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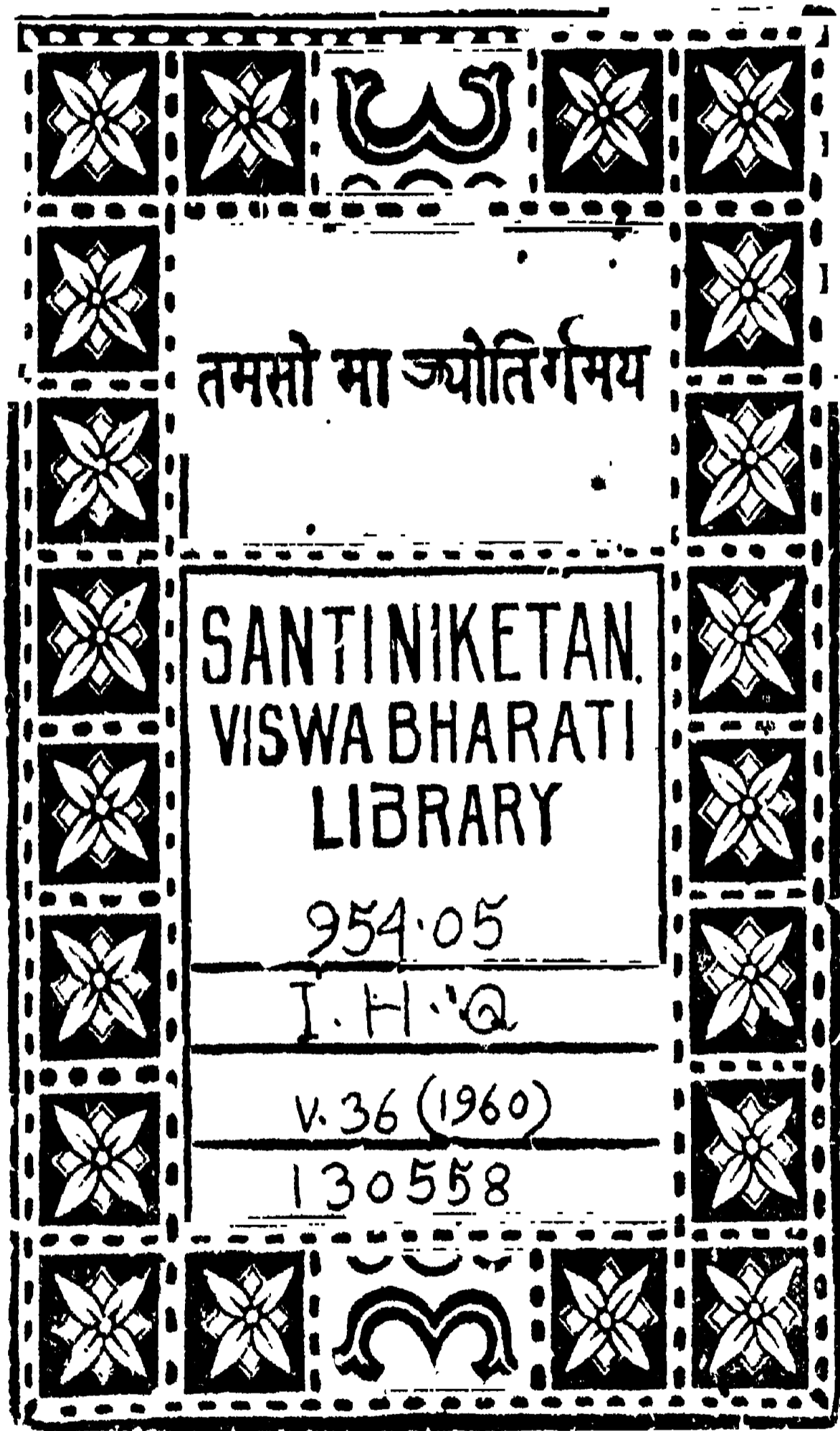
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THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXXVI No. 1

March, 1960



EDITED BY
NARENDRA NATH LAW

JUST OUT

JUST OUT

A HISTORY OF CAMBODIA

By

Dr. MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M.A., Ph.D.

This is the first complete history (written in English) of Cambodia which was a stronghold of Hinduism for about a thousand years and the bulk of its inscriptions in Sanskrit composed between 575 A. D. and 1327 A. D. testify to the building of beautiful temples dedicated to Siva, Visnu and Harihara etc. the most famous of them being the Angkor Wat. Buddhism also maintained then a vigorous existence. All these give a special importance to the history of ancient and medieval Cambodia in connection with the study of Indian Culture, Cambodia's transitional period (1431-1860) and the period of the French Protectorate (1860-1954) are also of no less interest and importance. For, read together with the history of the ancient and medieval Cambodia they will furnish the indispensable back-ground to the complicated political scene of the present day Indo-China.

Dr. Ghosh, who is well-known for his contribution to several branches of Indology, has utilized his stay in Cambodia for about two years as a Visiting Professor of Sanskrit in the Buddhist University for writing out the present volume. But his work is no mere compilation from earlier writers. He has made as far as possible a critical study of the subject, and read for this purpose all the published inscriptions and checked the findings of his predecessors whenever such was considered necessary. All this has led to a revision of earlier views on some important points. It may be hoped the present work will prove to be useful to students of ancient Indian culture as well as to readers interested in South-east Asian history and politics

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THE
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Vol. XXXVI

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No. 1

A Note on the Date of Udayana .

Udayana is a bright star in the firmament of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools. He had won the coveted title 'Nyāyācārya' by his invaluable contributions to these schools. The period of his activity is fixed with a fair degree of certainty. The date of the composition of his work Lakṣaṇāvali is given as 906 Śaka which corresponds to 984 A.D. on the basis of the following stanza :—

तर्काम्बराङ्कप्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः ।

वर्षेषूदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधां लक्षणावलीम् ॥ Lakṣaṇāvalī

Recently, Prof. Dinēsh Chandra Bhaṭṭācārya pointed out that the portion तर्काम्बराङ्क in the śloka cited above could be better read as तर्कस्वराङ्क which would give 976 Śaka corresponding to 1054 A.D., as the date for the composition of the Lakṣaṇāvali.¹ A study of the works of Udayana reveals the possibility of this suggested reading to have been the correct one.

In the first place, it is found that some of the views of the Buddhists cited and refuted by Udayana in his *Ātmatattvaviveka* were held by Ratnakīrti and are found stated in his *Apohasiddhi*. The relevant passages in the two works, quoted below, are strikingly the same showing that Udayana had Ratnakīrti's *Apohasiddhi* before him for refutation:—

1. यद्यपि निवृत्तिमहं प्रत्येमीति.....निवृत्ति प्रतीतिव्यवस्थायाः ।

Ātmatattvaviveka, pp. 279-280.

2. ततोऽन्यनिवृत्तिमहं.....तुरगबोध इत्यस्तु । *Ātma-*

tattvaviveka, p. 282.

Both of these extracts are identical with Ratnakīrti's passages in page 1 of the *Apohasiddhi* with slight changes in the readings.

1 For details regarding this reading, see the Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Vol. II, Part 4

Secondly, Udayana cites, in the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, a stanza of a Buddhist writer to show that the Buddhist standpoint about the usage of 'svalakṣaṇa' is erroneous. He then states that he is giving the stanza of the Buddhist writer with slight alterations in wording only to show the self-contradictory nature of the Buddhist viewpoint. The stanza runs thus: —

शब्दस्य कस्यचिदपि वस्तुनि मानसिद्धा
 बाधाविधिव्यवहृतिः क्वचिदस्ति नो वा ।
 अस्यैव चेत् कथमियन्ति न दृष्टगानि
 नास्यैव चेत् स्ववचनप्रतिरोधमिद्धिः ॥

Udayana then adds इति तत्रैव विषयमन्वारमान्नेण श्लोकः ।

Ātmatattvaviveka, p. 423

While commenting on this portion of the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi states that the stanza of the Buddhists referred to by Udayana begins with the words धर्मस्य कस्यचिदवस्तुनि² While dealing with the same topic in his *Tātparyapariśuddhi*,³ Udayana cites a stanza which is identical with the one cited by him in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* and begins with the words धर्मस्य कस्यचिदवस्तुनि मानसिद्धा and attributes it to the authorship of Jñānaśrī.

This stanza beginning with the words धर्मस्य कस्यचिदवस्तुनि⁴ is quoted by Ratnakīrti in his *Kṣaṇabhāṅgasiddhi Vyatirekātīkā* on page 62 attributing it to his preceptor. This shows that Ratnakīrti was the pupil of Jñānaśrī. The mention of the Buddhist writer Jñānaśrī⁵ by Udayana in his works proves that Udayana must have been a younger contemporary of Ratnakīrti. Jñānaśrī was appointed the gate-keeper of the Vikramaśilā University by Śaṅkha who ruled in Magadha up to 983 A.D.⁶

2 *Ātmatattvavivekadidhiti* p. 424

3 *Tātparyapariśuddhi* p. 713

4 This stanza is again quoted by Ratnakīrti on pp. 76-77 of the same work with slight changes in the readings.

5 *Ātmatattvaviveka* p. 292; *Tātparyapariśuddhi* p. 713 (Printed text), *Adhyāya III* p. 73, p. 84 (Ms.)

6 *History of Indian Medieval Logic* by Dr. Satischandra Vidya-bhushan p. 140

Jñānaśrī could have lived in the latter half of the 10th century. Ratnakīrti's period may be fixed between 950 and 1050 A. D. Udayana must have therefore flourished not at the end of the 10th century but after the beginning of the 11th century.

Thirdly, Udayana refutes the validity of the Buddhist texts and shows how people got converted into Buddhist view.⁷ - He instances the cases of some eminent converts and Buddhist scholars who have been responsible for conversion. In this connection are mentioned Dharmakīrti, Prajñākara, Śarabha, Kaṇācārya, Śauṇḍika, Subhūti, and others. At the end of this topic, Udayana writes कुहकवच्चित्तैः समीचीनप्रत्ययात् दीपङ्करसुपिरदर्शिबालिशवत् । This passage means that the Buddhist system is embraced by those who have been deceived by the cheats after creating in them a belief that the system is the true and right one. The person converted is like a fool who looks through a barrel having many holes with a lamp placed inside and thinks that there are many lamps within. The word दीपङ्कर is interpreted by the commentators as a contrivance having many holes. The edition of the *Ātmatattvaviveka* by Jivānanda Vidyasagar reads as दीपङ्करदर्शिबालिशवत् which conveys the same idea as the reading stated above. This may also be taken to mean 'like a fool who looks upon Dīpaṅkara.' Dīpaṅkara may be taken to refer to the famous Buddhist scholar Dīpaṅkara Atiśa who left for Tibet in 1041 A.D. The passage in the context refers to some Buddhist scholars and so this interpretation may sound correct, as Dīpaṅkara was responsible for the propagation of Buddhist ideals and conversion during the period. The admission of this interpretation would prove that Udayana is referring to Dīpaṅkara and therefore must have flourished about the middle of the 11th century A. D.

Lastly, the study of the *Kiraṇāvalī* shows that Udayana was well acquainted with the views of Śrīdhara who wrote in 991 A. D.,⁸ the *Nyāyakandalī*, the commentary on the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* of Praśastapāda. Udayana refutes the views

7 *Ātmatattvaviveka*, p. 907

8 *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 331

held by Śrīdhara as it is made clear from the following references to the passages in the *Nyāyakandalī* and the *Kiraṇāvalī*: —

1. तस्याः सद्भावे किं प्रमाणं.....पार्थिवपरमाणुरूपादिसंतानेन व्यभिचारात् । *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 4
 पार्थिवपरमाणुगतरूपादिमन्तानेनानैकान्तिकमिदमिति चेन्न ।
Kiraṇāvalī, p. 9
2. तस्माद्द्रवविशेषोऽयमत्यन्ततेजोऽभावे र्गत सर्वतः समारोपितः तम इति प्रतीयते । *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 9
 यद्येवमारोपितं रूपं न तमो भाभावस्तु तम इति विनिगमनायां को हेतुरिति । *Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 20
3. अणुपरिमाणतारतम्यं क्वचिद्विभ्रान्तं परिमाणतारतम्यत्वात् महत्परिमाण-तारतम्यवत् । *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 31
 अपर आह । अणुपरिमाणतारतम्यं क्वचिद्विभ्रान्तं परिमाणतार-तम्यत्वात् महत्परिमाणतारतम्यवदिति । *Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 52
4. इतोऽपि शब्दो नात्मगुणः आत्मान्तरग्राह्यत्वात् अनेकप्रतिपत्तृमाधारण-त्वादित्यर्थः । *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 60
 अन्ये त्वात्मान्तरग्राह्यत्वादिति अनेकप्रतिपत्तृमाधारणत्वादिति हेत्वर्थं वर्णयन्ति । *Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 109
5. गुणत्वं रूपादिषु रत्नतत्त्वमिवोपदेशसहकारिणा प्रत्यक्षेणैव गृह्यते ।
Nyāyakandalī, p. 94
 किमत्र व्यवस्थापकेन रत्नतत्त्वमिव.....निमित्तमन्तरेणोपदेशास्या-गममात्रत्वादिति । *Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 160
6. प्रयोगस्तु द्वित्वं बुद्धिजं.....तत् बुद्धिजं यथा सुरवादिकम् ।
Nyāyakandalī, p. 116
 द्वित्वं बुद्धिजं प्रतिनियतपुरुषवेद्यत्वात्...परं प्रत्यसिद्धं चेत्यनादेयम् ।
Kiraṇāvalī, p. 200
7. तथा चान्यवर्णप्रतीतिकाले.....दृष्टत्वादिषितव्यम् ।
Nyāyakandalī, p. 119
 नष्टस्यापि समवायिकाणत्वमिति त्वलौकिकमवैदिकं च ।
Kiraṇāvalī, p. 204

8. गगनाबलोकनकुतूहलात्.....प्रमाणम् । *Nyāyakandalī, p. 179
यत्तु विक्षिप्तनयना.....शंखादावारोपयतीति केचित् ।

Kiraṇāvalī, p. 266

The *Kiraṇāvalī* must have been the last work of Udayana as it was left incomplete. Both the *Lakṣaṇāvalī* and *Kiraṇāvalī* deal with the system of the Vaiśeṣikas. The *Kiraṇāvalī* contains also references to the other works of Udayana.⁹ It must have been written soon after the *Lakṣaṇāvalī*. The date 906 Śaka according to तर्काम्बराङ्क for the *Lakṣaṇāvalī* cannot be admitted, as otherwise the references cited above in the *Kiraṇāvalī* cannot be explained in the light of the corresponding passages in the *Nyāyakandalī* which was composed in 913 Śaka. Hence Udayana must have composed the *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in 976 Śaka (1054 A. D.) and the *Kiraṇāvalī* about 1060 A. D. The period of Udayana's activities should be fixed between 950 and 1060 A. D.

