, Pārāśaryāyaṇa, Bādarāyaṇa, Tāṇḍi, Śātyāyanin.

In the *Vamśa Br.* we find one Vicakṣaṇa belonging to the Tāṇḍa school and Sāmaśramī thinks (see his ed. of the text) that perhaps this Vicakṣaṇa is the author of the *Tāṇḍya Br.* and comes to be known as 'Vicakṣaṇa' (wise) for his erudition. The list of Ācāryas as furnished in the *Sāmavidh. Br.* mentions one Tāṇḍi who, in all probabilities, is the author of the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*.

29 so'yam anūcānāya brahmacāriṇe sa māvartamānāya ākhyeya upādhyāyāya grāmavaram sahasram śvetaṃ caśvam pradāya anujñāto vā yaṃ kāmam kāmāyate tam āpnoti.

should have singled out this branch of literature on a wholesale scale and we cannot possibly advance its magical character as the cause of its victimisation to extinction inasmuch as, in the case of the *Atharvaveda* the same character proved otherwise.

The Vedic religion is essentially a religion of sacrifice. It is a priestly religion and the priests were not always innocent brahmins. They were pastmasters in magical practices which they gave effect to through the machinery of sacrifice by merely introducing a change in the normal sacrificial procedure. The *Ṛgveda* is not innocent of magical charms and formulas.³⁰ In *Rv.* iii.53.12, Viśvāmitra shows himself as a great wizard-priest when he declares that the race of the Bharatas thrives under the protection of his charms (brahman). Both the *Ṛgveda* and the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* of the *Yajurveda* have, in this respect, much in common with the *Atharvaveda*. Shende observes, "It is possible that the Vedic seers might be practising witchcraft, though they did not possibly profess it. This appears to be the truth from the number of the seers common to the *Rv.* and the *Av.* It is possible that they might have resorted to it as a defensive measure, to protect their sacrifice and property".³¹

The section on the magical Kāmya-rites as treated in the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* consists of both constructive and destructive magical practices which in no way differ in spirit from those of the *Atharvaveda*. Just as the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* knows of consecrating water with a healing capacity by a Sāman-chant, the *Atharvaveda* (v. 5) too speaks of *Udavajra* (water-thunderbolt) to be cast in the direction of enemies. The rites for securing wisdom, splendour, long life, family-prosperity, Vedic learning, success in trade, winning over the public assemblies, purification and protection of one's residence are all found in the *Atharvaveda* as they are found in the *Sāma-vidh. Br.* Shende thinks that the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* once formed complements of each other for a long time and that was why the *Atharvaveda* was not referred to

30 Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 59

31 *The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda*, p. 165

separately in the Vedic literature till the period of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.³² A comparative study of the magical practices and techniques of witchcraft in all the four Vedas will, one may justly be inclined to think, place all of them on the same footing and from this point of view the first three have nothing to boast of any superiority or lay any claim for any stamp of seclusion from the *Atharvaveda*, though it must be admitted, that the *Atharvaveda* only carried this element to the extreme and in a more systematic manner. In doing the same it had to specialise in some branches of knowledge which later grew up as independent branches of learning. Tradition has attached to the name 'Atharvaveda' a notion of 'unholy magic' that creates a mixed sense of fear in the mind of the populace but there is hardly any justification why the brunt of this charge should be directed against the *Atharvaveda* to the exclusion of others.

VIMAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Traces of Sāṅkhya Doctrines in the Śrīmadbhāgavata*

The object of the present paper is to bring to light some verses from the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*¹ (10th Skandha) in order to show how far traditional Sāṅkhya-views are adumbrated in them.

Let us take up from the *Bhāgavata* the following verses:
Sā tatra dadṛśe (?) viśvaṁ jagat sthāsnu ca khaṁ diśaḥ |
Sādrīdvīpābdhibhūgolaṁ savāyvagnīndutārakam ||
jyotiścakraṁ jalaṁ tejo nabhasvān viyad eva ca |
vaikārikāṅdriyāṇi mano mātṛā guṇāstrayaḥ ||
etad vicitraṁ sahaīvakālasvabhāvakarmāśayalīngabhedam |
sūnostaṇau vīkṣya vidāritāsyē vrajaṁ sahātmānam avāpa
śāṅkām” ||

(Bhāgavata, X-8-37, 38, 39)

These verses describe the supernatural event seen by Yaśodā, the foster-mother of Lord Kṛṣṇa, in Vraja, when the Child-Lord one day, out of His inexplicable sporting Nature, revealed to her the whole universe within His mouth in a lump of clay which He was alleged to have swallowed up, and for which act He was mildly rebuked by her. This has a parallel in the eleventh chapter of the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, well-known as the *Viśvarūpadarśana*, although the revelations are for different purposes. Here, in the *Bhāgavata*, however, we have a more pronounced, though shorter, exposition of the doctrine of evolution as in Sāṅkhya.

In these verses we find that the entire evolved universe was included within the Lord. It is not clear, however, how the entire evolved universe was revealed there within the body of

* Paper submitted to XX Session, All-India Oriental Conference, October 1959, Bhubaneswar.

1. Henceforth to be shortened as *Bhāgavata*.

the Lord. Yaśodā herself is not clear on that. She exclaims in the very next verse :

Kim svapna etad uta devanāyā kiṁ va madīyo vata
buddhimohaḥ/
 Atho amuṣyaiva mamārbhakasya yaḥ kaścana utpattika
ātmayogaḥ//”
(Ibid., X-8-40)

Here, however, there is no reference of the Cause of Evolution as to the process of Evolution itself. The Primal Cause as *prakṛti* is not meant in these verses, as it is another aspect from which the Lord is said to have revealed within Himself the entire evolute-manifold. In the Bhakti schools of India, it is a peculiar Power, which is subordinated to the Lord but which is co-extensive with Him, that is the source of all evolutions. It is not independent to be such a source. However, when that unique vision was revealed by such a Power to Yaśodā, the verses have some form of the doctrinal Sāṅkhya to expound. The entire evolved universe is here described to contain :

- (a) the five *mahābhūtas* (*viśva* or *bhūloka*, not apart from, but along with, all others—described also: *jala*, *tejas*, *nabhasvat*, and *viyat*);
- (b) *indriyas* (not excluding *manas*);
- (c) *mātrās* and
- (d) three *guṇas*.

About the Cause of Evolution in the Sāṅkhya and the Bhāgavata, Dr. Jadunath Sinha very significantly writes as follows: “The *puruṣa* absorbed in *prakṛti* in the previous creation becomes in the next creation the original *Puruṣa* (*ādipuruṣa*) or the Lord (*Īśvara*) who is the knower of all and the doer of all.² He is the created Lord. The existence of the eternal Lord is an object of controversy.” (*History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, 1952, p. 92).

2 *Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya*, III-56.

Now, the expression *Vaikārikāṅdriyāṇi* in verse 38 quoted above, conforms to the doctrinal Sāṅkhya in that the *indriyas* including the *manas* (eleven in number) come out of the *Vaikṛtāhaṅkāra*. Śrīdhara, the commentator on the *Bhāgavata*, has shown that *Vaikārikāṇi* refers to the gods (*devāḥ*), and *manas* is separately stated to distinguish its separate existence as unconnected with the gods. This explanation need not very rigidly followed here, as the doctrinal theory of evolution in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 25,³ is consistent with this exposition in the *Bhāgavata*. Śrīdhara's conception of gods in this context may also go against the *Smṛti*-passage which is as follows:

Vaikārikastaijasaś ca tāmasaś cetyahaṁ tridhā/
 Ahaṁ-tattvāt vikurvāṇāt mano vaikārikāś ca ye//,
 Devā arthābhivyañjanaṁ yatas sarvāḥ pravṛttayaḥ//
 Taijasād indriyāṅyeva jñānakarmamayāni ca//
 Tāmaso bhūtasūkṣmādir yataḥ khaṁ liṅgam ātmanaḥ//

All through the *śruti*, the *devas* are connected with particular *indriyas*. But, as they have no real origin, their connection with the *indriyas* is taken as that of *locus* (*adhiṣṭhāna*). Hence there are in the *śruti*, passages as the following one:

“Agnir vāg bhūtvā mukhe prāviśat, vāyuḥ prāṇo bhūtvā nāsike prāviśat, diśaśśrotraṁ bhūtvā kaṇṇau prāviśan, ośadhivan-aspatayo lomāni bhūtvā tvacāni prāviśan, candramā mano bhūtvā hṛdayaṁ prāviśat, mṛtyurapāno bhūtvā nābhiṁ prāviśat, āpo reto bhūtvā śiśnaṁ prāviśan.”

It is clear here that our various sensory organs, both motor and cognitive, are associated with the *devas* conceived as the *loci*. Thus, from the *smṛti* as well as the *śruti* traditions it appears that the *devas* are secondarily connected with the sensory organs, and are themselves not subject to origination. Hence the *Vaikārika devas* are not to be related with the evolved universe in the same manner as other evolutes come out in a real origin.

3 Sāttvika ekādaśakaḥ pravartate vaikṛtād ahaṅkārāt/
 bhūtādestanmātraḥ sa tāmasaḥ, taijasād ubhayam//

Let us consider the theistic interpretation in the *Bhāgavata* cult *vis-à-vis* the Sāṅkhya theory of Evolution. In the *Bhāgavata*, XI-22-1, 2, a reference is made to the different schools of Sāṅkhya, having the ultimate categories varying from three to twenty-six. Such variation has been attempted to be explained as due to the inclusion of some of the categories within others (*parsparānupraveśāt tattvānām*). Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. iv, 1955, p. 25, observes: "It is said that God manifests Himself in man internally as His inner self, as the controller of all his experiences, and externally, as time in the manifold objects of experience. Thus there are twenty-five categories if time, individual soul and God are taken as one; if time is taken separately and God and *puruṣa* are taken as one, there are twenty-six categories; and if all the three are taken separately, there are twenty-seven categories. *Prakṛti* is not included in the enumeration; if it were, there would be twenty-eight categories." Now, God is a category in this cult. The whole evolved universe is in Him and *from* Him. The *prakṛti* of the traditional Sāṅkhya does away with God as a *necessary* agent, but not as an unacceptable category. At least, Vijñāna-Bhikṣu's assumption is not anti theistic. As Dr. Dasgupta has observed (*Ibid.*, vol., I, 1951, p. 223); "Vijñāna-Bhikṣu's own view could not properly be called a thorough *yoga* view; for he agreed more with the views of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the *Purāṇas*, where both the diverse *puruṣas* and the *prakṛti* are said to be merged in the end in *Īśvara*, by whose will the creative process again began in the *prakṛti* at the end of each *pralaya*." This theistic bias in the *Bhāgavata* is what makes it a unique exposition of the doctrinal Sāṅkhya in all its processes of Evolution, but with more of stress on *Īśvara* and less of stress on *prakṛti*. The *puruṣas* are all subservient to the Will of God. The Bhakti cult has its finest exposition in such a teleological explanation of the Cosmos. In the *Bhāgavata* cult⁴, the evolved

4 Cf. *Bhāgavata*, 3-26 (This chapter is called the *Kāpileya-tattva-samāmnāya*)

categories are also equated with the *Vyūhas* of the Lord. Thus the *mahat* is the *Vāsudevavyūha* the three-fold *ahaṅkāra* the *Samkarṣaṇa-vyūha*, the category of *manas* from the *Vaikārika ahaṅkāra*, the *Aniruddha-vyūha*; and if the *Pradyumna-vyūha* is to be included, it is the desire as the function of the category of *manas* and not a separate category, that is this fourth *vyūha*. The *Bhāgavata* also regards here a category as *buddhi*, apart from the first *Mahat-Vāsudevavyūha* concept, which is the sum-total of both the conative and cognitive senses and which is the outcome of *taijasa ahaṅkāra*. This concept as well as the concept of the *Manas* < *Vaikārika ahaṅkāra*: *Aniruddha-vyūha* in these places seem to support Vijñāna-Bhikṣu's view on these evolutes, as in the *Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya*, 2-18, *contra* the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 25, and Vācaspati and Gauḍapāda on above.

We take two more verses from the *Bhāgavata*, 10th Skandha, both of which are in the third chapter :

Yatheme 'vikṛtā bhāvas tathā te vikṛtais saha/
Nānāvīryāḥ pṛthag bhūtā virājaṁ janayanti hi//
(X-3-15)

Sa tvaṁ trilokasthitaye svamāyayā
Bibharṣi śuklaṁ khalu varṇamātmanah/
Sargāya raktaṁ rajasopabṛñhitam
Kṛṣṇaṁ ca varṇaṁ tamasā janātyaye// (X-3-20)

Both these verses were uttered in astounded feelings by the Father of the Infant-Lord, Vasudeva. The uncommon nature of the Infant made both the parents wonder-struck and sing in His praise. Śrīdhara, while commenting on the first verse says: "Avikṛtā bhāvāḥ mahadādayo yathā, vikṛtaiḥ ṣoḍaśavikārais saha, virājaṁ brahmāṇḍam". Commenting on the second verse he says that it explains "trivarnā guṇāvatārāḥ". On the *avikṛta bhāvas* and the *vikṛtas* here we can very well find the Sāṅkhya theory as in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (3):

Mūlaprakṛtiravikṛtirmahadādyāḥ prakṛtīvikṛtayaḥ sapta/
Ṣoḍaśakas tu vikāro na prakṛtir na vikṛtiḥ puruṣaḥ//

The evolutes are classified here as *prakṛti-vikṛti* and pure *vikṛti*, which are very well indicated in the first verse and in the comment of Śrīdhara. On the second verse and the comment of Śrīdhara on it, we can refer to the *maṅgala-śloka* of Vācaspati in his *Tattvakaumudī*⁵. Here the connection of the three *varṇas*, viz. *lohita*, *śukla*, and *kṛṣṇa*, is respectively with the three *guṇas* of the Sāṅkhyas, viz. *rajas*, *sattva*, and *tamas*. In this verse, the control of these three *guṇas*, in the tripartite *varṇa*-manifestation, by the Lord through His own *māyā* (*svamāyayā*) also lends support to the separate existence of the Lord, apart from His *māyā*, or over and above the independent *prakṛti* of the Sāṅkhyas.

Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, 1951, p. 221, has observed: "It is a well-known fact that most of the schools of Vaiṣṇavas accepted the form of Cosmology which is the same in most essential parts as the Sāṅkhya-Cosmology. This justifies the assumption that Kapila's doctrine was probably theistic." Whether the *Bhāgavata* can justify Kapila's theistic bias, or whether the latter is independent of the former, or whether the *Bhāgavata* combines the theistic basis of Patañjali and the later theistic interpretation of Vijñāna-Bhikṣu with the traditional Sāṅkhya,—is an open question. After all, as the late Dr. Dasgupta has himself expressed in his monumental *History*, that the *Bhāgavata* in the true Purāṇic style adumbrates different currents of religion and philosophy within its unique doctrinal cults.

BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA

5 Ajām ekām lohitaśuklakṛṣṇām bahviḥ prajāś sṛjamānām namāmaḥ/
Ajā ye tā juṣamānām bhajante jahatyenām bhuktabhogām
numastān //

Cf. also *Svetāśva. Upa.* 4-5

A New Light on the Identification of Kāca

Several hoards and finds of Gupta coins have yielded specimens of gold coinage issued by a king named Kāca, who used the epithet *Sarvarājochchettā* on their reverse. The coins of this ruler are now fairly large. There are seven of his coins in the British Museum, three in the Indian Museum, five in the State Museum, Lucknow, and one each in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay: the newly discovered Bayana hoard contained sixteen more pieces.¹ The findspots of the coins, with the exception of the Bayana hoard specimens referred to above, are Tanda (Fyzabad Dt., U.P.), Ballia (Dt., U.P.), Sakori (Dcmoh Dt., M.P.) and Kumarkhan (Ahmadabad Dt., Bombay).² His coins were known only in the unique *Cakradhvaja* (standard surmounted by a wheel) type and one variety; the Bayana hoard, however, disclosed a solitary coin representing a second type, the Standard type of Kāca.³

1 Recently, A. S. Altekar has drawn our attention in *Corpus of Indian Coins*, vol. IV, pp. 342-43, to another coin of the *Cakradhvaja* type of Kāca, without any reference to its provenance, now with the American Numismatic Society, New York.

2 Cf. Bayana Hoard Cat., pp. IV-X; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, vol. IV, pp. 307-09.

3 For the *Cakradhvaja* type coins and their description see Smith, I. M. Cat. I, p. 100; Allan, B. M. Cat., pp. 15-17; A. S. Altekar, Bayana Hoard Cat., pp. LXXIII & 62-66; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, IV, pp. 87-89. For the Standard type coin of Kāca see, *Calcutta Review*, vol. LXII, No. 2-3, pp. 165-66. Attention has been drawn in the paper to one, out of the sixteen coins of Kāca found in the Bayana hoard that belongs to the Standard type, instead of a variety of the usual *Cakradhvaja* type, as Altekar would have us believe. In the coin are present on the obverse a *Garudadhvaja* in front of the king, and the object in his left hand, which, though not quite well-preserved on our specimen, is distinctly a Standard adorned with fillet. The identification would be readily acceptable if it is remembered that the *Garudadhvaja*, a Vaiṣṇava emblem, being adopted, the presence of the *Cakradhvaja*, also signifying the same worship, would be superfluous on the coin type.

The coins vary in size from .75 to .85, and weigh 111 to 119.4 grains, apparently conforming the two weight standards, one of 115 grains and the other of 118 grains.

In their types, motifs, fabric and the legends, the coins show that Kāca was an imperial ruler. But a king of that name is not known either from epigraphy or from literature.⁴ It is probable that he was an imperial Gupta ruler, though no such Gupta emperor is known to us from other available sources. Several official Gupta genealogies have been handed down to us, but there is no mention of any such ruler. It is equally noteworthy that the eponymous ending Gupta, which is almost universally associated with the names of the Gupta monarchs on their monetary issues, is conspicuous by its absence from the name of Kāca on his coins. The possibility of his being an upstart, who captured power intervening one of the successive rules of the Imperial Guptas and issued these coins closely following the Imperial coinages cannot, however, be ruled out. The problem of finding out his real personage among the host of probabilities is, therefore, rather difficult, and hence very divergent views have been expressed by numismatists and historians about the attribution of the coins of Kāca, or his identity⁵. Notwithstanding these facts it is generally agreed

4 The historicity of prince Kāca mentioned in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāna* may be discarded as the passage of the said text which refers to him, has been branded as a palpable modern forgery. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *A New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 133. fn. 2; *JBR.S.*, vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff.; *IHQ.*, vol. XX, p. 345.

5 Cf. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1889, pp. 75-76; *IA.* 1902, pp. 259-60 & *I. M. Cat.* I, p. 16; Fleet, *CII.*, III, p. 27; Rapson, *Num. Chron.* XI, 3rd Series, pp. 48-64; *JRAS.*, 1893, pp. 81-95; Allan, *B.M. Cat.*, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV; K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, XVIII, pp. 24-25; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Malaviya Commemoration Vol.*, p. 205; R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imp. Guptas*, pp. 9-10 & 213; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAL.* (6), p. 533; Heras, *ABORI.*, IX, pp. 83-87; *JBR.S.*, 1948, pp. 19ff.; P. L. Gupta, *JNSI.*, V, pp. 33-36 & pp. 149-50; *IHQ.*, 1946, pp. 60ff.; *JNSI.* XI, pp. 33ff.; A. S. Altekar, *JNSI.*, IX, Pt. II, pp. 131-36 & Vol. XI, p. 35; Bayana Hoard *Cat.*, pp. LXXIV-

that the coins of this king, which are our only source of information for him, by their similarity on basic points with the Gupta series, indicate only this much with certainty that he was one of the early rulers of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. In the present paper it is proposed to uphold one of the early views advocated by Smith, Fleet, Allan, and others that Kāca is identical with Samudra-gupta, as his coins are allied in style, fabric, size, weight and legends to the gold coins issued by that emperor, in the light of recent researches and discoveries, especially after the Bayana hoard of Gupta coins.

The coinage of Kāca have been found in many such hoards which contain the coins of only Candragupta I, Samudra-gupta and Candragupta II. The Tanda and the Ballia hoards were composed, respectively, of the coins of Candragupta I and Samudra-gupta, and of Samudra-gupta, along with the coins of Kāca. The Bayana hoard of 1821 coins which represented not a single specie of a non-Gupta ruler, had sixteen coins of this king. The metrology of the coins, which closely follows the 115 and 118 grains standards, shows that his coins should be earlier than those of Candragupta II, when the average weight of the Gupta gold coins was 126 grains. The metal used for his coins is also significant. They, being only of gold, make him more a contemporary of the Gupta kings earlier than Candragupta II, namely, of Samudra-gupta and Candragupta I. Accordingly, it may be inferred to a degree of certainty that Kāca ruled before Candragupta II, and that he may be assigned to a date near about Samudra-gupta.

The *Cakradhvaja* type of Kāca, represented by most of the specimens so far known to us, is comparable to certain types of Samudra-gupta. The obverse of the coins of this type shows the king standing to left in a posture remarkably similar to that

LXXVI; B. S. Satholey, *JNSI.*, XII, pp. 38-40; K. C. Ojha, *JNSI.*, pp. 170-75. For the summary of the views and their criticisms see; A. S. Altekar, *JNSI.* IX. Pt. II, pp. 131-36 and *Corpus of Indian Coins*, IV, pp. 78-87.

of Samudra-gupta on his Standard type. Like Samudra-gupta, Kāca also is shown offering oblations on an altar in his front with his right hand, but the *Garuḍadhvaja* (standard surmounted by the divine bird Garuḍa) is absent from his side, and he is seen holding a *Cakradhvaja* in his left hand, which is again an interesting feature. Under the left arm is engraved vertically his name, Kāca. The circular legend in *upagīti* metre, commencing at I, reads, *Kāco gāmaṃvijitya karmabhiruttamairdivaṃ jayati*, 'having conquered the earth, Kāca wins the heaven by his excellent deeds'. The reverse of the coins closely resembles that of the *Aśvamedha* and the *Tiger-slayer* types of Samudra-gupta. As on the above two types, the goddess is standing to left; under her feet there is a mat, as is the case with the queen on the *Aśvamedha* type, and not a *makara*, as we find under the feet of the goddess on the *Tiger-slayer* type. She is holding a lotus in the right hand and a cornucopiae in the left. Symbol on the left, legend on the right, *Sarvarājochchettā*, 'the exterminator of all kings'. Allan maintains that the obverse legend *karmabhir-uttamair* of the Kāca coins is equivalent to *sucaritair* of the Archer type coins of Samudra-gupta, and that the reverse epithet *Sarvarājochchettā*, regularly applied to Samudra-gupta, and to him alone in the inscriptions of his successors, besides being fully in accord with his achievements as narrated in his own Allahabad *Praśasti*, forms one of the strongest proofs of his identity with Samudra-gupta.⁶ It may be observed further to supplement Allan's contentions that the *biruda Sarvarājochchettā* is unthinkable as it could have been adopted by a Gupta monarch other than Samudra-gupta, who is actually credited with that great achievement in his own epigraph, before the events implied by the style had actually happened.

The use of metrical legend on the obverse of the coins of Kāca also deserves special attention. To Samudra-gupta belongs the credit of introducing poetical legends on Indian coins. According to the Allahabad record, the emperor himself

6 J. Allan, B. M. Cat., p. CX.

was a poet of great merit.⁷ It is, therefore, but natural that he should have felt that his coin legends should be in poetry, what we find in fact on many of his coins of different types, announcing his achievements in adequate and appropriate language. The obverse legend of the coins of Kāca, which refers to his deeds beautifully in metrical form, in the same manner and tone as on the coins of Samudra-gupta, fairly well establishes the identity theory.

Let us now turn to some positive facts of the coinage of Kāca that will make his proposed identity more convincing. The solitary coin of the Standard type of Kāca, brought to light by the newly discovered Bayana hoard, has made possible to remove probably finally the controversies about his identification. A conscious effort has been made at Indianisation both on the obverse and reverse of the type. The obverse device of the coin is identical with that of Samudra-gupta's Standard type. Kāca is standing to the left and offering oblations on the altar in his front with the right hand, the left one is holding the Standard adorned with fillet, which is a novel feature. His usual Kuṣāṇa dress is discarded here for the *dhoti*, that is purely Indian. Reference may also be made to a new variety of Samudra-gupta's Standard type, revealed by the same Bayana hoard, where the Kuṣāṇa trousers are replaced by a *sakaccha-dhoti*.⁸ In the new coin is present a *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of Kāca, which, in fact, is the most striking feature of the type. The reverse device, which shows some originality than that on the Standard type coins of Samudra-gupta, represents the goddess standing, holding a noose (*pāśa*) in her right hand and a cornucopiae in her left arm. The obverse and the reverse legends are partly truncated; but they, when reconstructed, are obviously the same as on the coins of the *Cakradhvaja* type.

7 *pratiṣṭhita-kavirāja-śabdasya*—L. 27.

8 A. S. Altekar, Bayana Hoard Cat., pp. 27-32. Variety C. Nos. 104-21.

On this type we have thus both *Garuḍadhvajā* and the usual Standard together on the obverse, as we find on the Standard type coins of Samudra-gupta. The introduction of the *Garuḍa*-standard for the first time in the Gupta coins was so far known from the coins of Samudra-gupta. The statement in line 24 of the Allahabad Inscription, *Garutmadāṅka-svaviṣayabhuktiśāsana*, also suggests that the royal charters issued by the emperor were stamped with the imperial emblem of *Garuḍa*. The official seal introduced by the monarch was continued by his successors and actually occurs on their extant coins and seals. *Garuḍadhvajā* did not appear on the coins of Candragupta I, as also on the coins of *Cakradhvajā* type of Kāca. It, therefore, had been made by some scholars a point to establish the chronological priority of the latter to Samudra-gupta, as he was unaware of this innovation introduced by the great Gupta monarch.⁹ The new type of Kāca, however, shows that *Garuḍadhvajā* was not unknown to him. Equally interesting is the adoption of the Standard in the coin, that has determined its type, replacing the usual *Cakradhvajā* appearing on the other coins. The Standard type was the most popular type of Samudra-gupta, and was known from his coinage only. But it was soon discontinued after him, probably in the very reign of Candragupta II, of whom, we have so far a single coin of this type,¹⁰ that was not revived by any of his successors, as the specimens of the type issued by them are wanting.

The foregoing discussion of the new facts that have been found by the discovery of the Standard type coin of Kāca shows clearly that he is identical with Samudra-gupta. When, now once, we have got a coin of the Standard type of the ruler, bearing similar devices to that of Samudra-gupta, and a legend on its reverse which was a familiar epithet only of the latter, no further argument seems necessary to establish his identification, and the attribution of the coin to

⁹ Heras, *JBRs.*, 1948. pp. 19-28.

¹⁰ P. L. Gupta, *JNSI.*, vol. IX, pp. 146-47.

Samudra-gupta. It is, therefore, obvious that the coins were issued by Samudra-gupta, and that Kāca was another name of the emperor, perhaps, his less formal¹¹ or original¹² name, and is certainly one by which he was quite well known, otherwise, it would not have appeared on his coinage. There is some difficulty, however, in explaining precisely why Samudra-gupta had both of his names used on his coins. when we know that the practice is contrary to numismatic policy and has hardly any parallel in the field of numismatic activities of the world. Allan suggested that Kāca, which was the original name of the emperor, took Samudra-gupta as his name in allusion to his conquests up to the waters of the four oceans.¹³ This view cannot be fully supported since the passage *caturu-dadhi-salilāsvāditayaśaso* (l. 1) of the Bilsaḍ Inscription of Kumāra-gupta I, on which Allan has based his conclusion, refers to Samudra-gupta's fame as reaching the limits of the four oceans, and nothing about his conquests.¹⁴ We are, however, inclined to think that Samudra-gupta ascended the throne with the name Kāca, when he did not use the dynastic title *Gupta*, but issued some coins bearing the name in the early part of his reign. Although, otherwise very odd, Kāca as one of the names of Samudra-gupta becomes acceptable if we remember that most of the other princes of the dynasty preferred uncommon term for a personal name. But the absence of the word *Gupta* as the second part of his name is not in keeping with the usual custom and claim of imperial status started by his father Candragupta I and was continued by all the later members of the family. Subsequently, to adjust the inconsistencies of the practice he assumed the name *Samudra*, apparently formed on the analogy of his father's name, which was *Candra*, the surname *Gupta* also being adopted at this time after his father who instituted the style.