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- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
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Vyatirekātīkā | — | „ „ |
| 4. Tātparyapariśuddhi | — | Asiatic Society, Bengal |
| 5. „ | — | Ms. Dept. of Sanskrit,
University of Madras |
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No. 6. |

V. VARADACHARI

9 *Kiraṇāvalī* p. 103, 147

A stone Viṣṇu-Pata from Mahānād in the National Museum of India

The existence of square slabs of stone or metal apparently meant for handy worship of some deity, e. g. Viṣṇu, is largely in evidence in Bengal. These tablets are conveniently designated *Viṣṇu-Pata* analogous to the *Āyāgapata* of the Jains. The central figure for worship being that of Viṣṇu, it is proper to call these *Viṣṇu-Pata*. Although no specific dates or periods can be assigned to the time of prevalence of these, it is quite apparent from the general inferior workmanship of these sculptures that the practice came into vogue late in the decadent period of Pāla art. In fact, it was mostly confined to the period from the 12th to the 14th century of the Christian era and the areas covered are generally the whole of Bengal, the more important centres being Dacca and its neighbouring districts, now included in East Pakistan, as also Rangpur in Northern Bengal, and parts of the district of Hooghly in lower Western Bengal.

The general purpose of these square tablets was to maintain them in Viṣṇu temples to be sold to poorer pilgrims both as souvenir as well as objects of worship. Although a few metal slabs describing similar figures and motifs have been discovered, stone pieces are by far the largest for this type of votive tablets.

A sculpture (Figs. I and II) of such type is preserved in the National Museum of India, New Delhi, having been presented by Śrī P. C. Paul of Mahānād, Dist. Hooghly, West Bengal. The obverse of this shows the figure of Viṣṇu apparently seated on Garuḍa whose figure is, however, lost. Viṣṇu is attended by Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī on the two sides. The whole composition is within a square border of crude floral design, each flower consisting of 4 petals. The figure of Lakṣmī to the right of Viṣṇu has a *cāmara* in the right hand. The figure of Sarasvatī on the left carries the *vīṇā* in her two hands. Viṣṇu carries the

gadā in his upper right hand, and a *cakra* in the upper left, and while his right lower hand is broken, the left lower carries the conch (*śaṅkha*). He wears *kuṇḍala* and is *kirīṭī*. The figures of the goddesses are shown with peculiar head-dress and are ornamented. On the reverse side of the slab the bordering design is made up of lines with arch-formations at the corners. The central motif consists of ten *Avatāras* circling around a full-blown lotus. At the centre on one side is the figure of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, seated in *Padmāsana* on double-petalled lotus. To his left is Balarāma with his plough, followed by Paraśurāma with the axe in his left hand. To the right of the Buddha is the figure of Kalki on horse-back, which is followed by the zoomorphic form of the fish representing the Fish incarnation of Viṣṇu, while the next figure represents the Tortoise incarnation represented by the corresponding zoomorphic form. The order of the incarnation-figures represented, is as follows: —

1. Fish (*Matsya*) 2. Tortoise (*Kūrma*) 3. Boar (*Varāha*)
 4. Man-lion (*Nṛsiṃha*) 5. Dwarf (*Vāmana*) 6. Rāma
 7. Paraśu-Rāma 8. Bala-Rāma 9. Buddha; and 10. Kalki.
- Out of these, four figures of incarnations i. e., Boar to Rāma, are lost, the slab being broken at the lower part.

Literary descriptions of the ten *Avatāras* give interesting clue to their sculptural representations. It is the definite injunction of *Silparatna*, 25th *paṭala*, that the two incarnations of Viṣṇu in the forms of the Fish and the Tortoise should be given the zoomorphic forms:

Matsyāvatāriṇaṁ devaṁ Matsyākāraṁ prakalpayet |

Kūrmāvatāriṇaṁ devaṁ Kamathākṛtimālikhet ||

Following this prescription our sculpture shows the zoomorphic forms in representing these two primary incarnations.

The figure of Paraśu-Rāma or Jāmadagnya-Rāma is prescribed in the *Vaikhānasāgama* to be very richly ornamented, while his right hand should hold the axe (*paraśū*) and the left should be

free. Shown with *jaṭā-mukuta* (matted hair) he is also endowed with a sacred thread (*sopavīta*):

*Jāmadagnya-Rāmaṁ.....duibhujam raktābham
śveta-vastradharam dakṣiṇabastena
paraśu-dharam uddeśyavāmakaram jaṭā-
mukuta-dharam sopavītam
sarvābharṇa-bhūṣitam evaṁ kārayet.*

The *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 49, has a much simpler description for Paraśu-Rāma, although he is apparently four-armed. He is to hold according to this text, the bow (*cāpa*) and the arrow (*iṣu*) as also the sword (*khaḍga*) and the axe (*paraśu*), apparently clockwise from the upper right hand.

The text runs as follows:

Rāma-ścāpeṣu-bastas syāt khaḍgī paraśunānvitaḥ

Both *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Rūpamaṇḍana* have, however, a very simple and cryptic description wherein the only prominent weapon mentioned in the hand of the deity is the characteristic *paraśu* (axe). Both attribute to him the garment of the deer-skin although the former text makes him fierce to look at on account of his matted hair. *Viṣṇudharmottara* thus prescribes the iconography:

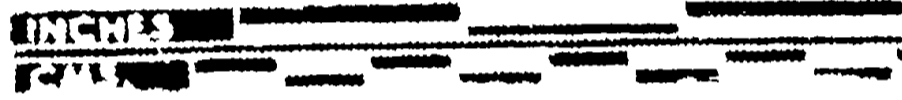
*Kāryastu Bhārgavo Rāmo jaṭāmaṇḍaladurdrśaḥ |
haste'sya paraśuḥ kāryaḥ kṛṣṇājina dharasya tu ||*

The prominent *paraśu* is also mentioned in *Rūpamaṇḍana*'s description as follows: —

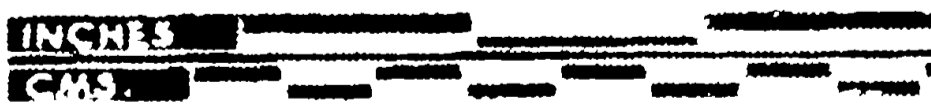
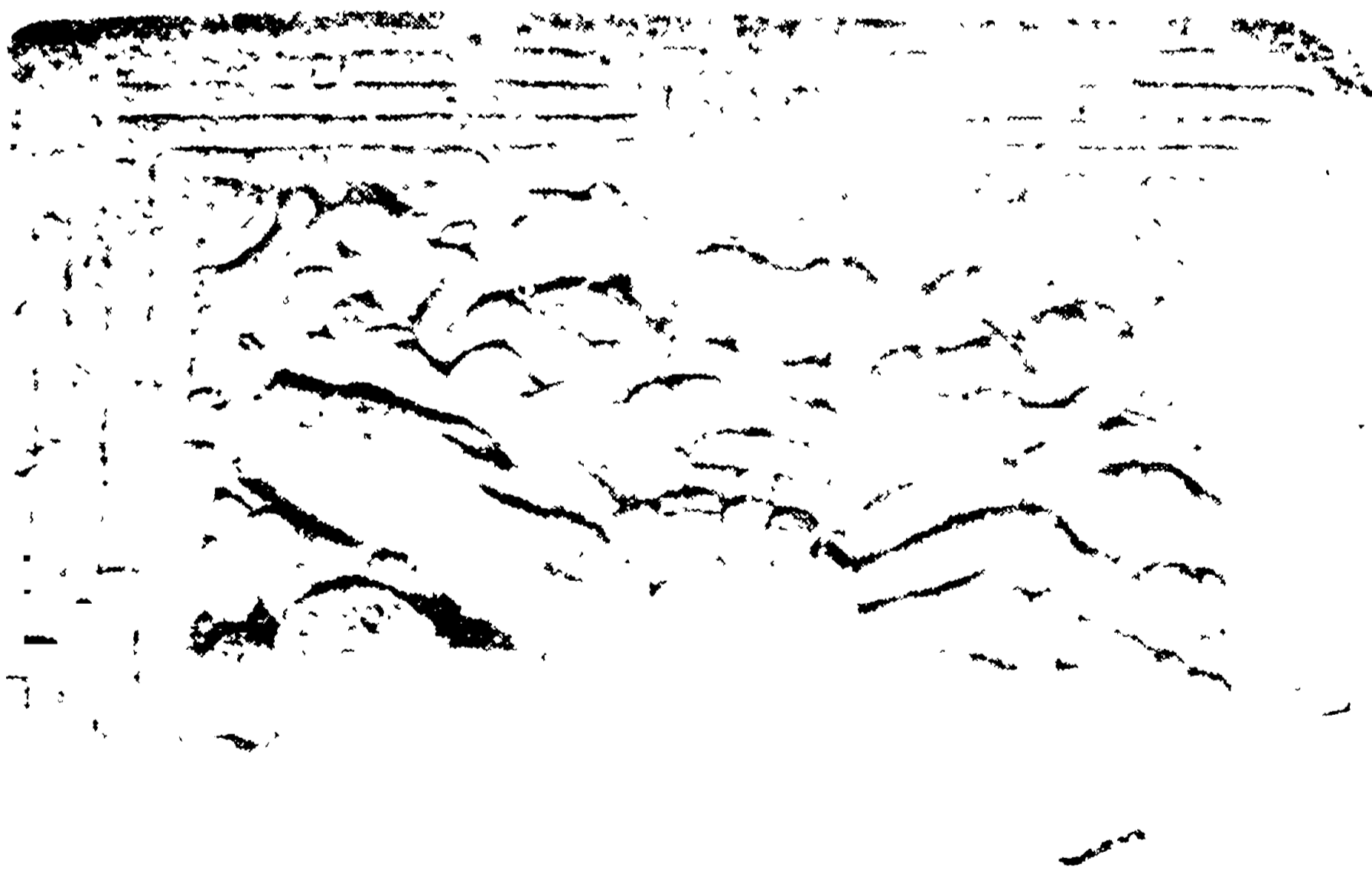
Jaṭājīnadharo Rāmo Bhārgavaḥ paraśuṁ dadhat

Of Bala-Rāma or Balabhadra-Rāma, the description always makes him hold the *muṣala* (pestle) or *gadā* (mace) in one hand and the *lāṅgala* (plough) in another. The *Vaikhānasāgama* makes the iconography two-armed and thrice bent (*tri-nata*) with the *muṣala* (pestle) in right hand and the *bala* (plough) in left. With high-braided coiffure (*udbaddha-kuntala*) and red garment (*rakta-vastra*) the iconography has a peculiarity of its own. The text runs as follows:

*Balabhadra-Rāmaṁ.....duibhujam tri-natam dakṣiṇa-
bastena muṣala-dharam vāmena baladharam.....raktavastra-
dharam udbaddha-kuntalam.....evaṁ kārayet.*



Vishnupata from Mahānād, front side, showing Vishnu
attended by Lakshmi and Sarasvati.



The same, "back side, showing ten *avatāras*

—Courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi.

Our present sculpture shows Balabhadra in *tri-bhaṅga* or thrice bent standing pose, holding the plough (*bala*) only in the left hand but without any weapon in the right. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 58, also describes a form of Balabhadra where the only weapon mentioned is the plough (*bala*) although the whirling eyes of the deity on account of drinks of wine is an interesting feature noted. This mention of the sole weapon, the plough, in the hand of the deity comes very near our sculpture under discussion, as also the feature that he is to wear a single *kuṇḍala* (ear-ornament), for, the present sculpture seems to wear only one *kuṇḍala* in the right ear.

The text runs as follows:

*Baladevo halapāṇi-rmadavibhrama-locanaśca kartavyaḥ
Bibhrat-kuṇḍalaṃ ekam śankhendu-mṛṇāla-gaurabapuh'*

According to *Agni-Purāṇa*, however, Balabhadra is either two-armed or four-armed. In the first form he is to hold *gadā* (mace) and *lāṅgala* (plough) while in the second, he holds in the upper right *gadā* (mace), upper left *lāṅgala* (plough) while the lower left is to take *śankha* (conch). The text has:

*Gadālāṅgala-dhārī ca Rāmo vā'tha caturbhujah |
vāmo'rdhve lāṅgalaṃ dadyādadhah śankhaṃ suśobhanaṃ ||
Agni Purāṇa, ch. 49.*

The description in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* appears to be an assimilation of the *Vaikhānasāgama* and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* texts. It says:

*Sīrapāṇi-r Balaḥ kāryo muṣalī caiva kuṇḍalī |
Śveto'tinīlavasano madodañcita-locanaḥ ||*

“Bala (i.e., Balarāma) is to be made as holding the *sīra* (plough) and the *muṣala* (pestle), with a *kuṇḍala* (or *kuṇḍalas*) (ear-ornament), white-complexioned, wearing deep blue garment and with eyes wide-opened (lit. raised up) on account of drinking wine.”

As an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Buddha is described in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 58, as with his palms and soles marked with lotus symbol, as of pleasing appearance and with low-clipped

hair, i.e., with shaven head. He is seated on lotus-seat and is to be like the Father of the Universe:

Padmāṅkita karacaranah̄ prasannamūrtiḥ sunīca-keśāśca |
Padmāsanopaviṣṭah̄ piteva jagato bhaved Buddhaḥ ||

Although our sculpture does not show the marks on the hands and the feet of the figure of Buddha, it is seated on lotus in the *padmāsana* pose and has low-clipped hair. The conception of the Buddha here is not as a compassionate and enlightened soul as in Buddhîsm but as the transcendent spirit of all creation incarnating in Brāhmanism; not as the fellow human being dedicated to the cause of ameliorating the sufferings of all life but as an omnipotent, a protector of the universe (*jagataḥ piteva*).

More akin to Buddhist conception is the description of the incarnation-Buddha available in the *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. 49. It apparently describes him in the *varada*, i.e. boon-giving, and the *abbaya*, i.e. protection-offering, pose of Buddhist iconography. Here an emphasis has been laid on the elongated ears of the Preacher, and his general serene appearance. He is shown on a full-blown lotus and has his body clad in monkish robe. It says:—

Sāntātmā lambakarnaśca gaurāṅgaścāmbarāvṛtaḥ |
ūrdhwapadmasthito Buddho varadābhayadāyakaḥ ||

The description in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is no less interesting. According to this text the Buddha is given the monk's yellow robe, which is laid on the shoulder. The text has:

Kāṣāyavastrasamvitas skandha-saṁsakta-cīvaraḥ |
padmāsanastho dvibhujo dhyāyī Buddhaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||

The *Rūpāmaṇḍana* text also is similar and runs as follows:

Buddhaḥ padmāsano rakta styaktābharāṇa mūrdhajāḥ |
kāṣāyavastro dhyānastho dvibhujokārdha-pāṇikaḥ (?) ||

With our sculpture the literary description of Kalki as laid down in the *Vaikhānasāgama* tallies very little. It describes Kalki, the incarnation in the present age, as either horse-faced or, according to some, with a human face, and as holding *cakra*

(disc), *śaṅkha* (conch), *khaḍga* (sword) and *khetaka* (shield) in his four hands, being depicted fierce and arrogant. The text reads:

*Kalkinaṁ ... aśvākāraṁ mukha-manyan-narākāraṁ catur-
bhujam cakrā-śaṅkha-dharaṁ khaḍga-khetaka-dharaṁ
ugrarūpaṁ bhayānakaṁ evaṁ devarūpaṁ*

The *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. 49, depicts him as a human being, with bow (*dhanus*) and quiver (*tūṇam*), determined to uproot the Mleccha (non-Aryans or foreigners). Alternatively, however, this text makes him as riding on horse, and endowed with *khaḍga* (sword), *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (disc) and *śara* (arrow). It lays down:

*Dhanus-tūnānvitah Kalki Mlecchotsāda-karadvijah |
athavāśvasthitah khaḍgī śaṅkha-cakra-śarānvitah ||*

Although the figure of Kalki in our sculpture does not show him with any of the attributes except that he is riding on a horse and holds the rein of the horse in his left while the right hand, free, is raised up, almost all the texts endow him with one or the other of the fighting weapons. In fact, the *Viṣṇudharmot-tara* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* which both come very near each other in their descriptions of Kalki agree in attributing to him the use of *khaḍga* (sword). The former text describes him as of great prowess (*mahā-balah*) and angry (*krudhah*) with his hand raised up with the sword (*khaḍgodyatakarah*) ready to uproot the *Mleccha(s)*. Thus it says: —

*Khaḍgodyatakarah krudhho hayārūḍho mahābalah |
Mlecchochedakarah Kalki dvibhujah parikīrtitah ||*

The *Rūpamaṇḍana* text is simpler and says:

Kalki sakhaḍgo 'śvārūḍho Harer avatārā imo . . .