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11 J. F. Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 27.

12 J. Allan, *B. M. Cat.*, p. XXXII.

13 *loc. cit.*

14 J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Chandella Vidyādhara, Pratihāra Rājyapāla and Mahmūd of Ghaznī

Some years ago Shri V. B. Rai, Pleader of Katni in Jabalpur District, gave me a few ink-impressions of an inscription from the collection of his late uncle Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. Unfortunately the name of the place where the inscription was found and which was noted with pencil by the late Rai Bahadur at the top of one of the impressions has become illegible and cannot be read. This epigraph was originally a long *prāsasti* of 28 lines and belongs to the reign of Chandella Jayavarmman. The stone slab on which it is incised is badly damaged. It is broken up vertically almost from the middle and more than half of its right portion is lost. The impressions are also not very clear; some portions of some of them have been eaten up by white-ants. Hence, with considerable difficulty the text could be deciphered. I hope to edit the record fully elsewhere in near future. But as its contents are of great value for the history of the Chandellas and their contemporaries, the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the Paramāras of Dhāra, the Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Gahadavālas of Kanauj and Vārāṇasī and the Turkish invasion of India, I prefer to discuss some of them in reference to the Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Chandella Vidyādhara and the Turkish invasion here.

This is the second record of the time of Chandella Jayavarmman, the first being the Khajuaraho inscription¹ dated in V. S. 1176, *Vaiśākha su 3, Śukra*. It gives the genealogy of the Chandella kings from Yaśovarmman, whose name occurs in ls.2-3 (only...*rmmadeva* of the name being left). The name of Dhaṅga, son and successor of Yaśovarmman, is lost in the broken

1 *El.*, vol. I, pp. 137ff. The date is not regular. If *Vikrama* 1173 is current, it corresponds to Monday, April 17, 1116, A. D. and if expired then to Saturday, April 6, 1117 A.D. cf. *Ibid.* p. 139.

portion of the slab, while that of Gaṇḍa, his son and successor in ls. 3-4, is partly left (only the portion...*ṇḍadeva* is there). Vidyādhara, son and successor of Gaṇḍa, is mentioned in l. 5 and is given credit for having defeated *Hammīravīra*. The names of two other Chandella kings, Kīrttivarman and Jayavarman, are left in lines 7 and 13 respectively. The details of the reign of Kīrttivarman are very important, which I propose to discuss in a separate article later.

Hammīra, like Hamvīra of the Mahoba inscription², is a corruption of the Arabic word '*Amīra* and as already pointed out by others,³ it was applied as a royal title to the Yāminī kings of Ghaznī, the kings of the house of Ghūra and the slave Sultans of Delhi. It was also added to the names of some of their provincial Governors and Commanders. It has been generally used as a honorific for a Moslem king or prince in inscriptions⁴ and coins⁵ from the time of the Arab rulers of Sindh⁶. In *K. Z. A'*. Pratihāra Rājyapāla of Kanauj is called '*Amir* of Kanauj' in the same manner as Mahmūd is called '*Amir* Mahmūd'⁸. Mahmūd is given this title in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* also⁹.

This is the only inscription in which Chandella Vidyādhara is given credit for defeating *Hammīravīra*, the valiant Moslem prince. It says:

* * * * *

निरङ्कुशयशः प्रसरः स जज्ञे विद्याधरो धरणिधारणावीरबाहुः ॥

हिम्मीरवीरमुखवारिनिधिं प्रमथ्य पृथ्वीभृता करटिकः—vvv-vv-v- -I

* * * * *

Dhaṅga, grandfather of Vidyādhara, is given credit for having

2 *El.* Vol. I, pp. 218 & 221. v. 17.

3 Ray: *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 681.

4 *El.*, I, pp. 218 & 62; *IA.*, XV, p. 7.

5 Thomas: *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 50n, 136n.

6 *DHNI.*, I, p. 91.

7 *KZA.*, p. 76; *DHNI.*, I, p. 605 fn. 4.

8 *DHNI.*, I, p. 605 fn. 2.

9 Stein: *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, pp. 270-71, vs. 53-64.

“by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful *Hamvīra*, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth¹⁰.” *Hamvīra* mentioned in reference to Dhaṅga is no other than the Yāminī Subuktagīn¹¹. Subuktagīn was dead in 997 A.D. He was followed by Ismā-īl, who was followed by Mahmūd in 998 A.D. Chandella Dhaṅga was dead in 1002 A.D. according to a Khajuraho inscription¹². He was followed by his son Gaṇḍa and Gaṇḍa by his son Vidyādhara. The dates of Gaṇḍa are not known. It was during this period that Mahmūd of Ghaznī was leading one invasion after another on India. The *Hammīravīra* of the inscription who is said to have been defeated by Vidyādhara is no other than Mahmūd of Ghaznī and this defeat was inflicted by him on Mahmūd soon after the latter’s invasion of Kanauj in *A. H.* 409¹³ when Vidyādhara was already on the throne. This is borne out by the facts discussed below.

The occasion for the conflict between the Yāminī Mahmūd and the Chandella Vidyādhara is said to have been a sequel to the former’s invasion of India in *A.H.* 409 “with the intention of conquering the country of Kanauj” as Nizāmuddīn says ; while according to others it was for the reason that Vidyādhara had given protection to a king who had been defeated by Mahmūd and whose territories he had conquered. Some others do not discuss the cause leading to this invasion. The Moslem chroniclers claim complete victory for Mahmūd over Vidyādhara. Nizāmuddīn says further that “when the Sultan heard that a rājā of the name of Nandā (a mistake for Bidā (Vidyā)) had slain the rājā of Kanauj because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance to him, he formed a strong resolution to destroy Nandā (a mistake for Bidā) and in the year 410 *A.H.* he again invaded Hindustan and when he reached the river Jūn, Naro Jaipal, *who had several times fled before his armies*, encamped in front of it now, in order to help and assist Nandā (i.e. Vidyā). As the

10 *El.*, I, pp. 218, & 221, v. 17.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19.

12 *Ibid.*, I, p. 139; *IA.*, 1908, p. 141. Dr. Ray (*DHNI*, II p. 682, fn. 5.) thinks that Dhaṅga died after 1002 A.D.

13 *T. A.*, Tr. by Dey, I, p. 8.; *DHNI*, I, pp. 60 ff; II, pp. 688ff.

river was deep no one could cross it without the permission of the Sultan. But in some unexpected manner, sixty of the personal slaves or guards of the Sultan suddenly crossed the river, threw the army of Naro Jaipāl into confusion and routed it. Naro Jaipāl with some of the infidels escaped. The slaves did not come back to the Sultan, but attacked the town which was in the neighbourhood and finding it empty, plundered and ravaged it and destroyed the idol temples.”

Nizāmuddīn then describes Mahmūd’s march in pursuit of Nandā (Bidā), who “prepared for battle and collected an immense army,” consisting of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot-soldiers and 390 elephants. He then adds: “When the Sultan encamped in front of Nandā’s (Bidā’s) army, he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit and to accept Islām. Nandā (i.e. Vidyā) refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection.” It is then said that the Sultan was frightened by the Nandā’s force and prayed God for victory, but in the night Bidā fled away from the field on account of the fear of the invader. Next morning when the Sultan came to know of this “he stretched out his hand for destruction and plunder”, recovered immense booty and found five hundred and eighty elephants belonging to the army of Nandā (Bidā) in a wood¹⁴.

Nizāmuddīn does not give the name of the place which was plundered and ravaged by the slaves of the Sultan. He does not say anything about the fate of Naro Jaipāl after his force was scattered by the slaves, but begins to describe the pursuit of Nandā (Bidā) by Mahmūd. The name of the place where Nandā (Bidā) was camping is also not given. And when Nandā (Bidā) had come with only 390 elephants, how could Mahmūd discover 580 elephants in the wood !

The *rājā* of Kanauj who had submitted to Mahmūd and had been killed by Nandā (Chandella Vidyādhara), was the Pratihāra Rājyapāla¹⁵, who had succeeded his father Vijayapāla sometime

14 *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*. Tr. by Dey, I, pp. 12-13.

15 The Moslem chroniclers are at variance regarding the form of Rājyapāla’s name. Rājyapāla has been confused into Rai-Jaipāl, Rāja Pāl,

after 960 A.D., his last known date from the Rajor inscription¹⁶ and had been himself succeeded by his son Trilochanapāla some time before V.S. 1084 (1027 A.D.), the date of the Jhusi inscription¹⁷. This is confirmed by a Mahoba inscription which says that Vidyādhara “had caused the destruction of the king of Kanyākubja¹⁸.” The Dubkund inscription of the Kachchhapaghātas not only further confirms the above facts but says that Arjuna, the Kachchhapaghāta prince, “Having anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones...¹⁹” Vidyādhara and Rājyapāla of this inscription are no other than kings of these names respectively of the Chandella and the Pratihāra families. This proves beyond any further doubt that Nandā of the Moslem chroniclers was a mistake for Bidā, meaning Vidyādhara. Nandā cannot be identified with Gaṇḍa. Dr. Ray also demonstrated this fully²⁰. The view that Rājyapāla was killed during the reign of Gaṇḍa and that the force sent against the king of Kanauj was commanded by Vidyādhara as a crown prince²¹ is untenable in view of the evidence quoted above. This should now set at rest all controversy regarding the identity of Nandā or Bidā of the Moslem chroniclers.

When Mahmūd invaded India in *A.H.* 410, before he came in contact with Vidyādhara, he had to fight against a king who is called Baru-Jaypāl by ‘Utbi²², Taru-Jaypāl and Naru-Jaypāl by

Rājaipāl and finally Jaypāl. Dr. Ray has shown that Rājyapāla was changed from Rajyal (or Rajpāl) into Rajibal or Rājpal (a mistake for Rājpal), Jaypāl Rāi, Jayapāl. (*DHNI.*, I, p. 599, fn. 1.)

16 *El.*, III, pp. 263 ff.

17 *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

18 *El.*, I, pp. 221-22, v. 22.

19 ... श्रीमानर्जुनभूपतिः॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्य-

निरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकवाणनिवहैर्हत्वा महत्याहवे ।...॥

Ibid. II, p. 237, lines 11-12.

20 *DHNI.*, I, p. 606.

21 Tripathy: *History of Kanauj*, p. 286, fn. 1.

22 Elliot & Dowson, II, pp 47ff; *DHNI*, I, p. 600.

Nizāmuddīn²³ and Paru-Jaypal by Ibn ul-Athīr²⁴ *KZA*²⁵ calls him Taru-Jaypāl or simply Jaypāl.

The identification of Baru, Taru, Naru or Paru-Jaypal with Trilochanapāla²⁶, successor of Pratihāra Rājyapāla, cannot be accepted for the simple reason that while according to Nizāmuddīn, Ibn ul-Athīr and others he was killed by the Hindus in *A. H.* 410 when after his defeat by Mahmūd on the bank of a river he was proceeding towards Bari²⁷, whereas Trilochanapāla, successor of Rājyapāla, was alive and ruling in 1027 A.D. according to the Jhusi stone inscription²⁸. *Ta' rīkh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr after describing the death of Rājyapāla at the hands of Bidā, i.e. Vidyādhara says "that on the approach of Mahmūd Taru-Jaypāl proceeded towards Bari after crossing the Ganges." This appears to have been in the hope, if at all, of getting help promised by Vidyādhara (called Nandā). According to Nizāmuddin he had come to assist Nandā (Vidhādhara). Mahmūd followed him, crossed the river and scattered his army and Paru-Jaypāl had to flee away with a few Hindus²⁹. Mahmūd "went towards Bari and found it deserted"³⁰.

After his defeat by Mahmūd, Paru-Jaipāl "started to meet Bidā, but some of the Hindus surprised and killed him". He adds further: "After this event Yāminī ud-Daulāh started towards the city of Bari, which is one of the strongest fortresses; and he found it deserted by its inhabitants and razed it to the ground".³¹

23 *TA.*, Tr. by Dey, I, p. 12; *DHNI.*, I, p. 601.

24 *TKA.* (Bulak) IX, pp. 115-16; *DHNI.*, I, p. 601, fn. 1.

25 *KZA.*, p. 76 as quoted by Ray: *DHNI.*, I, p. 603, fn. 3.

26 Tripathy: *History of Kanauj*, p. 287; *DHNI.*, I, pp. 600-608.

27 *TA.* Tr. by Dey, pp. 12; *TKA.*, Bulak, IX, pp. 115-16, quoted in *DHNI.*, I, p. 605 fn. 2. Al Beruni gives the date of his death as *A.H.* 412 (Elliot & Dowson, New Edn. II, p. 468.)

28 *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

29 Quoted in *DHNI.*, I, p. 605 fn. 2.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 608, fn. 1; *TKA.* (Bulak), IX, p. 116.

31 *TKA.* (Bulak), 1874, vol. IX, p. 116.

Rājyapāla had made Bari his capital after his own defeat and sack of Kanauj at the hands of Mahmūd. Alberuni and *K.Z.A* state this. Alberuni says that 'the capital was transferred to the city of Bari, east of the Ganges.' "Between the two towns (i.e. Bari and Kanauj) there was a distance of three or four days' march."³² But when Baru or Paru Jaipāl (who had come to help Vidyādhara, according to some) goes towards Bari to seek Vidyādhara's help, it shows firstly that Vidyādhara was encamping there and if Vidyādhara was encamping there it shows further that Bari was not the capital of Baru or Paru Jaipāl at that time. If he was the successor of Rājyapāla, that would mean that he had once again transferred the capital to Kanauj after Mahmūd's departure. But if he was a successor of Rājyapāla it is difficult to believe that he should have tried to help or seek help from Vidyādhara when the latter had killed his father or predecessor. And if he was running to Bari for help, it is difficult to understand why he should have been surprised and killed by the Hindus, who could be no other than the Hindus of the Chandella camp at Bari. This shows that Baru or Paru Jaipāl was not related to Rājyapāla, that he was not his successor either, that a prince known as Baru or Paru Jaipāl did escape to Bari when pursued by Mahmūd, that Vidyādhara was at that time encamping at Bari and that Baru or Paru Jaipāl was killed by some of the Hindus before he could reach Bari.

The location of Bari and the identification of Rāhib or the river on the banks of which it was situated is important for identification of this prince and the course of events to which he is central. According to one source the battle took place on the bank of a river.³³ It is named Rāhib by 'Utbi.'³⁴ A third source says that the battle was fought at a place which

32 Sachau (Trübner), I, p. 199.

33 *TKA*. (Bulak), 1874, vol. IX, pp. 115-16; Elliot & Dowson II, p. 50.

34 *DHNI.*, I, p. 605, fn. 2.

Baru or Paru Jaipāl reached after crossing the Ganges when he was on his way to Bari.³⁵ Nizāmuddīn calls the river Jun.³⁶

Hodivala³⁷ has almost with complete certainty identified the river Rāhib with Rāmgangā and thus confirmed the suggestion of Elliot and Dowson.³⁸ Alberuni³⁹, in fact, clearly says that the waters of the Ganges, Rāhab, Gudi and Sarju meet near the city of Bari. He places the city at a distance of three days' march eastwards of Kanauj.

It is significant to note that while pursuing Baru or Paru Jaipāl Mahmūd is not mentioned as having gone to Kanauj. In fact no reference is made to the city during this expedition, a significant omission when it is said that he had come all the way from Ghaznī in order to retrieve the murder of Rājyapāla. If that is so, it is really surprising to note that he should not have contacted the successor of Rājyapāla on arrival in the region of Kanauj. Or, if Kanauj had been lost to the successors of Rājyapāla, it is not understandable why Mahmūd did not make an attempt to regain Kanauj, retrieve the lost position and restore the city to the successor of Rājyapāla and his own prestige?

Some scholars have distinguished Baru Jaipāl of 'Utbi from Paru, Naru or Taru-Jaipāl of Nizāmuddīn and others, as also from the prince who opposed Mahmūd on the banks of Rāhib and identified with Trilochanapāla.⁴⁰ Dr. Ray has demonstrated that Trilochanapāla could be easily confused with Baru Paru Naru or Taru Jaipāl in the Arabic script.⁴¹ But this cannot be an argument for the identification of this prince with Trilochanapāla, whether of Pratihāra or any other family.^{41a}

According to some of the chroniclers this prince Baru, Paru, or Taru Jaipāl was a contemporary of Rājyapāla. Nizāmuddīn⁴²

35 *KZA*, p. 76; *DHNI.*, I, p. 605, fn. 2.

36 *TA.*, Tr. by Dey, p. 13.

37 *Studies in Indo-Moslem History*, I, p. 150

38 Elliot & Dowson, II, pp. 49-50.

39 Sachau, (Trübner), I, pp. 199, 201.

40 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 284.

41 *DHNI.*, I, pp. 600ff.

41a *Ibid.*, II, pp. 607-08.

42 *TA.*, Tr. by Dey, I, pp. 12-13.

records that when Mahmūd invaded India in *A.H.*410, he was opposed on the banks of the river Jun by a prince named Naro-Jaypāl “who had several times fled before his armies.” While describing Mahmūd’s attack on Chand Rai, “One of the greatest men in Hind, who resided in the fort of Sharwa,” after his conquest of Kanauj, Munj and Asi, ‘Utbi⁴³ says that “between him (Chand Rai) and Paru-Jaipāl there had been constant fights”. After this they decided to come to terms. Both of them negotiated a matrimonial alliance and Bhīmapāla, son of Paru Jaipāl, was sent to Chand Rai to obtain the bride, but he was imprisoned. “Jaipāl (i.e. Paru Jaipāl), according to ‘Utbi, “was restrained from proceeding against Chand Rai’s fort and country, being unable to release his son, but constant skirmishes occurred between them, until the arrival of Sultan Mahmūd in those parts, ...”. Paru Jaipāl, as the account proceeds, entered into a friendly compact with Bhoj Chand to save his own life. Chand Rai also, at Bhīmpāla’s suggestion, fled away into thick forest when pursued by Mahmūd, who overtook him on 25th of *Sba’bān A.H.* 409 = 6th January, 1019 A.D. The battle of Rāhib is then described by ‘Utbi as part of the account of Mahmūd’s invasion in *A.H.*410.

No details of the family or the country, to which these two princes belonged is given by ‘Utbi. But both the sources quoted above have mentioned Paru or Taru Jaipāl during the expedition which Mahmūd had launched against Kanauj and Rājyapāla. There is no reference to any kind of relationship between Rājyapāla and this prince. The suggestion that the two ruled conjointly cannot be accepted in the absence of any evidence to show that there was a system of conjoint rule among the Gurjar-Pratihāras of Kanauj.

Ibn ul-‘Athīr’s⁴⁴ account deserves to be examined for the identity of Paru or Baru Jaipāl. He speaks of extensive preparations made by Mahmūd in *A.H.* 409 (a mistake for *A.H.*

43 Elliot & Dowson, II, pp. 47-51.

44 *TKA* (Bulak), 1874, IX, pp. 115-16 Quoted in Ray: *DHNI.*, I, pp. 604-05.

410)⁴⁵ for an expedition against India. He writes that “Bidā, the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and had the largest armies, and whose territory was named Kha-jarāha” had killed Rājyapāla “for his flight and surrender of his territories to the Musalmans”. He then adds “this success added to the mischief and refractoriness of Bidā, and his fame spread throughout India. *Then one of the rulers of India whose territory had been conquered by Yamīn ud-Daulāb, and whose armies had been routed, went to Bidā and entered his service and sought his protection. He (Bidā) promised to restore to him his country and to protect him, but he made the coming of winter and the continuous fall of the rains an excuse. And when this news reached Yamīn ud-Daulāb he was disturbed and prepared to fight.*” He then marched forth into India and crossed the Ganges. “After that” as Athīr continues “he hastened on and on his way he heard about a king of India called Paru Jaypāl. He fled before him and sought the shelter of Bidā, so that the latter might protect him. Mahmūd traversed stages after stages and overtook Paru Jaypāl and his followers on 14th of *Sha’ban*; between him and the Hindus there was a deep river.”⁴⁶ First some of the soldiers of his army crossed the river, they were followed by the Sultan himself. There was a big battle between Paru Jaipāl and Mahmūd and which the former lost. Paru Jaipāl then asked Mahmūd for peace which Mahmūd agreed to grant on condition that the enemy accepted Islam. This condition not being acceptable to Paru Jaipāl he “started to meet Bidā, but some of the Hindus surprised and killed him⁴⁷.”

The year of the battle cannot be *A.H.* 409 as 14th of *Sha’ban* 409 *A.H.* corresponds to 26 December 1018 A. D., which is earlier to 25th of *Sha’ban* 409 *A.H.* (6th January, 1019 A. D.) of ‘Utbi. The correct date should be 14 *Sha’ban*

45 *DHNI.*, I, p. 604, fn. 3.

46 Ray is correct when he says that this is Rāhib of ‘Utbi (*DHNI.*, I, p. 605, fn. 1)

47 Cf. fn. 44 above.

A.H. 410, corresponding to 15th December 1019 A. D.⁴⁸ The reason for Mahmūd's attack in *A.H.* 410 given by Athīr is not so much Bidā killing Rājyapāl (as the account of other chroniclers goes) but the fact that one of the rulers who had been defeated by Mahmūd and whose territory had been conquered by him "went to Bidā and entered his service and sought his protection," and Bidā giving this king a promise to restore to him his territory and to protect him. "This news disturbed Mahmūd and he prepared to fight." When Mahmūd reached the Ganges, not far away from Bari, he was confronted by Paru Jaipāl, who, when pursued and defeated by Mahmūd, runs in the direction of Bari to seek the help of Bidā. This shows that Paru Jaipāl was under the protection of Bidā, that he was not far away from Kanauj itself as this city was at a distance of only three days' march from Bari.

None of the chroniclers have referred to any treaty between Mahmūd and Rājyapāla when the latter was defeated by the former. Further it has been clearly mentioned that after his defeat Rājyapāla goes to Bari and makes the city his capital. Kanauj itself was left to the invaders to be plundered and sacked to their heart's contents. And, after all the booty was collected, Mahmūd went back leaving Kanauj and Rājyapāla to their own fate. Rājyapāla is then mentioned by the chroniclers only to say that he was attacked by Bidā for having surrendered his territory to Mahmūd and for his pusillanimity of having run away before the invader and that Bidā killed him. None of these writers have given any details of the fate of Rājyapāla after he went to Bari; whether he remains there or returns to Kanauj after Mahmūd's departure is not stated. In fact Kanauj itself is not heard of until the Jhusi inscription of 1027 A. D. of Trilochanapāla⁴⁹, son of Rājyapāla.

48 The confusion in the date for this invasion created by the Moslem chroniclers is discussed by Dr. Ray: *DHNI.*, I, pp. 600, 603-04, fn. 3; 598 fn. 2; II, p. 598.

49 *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

The above description shows that the Moslem chroniclers have utterly confused the sequence of events and the names of the *dramatis personae*. The story seems to be as follows. In *A.H.* 409 Mahmūd, after defeating Rājyapāla and the latter's flight to Bari, plunders and sacks Kanauj. He then leaves for Ghaznī and in the absence of Rājyapāla as well as any treaty between the two, either Kanauj was left to its own fate to be occupied by some one, may be Rājyapāla himself, or given over to some prince who had accepted Mahmūd's overlordship and who could certainly not be Rājyapāla since no treaty between the two was concluded and as Rājyapāla had already escaped to Bari. He is not heard of until after Mahmūd had left India. After Mahmūd's departure Rājyapāla appears to have emerged from his hide out at Bari, seeks the protection of Bidā and with his help reoccupies Kanauj. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of 'Athīr who says that one of the rulers of India "whose territory had been conquered by Yamīn ud-Daulāh, and whose army had been routed went to Bidā and entered his service and sought his protection."⁵⁰ Bidā himself seems to have advanced to Bari in support of Rājyapāla. The account of *KZA*. is also significant when it says that Nandā (Bidā) had promised help to Taru Jaipāl and had agreed to take an army into his country." Who this Taru Jaipāl was and why Nandā (Bidā) should have accepted to take his army to help him is not given. And the country to which this prince belonged is also not revealed. If this invasion was launched against Vidyādhara, it is surprising that instead of Vidyādhara seeking somebody's help, he goes to help Taru Jaipāl against Mahmūd. And what is rather unbelievable is that when Mahmūd was marching against him, Vidyādhara, instead of making his own defence and preparations for the fight, goes out of his country to help some one ; he goes so far from his own capital Kālāñjara as Bari near Kanauj and immediately withdraws after the defeat of Paru Jaipāl or Baru Jaipāl by Mahmūd and after having killed that prince.

⁵⁰ Ray: *DHNI.*, I, p. 605; *TKA* (Bulak), 1874, IX pp. 115-16.

All the evidence discussed above responds to reason if Paru, Taru, Naru, Baru Jaipāl is identified with Rājyapāla. The name Rājyapāla itself after being corrupted into various forms is changed into Jaypāl. *KZA.* does not appear to be making any difference between Paru or Taru Jaypāl and Jaypāl. The prince whom Vidyādhara had taken under his protection and whom he had promised help and to restore to his country is no other than Rājyapāla himself and Mahmūd came down to India in *A.H.* 410 to punish Vidyādhara for this only. When Rājyapāla fled away from the battle on the banks of Rāhib, Vidyādhara preferred to kill an ally of this kind.

The exact similarity in the circumstances leading to the death of Rājyapāla by Bidā and Paru or Taru Jaypāl by some of the Hindus deserves notice. Rājyapāla after his escape from Kanauj crosses the Ganges and goes towards Bari. Baru Jaypal also after his defeat on the banks of the Rāhib crosses the Ganges and runs towards Bari. Rājyapāla was killed by Bidā for his surrender to Mahmūd and Paru or Taru Jaypāl was also killed by some of the Hindus for running away from the battle. The Hindus could be no other than the Hindus of the Chandella camp.

Since the Moslem chroniclers have always depicted their patron's victory over every Indian adversary of his as complete, they could not think that Mahmūd would have launched another invasion against Rājyapāla. Hence, they tried to distinguish the two kings who opposed him during his expeditions of *A.H.* 409 and 410. During the second expedition it is said that Baru or Paru Jaipāl (i.e. Rājyapāla) first requested Mahmūd for peace and when he learnt that he will get it on condition that he changed his religion to Islam he tried to escape to Bari. This certainly must have infuriated Vidyādhara for the reason that Rājyapāla not only offered to surrender but requested for terms on the back of his ally who had come all the way from Kālāñjara to help him. The only course open for him was to kill the traitor.

It appears Vidyādhara was at Bari at the time the battle was being fought on the banks of the river Rāhib. Once Rājyapāla had lost it and left the battlefield there was nothing left between

Mahmūd and Vidyādhara to stop the former marching against the latter. Finding himself exposed to immediate attack by the invaders far away from his own country, Vidyādhara withdrew from Bari. Ibn ul-Athīr says that after this event Yamīn ud-Daulā “started towards the city of Bari, which is one of the strongest fortresses ; and he found it deserted by its inhabitants and razed (it) to the ground.”⁵¹ Bari itself was completely destroyed. Mahmūd ‘burnt all the temples and plundered whatever was found.’⁵²

Having captured Bari, Mahmūd started in pursuit of Bidā as Ibn ul-Athīr says.⁵³ *KZA* records that after the destruction of Bari, Mahmūd marched towards the army of Nandā.⁵⁴ Mahmūd is said to have overtaken Vidyādhara on the banks of a river, which is not named. The accounts of the conflict between the two according to the different Moslem chroniclers are not the same. According to Ibn ul-Athīr there was a fierce combat between the two forces “until night overtook them and parted them”. Under cover of darkness Vidyādhara withdrew from the field. When Mahmūd found the field deserted, he plundered the Chandella camp and began pursuit of that army, which he is said to have overtaken in forests and thickets and killed and captured a large number of them. But Vidyādhara escaped “single-handed and Yamīn ud-Daulāh returned victorious to Ghaznā.”⁵⁵ Nizāmuddīn⁵⁶ does not refer to any fight between the two forces. He says that Vidyādhara after pulling out his forces from the vicinity of the river on the banks of which the battle between Mahmūd and Rājyapāla had taken place retreated for some distance and ultimately decided to face the invader, probably at a ground of his own choice and favourable to him. Mahmūd summoned Vidyādhara to submit, which the latter refused. He then reconnoitered the field of battle and found

51 *TKA.*, p. 116.