Although, as in some specimens from Bengal, there is no particular ornamental device adopted for representing the group of incarnations, they are set along a central full-blown lotus, which is interesting and contributes towards the artistic value of the piece. In fact, the device on this slab stands by itself and is distinct from the several known pieces from other Museums.

The Dacca Museum¹ contains at least six beautiful specimens of such *Viṣṇu-Pata*, two of which are fragmentary but they all individually differ from one another in their texture and composition. The Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, also contains a very interesting square copper-plate revealing the same motif.² The incarnation figures there, are outlined in petals of lotus which form the central design. The plate is an embossed one and represents a late school of metal art from Bengal.

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¹ *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum* by N. K. Bhattashali, pp. 89-93 & pls. xxxv & xxxvii.

² *Hand-book to the sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta*, by M. M. Ganguly, p. 144 pl. xxvii.

Bihar Megaliths & Rock Carvings

Fergusson made a sweeping generalisation, when he stated in respect of dolmens "They do not exist in the valley of the Ganges or any of its tributaries." More than 80 years ago Valentine Ball, the father of pre-historic studies in eastern India, protested against it.¹ Unfortunately megalithic culture in Bihar is a virgin field, on which little work has been done. The term 'megalith' was originally used to denote a fairly easily definable class of monuments, in western and northern Europe, consisting of huge undressed stones and designated in Celtic language as dolmens, cromlechs etc. Literally it is derived from Greek *Megathos* (Magnitude or great) and *lithioi* (stone). In actual practice however, as pointed out by Gordon Childe, the term 'megalith' is applied only to monuments, the use of which is known only imperfectly or not at all, and which we hypothetically assume that, was used for ritualistic or religious ends.² That is, they were sepulchural, commemorative or memorial.

In other words, megalithic tombs and related monuments are constructed of large blocks of stones or slabs, either in their natural form or roughly quarried or trimmed as in Bihar. The general belief that, they are more abundant in South India is partially correct. The misapprehension arose due to lack of systematic researches and investigations. The implied potential of remains of this nature should not be treated lightly because, in the first place *megalithism* is still a living practice in Bihar, amongst Larka Kols, Hos, Oraons, Mūṇḍās and Bhuyias. In the second place, they bear affinities with megaliths in other parts of the world, like the Caucasus, Mediteranean and Atlantic coasts. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to evaluate the real significance of these apparent inter-relationships.

1 V. Ball-Stone, *Monuments in the district of Singhbhum-IA.*, vol. i, pp. 291 ff.

2 *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 1 ff.

But the fascinating problem require to be tackled. The greatest need however is to record their provenance with accurate description, as is being done in the peninsular India.

The Hos inhabit the area generally called Kolhan, the tract which the E. I. Company annexed from Arjuna, the unfortunate last Raja of Porāhāt. As early as 1872, V. Ball had pointed out that there are few parts of Kolhan (in Singhbhum) in which a view of modern or ancient megaliths cannot be obtained. The shapes were natural and not deliberate. Modern menhirs can be seen at the village of Pokharia, a few miles south of Chaibassa and in a plain few miles south-west of Pokharia. Sometimes, the menhirs are found in "alignments". Ball also referred to carved megaliths in Hazaribagh district but forgot to mention their locations.³ At Akra-Kudr and Badabil, in the former Seraikala state, now included in Singhbhum, Dr. P. Mitra found dolmens and menhirs.⁴ E. T. Dalton drew our attention to some dolmens at Borkela, 8 miles south of Chaibassa placed on ashes in clay urns. He also found such monuments in the villages of Sargam Hato, Sarandagarh and Rongso all in Singhbhum. In the latter village, a clan ossuary is indicated but requires closer scrutiny.⁵

The Muṇḍā burial ground at Chokāhatu (Lat. 23° 10' north 85° 56' east), situated between Bundu and Buranda has dolmens. Two periods of burials were noticed by Dalton in the *sāsan* (cemetery) at Bundu.⁶ The road from Bundu, after crossing the river Kanchi, reaches some old Śaivite stone temples. A Kol burial ground, close to the village of Daruharu, quarter mile east of these fanes, betray free use of *disjecta* from these shrines. Family ashes in urns were reported. Menhirs with stone cists in front or 'ghost seats' have been noticed in the Sonapet valley, the source of Sonā river, in the Ranchi district. The cemeteries are here called *Hargaris*. Megaliths are found also in the village

3 *Id.*, vol i, pp. 291-2.

4 P. Mitra, *Pre-historic India*, p. 308, pl. LII, figs. A and B.

5 *JASB.*, vol. xlii, p. 114,

6 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

of Regadih in old Kharsawan state, now a part of Singhbhum. T. F. Peppe, informed Col. Dalton, that megaliths are also to be met with in the parganas Japla, Belaunja and Siri-Kutumba in Palamau district, wilder parts of Gaya district and about Sherghati. At Bajpur few miles north of Nugri in Lohardaga pillars with *āmalaka* motif on top has been used, as megalithic monuments. The *Hargaris* or *Harsaris* are found in the *parganas* of Silli, Barunda, Rahe, Bundu and Tamar in Ranchi district, on the western bank of the Suvarṇarekhā; and *parganas* of Jhalda, Begunkudar, Bhaghmudi and Patkom in Manbhum; that is the eastern bank.⁷

The so-called Asura sites, to which, our attention was first drawn by late S. C. Roy, are megalithic urn burials of dolmen type. These are extensive areas, called locally *tānrs* or *śāsanas*, while the stones are called *sasana-diris*. Actually they are family ossuaries. Under huge stone slabs are found large earthen jars (*ghadās*), with a bowl shaped lid as cover, sealed with clay. The so-called Asuras seemed to have buried all the bones instead of fractional burial resorted to by the Muṇḍās. Notwithstanding their prehistoric facies, objects of later date, such as bronze articles, found in them suggest the utilization of the ossuaries till Iron Age. It is also possible, since 'clearances' were not many in these tracts, the original stone age sites might have been re-utilised in later ages. In any case some of these graves should be examined thoroughly to determine their correct age. According to Ruben, the Asura and megalithic cultures of the Muṇḍās have a western origin which reached India, through Palestine and Persia in the early Iron Age. Reaching northern India, one branch moved southwards and other eastwards reaching as far as Chota Nagpur.⁸ According to Von Haimendorf these prove an ancient contact between the Austro-Asiatic populations of the

7 *Ibid.*, p. 115-19.

8 W. Ruben-Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in *Indien-Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Band xxxvii, (Supplement), Leiden. 1939, pp. 154-165.

North and the South Indian dolmen builders.⁹ Both these theories should be treated with extreme caution since intensive explorations can only establish facts. J. D. Beglar reported the existence of alleged stone circles near the foot of the Pretsilā hill, at Gaya, traditionally ascribed to Kōls.¹⁰

Rock Carvings

Rock carvings in Bihar are known. The practice continued fairly late in historical times and were adopted by Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. The Rock carvings at Kawa Dol, Sultanganj etc., prove the hypothesis. While excavating the 'western channel of "Sarajamhatu Medium Irrigation scheme"' some rock carvings were discovered, in the neighbourhood of the village Dhobadihar, 24 miles from Chaibassa. Microliths were also collected from the spot. The carvings are probably late.¹¹ The rock carvings at Maubhandar, in Singhbhum,¹² in the neighbourhood of Ghāṭsilā are of minor importance. According to folk tradition, the five figures incised, represent the five Pāṇḍava brothers, who are supposed to have spent their exiled life here for a year. But the dating is subjective and the so-called affinities with the rock carving of Australians as noticed by Matthews is immaterial.¹³

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9 *JASB.*, (Letters), vol. ix, p. 43.

10 *ASK.*, vol. viii, p. 66.

11 *JBORS.*, vol., 40, pp. 128 ff.

12 P. Mitra, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 201 ff.

13 There is a menhir just opposite the temple of Deo in Gaya district. Though all sorts of temples have been built all around it the Hindu inhabitants have not removed it due to some sanctity. I closely questioned the local Brahmins, but they could not explain. The area between Sherghat and Umga requires to be thoroughly explored.

Unpublished Inscriptions from Sevādā, Rajasthan

1. *Inscription of Cācigadeva*

The inscriptions of *Cāhamāna* Udayasiṃha of Mārwar range from V. S. 1262 to 1306 corresponding to *circa* 1206 to 1249 A.D. His kingdom included the regions of Jālor, Sānchor, Bhīnmāl, Maṇḍora etc., as is evident from the Sūndhā Hill Inscription¹ of V. S. 1319 (*E.I.*, IX. pp. 70-9; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. India*, 1936, Calcutta, vol. II, p. 1128). The last published inscription of this Udayasiṃha is the Bhīnmāl Inscription² of V. S.³ 1306 (*E.I.* XI, pp. 55-7) whereas the Sūndhā Inscription of V. S. 1319 cited above was the earliest published record for his son and successor Cācigadeva (cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1132). It is of course not possible to determine, with definiteness, the last regnal year for Udayasiṃha and the beginning of the reign of his successor. An unpublished inscription from Sevādā, a small village in *tahsil* Sanchor of Bhīnmāl of district Jalor and situated at a distance of about 10 miles from the railway station of Rānīwārā on Samadarī-Kāndlā section of N. Railway in Jodhpur Division, throws considerable light in this direction. The lintel of a small subsidiary shrine, just in front of the main Śiva Temple outside the village of Sevādā i.e. to the left hand side of the road while proceeding to Sānchor, preserves this interesting inscription dated V. S. 1308, *Friday, the third day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśākha* and refers to Cācigadeva as the then crown-prince (i.e. महाराज-पुत्र श्रोचाचिगदेव कल्याण-विजयराज्ये in line 1). Though there is no specific

1 Earliest extant inscription of *Cāhamāna* Cācigadeva in the capacity of a monarch.

2 There is a gap between V. S. 1306 and V. S. 1319 as per epigraphs.

3 V. S. is the abbreviated form of *Vikrama Samvat*.

reference to his father (i.e. Udayasiṃha), it is evident that the latter was alive in V. S. 1308 and his son Cācigadeva was a crown prince up to that time. The concluding portion of the 4th line of the inscription further informs that it was engraved as late as V. S. 1316, *Thursday, the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra*.

The *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali* p. 51 [cited by Daśaratha Sarma in *Early Cauhāna Dynasties*, 1959, Delhi, pp. 154-6] gives *Māgha* of V. S. 1314 for Udayasiṃha and *Māgha* of V. S. 1316 for his son and successor Cācigadeva. The former (Udayasiṃha) appears to have expired between the *Māgha* months of V. S. 1314 and 1316. This literary work also records *pratiṣṭhā* of a golden cupola and a *dhvaja* on the temple of Sāntinātha at Suvarṇagiri (i.e. Jalor) during the regime of Cācigadeva in *Māgha* month of V.S. 1316. If that be so, the existing inscription of V.S. 1308-1316 from Sevādā (Mārwar), though drafted much earlier during the régime of Cācigadeva as a crown-prince was engraved on the slab in the month of Caitra of V.S. 1316 when Cācigadeva was a paramount ruler. The reason of this late engraving is of course shrouded in mystery at present.

The existing inscription from Sevādā consists of 5 lines, the last line containing a few letters only. Total space, covered by the letters, thus comes to 34" in length and 4" in height. The script is Devanāgarī of the 13th century A.D., the language being incorrect Sanskrit. It refers to the award of a few *drammas*⁴ for the deity named as 'Jagadhareśvara' in line 3. *The record is interesting because it refers to Cācigadeva's regime in the capacity of a crown prince in V. S. 1308 and thus pushes the limit of Udayasiṃha's reign-period further to two years after the Bhīnmāl Inscription of V. S. 1306 as already cited above.* It is regretted that this record does not make even a slight reference to the chief ruling authority in V. S. 1316, i.e. at a time

4 For these coins consult my exhaustive article in *JNSI*, Bombay, XVII (2), 1955, pp. 64-82.

when it was engraved on the particular slab, now in situ. It is worth noting that Pt. B. N. Reu noticed this inscription in the *Annual Report of Sardar Museum at Jodhpur & S. P. Library for the year ending 30th September 1922*, Jodhpur, p. 4, but the text thereof has not been published as yet. It refers to some unknown village *Jājāḍāuli* (जाजडाउलि) as having been situated in the region of *Srīmāla*⁵ (modern Bhīnmāl; line 2). The legible text of this inscription may now be presented for further scrutiny by epigraphists and scholars of mediæval history: —

Line 1. ऊं ॥ संवत् १३०८ वैसाख⁶ वदि ३ शुक्ले श्रीश्रीमालमहाराजपुत्र
श्रीचाचिगदेवकल्याण विजयराजे⁷ तनयुक्त⁸ सीहाप्रभृति पंच^{8a}कुलप्रतिपत्तौ
एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने आशानमभिलिखते⁹ यथाः¹⁰ ।

Line 2. श्रीश्रीमालदेशे जाजडाउलिग्राम पट भास्त्वो¹¹ सरिउ० रान्हा¹²
ऊदाउ० सोहंड० पोचाउ अभिआवयजाउ० लूणा प्रभृति पटकिले
नतला^{12a}रापदे वर्षे प्रती दत्त द्र¹³२० प्रती जगधर ।

Line 3. सुन प्रती० उत्तमसीहस्य प्रदत्ता तथा प्रती० उत्तमसीहेन देव
श्रीजगधरेश्वर जात्रा¹⁵ कावापित¹⁶ पदे दत्त्वा फागुण¹⁷ शुदि २ दिने
एते द्रंमै¹⁸ आचंद्रक¹⁹ यावत् जात्रा करणीआ²⁰ जाजडाउलिग्राम ।

5 Birth place of the well known Sanskrit poet Māgha.

6 i.e. वैशाख । 7 i.e. राज्ये । 8 i.e. तान्त्रियुक्त ।

8a This committee of five played an important part in local administration during this period.

9 i.e. शासनमभिलिखते । 10 i.e. यथा ।

11. Probably वास्तव्यः [resident].

12 It can also be read as राल्हा ।

12a Obscure phrase. 13 i.e. *Drammāb*.

14 उत्तमसिंह is the correct form of the name.

15 i.e. यात्रा 16 i.e. कारापिता 17 i.e. फाल्गुन सुदि

18 i.e. द्रम्मैः 19 i.e. आचंद्रक

20 i.e. यात्रा करणीया

Line 4. मक²¹ पटकिल²² माध्यं कित्य²³ प्रदत्ता देलवाडा सम जाजडाउलिग्रामस्य
सारा कारणीया जाजडाउलिग्राम सतकसारापन²⁴ तरी²⁵ करणीआ संवत्
१३१६ वर्षे वदि १३ गुरां अक्षरा किता²⁶

Line 5. समं²⁷ भवतु मंगलं महार्थीः ॥

II. Inscription of V. S. 1500

Another inscription consisting of 16 lines in Devanāgarī script and Sanskrit language, has been engraved on a well-dressed stone slab fixed in a niche to the left of the entrance of the main shrine of Śiva Temple at Sevādā itself. Covering a space, 12½ inches in length and 11 inches in height, it is dated "Monday, the second day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha of Vikrama Samvat 1500 corresponding to the Śaka year 1366". The record specifically refers to the reckoning of the *Vikrama* year noted along with all details about the then *nakṣatra*.....etc., in lines 5 to 8. It mentions that Ṭhakura Dharaṇāka, Bhāṭa by caste, with his wife Dhāraladevī repaired the Temple of Śrī Siddheśvara, during the regime of Dūngara-siṃha, son of Sūrā of the Ūmaṭa clan and the overlord of village Sevādā²⁸ (ie. सेवाडाग्राम). Repairs to this religious edifice were made with a view to seek welfare of his ownself and that of their parents etc. It is all the more interesting to note that the devoted wife of Dharaṇāka²⁹ too joined her husband in this pious undertaking. The inscription further states that restoration

21 i.e. probably सकल

22 i.e. पटकिल of line 2 above, meaning modern 'Patel' of a village.

23 i.e. साक्ष्यं कृत्वा i.e. the 'Patels' were made witness to the grant under reference.

24 An obscure phrase.

25 An obscure phrase.

26 i.e. the letters were engraved in the year V. S. 1316.

27 i.e. शुभं

28 The name of the village is quite interesting.

29 The details about the parentage of both of them are given in lines 9-11 here.

of an ancient religious structure (ie. जीर्णोद्धार work ; lines 15-16) brings immense benefit, sixteen times more than that accrued because of the new construction of a temple, a well and a tank.

The famous Sanchore Inscription³⁰ of V. S. 1444 refers to Pratāpa Siṃha's queen Kamalādevī of the Ūmaṭa clan (*E.I.*, XI, p. 64 ff.) and it appears that Dūṅgarsiṃha, son of Rājā Sūrā³¹ (as cited in the existing record from Sevādā) was probably one of the descendants of Pratāpasīṃha. The sway of this Ūmaṭa clan in the region of Sevādā and Sanchor up to V. S. 1500 is thus quite evident from the Sevādā inscription under review. This enhances the importance of the record to a great extent and the contemporary literature and extant epigraphs are silent about this important fact. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*E.I.* XI, p. 65) had remarked that "Ūmaṭa is still the name of a *śākhā* or subdivision of the Paramāras and we have still two tracts of land named after them, one *Ūmaṭavādā* in Mālwā and other *Umṭāṭi* round about Bhīnmāl. As Bhīnmāl is not far away from Sanchore, where Pratāpasīṃha was reigning, it is more reasonable to suppose that his father-in-law (i.e. Subhaṭa *alias* Suhaḍa-śālya) was a chief of the *Umṭāṭi* than of *Ūmaṭavādā*". The regime of the members of this Ūmaṭa clan of Mārwar (over Sevādā) up to 1500 V. S. is thus quite evident from the record under review. It begins with a benedictory³²

30 Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1134-35.

31 Just possible the son or grandson of Suhaḍaśālya the father of Kamalādevī (wife of Pratāpasīṃha) of Sanchore Inscription of V. S. 1444.

32 Compare with the well known verse as :—

यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो,
 बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाण पटवः कर्त्तन्ति नैयायिकाः ।
 अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः,
 सोऽयं नो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

verse in praise of Śiva and the text thereof may tentatively be presented as follows: —

- Line 1. ऊं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च यं शैवाः
 Line 2. समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति³⁴ वेदान्तिनो बौद्धाः बुद्ध इति
 Line 3. प्रमाणपटवः कर्त्तेति³⁵ नैयायिका (अर्ह)-नित्यतियेन³⁶ शासनगता³⁷
 कर्मे
 Line 4. तिमिमांसिका³⁸ सोयं³⁹ वो⁴⁰ विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं श्रीसिद्धनाथ
 शिव ॥१॥
 Line 5. स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमाङ्क⁴¹ समयातीत संवत् १५०० वर्षे शाके १३६६
 " प्रवर्त्तमा⁴¹
 Line 6. ने उत्तरायने⁴² संवत्⁴³ कर्त्तौ महामांगल्य श्री वैशाख मासे शुक्लपक्षे द्वि-
 Line 7. तोयायां तिथौ सोमवासरे रोहिणीनक्षत्रे अतिगंज⁴⁴ नाम्नि योगे गरकर-
 Line 8. णे वृषराशिस्थे चन्द्रे अद्येह श्री सेवाडा-ग्रामे ऊमटवंशे राज-
 Line 9. श्रीसूरा सत⁴⁵ इंगरसिंह⁴⁶ विजयराज्ये लोलवंशे भाटवांगासत⁴⁷
 Line 10. लका तस्य पुत्र ठकुर⁴⁸ धरणाकेन राणा डाल्हा सत⁴⁹ माला तस्यात्म-
 Line 11. जा धारलदेवि⁵⁰ पतिभक्तिपरायणा तथा सहितेन मातृपक्ष पितृप-
 Line 12. क्ष उद्धरणार्थं तथा आत्मनः श्रेयार्थं शास्त्रोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थं श्री सि-
 Line 13. द्देश्वरस्य पार्वती सहित.....स्य जीर्णोद्धारः प्रासादः प्रति-
 Line 14. ष्ठा सहितकृतः ॥ स तु सदाशिव प्रसादात् चिरकालं ति-
 Line 15. ष्ठु ॥ शुभं भवतु प्रासादकूपसरसां यत्फलं नवनिर्मितां
 Line 16. द्वाषष्टगुणं प्रोक्तं जीर्णोद्धारं प्रतकृते ॥

Let us hope that epigraphists and historians will scrutinise the above two epigraphs in all details.

R. C. AGRAWALA

33 The text needs due scrutiny by epigraphists and historians. It was simply noticed by Pt. Reu, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and we are thankful to him for the same.

34 i.e. ब्रह्मेति

35 i.e. कर्त्तेति

36 i.e. नैयायिकाः अहन्नित्यथ

37 रता instead of गता is correct.

38 i.e. मीमांसकाः

39 i.e. सोऽयं

40 i.e. नो

41 i.e. प्रवर्त्तमाने

42 i.e. उत्तरायणे

43 i.e. संवत् कृते

44 i.e. गरुड

45 i.e. सुत = son

46 i.e. इंगरसिंह

47 i.e. सुत = son

48 i.e. ठकुर, Hindī ठाकुर

49 i.e. सुत

50 i.e. देवी

New Light on the Chronology of the Ikṣvākus and the Pallavas

The ancient site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, yielded a large number of inscriptions in previous excavations and these were mostly published by J. Ph. Vogel in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vols. XX and XXI. In order to save, as far as possible, the antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa from submersion under the waters of the proposed Nāgārjuna Sāgar Lake, the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, again started excavations at the place in October 1954. Since then many new inscriptions have been dug up from different sites in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley. I have recently arranged for the publication of these epigraphs in the same journal.

In the course of my study of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, I have found three dates in three different records, which appear to throw new light on the chronology of the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region and the Pallavas of Kāñcī and add very considerably to our knowledge of the early history of South India. Two of these epigraphs have been recently dug up while one was published by Vogel in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64 (Pillar Inscription No. L), with an illustration. Vogel's transcript of the record is, however, full of errors apparently because it was based on unsatisfactory impressions.¹ The pre-

1 In this connection, reference may be made to another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription published with an inaccurate transcript (cf. *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 71, p. 28, Plate XXXIV, No. 1). What have been read as *akunṭh-ā°* (line 1), *°pamṇāsya* (lines 5-6), *pravinasya* (line 6), *maṃ[tra].... pita* (line 7) and *samṛddha sa...* (line 8) are really *akkha(kha)ṇḍ-ā°*, *°pam... tasya*, *pañca[ḍasa]*, *saṃ...ṣita* and *samuc[chrayasya]*. This inscription has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to c. 450-500 A. D. or the fifth century A. D., while the Gummiḍidurru inscription (*op. cit.*, p. 29 and Plate XXXIV, No. 2) has also been ascribed to the same century. As a matter of fact, however, while the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription is written

servation of the writing in the inscription is not at all unsatisfactory as indicated by the facsimile published along with Vogel's paper. I have also re-edited this inscription with a better facsimile.

The first of the three inscriptions is a record dated in the reign of the Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa and the year quoted has to be read as 30.² In this connection, it has to be noted that the era of 248 A.D., used in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris and other dynasties of the North-Western Deccan and its neighbourhood and also of the Later Kalacuris of the Chattisgarh region, is now generally believed to have been founded by the Ābhīra king Mādharīputra Īśvarasena, the son of Śivadatta and known from the Nasik inscription of the year 9.³ It is probable that Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa was one of the successors of Īśvarasena and that his Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription is dated in the Ābhīra era. If such was the case, the year 30 in the date of the inscription of Vasuṣeṇa would correspond to 278-79 A.D. If, however, it is argued that the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraph is dated in the 30th regnal year of Vasuṣeṇa, we have of course no other means to determine its date excepting its palaeography and language (an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit) which would suggest its ascription roughly to the second half of the third or the first half of the fourth century A.D.

We know that the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the Krishna-Guntur region in the first quarter of the third century A.D.

in the usual Ikṣvāku characters and should have to be assigned to the third or fourth century, the Guṃmiḍidurru inscription is written in Cālukya characters not earlier than the seventh century A. D.

2 The inscription has been noticed and illustrated in *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—A Review* (p. 8, Plate Va), wherein the date has been read as the year 9. Actually, however, the symbol is a *la* indicating 30.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 88; *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXVII, pp. 1 ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 22.

and that the Ikṣvākus succeeded them in the said area.⁴ The four generations of the known Ikṣvāku kings are: (1) Cantamūla (none of his records is known though his achievements show that his reign could not have been very short); (2) his son Vīrapuruṣadatta (latest known date is the 20th. regnal year); (3) his son Ehuṅvula Cantamūla (latest known date is the 24th regnal year); and (4) his son Rudrapuruṣadatta or Ruḷapuruṣadatta⁵ (latest known date is the 11th regnal year).⁶ After these Ikṣvākus, who are known to have ruled for more than fifty-five years in the third and fourth centuries, the Pallavas of Kāñcī ruled over the Krishna-Guntur region as is evidenced by the Manchikallu inscription of Simhavarman and the Mayidavolu plates of Sivaskandavarman, both assignable to the fourth century A.D., and some of the later grants of the Pallava kings assignable to the fifth and sixth centuries.⁷ If therefore the date of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of Vasuṣeṇa is referred to the era of 248 A.D., we have to speak of the Ābhīra interregnum in the history of the Krishna-Guntur region during the age of the Ikṣvākus and it may be tentatively suggested that Vasuṣeṇa ousted Vīrapuruṣadatta and extended his power over the Ikṣvāku kingdom but was himself ousted by the latter's son Ehuṅvula Cantamūla. But, if it is believed that Vasuṣeṇa's inscription is dated in his regnal reckoning, it may probably be supposed that the Ābhīras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikṣvākus and that the former were ruling over parts of the erstwhile Ikṣvāku kingdom before they were overthrown from the said region by their former allies, the Pallavas of Kāñcī.

4 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 206, 224. The characters of the Chinna inscription of the Later Sātavāhana king Yajña Śātakarṇi resemble those of the Ikṣvāku epigraphs and cannot be much earlier than the beginning of the third century A. D. See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 83, note 9.

5 The name was wrongly read as Ruḷapuruṣadatta in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 125.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 65; vol. XXXIV, p. 20.

7 *The Classical Age*, pp. 276 ff.

The second of the three important dates is furnished by an inscription of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta which has been wrongly assigned by Vogel to the king's twentieth regnal year. The date portion of the inscription has been read and translated by Vogel as follows : *raño Mādhariputasa Ikhākunaṁ siri-Virapurisadatasā. vasasanaya saṁvachara viṁsayaṁ vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamam divasaṁ bitiyam*, "in the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādharīputta siri-Vīrapurisadatta of [the house of] the Ikkhākus... ..in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day." But the reading of the passage is quite clearly : *raño Mādhariputasa Ikhākunaṁ siri-Virapurisadatasā vasa-satāya saṁvacharam Vijayam vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamam divasaṁ bitiyam* (Sanskrit *rājñah Mādharīputrasya Ikṣvākūnām Śrī-Vīrapuriṣadattasya varṣa-śatāya saṁvatsare Vijaye varṣā pakṣe prathamē divase dvitīye*). Thus, unlike all the other published inscriptions of the time of the Ikṣvākus which are dated in regnal years, the epigraph under review bears the date in the year Vijaya of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India. Since the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta ruled about the second half of the third century A. D., the cyclic year Vijaya falling in his reign corresponds to 273-74 A. D. The earlier and later years corresponding to the year Vijaya, viz. 213-14 and 333-34 A. D. respectively, are quite beside the mark. The inscription therefore furnishes us with a definite date for the reign of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta and also gives us the earliest epigraphic record dated in the cyclic year. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁸ of the Cālukya king Maṅgaleśa of Bādāmi, dated in the year Siddhārtha (602-03 A. D.), was formerly known to be the earliest such record. The mention of Vijaya in the Ikṣvāku records, alone among the cyclic years, seems to be due to the special importance attached to it. As we know, Vijaya was counted as the first year of the Kali-yuga according to Varāhamihira.⁹

8 *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, Part II, pp. 348-49.

9 Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prācīnlipimālā*, p. 188.