52 *DHNI.*, II, p. 608, fn. 1; *KZA.*, p. 76.

53 *TKA.*, p. 116.

54 *DHNI.*, II, p. 608, fn. 1.

55 *TKA.*, *DHNI.*, I, pp. 604-05.

56 *TA.*, Tr. by De I, pp. 12-13.

himself confronted by a formidable force. This made him repent over the folly of having taken the risk of plunging into this adventure and prayed to God for victory. Nizāmuddīn then says that Vidyādhara deserted the field in the night as he was himself afraid of the invader. Next morning when Mahmūd heard this, having satisfied himself against any deception, he pounced upon the deserted Chandella camp for plunder and loot and recovered immense booty. It is needless to quote Al Badaoni or others whose records are full of contradictions, untrustworthy and concocted. Badaoni⁵⁷ says that Mahmūd invaded the dominions of Vidyādhara (called Nandā), who had killed Jaipāl for making his submission to the former. But at the same time he says that he came to help Jaipāl against Mahmūd and that when the battle began Jaipāl was overwhelmed with a terrible dread so that he took to flight, after which Mahmūd captured 580 elephants and went back to Ghaznī. How could Jaipāl take part in the battle when he had been already killed by Vidyādhara? And how could Jaipāl take to flight in a battle in which Vidyādhara was the main opponent? No further comments are necessary.

Whether there was an engagement, or not, between Mahmūd and Vidyādhara, the fact remains that Mahmūd had to withdraw from some place after giving up the pursuit. It is difficult to find the reason of this sudden withdrawal when he had come all the way from Ghaznī to punish Vidyādhara and had been pursuing him from Bari. If Vidyādhara had left the field on account of fright as Nizāmuddīn says or because of his weakness after the day long battle according to "Ibn ul-'Athīr, there was all the more reason for Mahmūd to pursue the fleeing force and destroy it and strike a blow on Vidyādhara from which he may never recover. But it is surprising to note that even after having come to destroy Vidyādhara from Ghaznī, Mahmūd should have decided to go back to Ghaznī from a place where he could attain his mission. When Mahmūd does not take advantage of the situation it seems that he withdrew because he had no hopes

57 *Muntakhab ut-Tawārikh*, Tr. by Ranking, vol. I, pp. 25-26.

of victory. He found in Vidyādhara a better general and tactician than himself. Vidyādhara had gone to Bari to help Rājyapāla against Mahmūd, but when he found that Rājyapāla had easily given way to the invader and was even prepared to make a treaty, he preferred to retreat after killing Rājyapāla so that he may not have to carry the burden of a traitor and the risk of treachery in his rank. Vidyādhara forced Mahmūd to follow him to the ground of his own choice. Whether there was any battle between the two is not certain. Of course, Mahmūd did get a booty according to all sources in the same manner as he had been getting a rich booty in all his expeditions. In any case the engagement was not decisive and Mahmūd failed in his main object of destroying the Chandella Vidyādhara.

To retrieve the rebuff he had received from Vidyādhara in *A.H.* 410 Mahmūd once again drove his plundering hordes into India in *A.H.* 413.⁵⁸ This time he marched into India by way of Gwalior, which according to Firishta formed part of the Chandella dominions. Reference to the Kachchhapaghātas ruling over that city as feudatories of the Chandellas has been made earlier. The fort of Gwalior was captured by Mahmūd after a siege of four days. He then marched forward to attack Kālañjara "which", as the Moslem chroniclers say, "has no equal in the whole country of Hindusthan for strength and impregnability."

The siege of Kālañjara is said to have been a long one. How long is not given by any source. The ruler of the country, Vidyādhara, is said to have then begged Mahmūd for peace and offered a ransom of 300 elephants to the invader. These elephants were let loose outside the gate of the fort, but at the command of Mahmūd the Turks captured and mounted them. The soldiers inside the fort and Nandā (i.e. Vidyā) too were

⁵⁸ Briggs: Firishta I, pp. 66-67. This gives the date for this expedition as 414 *A.H.* which as pointed out by Dr. Ray (*DHNI*, II, p. 692, fn. 1) should be *A.H.* 413. Ibn ul-Athir's reference to Mahmūd's conquest of a strong fort in India in *A.H.* 414, as pointed out by Dr. Ray, refers to his attack on Kālañjara in *A.H.* 413.

astonished at this and Vidyādhara is said to have composed some verses in *Hindi (lughat-i-Hindūī)* in praise of the Sultan. These were very much appreciated by the learned in his camp when shown to them. The Sultan thanked (!!!) Vidyādhara for this and conferred on him the command of 15 fortresses and gave him other presents. Nandā (Bidā i.e. Vidyādhara) also sent him rich presents. And then the Sultan returned home with victory and triumph !!! The two, as it is obvious, did not meet.

On the face of it the story is absurd. When Mahmūd had come for a second time to punish Vidyādhara and when Kālañjara had been besieged by him for a long time, if he accepted a tribute of 300 elephants as price of peace from Vidyādhara, it shows that Mahmūd found the task of capturing the fort as formidable and preferred to accept this offer to have an opportunity to withdraw. If Vidyādhara had let these 300 elephants loose into Mahmūd's camp that could be only with the intention of creating confusion and destruction in the enemy's camp and thereby seeking an opportunity of attacking him and driving him out from there. When Mahmūd succeeded in containing this danger by making his soldiers mount the elephants, he could not but interpret it as a deliberate strategem and treachery of Vidyādhara to score over him. The Moslem chroniclers are silent over his reactions to this clever ruse by the Chandella king. And if Mahmūd accepts Vidyādhara's poem in his praise, thanks the latter, confers on him the command of 15 fortresses and exchanges presents, with him, this cannot be interpreted as 'Victory' or 'Triumph' for him. On the other hand it proves that Mahmūd failed in his mission once again. He found that Kālañjara could not be captured, that the Chandellas were too strong to be conquered, that he had come far into the enemy country from where if he retreated after raising the siege, his retreat may be cut off and his forces smashed. For this reason he patched up peace with Vidyādhara. Mahmūd had always dictated peace on his enemies in India and the only term he had been offering them was that of conversion to Islam. But in the case of Vidyādhara not only that he confers favours on him but also exchanges presents as well. This shows

that Mahmūd was anxious for his own fate. This could not be any gain for him, *but failure*.

Thus, on both occasions, in *A.H.* 410 and 413, Mahmūd failed to score any victory over Chandella Vidyādhara. In 413 *A.H.* at best he had only patched up an honourable peace with him. Dr. Ray is also of the same view.⁵⁹ I do not subscribe to his view so far as the maintenance of friendly relations between the two are concerned. There could be nothing of the kind between Mahmūd and any of his Indian opponents. If Mahmūd could, he would have fully crushed Vidyādhara without any mercy and if he had been confident of doing that he would have returned a third time from Ghaznī for that. When Vidyādhara is called as the greatest ruler of India, having largest armies and Kālañjara as a strong and impregnable fort and when Vidyādhara had given an affront to Mahmūd by giving protection to a king whom Mahmūd had defeated, Mahmūd would have certainly craved for the glory of a victory over Vidyādhara and conquest of Kālañjara. Mahmūd did nothing to subdue him and this was because he failed to do it. The veracity of one instance of continuance of friendship between the two cited by Dr. Ray⁶⁰ is seriously doubted by himself.⁶¹ Kālañjara in this case as he himself thinks is no other than Kalunjar of Firishta on the frontiers of Kashmir. As Mahmūd could never establish dominion west of the Chandella dominions, he could not maintain friendly contacts with him even if he wanted to do so.

This defiance of Mahmūd by Vidyādhara when all other powers of India had one by one succumbed to his onslaught was certainly a remarkable achievement of his and amply justifies the admiration bestowed on him by the Moslem chroniclers when they describe him as “the greatest ruler of India in territory and as the one who had “the largest armies.”⁶² and that of the inscription referred to by me earlier when it says that he “churned the wide ocean of that valiant Moslem prince.”

SANT LAL KATARE

59 *DHNI.*, II, p. 693.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.* fn. 3.

62 *TAK* (Bulak), 1874, vol. IX, pp. 115.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras,
Part II (1958—59)

- V. RAGHAVAN—*The Yuktidīpikā on the Sāṃkhyakārikā*: This paper presents the fourth instalment of corrections, emendations and notes of the published text.
- S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI—*Categories according to the Prābhākara School of Mīmāṃsā*: This treatise (*Prābhākarānām Padārtha-prakriyā*) is an extract from an unpublished commentary on 'Jātinirṇaya', a chapter in Sālikanātha's *Prakaraṇa-pāñcikā* of the Prābhākara School of Mīmāṃsā. It is a brief survey of the categories accepted by Prābhākaras on the lines of *Tarkasamgraha* or *Saptapadārthi* of the Vaiśeṣika School.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Vol. XXXIX, Parts III-IV.

- P. T. RAJU—*Activism in Indian Thought*: Prof. Raju asserts that it is wrong to hold that Indian thought has had no activism. He says that each philosophy was concerned with a value of life and claimed to be the philosophy of whole life. He writes that our chief activist philosophy is Mīmāṃsā. The value which the Mīmāṃsā wants to defend is an indispensable value of life. The Mīmāṃsā activism, he says, is not Darwinian evolutionism; it is ethical activism. *Karma* (action), according to the Mīmāṃsakas is the Divine Principle. The nature of *Ātman* is not that of a mere on-looker, but of the participator and the agent. Action is the property of *Ātman*. The conflict between the Right and the Good appearing in Western ethics is found in Mīmāṃsā also. The philosophy of Mīmāṃsā, which, at first, laid all the emphasis on action or *dharma*, gradually gave place to *mokṣa* (salvation) and developed the doctrine of what is called *Karmayoga* or *Niṣkāmakarmayoga* in the *Bhagavadgītā*.
- C. R. DEVADHAR—*Amaruśataka with the Commentary of Koka-sambhava*: This text is critically edited with an introduction.

K. V. ANANTANARAYANA SASTRI—*Kāṇḍānukramaṇikā*.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN—*Harappan: Vedic: Proto-Historic* (with plates): This paper, throwing light on cultural and iconographic aspects of Harappan civilization, has been divided into eleven sections: (1) Harappan Civilization: The Problem; (2) Harappan: Quest for Clues; (3) Animals in Harappan, West Asian and Egyptian; (4) More about the Animals; (5) Animals in Harappan and Vedic; (6) Two Statuettes and Phallic Phenomena; (7) Phallic Phenomena and Renunciation; (8) The Statuettes and Indra and Śipiviṣṭa-Viṣṇu; (9) Upward Seed and Dying to Desire; (10) Śiṃśumāra-Viṣṇu and Paśupati-Rudra; (11) Uttānapad-Virāj and Creation.

R. D. KARMARKAR—*Did Śaṅkarācārya write a Bhāṣya on the Bhagavadgītā?*: Quoting examples from the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* and the *Gītābhāṣya*, the author adduces evidences to show that there are reasonable grounds to doubt the authenticity of Śaṅkara's authorship of the *Gītābhāṣya*.

Journal of the Asiatic Society (Letters),

Vol. XXIII, No. 2, 1957

HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP—*The Influence of Indian Thought on German Science, Philosophy and Literature*: In the first portion, the writer offers a sketch of the development of Indian studies (including literature in Sanskrit and Pali), from the time of Napoleon down to the present age. In the second portion he deals with the influence of Indian thought on German philosophy.

ERVIN BAKTAY—*New Data concerning the Life of Alexander Csoma de Körös*: In this paper the writer gives an account of the activities of Csoma de Körös in Tibet, which were not given by his biographer Theodore Duka, and also an account of his journey.

SATYA VRAT—*Conception of Space (Dik) in the Vākyapadīya*: The conception of space, as given by Bhaṭṭarhari and Helārāja, has been critically examined. Space is a force along with time. It is the cause of hypothetical valuation of priority

and posteriority between infinite things on the one hand and finite things on the other. Ākāśa is one, but this one Ākāśa comes to be differentiated by objects in association with it. It has been contended that neither 'oneness' nor 'manyness' of space can be exclusively predicated of space.

ANIL KUMAR RAY CHAUDHURI—*Does Memory yield True and Valid Knowledge?*: Some of the Indian philosophers like Udayana uphold the view that memory yields valid and true knowledge, while others like Jayanta are against it. The writer discusses the views of Jayanta, Udayana, Gaṅgeśa, Śrīdhara as also of Laird and Hamilton and Krishna Chandra Bhattacharya. He comments also on the attitude of the Prābhākaras.

M. SEN GUPTA—*Porcelain in Pre-historic India*: Porcelain in potteries was brought into use probably from the Chalcolithic period of the Indus Valley Culture. Most of the antiquities recorded and described in this essay are from Mahenjodaro and Harappa dating from 3250 B.C.

M. L. ROY CHOUDHURY—*Music in Islam*: In the Introduction, the writer discusses the place of music in Islam and gives a bibliography of works utilised by him. The topics dealt with in the paper are as follows: The Genesis of Music in Arabia, The Qur'an and Music. The Hadith and Music. The Orthodox Khilafas and Music (A.D. 632-661). Sahabis (Companions) and Music (in the light of Hadith). The 'Fuqaha' (Jurists) and Music. The 'Ulama' and Music. The Shi'as and Music. The Sufis and Music.

S. CHAUDHURY—*Bibliography of Indological Studies in 1954*: It is a comprehensive and very useful annual record of articles relating to Indological studies appearing in the periodical publications of 1954 with author and subject index.

Journal of the Assam Research Society,
Vol. XIII, 1959.