The third Ikṣvāku inscription containing an important date is engraved on a lime stone pillar found at the site called the Burning Ghāt by the excavators. The preservation of the writing in this record is quite unsatisfactory. But the reading of the portion giving the date of the record is absolutely certain. The inscription is dated in the year Vijaya falling in the reign of Ikṣvāku king Ehuṅvula Cantamūla, the son of Vīrapuruṣadatta and the grandson of Cantamūla. Thus this is the second epigraphic record dated in the cyclic year and the second Ikṣvāku inscription dated in the year Vijaya. We have seen that the year Vijaya = 273-74 A.D. fell in the reign of king Vīrapuruṣadatta. The cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of king Ehuṅvula Cantamūla, who was the son of Vīrapuruṣadatta, therefore corresponds to 333-34 A.D. the wide gap between 273-74 and 333-34 A.D. falling respectively in the reign of the father and in that of the son would suggest that the date 333-34 A.D. fell in the concluding part of the reign of the Ikṣvāku king Ehuṅvula Cantamūla. Thus the Ikṣvāku king Rudrapuruṣadatta, who was the son of Ehuṅvula Cantamūla and ruled at least up to his eleventh regnal year, may have ended his reign shortly before 350 A.D. Formerly, with the evidence then at our disposal, we were inclined to think that the Pallavas conquered the Krishna-Guntur region in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. It now appears, from the date of the inscription under review, that the Pallava conquest of the area in question could not have occurred very much earlier than the middle of the fourth century. This necessitates a modification of our previous views on the date of the Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and Śivaskandavarman as expressed in *The Classical Age*, p. 282. It now appears that we should have to assign the end of Siṃhavarman's rule and the beginning of the reign of Śivaskandavarman, who was probably the son of the former as also previously suggested by us, to c. 345 A.D. Since Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī is mentioned as a contemporary in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta who ended his rule in 376 A.D., the reign of Skandavarman of the British Museum plates of Cārudevī has probably to be placed later than that of

Viṣṇugopa, although we formerly regarded Skandavarman as a predecessor of Viṣṇugopa. We are now inclined to suggest the following chronology for the Pallavas of the fourth century A.D.— (1) Siṃhavarman, c. 315-45 A.D., (2) Śivaskandavarman, c. 345-55 A.D., (3) Viṣṇugopa, c. 355-75 A. D., and (4) Skandavarman, c. 375-85 A.D.

The Ikṣvāku chronology depends on the date of Vasuṣeṇa's inscription. If the said epigraph is assigned to 278-79 A.D., we may suggest the following chronology for the Ikṣvākus : (1) Cantamūla, c. 225-50 A. D., (2) Vīrapuruṣadatta, c. 250-75 A.D., (3) Ābhīra interregnum, c. 275-85 A. D., (4) Eḥuvula Cantamūla, c. 285-334 A.D., and (5) Rudrapuruṣadatta, c. 334-45 A.D. Otherwise the reigns of the four generations of the Ikṣvāku kings may be placed in c. 245-345 A.D.

D. C. SIRCAR

Ekavarṇārt̄ha-saṃgraha of Bharatamallika

Although Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit Literature has been quite considerable, but its value has not yet been assessed fully. The names of many a literary stalwart of Bengal have sunk into unmerited oblivion. Bharatasena, better known as Bharatamallika, was a great scholar of Bengal. It is true that he has not been entirely forgotten, but a detailed study of his versatile literary activities has yet to be made. He is chiefly known as the author of a brilliant commentary, *Subodhā*, on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. His commentary on the *Meghadūta* is not so widely known. Still less known are his other works, viz.,

(1) *Upasarga-ṛtti*, (2) *Kāraḥollāsa*, (3) *Gaṇapāṭha*, (4) *Drutabodha-vyākaraṇa* and its commentary *Drutabodhinī*, (5) *Sukha-lekhana*, (6) *Kirātārjunīya-ṭikā*, (7) *Kumārabhārgaviyāṭikā*, (8) *Kumārasambhava-ṭikā*, (9) *Ghaṭakarpara-ṭikā*, (10) *Nalodaya prakāśa*, (11) *Naiṣadhīya-ṭikā*, (12) *Subodhā*, comm. on the *Raghuvaṃśa*, (13) *Śiṣupālavadha-ṭikā*, (14) *Mugdhabodhinī*, comm. on the *Amarakoṣa*, (15) *Vaidyakula-tattva* or *Rādhīyakula-panjikā*.

This list of the commentaries and compendia does not exhaust the works of Bharata. At least two original works bear testimony to the erudition of this great Sanskritist of Bengal. These are the lexicons called *Dvirūpa-dhvani-saṃgraha* or *Dvirūpa-koṣa* and *Ekavarṇārt̄ha-saṃgraha*.

Bharata tells us, in his works, that he was a descendant of one Harihara Khān, and son of Gaurāṅgasena or Gaurāṅgamallika and that he wrote his works in Pāṭalipāḍā in Vardhamāna (Burdwan) under the patronage of Kalyāṇamalla. His date has not been determined with certainty. He is supposed to have lived sometime between the middle of the seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth. But, Durgādāsa, in his commentary on the *Kavikalpadruma* of Vopadeva, quotes Bharata. This commentary bears the date 1639 A.D. Therefore, this is the lower limit of Bharata's date.

In the following pages, the text of Bharata's *Ekavarnārtha-samgraha* has been presented as accurately as is permitted by the single MS. of the work preserved in India Office, London. [NO. 1044 (134C)]. It consists of 61 verses dealing with the various meanings of each of the vowels and consonants arranged in order. At the end of the work, Bharata modestly says that he has compiled only a few of the meanings.

The interest of the work is obvious dealing as it does with single syllables and their meanings. Of Sanskrit lexicons there are many, but works of this kind are very few.

While editing the text, corrupt portions have been omitted and indicated by dotted lines. Doubtful readings have been pointed out by query marks against the words or syllables concerned. Wherever possible, emendations have been suggested.

एकवर्णार्थसंग्रहः

[भरतमल्लिककृतः]

नमस्कृत्य शिवं वैद्यगौराङ्गमल्लिकात्मजः ।
 भरतः कुरुते पद्यैरेकवर्णार्थसंग्रहम् ॥१॥
 न हलः केवलस्यास्ति उच्चारणमिति स्वरैः ।
 अन्तःस्थैश्चैकता तस्य मताः ककादयो यथा ॥२॥
 अः श्रीपतां वर्ततेथो स्वल्पार्थप्रतिषेधयोः ।
 अभावेऽप्यनुकम्पायामनव्ययमुदीरितम् ॥३॥
 आब्रह्मणश्चाव्ययं तु स्मृतौ वाक्ये समुच्चये ।
 सीमायामपि कारुण्ये स्वल्पार्थाभिविधिष्वपि ॥४॥
 उपसर्गाख्य आशब्दः समन्तादीषदर्थयोः ।
 प्रत्यावृत्ति ग्रहादीनां चार्थानां धातुयोगतः ॥५॥
 आख्यापको भवेदिस्तु कुसुमायुध उच्यते ।
 इ अव्ययं रुषोक्तिः स्याद् भेदानुकम्पयोरपि ॥६॥
 ई लक्ष्म्यां स्यादव्ययं तु विषादे करुणारुषोः ।
 उः शिवे स्यादव्ययं तु अनुकम्पानियोगयोः ॥७॥

- सम्बोधनरूपोक्ति (क्लौ ?) पादपूरण इष्यते ।
 ऊ रक्षायामव्ययं तु वाक्यारम्भानुकम्पयोः ॥८॥
 ऋकारो देवताम्बायामव्ययं वाक्यनिन्दयोः ।
 ऋर्देत्यजननी वाक्यकुत्सयोऽर्त्तु अव्ययम् ॥९॥
 लृकारो देवयोनिःस्यात् लृमाता सद्भिश्च्यते ।
 एर्विष्णुः स्यादव्ययं तु स्मृत्यामन्त्रणहृतिषु ॥१०॥
 ऐः शम्भुः स्यादव्ययं तु स्मृत्यामन्त्रणहृतिषु ।
 ओकारः स्यादब्जयोनिरव्ययं स्मरणे तथा ॥११॥
चानुकम्पायां तथा सम्बोधने मतम् ।
 औरन्से स्यादव्ययं तु हूतौ सम्बोधनेऽपि च ॥१२॥
 अं भवेत् परमं ब्रह्म अः स्याद्विष्णुत्तिनेत्रयोः ।
 कः पुमान् ब्रह्मवाग्वात्मसूर्याग्निमवर्हिषु ॥१३॥
 दक्षप्रकाशयोः कं तु शीर्षे वारिणि शर्मणि ।
 कुर्धरिती स्त्रियामुक्ता क्वव्ययं पापकुत्सयोः ॥१४॥
 निवारणे विनिर्दिष्टमीषदर्थे च कोविदैः ।
 खमाकाशेन्द्रियछलदेवलोकेषु शर्मणि ॥१५॥
 संवेदने शून्यविन्दौ प्रकाशपूरयोर्मतम् ।
 गो गणेशे गन्धवाहे गन्धर्वे गतिगानयोः ॥१६॥
 गा गाथायां गदायां तु गौः पुमान्प्रवृजयोः ।
 स्वर्गे रश्मौ चन्द्रमसि स्त्रियां तु दिशि वासि (चि ?) च ॥१७॥
 दृक् सोरभेयी वारोषु सलिले धरणावपि ।
 घो घण्टायां मतौ घं तु गर्हणे बन्धनेऽपि च ॥१८॥
 घा किङ्किण्यां हतौ चोक्ता घुर्ध्वनौ परिकीर्तिता ।
 ङ भैरवो विनिर्दिष्टस्तथैव विषयस्पृहा ॥१९॥
 चश्चौरश्चन्द्रमाश्चोक्तः चं चक्रे चन्दने स्मृतम् ।
 चाव्ययं स्यात् समाहारेऽप्यन्योन्यार्थे समुच्चये ॥२०॥
 अन्वाचये तथा पादपूरणेऽप्यवधारणे ।
 पक्षान्तरेऽपि छंतु स्यात् छेदने त्रिषु निर्मले ॥२१॥
 जवने...वनेऽप्येवं छातुरे च ध्वनौ मतौ ।
 जः स्याज्जातरि विज्ञातजवने च प्रयुज्यते ॥२२॥

जूः स्रयाकाशमरस्वत्यां पिशाच्यां जवनेऽपि च ।
 भो (भ्र)ञ्मावात उद्दिष्टस्तथा.....परिडतैः ॥२३॥
 जः स्याद् घर्घरशब्देऽपि गायते शासने (?) दिवि ।
 टः स्यात् शब्दे कवन्धे च टा पृथिव्यां प्रकीर्तिता ॥२४॥
 ठः स्यान्महाध्वनौ शून्ये शङ्करे चन्द्रमण्डले ।
 ठा ध्वनौ डः शिवे त्रासे शब्दे च परिकीर्त्यते ॥२५॥
निर्गुणे च ध्वनिनिर्णययोरपि ।
 णः प्रकर्षं निर्वृतां च ज्ञाने (न ?) निश्चययोरपि ॥२६॥
 तस्तस्करे बुद्धबद्ध (?) वर्णेषु क्रीडप्रप्रयोः (?) ।
 त्वव्ययं स्यात् प्रशंसायां पक्षान्तरनियोगयोः ॥२७॥
 भेदेऽवधारणे पादपूरणेऽपि ममुच्चये ।
 विनिग्रहे थस्तु शैले थ थू द्वौ हयलक्षणो ॥२८॥
 दो दाता दं कलत्स्यात् दादान छेद दानृषु ।
 धो धर्मे धर्मराजो (जे ?) ऽपि धाता धा धो धनाधिपः ॥२९॥
 धूर्धूर्त इन्द्रिये कम्पे चिन्तनेऽपि प्रकीर्त्यते ।
 नः स्याद् युद्धेऽपि.....उपमाप्रतिषेधयोः ॥३०॥
 अव्ययं न.....न ध्वनिः ।
 भावे च निषेधे च स्वरूपार्थेऽप्यतिक्रमे ॥३१॥
 ईपदर्थे च सादृश्ये तद्विरुद्धतदन्ययोः ।
 अप्राशस्त्येऽप्यव्ययं वा निषेधामावयोः स्मृतम् ॥३२॥
 अव्ययं नि निषेधे स्याद् भृशार्थे संशयेऽपि च ।
 नित्यार्थकौशले क्षेपे.....करदानयोः ॥३३॥
 राश्यधोभावविन्यासे मोक्षान्तर्भावबन्धने ।
 आश्रयेऽप्युपसर्गारव्यं निर्निषेधेऽपि निश्चये ॥३४॥
 नीः स्यान्न तरनीतौ च नुः स्तुतौ परिकीर्तितः ।
 अव्ययं नु वितर्के च उपमाप्रश्नयोरपि ॥३५॥
 विकल्पे नु नयेऽतीते तथाहेतूपदेशयोः ।
 नृशब्दः परिडते मर्त्ये पुरुषेऽपि प्रयुज्यते ॥३६॥
 नोऽव्ययं त्वभावे स्यात् नौनीकायां प्रयुज्यते ।
 पापातको (के ?)ऽपि पवने भवेत् पापापपानयोः ॥३७॥

.....फुत्कारदत्ते निष्फलभाषणे ।

फिः प्रकोपे.....वरणे वर्वरे घटे ॥३॥

इवार्थं त्वव्ययं व स्यात् सव्ययं वा समुच्चये ।

उपमायां विकल्पे च नानार्थातीतयोरपि ॥३६॥

एवार्थं च वितर्के च विशिलष्टे पादपूरणे ।

नियोगे निश्चये हेतौ निग्रहे सहने तथा ॥४०॥

ईषदर्थे व्याप्ति.....

विज्ञाना तीव मानार्थे श्रेष्ठार्थे च प्रयुज्यते ॥४१॥

उपसर्गाद्व्ययं विः स्यात्नवर्थे गमने तथा ।

विशेषदानवैह्येऽव्ययं वै पादपूरणे ॥४२॥

सम्बोधने चानुनये हेतावप्यवधारणे ।

भः स्याद् दैत्यगुरो भृङ्गे मयूरे भमुडु स्मृतम् ॥४३॥

भा दीप्तौ स्याद् गभस्तौ च भीर्भये समुदीरिता ।

भूः स्थानमात्रे मूमौ च तथोत्पत्तौ प्रकीर्तिता ॥४४॥

मः स्याद् ब्रह्मणि चन्द्रे च चन्द्रशेखरमन्त्रयोः ।

मं मङ्गलं समुद्दिष्टं.....विद्ययोर्द्युतौ ॥४५॥

मा स्यान्मातरि माने चाव्ययं मा वारणे तथा ।

विकल्पे योयमे वायौ याने त्यागेऽपि यातरि ॥४६॥

रः पापके च तीक्ष्णे रा दाने ग्रहणे तथा ।

रीर्गतां हनने चोक्ता रैशब्दः स्वर्णवित्तयोः ॥४७॥

ल इन्द्रे ह्लादने लास्तु ग्रहणे ली स्मृताश्लिषि ।

लुछेदे वस्तु नाते स्यात् सान्तोऽपि वाः सुखे गतौ ॥४८॥

वीः प्रभागमनव्याप्तिक्षेपणे खेदने मता ।

वहणे विंश.....अव्ययम् ॥४९॥

ओष्ठ्यवंबहवःप्राहुः दन्त्यं चेति च केचन ।

शः शम्भुः शं शुभं प्रोक्तं शीः स्वप्ने च परिकीर्तिता ॥५०॥

श्वव्ययं पूजने प्रोक्तं शूर्हीसायां प्रयुज्यते ।

षः श्रेष्ठः कीर्तितो धीरैः षुस्तु गर्भविमोचनम् ॥५१॥

50.— b) One extra syllable mars the metre. च should perhaps be dropped.

सः स्याद्विष्णौ हरे दर्भे सा लक्ष्मीदुर्गयोः स्मृता ।
 अव्ययं सु समृद्धौ च भृशार्थेऽनुमतावपि ॥५२॥
 कृत्स्ने (?) तथैव पूजायां उपसर्गाह्वयं तु सु ।
 अर्चयामप्यनायासे तथातिशय उच्यते ॥५३॥
 हः शम्भौ वर्तते शुण्डे तथा कंपनिवारणे ।
 अव्ययं तु ह सम्बुद्धौ निग्रहे पादपूरणे ॥५४॥
 क्षिपायामपि कुतसायां नियोगे च प्रयुज्यते ।
 हा शोके स्याद् विषादे च निन्दा पीडार्थयोरपि ॥५५॥
 हि पादपूरणे प्रश्ने संभ्रमेऽप्यवधारणे ।
 हेतौ हेतूपदेशे च विशेषासूययोरपि ॥५६॥
 ही विषादे विस्मये च दुःखे हेतौ च वर्तते ।
 हे सम्बोधन आद्धानासूययोश्च प्रयुज्यते ॥५७॥
 हैहो वा.....शब्देऽपि तथा मतः ।
 क्षः सूर्ये क्षत्रिये युद्धे क्षणे मित्ते च वर्तते ॥५८॥
 यद्यपि क्षस्त्रिवर्णात्मा तथाप्येको निगद्यते ।
 नामानुरोधात् पान्तोऽपि पृथगेव हि पठ्यते ॥५९॥
 ग्रन्थे विश्वप्रकाशादौ महेश्वरमुखैर्बुधैः ।
 क्षान्ताः पृथङ्.....पान्तवर्गे तु कैश्चन ॥६०॥
 ख्यातानामेकवर्णानामर्थानां कियतां कृतः ।
 संग्रहोऽयं परे त्वर्था ज्ञोयास्तन्त्रान्तरेक्षणात् ॥६१॥

इति श्रीगौरङ्गमल्लिकात्मजश्रीभरतसेनकृत एकवर्णार्थसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

A study of the un-Pāṇinian verb-forms in the critical edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata*

THE PRESENT-SYSTEM

The object of this paper is to deal only with the augmentless imperfect. Besides, one isolated instance in which the subject in the 3rd plural seems to have taken the verb in the singular, deserves special mention. It is: *pramattām upayānty anye svayam anye ca vindate | aṣṭamaṃ tam atho vitta vivāhaṃ kavibhiḥ smṛtam*|| (Ś 1 K 1. 3. 4 *vindati. S svayaṃ gṛhṇanti cāpare*) 1. 96. 10.

The word 'vindate' is not certain. It has, however, been used for diambic close. The form is grammatically correct if we take it as belonging to the 7th class.

Augmentless preterite

Augmentless imperfect is a noteworthy feature of the present system in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata. The use of the augment *a-* in the imperfect, aorist, and conditional is compulsory according to Pāṇini, unless, of course, the aorist is used with *mā* and *mā sma*, and the imperfect, with *mā sma*. But the augment in the imperfect and the aorist was not at all compulsory in the Vedic (compare Macdonell, 413b). Augmentless imperfect and aorist are found also in later Vedic (Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads etc.), and this phenomenon persists even in the Epics.

Such forms are not unknown in BHS (see Edgerton, 32. 2-4). Augmentless aorist forms are not unknown even in Pali (see Geiger, § 158), and Prakrit (e. g. *kāsi*, *thāsī*, *bluvi*, etc., see Pischel, § 516). In Pali "the imperfect hardly exists, at least independently" (Edgerton, 32. 1), and in Prakrit, we find the isolated forms *āsi*, *āsī*, and AMg. *abbavī* (see Pischel, § 515).

* The present article forms only a part of my study. I have done a study of the un-Pāṇinian verb-forms in the critical edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata.

Loss of augment in the imperfect in the Ādiparvan is mainly metri causa, about one-third of the cases occurring owing to diiambic close; but there are also cases which are not metri causa.

The following are the different types of augmentless imperfect occurring in the Ādiparvan:

- (a) Augmentless imperfect without change of voice
- (b) Augmentless imperfect with change of voice:
 - (i) active for middle (ii) middle for active
- (c) Augmentless imperfect with change of conjugation
- (d) Augmentless imperfect with change of both conjugation and voice
- (e) Augmentless imperfect with transference of verbal stem.

We present our examples below:

- (a) Augmentless imperfect without change of voice:—

√ ard
10th class
athāsuraḥ gūrbhir a-dīnacetaso muhurmuḥuḥ
suragaṇam ardayams tadā | (K 1 N 3 B Da Dn 1
T 2 M 2.4 °mārda°) 1. 17. 24. Not metri
causa.

√ kram,
apa
Viśvāmitro' py apa-kramat tasmād deśād ariṇḍama |
(Ś 1 K 0. 1. 3 N 1. 3 D 2. 5 M 3. 5 tropacakrāma;
K 2 N 2 V 1 B Da Dn 1. n 2 G 1-3. 5 °tropyapākṛā°;
K 4 °tropi cakrāma; D 1 G 6 °tropy upakṛā°)
1. 166. 18. Not metri causa.

√ kram, vi
+ati
vy-ati-kraman 1. 56. 8. See above in the chapter
on Phonology under Variation in vowel-length. Loss
of augment for the iambic opening in preference to
the spondaic.

√ dru, sam
+abhi
tataḥ Sakraḥ..... | pāṇḍuram gajam āsthāya
tāv ubhau sam-abhi-dravat || (Ś 1 Ko. 1. 3. 4 N 1 T 1
D 2 °bhidrutaḥ; K 2 N 2. 3 V 1 B Da Dn D 1. 4. 5
samupādravat) 1. 218. 28. For making the 5th syllable

of posterior pāda of Epic śloka, light in the diiambic close. Cf. sam-abhi-dravat, Rā. 3. 51. 9; 3. 51. 23; etc.

tān Bhṛgūṇāṃ tadā dārān kaścin nābhyava-padyata
(Ko kaścin naivābhyapadyate; N̄ 2. 3 V 1 Dn D. 4. 5
G 2 °n nābhyupapadya°; B Da D 1. 2 G 1 °n
nābhyupa-padyate; T 2 G 3.5 °padyate; M 5 kaścid
anyobhi-padyate) 1. 171. 8. For the reason stated
just above. Cf. abhy-ava-padyata, Rā. 6. 77. 20.

√ pad,
abhi+ava

Ahicchatraṃ ca viṣayaṃ Droṇaḥ sam-abhi-padyata |
(Ś 1 K 1-3 samabhipānnavān. S Bhāradvājobhya [G 3
°nva] padyata) 1. 128. 17.

√ pad,
sam+abhi

[Karṇaḥ] pratihatya nanādoccaih sainyās tam abhi-
pūjayan | (KO. 2.4 D 5 M °stadabhi°; K 1 °stat prati°;
K 3 tat sainyāḥ samapū°; N̄ 2.3 V 1 B Da Dn D 1.2.4
samyāni tada [B 3 sama] pū°) 1. 181. 14. Cf. abhi-
pūjayan, Rā. 1. 26. 27.

√ pūj, abhi

tena susrāva reto'sya sa ca tan nāva-budhyata |
(Ś 1 K 2.4 N̄ D 1. 2. 4. 5. G 3 tan nāva bu°) 1.
120. 11. For making the 5th syllable of the posterior
pāda of Epic śloka light in the diiambic close. Cf.
ava-budhyata, Rā. 2. 36. 17.

√ budh,
ava

[tau] vi-bhrājetāṃ yathā śailau nīhāreṇābhi-
samvṛtau | (Ś 1 vyabhrā°; K 3 N̄ V 1 B Da Dn 2
D 2.4 M babhrājatur; K 4 bhrājetāṃ tau; Dn 1. 1. 3
D 1 T 1 vibhrājatur; D 5 vibhrājau; T 2 G
vibhrājete) 1. 142. 16.

√ bhrāj, vi

kalyāṇa bata sākṣī tvam mātmanam ava-many-
athāḥ | (Ś 1 K D 1 °ṇam bhava [Ko. 2-4 tava; D 1
vada] sākṣitva [KO. 2-4 sākṣīda] mātmanam māva°;
N̄ V 1 B Dn D 2. 4. °ṇam vada sākṣyeṇa mā°; B 3m
Da °ṇam bata sākṣī cen mā°; D 5 °ṇam vada sākṣitvam
ātmanam māva°; T G °ṇam bata sākṣīṇā [T 1 °ta] māt-
manam avamanyase; M °ṇam sākṣīṇam caiva mā [M
3. 5 kasmād ā] tmānam avamanyase) 1. 68. 25. For

√ man,
ava

making the 5th syllable of the posterior nāda of Epic śloka light in the diiambic close.

√viś

taucāpi keśau viśatām Yadūnām kule striyau Rohiṇīm
Devakīm ca | (Ś 1 K Ñ 1 ā [K2 nir]viśetām; Ñ 2.3 V 1
B D.niviśetām; G 1 vihitām) 1. 189. 31. For indravajrā.

√vr, pari

tatas te pārthivāḥ sarve sarvataḥ pari-vārayan | (Ś1
K Ñ 1 Dn D 1. 4. 5 pari [D4 sama] vārya tam; B 3
Da D 2 S [except G 1 M 6-8; T 1 om.] paryavāra°)
1. 96. 21. For the second type of trochaic opening
in preference to the second type of spondaic opening.

√vrt, abhi

tau vṛṣāv iva..... | anyonyam abhi-vartetām
bala-vikrama-śālinau || (K 1. 2. 4 B [except B 5] Da
D 5 T 1 G 6 M °mabhyava°) 1. 96. 31. For the
pyrrhic opening which is often preferred to the iambic
opening. Cf. abhi-vartata, Rā. 6. 41. 93.

√vraj

atha saṁdhāya te vīrā Ekacakrām vrajaṁs tadā |
(M [except M 5] gatās tadā) 1. 55. 20. For the
avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close.

√vraj, anu

kathaṁ vy-ati-kraman dyūte Pārthau Mādriśutau
tathā | anu-vrajan naravyāghraṁ vañcyamānaṁ durā-
tmabhiḥ || (B 1 G 4-6 M 3 anv avra°. Ko. 2. 4. D5
anuvraje [D 5 °te] tāṁ rājānaṁ; B 4. 5 D 2.3 anv
avrajan naravyāghrā; Dn D 1 anv ayus te naravyāghrā)
1. 56. 8. Not metri causa. Cf. anuvrajan, Rā. 5.18 10

√sad, sam
+ni

mahārḥasanayo rājaṁs tatas tau saṁni-śīdatuḥ |
(Ś 1 K 1 B 1 D 1 G 1 °śēdatuḥ; Ñ 3 V 1 °śīdatām)
1. 214. 27. Not metri causa. See above, under Change
of Endings: Perfect for Imperfect ending.

(b) Augmentless imperfect with change of voice

(i) active for middle: —

√sthā, ava

sā tatra yoṣā rudatī jalārthini Gaṅgāṁ devīm vyava-
gāhyāva-tiṣṭhat | (Ś 1 vyavagādḥāvatiṣṭhat; Ko. 4 ava-
gāhyāvati°; K1 Ñ V1 B Da1 Dn vya [Ñ1 cā; V 1 a]
vagāhya vyati°; K2 viḡāhyāvati°; D1 vyavagāhya ti°)
1. 189. 11. For making the 9th syllable light in a

vātorṃī foot. Cf. vy-ava-tiṣṭhata, Rā. 2. 83. 21; vyava-tiṣṭhanta, Rā. 4. 50. 39.

(ii) middle for active:—

jātam ṛdhyata dharmeṇa sudīrghenāyusānvitam |
(Ñ 3 jātam ṛddhena; B D jātam viddham ca [D 5 jātam ṛdhyam tu]; Cd as in text. Ñ 1 vivardhitaś ca dharmeṇa.....) 1. 58. 8. Not metri causa; ātmanepadam for the avoidance of catalectic foot and for pathyā close.

√rdh

tasyā vāyuh samuddhūto vasanaṃ vy-apa-karṣata |
(Ś 1 K¹ vy-apa-kṛṣṭavān; Ko samakarṣata; Ñ 1. 2 B Da D 2 4 T 1 [second time] G 1-3 [all first time] parya°; Ñ 3 paryavārya°; Dn D 1 paryavarta°; D 5 °karṣayat; T 1 [first time] hy aharat tadā; T 2 G 5 pratya°; G 1-4. 6 M [all second time] vya [G 1 vyā] harat tadā) 1. 121. 4. For diiambic close. The regular form vy-apākarṣat with the active ending would have marred the diiambic close of the posterior pāda of Epic śloka by making the 5th and the 7th syllables heavy and the foot catalectic. Cf. vy-apa karṣata, Rā. 7. 21. 40.

√kṛṣ, vi +
apa

prayacchetāṃ mahārhanī strīṇāṃ te sma madotkate |
(K 1. 3 B D 5 T 1 prāyacchetāṃ; Ñ 2. 3 Da Dn D2.4 prāyacchatāṃ; T3 G 2-6 prā [G2 pra] yacchete) 1. 214. 22. Ātmanepadam for the spondaic opening in preference to the iambic.

√dāṇ, pra

(c) Augmentless imperfect with change of conjugation:—

Change to the 4th conjugation from the 2d Aucthyo vedam atraiva śadaṅgaṃ praty-adhīyata | (S Aucthyo garbha ādhatte śadaṅgaṃ vedam uttamam) 1. 98. 9.

√i, prati
+adhi: 3d
singular
middle

Change to the 4th conjugation from the 2d is for the avoidance of catalectic foot, and loss of augment, for making the 5th syllable of the posterior pāda of Epic śloka light in diiambic close. The text is, however,

not certain, and the only and important variant shows a regular verb-form. *Īyāte* etc. appear already in Vedic.

(d) Augmentless imperfect with change of both conjugation and voice:—

Change to the 2d conjugation from the 4th, with middle for active ending

√as, abhi:
3d singular
middle

tad abhyāsa-kṛtaṃ matvā rātrāv abhy-asta Pāṇḍavaḥ | (Ś 1 K D 2 °vasyati; Ñ 1. 2 B Da Dn D 1. 4 G 2 °vapi sa; T 2 G 4. 5 rātryām api ca; G 6 °vatyāpi; M 6. 8 °vābhyasta) 1. 123. 4.

The regular form *abhy-a-asyat* = *abhyāsyat* would have marred the diiambic close of the posterior pāda of Epic śloka by making the 5th syllable heavy.

(e) Augmentless imperfect with transference of verbal stem:—

stem *ghna* based on 3d plural active present indicative *ghnanti*

√han:
new stem
ghna: 2d
plural
active

garbhān api yadā yūyaṃ Bhṛgūṇāṃ ghnata putrakāḥ | tadāyam ūruṇā garbho mayā varṣa-śataṃ dhṛtaḥ || (No v. 1.) 1. 170. 3.

Lack of augment is for avoiding hypermetric foot, and for diiambic close; transference of the verbal stem is however, not metri causa. *Ghnata* appears for the first time in Epic.