B. C. LAW—*The River Nerañjarā in Ancient India*: It is an exhaustive account of the Buddhist traditions associated with the river Nerañjarā.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI—*Ram Singh Malan of Mandvi*: It deals with the life of the navigator Ram Singh of the 18th century.

D. C. SIRCAR—*New Light on Paramāra History*: The writer has found new facts in three inscriptions recently discovered, throwing fresh light on certain problem of Paramāra history. The first is a stone inscription incised during the viceroyalty of Ahavamalla Satyāśraya (circa 973-97 A.D.); the second is a copper-plate charter issued by Vatsarāja during the reign of Bhoja ; and the third is also a copper-plate grant issued during the reign of Jayasiṃha, son of Devapāla (circa 1218-36 A. D.).

P. C. CHAUDHURY—*Kamarūpa Nṛpati Jayapāladeva*: In this paper it has been shown that the history of the family of Dharmapāla (of the line of Brahmapāla of Pragjyotispur) ended just after Jayapāla. Vaidyadeva made fresh conquests in the eastern direction at the cost of Jayapāla and declared himself independent of the Pālas of Gauḍa.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY — *Art of Tribal Folk*.

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE — *Mahāyāna Buddhism*: In this paper the history of the cessation of the schools, emergence of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the difference between the ideals of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and the conception of Trikāya have been dealt with.

V. S. AGRAWALA — *Śarabha-Mūrti*: The author has discussed "What is Śarabha" meaning an animal, utilising various works including the *R̥gveda*.

BRATINDRA KUMAR SEN GUPTA—*The Basic Concept in Perception in Sāṅkhya and Advaita*: It is a comparative study relating to direct awareness of the object perception according to the Sāṅkhya and Advaita philosophy.

SATYENDRANATH SARMA—*The Saga of the Brahmaputra*: The paper deals with the following topics: (a) the cause of the absence of name of the river Brahmaputra in the scriptures, (b) antiquity of the names, (c) source of the river, (d) references in ancient literatures, (e) inscriptional references.

B. K. BARUA—*Fish-Lore of Assam.*

MAHESWAR NEOG—*Śaṅkaradeva's Uttara-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana*: The first section deals with the reason for the absence of Uttara-kāṇḍa in Assamese versions of the *Rāmāyana*, the second section with a brief sketch of Śaṅkaradeva's "Uttara-kāṇḍara kathāsāra" (the last book of the *Rāmāyana*).

Journal of the Oriental Institute,

Vol. IX, No. 1, Sept., 1959

G. H. BHATT—*On Vālmikī*: It is a continued article with the object of collecting all the information about Vālmikī from literary sources. The earliest reference to Vālmikī is found in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* but not in the *Vedas*.

SHIV PRASAD BHATTACHARYYA—*The Rasārṇavālaṃkāra*: It is an attempt to discuss the nature, the fundamentals as well as the scope and limitations of *Rasārṇavālaṃkāra*, its usefulness, date and place of its author.

BRIJ MOHAN—*The Terminology of Bhāskara*: In this article some terms from Bhāskarācārya's "*Bījagaṇita*" have been dealt with.

D. B. DISKALKAR—*Studies in Jain Inscriptions*: The writer's object is to show that Jain inscriptions are more useful for preparing a history of Jainism than the Jain literature. He points out that those inscriptions recording an event which took place long before the date of the inscriptions are not always authentic. He considers the Jain inscriptions of Mathura as of supreme importance.

U. P. SHAH & R. N. Mehta—*Place-names in the Grant of Dadda III*: It is an attempt to identify the place-names in the grant of Dadda, the Gurjara king.

MUNISHCHANDRA JOSHI—*Minor Sculptures showing the Scenes from the life of the Buddha at the Caves of Ajanta*: In this paper an attempt has been made to identify a few pieces of minor sculptures found in the façade of cave No. 1 and the caitya hall No. 26, hitherto unidentified.

A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR—*The Development of the Doctrine of Nyāsa and its Application—Deification of a Juristic Idea*: The writer first essays to show how several rules of law came into conflict, while some of which succeeded. He then discusses how the new concept of *Nyāsa* came into being, and Bharata nurtured it. Lastly the writer institutes a comparison between the law of *Nyāsa* and the English law of trust.

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHURY—*The Extent of Kuṣāna Rule in North Bihar*.

MAYA PRASAD TRIPATHI—*Science of Geography in the Vālmikī Rāmāyaṇa*: The writer opens the paper with a note on the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The whole study has nine sub-heads: (1) Cosmogony, cosmology and cosmography. (2) Astronomical geography. (3) The earth—its interior, geology, solidification, earthquake, volcanoes, and other terrestrial phenomena, namely Aurora Borealis and the like. (4) Physiography, topography, geomorphology, mountains, rivers, deserts, soils and other allied topics. (5) Climatology, meteorology, rainfall and other aspects. (6) Oceans, oceanography, waves, currents, tides, ocean flora and fauna and wealth, navigation and maritime activities. (7) Countries known, exploration, regional geography, flora and fauna, economic and commercial geography (canals, minerals, trade and industry, census) and urban geography. (8) Concepts of ethnology and anthropology. (9) Land measurement, survey work, diagram making, plans of towns, sacrificial place (*yajñasālā*) and buildings.

V. M. VEDEKAR & U. J. SANDESARA—'Kalka' in the *Mahābhārata* I. 1, 210.] The two writers attribute two different meanings to the word 'Kalka'. Shri Sandesara interprets it as 'Siddhi' while Shri Bedekar takes it to mean 'impurity'. Both adduce evidences in support of their own contention.

Nagari Pracarini Patrika, Samvat, 2014, Parts 2-3.

MATAPRASAD GUPTA—*Purātana Prabandha-Samgraha aur "Pṛthvī-rājarāso"*. The writer has commented on Pṛthvīraja-prabandha

included in the *Purātanaprabandhasamgraha* of Sri Muni Jinavijayaji.

VASUDEV SARAN AGRAWAL—*Rājasthan men Bhāgavata Dharma kā Prācīna Kendra*: The writer offers a new interpretation of an inscription found at Madhyamikā. The inscription was issued by one Pārasāriputra Sarvatrāta of Gajāyana gotra. Notes on important words have been given. This place has been a famous centre of the Bhāgavata religion from ancient times.

RATNACHANDRA AGRAWAL—*Mevāda ke Ajñāta Praśastikāra evam Kavi*: The paper deals with the composers of the different inscriptions found in Mewar beginning from the pre-Christian era down to the 17th century.

BUDDHA PRAKASH—*Mahābhārata—Ek Aitihāsika Adhyayana*: This paper contains a historical study of the *Mahābhārata* in eight sections: (1) Current Theories about the *Mahābhārata*, (2) Kaurava and Pāṇḍava, (3) Yellow Colour of Pāṇḍu, (4) Usage of Polyandry, (5) Cult of Satī, (6) Arjuna and Kuca and Karasahr of Central Asia, (7) Arjuna, R̥ṣika and Yueh chi, (8) Sakas in Central Asia.

RAJABALI PANDEYA—*Madhyadeśīya Saṃskṛti*: This paper deals with the cultural history of Central Asia.

BACCANA SIMHA—*Ṣoḍaśa Śṛṅgāra*: It is a discussion on sixteen modes of Toilet as found in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva.

UMAKANTA P. SHAH—*Nātha Siddhoṅ kī Prācīna Śilpa Mūrtiyā* (with plates). Iconographic representations of eleven Nāthayogins found in various places have been dealt with by the writer.

DEVASAHAYA TRIVED—*Viṣṇudhvaja*: This paper deals with the problem regarding the iron pillar and the inscription incised on it, found at Delhi-Meherauli, in the precinct of the mosque Kubbat-ul-Islam. Various opinions regarding the king mentioned in the inscription and its date have been given. The first line of the inscription mentions the name of "Kaca". According to the writer the name of this pillar

is Viṣṇudhvaja, which was made by Samudragupta. Candragupta II had ordered the incision of this inscription.

The Calcutta Review,

Vol. 153, No. 2, 1959

P. S. SASTRI—*Perceptual Apprehension* : This paper deals with the problems regarding the Contact Theory, such as, Is there any necessary relation between the sense-organ and the object determining that a specific object is cognised by a specific sense-organ ? Is it that a sense-organ comes into contact first with a distant object and then with one nearby ? And if the eye is said to perceive not only the object, but also the space intervening between it and the object, is this space existent or non-existent ?

HERAMBA NATH SASTRI—*Dharma and its Sources as viewed by the Mīmāṃsakas* : The writer deals with the interpretations of *Dharma*, the relative strength of the two injunctions—Vedic and Smṛti, if there arises any controversy ; the connotation of the term Smṛti; the authority of *Śiṣṭācāra*—in case where neither Vedic nor Smṛti text is available for certain usages; one's duty when one *Sadācāra* comes into conflict with another, etc.

University of Ceylon Review,

vol. XVII, Nos. 1 & 2, Jan.—April, 1959

N.A. JAYAWICKRAMA—*Buddhaghosa and the Traditional Classification of the Pali Canon* : The writer thinks that the classification of the Pali Canonical texts into *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* was broad-based with no reference to any Piṭaka as Buddhaghosa tries to show, and that it was as old as Pali Buddhism itself.

The Vaitānasūtra'

XXXII

1. In the (Pṛṣṭhya-) ṣaḍaha the Stotriya-tṛcas for the Ājya-śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin during all six days are the same as in the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha. In the first two days the inserted passage and the Stotriya- and the Anurūpa-tṛcas of the Pṛṣṭha (śastra) of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin are the same.

2. On the third (day of the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha) in the Ājya-śastra the Āvāpa i.e. the insertable passage consists of the group of five stanzas; "Be victorious in the battles" (XX.19.6-20.3).

3. On the fourth day the group of nine stanzas: "Of the much applauded with hundred ways" (XX.19.9-20.6).

4. On the fifth day the group of fifteen verses: "If I, oh Indra, like you" (XX.27-29).

5. On the sixth day the twenty one verses: "May you applaud the lord of the cattle with the hymn" (XX.92).

6. On the third and the following days (of the Pṛṣṭha-ṣaḍaha) the stanzas, of which the first begins as: "We indeed possess the Soma for you" (XX.52-57.6) stand as the Stotriya- and the Anurūpa-tṛcas (for the Pṛṣṭha-śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin).

7. On the fourth day in the same śastra the Brahmaṇācchaṁsin inserts before the Sampāta hymn the six stanzas, of which the first begins: "To you, all these pressings, oh hero" (XX.73); of these the first three by half-verse.¹

8. On the fifth day the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin inserts the Paṅkti hymn of seven stanzas, which begins as: "If we always to you, the real drinker of the Soma" (XX.74). On all occasions

*Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. XXXV, No. 3, September, 1959, Supplement, p. 95.

¹ Caland suggests that instead of the expression *purostāt sampātāḥ*, which Garbe maintains, *purostāt sampātāt* is to be read.

after two pādas he stops and annexes the fifth to the same ; or stopping after three pādas he adds the last two to them.

9. On the sixth day the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsim inserts in the same śāstra the hymn: "The pairs seeking assistance have assaulted you" (XX.75). Of the seven pādas each time he recites one, stops and then attaches two (pādas) to it, then he stops after two and add the last two to them.²

10. And also the hymn, containing eight stanzas: "He, who is in the wood or is not even placed down and was pleased with it" (XX.76).

11. On the intermediate days of the Pṛṣṭha-ṣaḍaha the Stotriya-and the Anurūpa-tṛcas at the Uktha-śāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin are the same as at the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha.

12. On the sixth day of the Pṛṣṭha-ṣaḍaha the Stotriya- and the Anurūpa-tṛcas for the Uktha-śāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin are the two stanzas, which consist of half-verses and which are to be taken pāda by pāda: "We shall make these worlds prosper" (XX.63.1 and 2 ab) and: "As the gods came back after having killed the demons" (XX.63.2c-3).

13. In the same śāstra the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin inserts the Sukīrti hymn: "Oh generous Indra! drive away our enemies, who are in front" (XX.125); he recites the fourth stanza of the same by half-verse.

14. Then the Vṛṣākapi hymn: "They have given up the pressing indeed" (XX.126) making a pause after every quarter of a verse, but without stopping for taking the breath ; he stops after the second pāda of every stanza ; in the third pāda of every stanza in the second and the last vowels and also two (of the O. series), which begin with them (i.e. the mentioned vowels) he makes the Nyunkha and the Ninarda and then attaches to it (i.e. the third pāda) the last pair of pādas.³

2 Caland suggests that the word *sapta* in the sūtra should be read as the beginning word of the following line.

3 Caland translates the last sentence as: "im dritten pāda jeder (strophe) nimmt er mit dem zweiten und letzten vokal und in den beiden (o-Reihen), welche mit den eben genannten vokalen anheben, den

15. In the Nyūnkha and the Pratigara the pluti occurs in the first, fourth, eighth and the twelfth places ; in the Ninarda in the first and the third, the second bears the Svarita (accent).

16. As for example :

• 17. *Vi hi sotar asṛkṣata nendraṁ devam amaṁsata 1 yatro*
30003 00003 00003 *madad vṛsākapo 3003 aryah puṣṭeṣu*
matakḥā viśvasmāt indra uttarom 1 parā hindra (etc).

18. In the Pratigara: 03 0003 00003 00003. The Pratigara for the Ninarda is: *madetha madaivo 3003 thāma daiva*.

19. Then he inserts the Kuntāpa hymn: “Oh people, pay heed to this” (XX.127.128), which is to be recited by half verse ; only the first fourteen stanzas are to be taken separately foot by foot.

20. Then the Aitaśapralāpa-hymn: “Those mares draw near by jumps” (XX.129-130), which is to be separated foot by foot ; on each occasion he makes the Praṇava at the end of the last pāda of these stanzas.