Present participles will be treated in the chapter on Verbal Adjectives and Nouns. Passive conjugation will be treated in the chapter on Voice.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM

The perfect-system in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata consists only of an indicative tense and a participle—both of them in the two voices, active and middle (participle with middle ending being hardly quotable save the proper name *yuyudhāna* 1. 1. 138). Its modes and its augment-preterite, the pluperfect,

which occur in the oldest language, are here completely absent. It is the same as that in Classical Sanskrit, except the following irregularities:

- (a) Irregular reduplication
- (b) Irregular lengthening of the reduplicating vowel
- (c) Absence of reduplication
- (d) Strong for weak verbal stem:
 - (i) without change of voice
 - (ii) with change of voice (i.e. middle for active.)

(e) Primary for Secondary active ending: First plural mas for ma

(f) Miscellaneous.

(a) Irregular reduplication. Roots with initial va and ending with a single consonant, reduplicate with u by samprasāraṇa. But the Ādīparvan has one instance which possesses full reduplication va instead of the usual samprasāraṇa u-. Other examples are vavāca, vavakṣe, vavāpa, etc. (see Whitney, 784c). Our example is:

kāmakrodhāv ubhau yasya caraṇau samvavāhatuḥ/
(No v. l.) 1. 164. 5. For the second type of spondaic opening in preference to the second type of trochaic opening. Vavāhatuḥ appears for the first time in Epic. See further, under strong for weak verbal stem below. Ct. nirvavāpa, Rā. 2.60.28 (NW.).

√ vah,
sam: 3d
dual active

(b) Irregular lengthening of the reduplicating vowel. The vowel in the reduplicated syllable of the perfect is usually short. But the perfect 3d singular active form from root dhṛ has, only once in the Ādīparvan, a long vowel in the reduplicated syllable, while, in every other place of its occurrence in the Ādi, the reduplicating vowel is short. More than thirty verbs have, in the Veda, a long vowel in their reduplication (see Macdonell, 482). Perfect with irregular lengthen-

ing of the reduplicating vowel is unknown in the later language. No such case is found to occur in the Rāmāyaṇa. Our form appears due to the spondaic opening in preference to the iambic. With the single exception of K₃, all other versions show regular forms including dadhāra. Example is:

√dhr̥: 3d
singular
active

tāsām anyatamā garbham bhayād dād̥hāra taijasam/(Ś₁ bhayād dadhāra; K_{0.2} D₅ bhayād ādhatta; K₁ Ñ₃ °d dadhretha; K₄ °d dadhre ti-; Ñ₁ saṃdadhārāti-; T₂ G₁. 4-6 M dhārayām-āsa; K₃ as in text! Ñ₂ V₁ B Da Dn D_{1.2.4} bhayād dadhre mahaujasam; T₁ G 2.3 dadhāra susamāhitā) 1, 169. 20. Dād̥hāra first appears in the Vedas. Cf. dād̥hāra 'V.B.' in Whitney's Roots.

(c) Absence of reduplication. Reduplication of the root in perfect is the rule in Classical Sanskrit, though we come across un-reduplicated forms like veda vettha, etc., pple. vid-vāms-. But this absence of reduplication in perfect is met with even in the Vedas where we find takṣ-athur takṣ-ur yam-atur arh-ire, etc. (cf Macdonell, 482e). A few cases also are found to occur in the later language, especially the epics (cf. Whitney, 790c). In the Ādiparvan, we find one finite form from root śams prefixed with ā, and one participle from root dr̥ś, compounded with other words, occurring three times. We present our examples below :

√śams, ā:
3d plural
middle

tē tadāśamsire labdhām śriyam rājyaṃ ca Pāṇḍavāḥ |
(Ñ_{1.3}B [B₅ marg.] Da D₂ S [except T₁; G₃ corrupt] tena cāśamsire [B₅ orig. te cāthāśam°]; Ñ₂ V₁ Dn D₁ te samāśam°; D_{4.5} te cāśāśam°) 1.174.8. For the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the pathyā close of the prior pāda of Epic śloka. Śamsire belongs to Epic. For similar cases, cf. pra-kāśire, Rā. 2.44.11 (NW.); śamsuḥ, Rā, 5.53.23; vi-ceṣṭa, Rā. 2.34.60.

Participle

prājñahḥ prājñamḥ pralāpajñahḥ samyag dharmārtha-
darśivān/ (N₂ B_{5.6} Da °tatvavit; N₃ B_{1.3} D_n D₁
pralāpajñam idaṃ vacahḥ; D_{2.4} supralāpam idaṃ
vacahḥ; D₅ sarvadharmā°; T₁ dharmakāryārtha-
darśanaḥ; T₂ G_{1.5} °darśanaḥ; G₃ °darśitān; G₄
°darśitaḥ) 1.133.18.

√ dṛś:
nom. sing.
masc.

katham śakṣyāmi bāle'smin guṇān ādhātum īpsitān/
anāthe sarvato lupte yathā tvaṃ dharmadarśivān//
S °darśanaḥ | T₂ G_{1.3.4} °na; G₅ °ne]) 1.146.15.

Kurūṇāṃ Pāṇḍavānāṃ ca bhavān pratyakṣadarśivān
(No v.l.) 1.54.18.

All the above three instances of absence of redup-
lication are for the avoidance of hypermetric foot.
Darśivāṃs first appears in Epic. Cf. °śaṃsivān, Rā.
2. 19. 35. See further, under Strong for weak verbal
stem below.

(d) Strong for weak verbal stem. In the Ādipar-
van five roots, namely, kṛṣ with vi, vah with sam, viś
with ā, vṛṣ without any prefix, and nam with ava,
show isolated finite form with strong stem in other
than the singular persons, and root dṛś without any
prefix shows (thrice) active participle form having
strong stem. Rv. presents two forms, namely, yuyopīma
and viveśur (see Macdonell, 483 a 2). BHS also presents
similar forms. The forms in the Ādiparvan appear
to be metri causa. These are:

(i) Without change of voice

anyonyam tau samāsādya vicakarṣatur ojasā | (No v.
l.). 1. 141. 22. For avoiding a succession of five short
syllables. Cakarṣatus first appears in the Brāhmaṇas.

√ kṛṣ, vi:
3d dual
active

saṃvavāhatuḥ 1, 164. 5 (see above, under Irre-
gular reduplication). Strong stem for avoiding
catalectic foot, and for diiambic close.

√ vah,
sam: 3d
dual active

√viś, ā: 3d
dual active

āviveśatur āpūrṇaṃ ratnair uccāvaṣaiḥ śubhaiḥ
(Pārtha-Govindau) | Ko. 3. 4 D 5 gr̥haṃ viviśatuḥ
pūrṇaṃ [Ko °rvaṃ;]; N̄ 2 B 6 Da Dn D4 viveśāṃ-
taḥpuram̐ tūrṇaṃ; N 3 āviveśa puram̐; V 1 B 1. 3. 5
D 1 vivi [B 3 °ve] śatuḥ puram̐ tūrṇaṃ [B 1. 3
pūrṇaṃ; V 1 tat tu]; M 5 āviveśa ratās tūrṇaṃ)
1. 214. 20. For avoiding a succession of four short
syllables.

vṛṣ: 3d
plural
active

tatas te pārthivāḥ sarve sarvataḥ parivārayan |
vavarṣuḥ śaravarṣeṇa varṣeṇevādrim̐ ambudāḥ || (N V 1
D [except 1) 2. 4. 5] Vavṛṣuḥ S mahatā) 1. 96. 21.

For the first type of trochaic opening in preference
to the second. The text is not certain.

utpāta-meghā raudrās ca vavarṣuḥ śonitam̐ bahu |
(K 2 N̄ 1. 2 V 1 B Dn D 1. 3. 6. 7 T 1 M vavarṣuḥ)
1. 26. 32. For the first type of spondaic opening in
preference to the second. Vavarṣus belongs to Epic
only.

For similar BHS forms, cf. pra-mumocu pra-mumo-
catur, cikṣepur (Edgerton, 33. 4).

(ii) With change of voice (i.e., middle for
active)

√nam,
ava: 3d
plural
middle

kecic charākṣepa-bhayāc chirāṇisy ava-nanāmire |
(No v. l.) 1. 124. 23.

For avoiding catalectic foot, and for diiambic close.
The root nam is conjugated in both the active and
the middle voices from Vedic onward, though the root
nam is conjugated in the active voice only according to
Pāṇinian dhātupāṭha. The form nanāmire occurs in
the Mahābhārata only.

PARTICIPLE

√dṛś:
nom. sing.
masc.

°darśivān, 1. 133. 18; 1. 146. 15; 1. 54. 18.
(see above, under Absence of reduplication). Strong
stem for making the sixth syllable of the posterior pāda
of Epic śloka heavy in diiambic close.

(e) Primary for Secondary active ending (First plural mas for ma).

In perfect first plural root śru takes the primary active ending mas for the secondary active ending ma, five times in the Ādiparvan. (See above, under Change of Endings: A. Interchange of Primary and Secondary Endings). Examples are.

Yajñasenaś ca rājāsau brahmaṇya iti śuśrumaḥ | √śru
(Ś 1 K 1. 2 D [except D 1. 5] śuśruma; Ko °muḥ;
G 1 viśrumaḥ; G 5 suśrutam) 1. 156. 7.

samīkṣayaḥ sumahān āsīt prajānām iti śuśrumaḥ |
(K 1 N 3 M 3 śuśruma; B D naḥ śrutam [B 3 naḥ
śrutih; D 5 viśrutah]. T 2 G [except G 3. 6]
kālenābhipracoditah) 1. 89. 31. All the variants
are normal here. Some avoid the irregular form by
using noun and participle forms from the same root,
and other expressions.

Janamejayaṃ ca vikhyātaṃ putrāmś cāsyānu-śuśru-
maḥ | (Ś 1 K 1 N B Dn 3 °śuśruma) 1. 89. 44. √śru, anu

idam aty adbhutaṃ cānyad āstikasyānu-śuśrumaḥ
(N 1. 2 V 1 B [B 2 missing] Dn D 2-4 M 3
°śuśruma) 1. 53. 1.

dharmaṃ pathyaṃ yaśasyaṃ ca vācyam ity anu-
śuśrumaḥ | (Ś 1 Ko-2 N V 1 B Da 2 D 4 T M 3
°śuśruma. D 1 na vācyam anuśuśruma) 1. 196. 1.
The text is not certain. In the just preceding three
cases also, all the variants are regular. Śuśrumas, how-
ever, already occurs in the Upaniṣads.

All the above examples occur at the end of a śloka
pāda, and, hence, the author seems to have purposely
used the primary ending in order to make the last
syllable clearly and distinctly heavy. The same
remark applies also to adhr̥ṣṇumaḥ 1. 158. 16 (treated
above under Change of Endings). It is to be noted
that here in the above five instances we find the use
of perfect in the first person.

(f) Miscellaneous. There is a very interesting irregular perfect form in the Ādiparvan. It is 'vivyāsa' occurring in 1. 54. 5 and 1. 57. 73. We quote the verses fully:

new root
vyas: 3d
singular
active

vivyāsaikaṃ caturdhā yo vedaṃ vedavidāṃ varaḥ/
parāvarajño brahmarṣiḥ kavīḥ satyavrataḥ śuciḥ//
(No v. l.) 1. 54. 5.

brahmaṇo brāhmaṇānāṃ ca tathānugraha-kāmyayā/
vivyāsa vedān yasmāc ca tasmād vyāsa iti smṛtaḥ//
(No v. l.) 1. 57. 73.

In both the places of occurrence, variants are conspicuous by their absence. This unique form has been obtained by treating the verbal prefix *vi* as an integral part of the root as (of the fourth class), as a result of which, a compound root 'vyas' has been created for *vi + as*. This compound root 'vyas' has then been conjugated in perfect like any other simple root containing *ya* and liable to *samprasāraṇa*.

Besides, some perfect forms show confusion of active and middle endings; these will be treated in the chapter on Voice. Some perfect participles, besides °*darśivān* treated above, show peculiarities in their formation; these will be treated in the chapter on Verbal Adjectives and Nouns.

THE AORIST-SYSTEM

The aorist-system in the Ādiparvan is not of frequent occurrence. It has no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the use of its augmentless forms with the prohibitive particle *mā*, and the so-called precativē; there are, however, two forms, namely, *ruda* 1. 71. 36 and *ā-ruha* 1. 140. 5 which have been interpreted by us as cases of change to the 6th conjugation from the 2d and the 1st conjugations respectively—these two may be regarded as a-aorist imperative). But it has all the seven classes, though

the examples of classes 6 and 7 are very few. In the older language, the aorist-system is of frequent occurrence. It has all the modes belonging to the present system, and sometimes participles. In the RV. about half the roots occurring have aorist forms, and in the AV., rather less than one third. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class. In the Ādiparvan, about thirty-four roots make aorist forms, of one or another class, and only six roots make aorist forms of more than one class (taking into account the reduplicated aorist and the precativē). Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, jīyāt and parā-jaiṣīt from root ji, tyajyāt and tyākṣīḥ from root tyaj;— of 1 and 5, agāt etc. and (adhy-) agīṣṭa from root i;— of 3 and 5, ajījanat and ajāyithāḥ from root jan, avīvṛdhat and (pra-) vardhiṣṭhāḥ from root vṛdh;— of 4 and 7, adrākṣam and adrākṣata from root drś.

The aorist forms in the Ādiparvan show the following irregularities:

- (a) Absence of vṛddhi-strengthening of the root-vowel
- (b) Change of base
- (c) Change of aorist-conjugation:
 - (i) without change of voice
 - (ii) with change of voice (middle for active)
- (d) Loss of the augment
- (e) Retention of the augment
- (f) Loss of the sibilant

(a) Absence of vṛddhi-strengthening of the root-vowel. Here we have only one instance in which the medial vowel a of the root vad in the iṣ-aorist class, remains unchanged in the active voice, though

“vada-vraja.....” Pāṇini 7. 2. 3 demands the vṛddhi-strengthening of the vowel. Example is:

vy-āharatsv ṛṣi-putreṣu mā sma kiṃcid vaco vadīḥ/
1. 36. 25. See above in the chapter on Phonology, under ‘short for long’. The root vad in the older language shows, however, forms of both kinds. Cf. vadiṣma ‘AB’, vadiṣthās ‘B’. in Whitney’s Roots. Avādīt occurs from Vedic onward.

(b) Change of base. Here too, we find only one instance. The aorist is here based, viewed from the Pāṇinian stand-point, not upon the root, but, upon the present-stem of the root. Similar phenomenon occurs in Pali (Geiger, 3167-9), Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit (Pischel, §516), and BHS (Edgerton, 32. 15). The following is our illustration:

jan : iṣ
aorist 2d
sing. mid.

yaṃ putram aṣṭamaṃ rājaṃs tvaṃ purā mayy
ajāyithāḥ/ (Ñ2.3 V1 B [except B1] D T G purā
mayy avimḍathāḥ; M purājanayo mayi. Ñ1 ayaṃ
putras tava vibho sarvāstra-vidasaṃyugaḥ) 1. 94. 31.

For making the sixth syllable of the posterior śloka pāda heavy in ditambic close. The text is not certain. Variants are all quite normal. See further, under Loss of the sibilant below.