21. Then the Pravallika-stanzas: “The two rays are spread” (XX.133).

22. Then the Pratiṛādhas: “Here, in this manner, before, behind, above, below” (XX.134). He does not attach them.⁴

23. Then the three Ajijñāsenī stanzas: “He has come with Bhuj” (XX.135. 1-3).

24-25. There are fifteen Pratigaras in the Pravallikas and the following (section) (which are indeed):

“*dundubhiṁ ābananābhyāṁ jaritar othāmo daivo ; kośabile* (jaritar othāmo daiva); *rājani granther dānam (j.o.d)*; *upānabi pādām (j.o.d)*; *uttamāñ janimāñ janyām (j.o.d)*; *uttamāñ janīm* Nuṁkha und Ninarda vor, und schliesst darauf das letzte pāda-paar an.” Trans. “in the third pāda of every stanza with the second and the last vowels and also in the both (series) which begin with the just mentioned vowels he puts the Nuṁkha and the Ninarda and then attaches there the last pair of pādas.” Caland admits that the line is not at all clear to him and he has simply quoted the translation, which Garbe has given. We regret, we too cannot follow the translation of Garbe, which is surely cumbrous.

4 Caland omits the word *ittha* in his translation.

vartmanyāj (j.o.d); *alābuni* (j.o.d) *ṛṣātakāni* (j.o.d); *aśvatthapalāśam* (j.o.d); *pipilikāvato* (j.o.d); *Camaso* (j.o.d); *viprud* (j.o.d); *śva* (j.o.d); *parṇasādo* (j.o.d); *gośapho jaritar* (*othāmo daivo*)” for the preceding stanzas and the preceding formulas (XX.133,134,135. 1-3) (Comp. in S. Pandit’s ed XX.135 1-3).⁵

26. Then the Ativāda: “These gods have gone apart” (XX.135.4)

27. The two pratigaras following them are: “*Patni yaddṛśyate jaritar* (*othāmo daiva*)” and “*hotā viṣṭīmena jaritar* (*othāmo daiva*)” (XX 135. 5 in S. Pandit’s edition.)

28. Then the Devanītha hymn: “Oh Ādityas, the glorifiers” (XX. 135. 6-10), (which is to be recited) like the Aitaśa pralapa.

29. The two Pratigaras, which come after it but alternately are: “*Om ha jaritar*” and “*tathā ha jaritar*”.

30. Then the Bhutacchadaḥ stanzas: “Oh Indra, you grant protection” (XX. 135. 11-13).

31. Then the Āhanasya (-stanzas): “If of this narrowly split (XX. 136) (which is to be recited) like the Vṛṣākapi hymn.

32. The Pratigara (for the Nyuñkha) is here the ī-vowel, for the Ninarda is: “*kim ayam idam āho 30003 thāmo daiva*”.

33. Then the stanza: “I have thought of the Dadhikrāvan” (XX. 137. 3), which is to be recited by half-verse; then the Pāvamāna stanzas: “The Soma, which is the sweetest” (XX. 137. 4-6); then the stanzas: “The drop fell down into the vessel full of Soma juice” (XX. 137. 7-9), which is to be recited foot by foot.

34. He employs the last stanza of this ṛca as the concluding hymn or as the constant.

35. Some omit the Jagatī-ṛca, dedicated to Indra, but others consider the ṛca, dedicated to Indra-Bṛhaspati as the last, after they had already recited the Jagatī-ṛca, dedicated to Indra.

5 Caland suggests the words *śvasaḥ* and *vidyut* for *camasaḥ* and *viprud* respectively of the text of Garbe. But such a view has been vehemently contradicted by Garbe. He has unequivocally spoken of Śvasaḥ, Vidyut and also Parnasaphaḥ for Parnasādaḥ as mistakes of the copists.

XXXIII

1. In the Navarātra (section) there occur the Abhijit, the Viṣvant and the Viśvajit like the Caturviṃśa but without the Uktha; he inserts, however, all the Stotriya-ṛcas, which belong to the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha.

2. The Stotriya ṛcas for the Ājyaśastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin on the mentioned days are: "Oh bull in the Soma, dedicated to you" (XX. 22. 1-3), "Aloft to the rich in gifts" (XX. 7. 1-3); "They yoke the yellow, red and the moving" (XX. 26. 4-6)⁶

3. On the Svarasāma days the Stotriya-ṛcas for the Ājyaśastra are: "Come here we have pressed for you" (XX. 38. 1-3); "To Indra aloud the singers" (XX. 38. 4-6), "You appear to be united with Indra". (XX. 40. 1-3).

4. On the Svarasāma days the remaining portion of the ritual of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin is the same as that for the three days of the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha beginning from the second. The passage, which is to be inserted, contains five stanzas.

5. On the Viṣvant day, whose first Pṛṣṭha concerns the Sūrya hymns, the six Stotriya (-ṛcas) for the Ājyaśastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin are: "Hither to the Jātavedas" (XX. 97. 13-49. 3).⁷

6. The Stotriya-and the Anurūpa (-ṛcas) in the Pṛṣṭhaśastra on this occasion are: "The splendid form of gods manifests itself" (XX. 107. 14-15), "That is the divine glory of the sun, that is greatness" (XX. 58. 3-4), or "Indeed great you are, oh sun", "As if seething by the sun" (l.c. 1-2) or "Oh Indra, bring wisdom hither to us" (XX. 70) and "Oh Indra! bring the best hitherto us" or those, which are constant.⁸

6 In his translation Caland omits the word *carantam*, which Garbe maintains. He does not consider it genuine on the support of the B. ms, which omits the word altogether.

7 Caland suggests that it is better to read *saṭ stotriyāb* instead of *saṭ stotriyah*, which occurs in the text of Garbe.

8 Caland translates *śrāyānta* etc. as "glichsam bei der sonne befindend." We think that there is probably the reflexive particle *sich* before

7. In the second half after the Anurūpa (-ṛca) the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin inserts the Yoni stanzas of the Naudhasa and the Śyaitasāman namely: "To him, the wonderful and capable of resistance" (XX. 49. 4-5) and "May you glorify the liberal" (XX. 51. 1-2).

8. According to his sweet will he inserts on this occasion the both fragments of the hymns, which begin: "The heaven above is the image of Vaiśvānara" (VII. 9. 6-26) and The nice-winged is brilliant, vigilant and powerful" (XIII. 2. 32-46).

9. On the Viśvajit day, on which during the first Pṛṣṭha (stotra) the Vairāja hymns are sung, for the Pṛṣṭha śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin there are as the Stotriya-and the Anurūpa (-ṛcas) the stanzas: If to you, oh Indra, hundred heavens (XX.81) and "If, oh Indra, over so many as you" (XX.82).⁹

10. The Bārḥata (-pragāthas), which are the Yonis (and which he inserts after the Anurūpa-ṛcas) have been stated; he inserts as the third Yoni the stanza: "Bring wisdom hither to us" (XX-7a).

11. The Sāma-pragātha is the hymn: "Oh Indra, the three fold protection" (XX.83).

12. On the same occasion he inserts the Sukīrti and the Vṛṣākapi hymns (XX.125 and 126), the Sāmasūkta: "Who is judicious forthwith even after his birth" (XX.39) and also the Ahīna sūkta (XX.35).

13. The Daśarātra has been referred to.¹⁰

befindend, which might have been omitted due to mistake; because the root *finden*, preceded by *sich* means "to occur". So according to Caland the pratika means: "as if occurring by the sun." Since the root *śrai* bears the sense of 'to boil, seth' etc. we have translated it as shown above.

9 Caland takes the expression *Bārḥatau* of the sūtra 10 as a portion of the sūtra 9.

10 Caland thinks that the text *daśarātra ukta* of Garbe does not convey any sense, since the *Daśarātra* has not been treated in the Vaitāna sūtra. He takes the word *Pṛṣṭhya* from the following sūtra and reads the sūtra as *daśarātra uktaḥ pṛṣṭhyah*. As such he translates the sūtra as: "The pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha of the daśarātra has been treated." But we have followed the text of Garbe and translated accordingly.

14. On the Pṛṣṭhya Chandoma (-days) for the Ājyaśāstra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin there appear as the Stotriya-and the Anurūpa (ṛcas) the stanzas: "Oh Indra, come here, you, the luminous" (XX.84), "We incite Indra" (XX.137.12-14 = 47.1.3) and 'The great Indra, who by might' (XX.138).¹¹

15. He inserts (on every Chandoma-day after the Anurūpa) the twelve stanzas beginning with: "To him creating beauty for protection" (XX.68), the thirty-two stanzas beginning with: "He is present to us by his work" (XX.69-70) and the thirty-six stanzas beginning with: "Breaking the strong hold by self" (XX.70-71)¹²

16. On the Chandoma days in the Pṛṣṭhya-śāstra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin there appear as the Stotriya-and the Anurūpa Pragāthas those ṛcas, of which the first begins: "We indeed have prepared the Soma-drink for you" (XX.52.1) and the last begins: "Truly great are you, oh sun" (XX.58.3)¹³

17. On the last two Chandoma-days he inserts, beside the hymn of eight stanzas, the hymn "May here come the true and generous drinker of the Soma" (XX.77).

18. On the other days, in which the big stotras, consisting of eight stanzas are employed, the six ṛcas, of which the first begins: "He, who alone distributes" (XX.63.9) appear as the Stotriya-and the Anurūpa-ṛcas for the Uktha-śāstra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin (-particularly) on the three Chandoma-days.¹⁴

11 Obviously as stated above Caland omits the word *Pṛṣṭhya* in the translation of this sūtra.

12 Caland suggests the text *dvādaśar.am* for *dvādaśarcaḥ*, which is given by Garbe.

13 Caland suggests the text *stotriyānnrūpāḥ* for *stotriyānurūpau* of Garbe.

14 It is interesting to note that Caland introduces astounding emendations in the text and translates the verse in the light of the changes, he makes. He divides the sentence into two parts and for *aṣṭarceṣu* reads *aṣṭarcam*, where the first part ends. Obviously he translates the first half of the sūtra as: "Bei den anderen (Tagen, an denen die grossen stotras zur Verwendung kommen legt er) das achtstrophige (Lied ein)." Trans "on the other days, in which the big stotras are employed, he

19. On the second day the Aikāhika hymns: “Oh Adhvaryus, to the Soma, which is red and extracted” (XX. 87), “He, who by his might, fixed the ends of the world” (XX. 88), “Like a marksman, who concealing himself shoots in the distance” (XX. 89).

20. On the third: “Oh Adhvaryus, to the red” (XX. 87), “He, who is the splitter of the mountains, who is born first and who consecrates” (XX. 90), “May Indra the lord paramount come here for intoxication” (XX. 94).

21. On both the second and the third Chandoma-days he inserts either of the two hymns: “He, who is the splitter of the mountains” (XX. 90), “Our father has got this hymn, that possesses seven parts (lit. seven heads) (XX. 91) or merely at the beginning of the Ukthaśastra or at the end of the same on the middle Chandoma-day.

22. The tenth day of the Daśatātra is like the fourth day of the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha, but without the Uktha-śastra.

23. “May they delight you” is the Stotriya-tṛca for the Ājya-śastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin.

24. On the same day for the Pṛṣṭhya-śastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin there appear as the Stotriya-and Anurūpapragāthas the following: “The sweetest rise” (XX. 59. 1-2), “Silent is his” (XX. 59. 3-4).

25. After the performance of the Patnīsaṁyājas when they are given the indications they move towards the Sadas for the performance of the Mānasa-stotra.

26. Everything there happens mentally and there should be no lapse.

inserts the hymn of eight stanzas.” The second half is translated by him as: “Die sechs Tṛcas (deren erster anfangt) : der einzig verteilt (xx. 63,4) sind die Stotriya und Anurūpa (tṛcas) für des Uktha (śastra des Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin an den drei chandoma Tagen).” Trans. “The six tṛcas, of which the first begins: ‘He, who alone distributes’ (XX. 63. 4) appear as the Stotriya and the Anurūpatṛcas for the Ukthaśastra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin on the three Chandoma days.” It is to be noted that he reads *stotriyānurūpāḥ* for *stotriyānurūpan* of Garbe.

27. He (the Brahman) imparts the command to the Hotṛ with the formula: "You are ascending, you are spiritual, I resign you to the mind, may you promote the mind" (etc. as in Vait. 17.4).

28. After the chanting of the Sāma he pronounces the tṛca: "Come hither the bull" (XX. 38. 4-6).

29. With the formula: "You are the support, you are one's own support" they hold the fig-post in the middle and then sit down by the Sadas.

XXXIV

1. When the stars are visible they come out and whisper:

"Oh Indra and Parvata, as leading warriors may you drive away each of those, who attack us; may you strike each (of the enemies) with your thunderbolt. If he remains concealed in the distance, the impenetrable forest, where he stays, appears comfortable to him. Oh hero, the destroyer destroyed all around our enemies all around."

2. They advance by the way of the Adhvaryu, sit in the south-west of the (Āhavanīya)-fire, long for certain desired objects (and whisper):, "If we have done less here or if we have done more—may all this go to our father Prajāpati."

3. Standing they invoke the speech: "May the speech come to me, may this speech come hither. may this speech come hither to me, the speech."

4. They invoke also the Subrahmaṇyā.

5. Those, who did not get by heart (the same i.e. the Subrahmaṇyā formula) merely mutters thrice: "Subramṇyam."

6. On the day of the Mahāvratā in the Ājyaśāstra of the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin the Stotriya (-tṛca) occurs as: "To one, creating the fair for our help" (XX.57.1-3).

7. (In the same śāstra) he inserts the five stanzas: "Those, who move to and fro and the active" (XX.93,4-8) and the Stotriya (-tṛcas) of the Abhiplava day in the midday savana.

8. The Hotrakas then spread a bundle of grass and sit upon the same.¹⁵

9. While the maids carrying pitchers go round the Mārjāliya he (the Brahman) recites the stanzas: “The cows are sweet-scented, the cows emit fragrance of the bdellium and the cows are the sources (lit. mother) of the melted butter ; may the cows be here in plenty ; it is sweet (a). The cows of Mangīra did not drink the water of the Gangā, but they drank from the stream of the Sarasvatī and came down towards the east ; it is sweet. (b). As if with wooden planks carrying people across we shall cross these (rivers) and he with you pouring out loud tones... .. it is sweet. (c) When both the Raghatas... .. speak namely Mangīra and Dāsaka the people thrive in the kingdom of Parikṣit. (d).¹⁶

10. (After every stanza he whispers:) “It is sweet, It is sweet.”

11. In the Prācīnavaiṣṇā they strike the earth-drum, covered by the skin of the buffalo, with the tail ; (at this the Brahman recites the hymns:) “The loud sounding” (V.20) “Fill with effervescence” (VI.126).

12. When one puts the armour round the king or any other person (who takes his place) on the way to the Tirtha, he mutters the hymn: “Your vulnerable points (VII.118).

15 Caland assumes that in Garbe’s text the word *mādbyam̐dine* of the sūtra 7 forms a part of the sūtra 8 actually. So before the sūtra 8 he adds the word *mādbyam̐dine* and translates the same: “Beim mittaglichen savana” Trans. “In the midday savana.”

16 The third and the fourth verses are extremely cumbersome. Caland has omitted the third verse in his translation and has said: “Auf eine übersetzung der dritte strophe verzichte ich” Trans. “I desist from translating the third verse.” But we have made an attempt to translate the first line of this third verse and also a part of the second line, but we are not at all sure about our reproduction. The fourth verse is equally obscure. We have given the translation of the first line of the fourth verse after Caland, which also forms a mere fragment; but we are doubtful about Caland’s interpretation. But the second line of the same fourth verse is clear and does not present any difficulty.

When he is equipped with dresses he (the Brahman) pronounces over him : “Indra will conquer” (VI.98).

14. When he is equipped with dresses he (the sacrificer) makes somebody bring the Madhuparka for him ; he gets this received through a brahmin.

15. He (the Brahman) makes the king mount upon the chariot, after the same has been consecrated with the stanza : “Oh wood ! the strong-limbed” (VI.125.4).

16. When he (the king) has mounted upon the chariot he (the Brahman) pronounces the two stanzas over him : “May you rejoice” (III.19.6-7).

17. When the fourth arrow is discharged by the king, he (the Brahman) mutters the stanza over it : “Oh the flung arrow, may you fly quickly” (III.19.8)¹⁷

18. When he (the king) seizes the property of the brahmin, the sacrificer purchases this (from him).

19. The stanzas : “The mighty on the Trikadruga (days)” (XX.95.1) and “Praise him the superior” (l.c.2) are the Stotriya and the Anurūpa (in the Pṛṣṭha-śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin always in the Mahāvratā).

20. He (the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin) inserts, after the Anurūpa, the twenty-four stanzas : “Drink from this fresh and powerful (juice)” (XX.96).

21. Then (after the performance of the Mahāvratā) he hastens to perform the Agniṣṭoma-Jyotiṣṭoma-Pṛṣṭhaśamanīya, which goes to the redemption of his self and in which one thousand cows are given as the sacrificial fee.

XXXV

1. The śastra (i.e. the recitation of the Ṛgveda stanzas) follows the stuta (i.e. the singing of the Sāmans).

2. He (i.e. the Hotraka, occasionally the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin) augments (in the morning savana) the Stoma (i.e. the number of

17 Caland suggests the reading *avasṛṣṭām* for the word *avasṛṣṭam*, which occurs in Garbe's text.

the Stotriyas of the Sāmasinger) by one or two stanzas; but not before the twelfth (stoma i.e. such addition should not be made before the recital of the twelfth stoma).¹⁸

3. Similar is the condition with regard to the insertion of the Stotriya-ṛca of the Ṣaḍaha.

4. In the last two savanas he augments the Stoma by countless stanzas.

5. The Anurūpa (-ṛca or Pragātha) corresponds to the Stotriya so far as the metre and godhood are concerned.

6. When he does not know such an Anurūpa, he recites the Stotriya twice in the Ekāhas.

7. Then (in the early savana) there takes place the insertion from the Anurūpa (-ṛca).¹⁹

8. In the midday savana from the Pragātha.

9. In the year-wide performance (i.e. in the Gavāmayana sacrifice) the Anurūpa-and the Stotriya (-ṛcas) are constituted by those (i.e. the Ṛks), among which the Ārambhanīya (stanza) occurs.²⁰

18 Caland translates the line as: "(jedoch bleibe er) nicht unterhalb des aus zwölf (Stomas) bestehenden." Trans. "nevertheless it is not below that which contains twelve stomas." Possibly he means that the śastra should not contain, in any case, even after addition of extra stanzas, less than twelve stanzas. It seems to be indicated also by his explanatory note, which stands as: "Das Śastra soll demnach wenigstens zwölf Ṛcas umfassen," Trans. "The śastra should comprise at least twelve ṛcas," of course, it virtually accords with the translation, which we have given.

19 Caland considers the word *ekāheṣu* of the sūtra 6 in Garbe's text as a portion of the sūtra 7; as such he translates the latter as: An den Ekāhas (findet beim Früh savana) die Einfügung nach dem Anurūpa (-ṛca) (statt). Trans. "In the ekāhas there takes place the insertion after the Anurūpa (-ṛca)." He does it since according to him the wording of the sūtra 6, as presented by Garbe, stands in contradiction to the sūtra 9.

20 Caland reads the sūtra as *saṃvatsara ārambhanīyāyāḥ śvaḥ stotriyo'nurūpaḥ*, while the text of Garbe occurs as *saṃvatsara ārambhanīyāyāśca stotriyānurūpaḥ*. Caland translates the emended text as: "In einer Jahresfeier (z. B. beim Gavāmayana) (findet die Einfügung beim Frühsavana nach) der Ārambhanīya (-strophe statt), (und hier ist

10. The Ārambhaṇīyā (i.e. the beginning stanza of the Ukthamukha in the morning Savana) is the verse: "To Indra from all sides" (XX. 39. 1)

11. The stanzas: "He forces his way through the sky" (XX. 39. 2-5) are the Paryāsa.

12. In the mid-day savana the Sāmapragātha is the stanza: "What new among the wandering mendicants", (XX. 50), which contains the word what.²¹

13. The stanza: "With the sacred wood (i.e. with the utterance of it) I harness you to him, who is yoked to the sacred wood" (XX. 86.1) is the beginning verse of the Uktha mukha in the midday savana.

14. We shall explain, now, the stomas (i.e. the stotras in the different Soma celebrations) which are necessary for augmenting the Ṛk verses, that are to be recited.²²

15. In the Ājya of the Go (day) the number is nine, of the Āyus (day) fifteen, in the Pṛṣṭha of both the days seventeen.

16. In the Ājya of the Uktha (of both days) the number is twenty one. In the Pṛṣṭhya (ṣaḍaha) the stomas for each of the consecutive six days are: nine, fifteen, seventeen, twenty one, twenty-seven and thirty three (respectively).²³

Anurūpa (-Ṛca) derjenige ṛca der am nächstem tage als stotriya (-Ṛca verwendet wird.)" Trans. "In a yearly ceremony (e. g.) in the Gavāmayana) the insertion takes place after the Ārambhaṇīyā stanza and here the Anurupa (-ṛca) is the same ṛca which would be used as the Stotriya (-ṛca) on the next day." We do not find any justifiable reason for such emendation and consequent interpretation of the line, as Caland has done here.

21 Caland translates the word *ataśinām* as "den bittenden." Trans. "among the begging" i.e. the beggars. It is identical with what we have given above i.e. the wandering mendicants; because the wandering mendicants support themselves by begging. Monier Willians' dictionary explains the word *atasi* as "a wandering mendicant," which we have quoted above.

22 It will enable the Hotraka or the Brāhmaṇacchamsin to know to what extent he can augment the number of the verses.

23 Caland suggests that *ukthya* of the text of Garbe should be

17. In the Abhijit- and of the Viśvajit-days the number of the Stomas is respectively fifteen and twenty-one; but in the Pṛṣṭha of the same the number is twenty-seven and thirty-three respectively.

18. On the Svarasāma days the number of the stomas is (commonly) seventeen.

19. On the Viṣuvant day the number is twenty-one.

20. On the Chandoma-days the Stomas are successively twenty-four, forty-four and forty eight in number.

21. On the tenth day in the Ājya and the Pṛṣṭha the Stomas are twenty-one in number.

22. In the Mahāvratā the number of the Stomas is always twenty-five.

23. Everywhere the nature of the Soma-celebrations of the Stoma and of the Stotriya-tr̥ca depends on the Sāmaveda.

Here ends the Sixth chapter of the Vaitāyana sūtra, annexed to the Atharvaveda.²⁴

XXXVI

1. Now the Rājasūya-sacrifice.

2. The Pavitra occurs before the Taiṣya full-moon.

3. The ten Saṁsr̥pa (Iṣṭis) take place in the interior of the months.

4. The Abhiṣecanīya occurs after the Māgha fullmoon.

5. After the Marutvatīya (-śāstra) the Iṣṭi to Bṛhaṣpati takes place.

6-7. With the hymn : "The being among the beings" he (the Brahman) causes the king the sacrificer mount upon a seat,

emended as *ukthe* and *Pṛṣṭha* as *Pṛṣṭhya*. He reads the first sentence of this sūtra i. e. *ukthya ekaviṁśa* as a portion of the previous sūtra. But this does not seem to be necessary.

24 Here any form of the Soma-celebration has been taken into consideration. It may be the Ukthya, Soḍaśin or the Atirātra etc.

furnished with the tiger-skin and placed before two Havirdhāna cars, and then sprinkles over him with the same hymn.²⁵

8. After the Phālguna fullmoon the Daśapeya.

9. Then there happen the terminal celebrations pervading over the whole year.

10. When these have been completed there comes next the Pratyavarohaṇīya after the Caitra full-moon.²⁶

11. After the Vaiśākha full-moon comes the Soma-ceremony, called Vyūṣṭi, which continues for two days.

12. After the Jyaiṣṭha full-moon the Kṣatradhṛti.

13. After the Āsāḍha full-moon there comes the Pavitra, which is for the conclusion of the performances.

14. Now the Aśvamedha.

15. After the Phālguna-fullmoon he (the sacrificer, the king) gives the Brahmaudana to the Ṛtvijas, among whom the Udgātr̥ is the fourth.

16. When the morning (Agnihotra) gift has been dedicated he gives to the Brahman, what he desires.

17. (After the consumption of the Brahmaudana) the Iṣṭi to Agni and to Puṣan takes place (in which the Brahman gives his Anumantraṇa).

18. While the horse is bound he (the Brahman) recites the hymn: "Be as swift as the wind" (VI.92).

19. While the horse is untied he pronounces the stanza: "Decrepitude has overpowered you"(III. 11.8).

25 Caland suggests that *upavarhaṇa* is a substantive and not an adjective; it has stood in compound with the preceding word *carma*. So according to him the sūtra 6 and the sūtra 7 should be taken together. He reads the sūtras six and seven thus: *havirdhānayaḥ purostād vaiyāghracarmopabarhaṇāyām āsandyām bhūto bhūtesvityārobayatyabhiṣiṅcati ca*. But the text of Garbe stands as: *havirdhānayaḥ purostād vaiyāghraṁ carma 6 upavarhaṇāyāmāsandyām bhūto bhūtesvityārobayatyabhiṣiṅcati ca*. It should be admitted that the emended text of Caland gives a better meaning and a complete idea.

26 The Pratyavarohaṇīya comes as the concluding ceremony of the Vājapeya.

20. The horse is set free for a year with the Āśāpāla hymn (I.31).

21. During this period there take place three Iṣṭis, which are intended for Savitr̥ (and during which the Brahman recites a stanza, consecrated to Savitr̥)²⁷

22. For the narration of the Pāriplava legends (i.e. the legends of the Aśvamedha, which are to be told at certain intervals during the march of the horse) they (i.e. the priests of the sacrifice) sit south to the Vedi upon the golden seats.

23. The cover of a pillow is the seat of the Brahman ; while the Kurca (i.e. a bundle of grass) of the sacrificer.²⁸

24. During the narration of the legends he (the Brahman) makes the sacrificer pronounce the Vyāhṛti (i.e. the great mystical words *Bhūrbhuva* etc, which are proper to a Veda.

25. At the end of the year the consecration takes place ; there are twenty one days, suitable for consecration.

26. The first day (of the Aśvātirātra) is like the first day of the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha. The second day is like the fourth day of the Pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha.

27. After the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra (of this day) while the horse is tied he recites the stanza: “May the Gandharvas bind you, may so do the waters in the confluence of two rivers for a (complete) year; like Savitr̥ may you imbibe life from from them, who always protect you attentively and preserve it.

27 Caland takes the word *saṃvatsaram* of the sūtra 20, as a part of following sūtra. As such he translates the sūtra 21 as: “Ein jahr lang (während das Ross frei umherschweift, erfolgen dann) die drei dem savitr̥ geltenden Iṣṭis.....” Trans. “For a year (during which the horse moves freely) there take place three sacrifices, which are intended for Savitr̥.....” But such a construction does not seem to be absolutely necessary. Because the idea of the performance of the three sacrifices during the march of the horse i. e. within a year, comes from the previous sūtra, though not specifically mentioned here. So the construction, which Caland suggests should be given due consideration before final acceptance.

28 Caland adds the word ‘golden’ before the word *kūrca* in his translation, which does not occur in the original text.

28. According to Kauśika with the recitation of the stanza :
 “The heavenly Gandharva” (II.2.1).

29. After they have laid down the chief queen by the side of the killed animal (horse), they cover both (the queen and the horse) with an overskirt.

30. The sacrificer insults both, while he addresses the stanza: “With the heavenly world we cover you both ; we have placed him (the horse) upon your thighs, place below your vulva ; may you push inside that, which is turned downwards and smooth ; it is indeed the desire of the wives.”²⁹

31. After the insulting address of the Hotṛ the Brahman in the same manner insults the favourites (of the king) with the stanza: “May you raise her up in the height as carrying a weight upon the mountain ; then the interior of her body will prosper like one, who fans (the corns) in the cold wind”.

32. The women in the suite insult the Brahman with the stanza: “Raise him up in the height (etc. as above).

33. In the Sadas the Brahman asks the *udgātṛ* about the enigmatical question of the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu.

(To be continued)

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29 Caland has omitted the expression *ava* in his translation and has translated the words *gudam dbehi* as: “insere (penem) in vulvam” Trans. “insert (the penis) into the vulvam.” But this does not seem to be correct; since the root *dhā* bears the sense of “to place, to put” etc. So the proper translation should be “place your vulva below (ava)” i. e. below the penis for coition