(c) Change of aorist conjugation. This is one interesting linguistic phenomenon in the Ādiparvan. The aorist has got seven classes, and a particular root in Sanskrit may be conjugated after one or more of them. Pāṇini has set some definite rules for the aorist class or classes after which a root in Sanskrit should be conjugated. But in the Ādiparvan, we come across instances in which four roots, namely, drś, majj, śuc, and stu have been conjugated after an aorist-class not sanctioned by Pāṇini. Examples are:

(i) without change of voice

1. Change to the a-aorist class from the iṣ-aorist

maivam śuco mā ruda Devayāni | (Ś 1 K maivam
rodīr [Ś 1 rudo; K 1 dado]; D 5 mainam śuco; S tan
mā [T 1 G 1. 2. 5 M5 tam mā; T 2 G 3. 4 tvam
mā] śuco [M 6-8 rudo]) 1. 71. 36. For indravajrā.

√śuc: 2d
sing. act.

aṅgemam pratipadyasva gaccha Gandharva mā
śucaḥ | (No v. 1.) 1. 158. 34. For making the
seventh syllable of the posterior śloka pāda light in
diiambic close. Probably formed in the analogical
imitation of muc: amucat. Aśucat etc. occur from
Vedic onward.

2. Change to the s-aorist class from the iṣ-aorist

taṃ kādraveyam astauṣam kuṇḍalārthāya Takṣakam |
(Ñ 2 V 1 B 1. 3. 4m. 5 D [except D 2. 5] taṃ
nāgarāja°; B 2 taṃ nāgavarja.° Da aśrauṣam) 1.3.144.

√stu: 1st
sing. act.

the Pāṇinian form astāviṣam makes the foot
hypermetric. Probably formed according to the analogy
of roots in u like śru taking the s-aorist class. Astauṣīt
etc. occur from the Brāhmaṇas onward.

3. Change to the iṣ-aorist class
from the s-aorist

dārāṃś ca kuru dharmeṇa mā ni-majjīḥ pitāmahān/
(Ś1 D5 mā nimajjeḥ; S mā tvam hiṃṣīḥ [G6 dharmas
te ha]; Cd as in text) 1. 97.11. Not metri causa.
The text is not certain. Majjīs, however, occurs in the
Mahābhārata only.

√majj, ni:
2d sing.
active

(ii) with change of voice (i. e. middle for active.)
Change to the sa-aorist class
from the a-aorist and s-aorist classes

tataḥ putrārthinī devī vrīḍitā sā tapasvinī/aṇḍam
bibheda Vinatā tatra putram adṛkṣata|| (Ko D2 T
G6 adṛśya°; K1 dadarśa sā; K2.4 Ñ V1 Dn D1.5
G1.4.5 M apaśya°; B Da D3.4.6.7 dadarśa ha
[for adṛkṣata]. K3 tatra putras tv ajāyata; G2.3
krodhena mahatānvitā) 1. 14. 15. The sa aorist form

√dṛś: 3d
sing. mid.

with the middle ending is for the diiambic close. The regular form 'adṛkṣata' which is usually found in literature is 3d plural middle (passive) of the s-aorist form of root *drś*. But the above example cited by us, is 3d singular middle in the active voice. So it has been regarded as belonging to the sa-aorist class.

(d) Loss of the augment. Some aorist forms are found without the augment, though they are not used with the prohibitive particle *mā*. (See our remark above in the section on the Present-System under Augmentless preterite). Examples are:

√i, ati

ati-krāmen na pakṣī yān kuta evetare mṛgāḥ/
vāyur eko'ti-gād yatra Siddhāś ca paramarṣayaḥ || (Ko
°koty ayād ya°; K₂ °kobhy agā°; K₃ °kativāty atra;
K₄ °kobhy agād yatra; N₁ B₃ D₂ °kobhiyāty atra;
N_{2.3} B_{1.6} Da D_n D_{1.4} °reko hi [N₃ -ti] yāty
atra; B₅ °kotra vāty atra; D₅ °koty agā°; S °revātra
[G₅ °ti] saṃyāti) 1. 111. 9. Not metri causa.

√man, ava

darīm etāṃ praviśa tvam Śatakrato yan mām
bālyād ava-maṃsthāḥ purastāt / (No v. l.) 1.189.21.
For making the sixth syllable light in vātormī foot.

na tvam vācā hṛdayenāpi vidvan

parīpsamānān nāva-maṃsthā narendra/ (K₄ N₃
T₂ M₆₋₈

nāvamanye; T₁ tevamanye; G tava manye; M_{3.5}
hy avamanye.

Ko.3 nāvamaṃtāsi rājan) 1. 88. 7.

yadāva-maṃsthāḥ sadṛśaḥ śreyasaśca..... / tasmāl
lokā antavantas taveme..... / (B [except B₃] M
[except M₃] yad ava°; G₃ yathāva°) 1. 83. 3.

Similar examples occur in the Rāmāyaṇa as well;
cf. abhyupagamat 2.4.21; praty-anu-jñāsīt 2.87.16.

(e) Retention of the augment. Aorist forms with the prohibitive particle *mā*, should, as a rule, be augmentless, but in the following three instances,

augmented aorists have been used with mā in prohibition. Similar examples occur in the Rāmāyaṇa also (cf. mā tvam kālo'tyagād ayam.....2.11.27 (NW.); mā tvam agamaḥ 1.2.15; etc.). For similar BHS forms, see Edgerton 32. 6. In the older language also, this phenomenon occurs two or three times (see Whitney 579e). As regards our forms, it should be pointed out in this connection that even the expected absence of the augment would not have marred the metre in these cases. Examples are:

mā naḥ kālo'ty-agād ayam/ (No v. l.) 1. 33. 7. √i, ati
Not metri causa.

avaśya-karaṇīye'rthe mā tvam kālo'ty-agād
ayam/ (B₁ kāloti-gā°; D₂ °bhy agā°; T₂ G₄₋₆
kāla-vyatikramah; M. kālo vyati-kramet. Ś₁
K₁ mā vikalpotya [K₁ °bhi] gā°) 1.147.16.
Not metri cause. Here some variants too show
augmented form.

rājñi dharmān avekṣasva mā naḥ sarvān vy-anīna- √naś, vi
śah/ (Ś₁ vīnaśah; K₁ M₆ vinī°; B_{3m} ca nīnaśah;
G₂ M₃ vināśaya; M_{7.8} vanī°. G₃ mā naḥ sarvā-
vanīnaśah) 1.97.24. Not metri causa.

(f)* Loss of the sibilant. In the Ādiparvan occur only two forms which show the irregular loss of the sibilant-element of the tense-sign. Both the

* In this connection we may mention the s-aorist form bhais (augmentless after the prohibitive particle mā, occurring in 1. 205. 11 ; 1. 219. 38 ; 1. 128. 8 ; 1. 140. 7 ; 1. 142. 18 ; 1. 162. 6 and 1. 168. 1) which deserves more than a passing notice. This form occurs from the Brāhmaṇas onward, and is quite common in Classical Sanskrit. It shows the absence of ī, and the loss of, more probably, the consonant of the ending, or of the tense-sign, in 2d singular active (cf. Whitney, 888 ; 889, a). This is the peculiarity of the older inflection. All the seven cases referred to above, are for avoiding hypermetric foot. The above form may be regarded as an instance of the root-aorist with irregular 'vṛddhi'—strengthening of the root-vowel instead of the regular. 'guṇa', as some scholars hold.

forms seem to belong to the iṣ-aorist class. Examples are :

√jan: 2d
sing mid.

ajāyithāḥ 1.94.31.

See above under Change of base. The loss of the sibilant-element is for making the seventh syllable of the posterior śloka pāda light in diiambic close.

√śaṅk, vi:
2d sing.
mid.

gāndharva-rākṣasau kṣatre dharmyau tau mā vi-śaṅkithāḥ/ (T GI.2.6 °śaṅkathāḥ; M6-8 °śatkathāḥ (!)) 1.67.13. For the same reason as stated above. Śaṅkithās belongs to the Epics only. These two forms seem to have been made after the analogy of kṛthās etc.

Besides, there are a few aorist verb-forms which show interchange of active and middle endings; these will be treated in the Chapter on Voice. As regards precatives, they are all normal.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS

The Ādiparvan has both the s-future and the periphrastic future.

I. The s-future.

The occurrences of this future are comparatively rare in the oldest language, but they become more and more common later. For exact occurrences in the older texts, see Whitney 937. Our text has occurrences of personal forms, from seventy-one different roots (excluding the 10th class and denominative ones); of these (71) roots, six have future participles, two have future imperatives and two have conditional forms.

Irregularities of the s-future in the Ādiparvan are as follows:

- (a) Samprasāraṇa
- (b) Weak for strong root

- (c) Confusion between seṭ and aniṭ:
 (i) seṭ for aniṭ
 (ii) aniṭ for seṭ:
 1. without change of voice
 2. with change of voice (middle for active)
- (d) Confusion of secondary for primary, active ending
- (e) Miscellaneous: Monosyllabic root for the dissyllabic

- (a) Samprasāraṇa. The s-future form vetsyanti
 1. 177. 22 for vyatsyanti shows samprasāraṇa in the radical syllable. See above in the chapter on Phonology, under Samprasāraṇa
- (b) Weak for strong root. Root so in combination with the prefixes vi+ava and root daṃś show the weak form in the s-future in the following instances only.

vidite vy-ava-siṣyāmi yady api syāt suduṣkaram |
 (T 1 G 1-3 hi vy-ava-syāmi) 1. 145. 16. Not metri causa. Cf. siṣyati 'M' in Whitney's Roots; sāsyati is cited there as grammarians' form.

√so, vi+
ava

tāṃś ca sarvān daśiṣyāmaḥ kṛtam evaṃ bhaviṣyati |
 (Ś 1 haniṣyāmaḥ. D 3 G 6 tān sarvān daṃśayiṣyāmaḥ)
 1. 33. 18. Weak root is for making the fifth syllable light in the pathyā close of the prior pāda of Epic śloka. See also below, under Confusion between seṭ and aniṭ: (i) set for anit.

√daṃś

- (c) Confusion between seṭ and aniṭ: (i) seṭ for aniṭ.

Roots tuṣ, daṃś, dah, nī, bhaj and vah take the union-vowel-i-before the future tense-sign sya where they are not permitted by Pāṇini. Instances are:

tvayā jitā Pāṇḍava Yājñasenī tvayā ca toṣiṣyati
 rājaputrī | (N śobhiṣya° [D 4 vā vatsya°] G 2

√tuṣ

tenesya°) 1. 182. 7 For upendravajrā foot. The text is, however, not certain. In Whitney's Roots tokṣyati is cited as grammarians' form, and toṣṣyati is not cited.

√dañś

daśiṣyāmaḥ 1. 33. 18. (see above, under Weak for strong root). For avoiding catalectic foot, and for pathyā close. Cf. daśiṣyati 'E' in Whitney's Roots. Dañṣyati is cited as grammarians' form.

√dah, pra

na pāvakas tvāṃ pra-dahiṣyatīti (Ś 1 Ko. 2. 4 D 2 pratidhaksyatīti) 1. 51. 7. For upendravajrā foot. Dahiṣyati appears for the first time in Epic. Cf. dahiṣyāmi, Rā. 3. 75. 32 (NW.).

√ni

api ca tvāṃ nayiṣyāmi nagaram svam śucismite | (K 3 nayiṣyemaḥ; Ñ 1. 2. V 1 B D [Except D 5] hi neṣyā°; Ñ 3 vineṣyā°) 1. 67. 18. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for the pathyā close of the prior pāda of Epic śloka.

aham eva nayiṣyāmi tvāṃ adya Yama-sādanam | (Ś 1 D 1 hanṣyāmi; K 1. 3 Ñ 1 B 5 D 4 M hi neṣyāmi; D 5 Nīl. [com.] gamiṣyāmi; T 2 G 3-6 tu neṣyāmi; Dn [erroneously] Nīlp as in text. G 1.2 ekoham eva neṣyāmi) 1. 141. 7. For the reason stated just above. Cf. nayiṣyāmi, Rā. 7. 13. 39.

svadharmam na prahāsyāmi nayiṣye te balena gāmi | (Ñ 2 V 1 B D G 4 neṣyāmi ca; G 2 hy ānayaṣye; G 4 sa neṣyete) 1. 165. 19. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for the first type of spondaic opening. Cf. nayiṣye, Rā. 6. 74. 12 (NW.).

√nī, ā

tayā tvāṃ ānayaṣyāmi nivāsam svam śucismite | (Ñ V 1 B D [except Dn3 D 5] tvāṃ nāyayi°; T 2 G 3-6 tvāṃ āyayi°) 1. 67. 20. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for the pathyā close of the prior pāda of Epic śloka. Cf. ānayaṣyāmi, Rā. 2. 79. 9. Nayiṣyati etc. appear for the first time in Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa.

√bhaj

tvad bhaktyaiva bhajiṣyāmi prakhyātam Bhāratam kulam | (No v. l.) 1. 92. 12. Bhajiṣyati etc. appear

for the first time in Epic; cf. bhakṣyati-te etc. 'B'. in Whitney's Roots.

pr̥ṣṭhena vo vahiṣyāmi śīghrām gatim abhīpsataḥ/ √ vah
(Ñ B Da D2.4 T G Nilp prava [Ñ3 T1 G1 °ve]
kṣyāmi ; M6-8 hani°) 1.143.12.

The above two forms are for the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for the pathyā close. The regular forms vakṣyati etc. occur from the Atharva-Veda onward, and vahiṣyati etc. occur for the first time in Epic.

(ii) aniṭ for seṭ

In the following two instances, root vid 'to know' does not take the union-vowel -i- before the future tense-sign sya where its interposition is sanctioned by Pāṇini.

1. without change of voice

aḥam eva ca taṃ kālaṃ vetsyāmi Kuru-nandana/, √ vid
(Ko.3 vakṣyāmi) 1.225.11. For avoiding hypermetric foot,

2. with change of voice (i.e. middle for active).

tvam vetsyase mām iha yāsmi Śakra, yadartham √ vid
cāham rodimi mandabhāgyā/, (V1 tvam pṛchase)
1.189.13. For indravajrā foot. Vetsyati-te etc. occur for the first time in Epic.

(d) Confusion of secondary for primary active ending. Only the root bhakṣ takes once the secondary active ending va for primary vas in the first person dual. (See above, under Change of Endings: A. Interchange of Primary and Secondary Endings). Example is:

eṣāṃ māṃsāni saṃskṛtya mānuṣāṇām yatheṣṭataḥ/ √ bhakṣ
bhakṣayiṣyāva sahitaḥ kuru tūrṇam vaco mama//
(T G sahitaḥ bhakṣayiṣyāvah) 1.139.10. For the first vipulā which is the commonest of all the vipulās. It is to be noted that the only variant that occurs, shows the regular form.

(e) Miscellaneous: Monosyllabic root for the dissyllabic.

Pra-jāsyati 1.93.38 is one peculiar form. According to 'jñājanor jā' Pāṇ. 7.3.79, jā becomes the substitute of roots jñā and jan (janī) before a śit affix, i.e., in the present system. But here the substitution takes place in the s-future. We present our example fully :

√jan, pra

na pra-jā-syati cāpy eṣa mānuṣeṣu mahāmanāḥ/
(T G [except G6] transp. na and prajā°. K₄ V₁ janīsyati na cā°; M [except M₃] na janīsyati cā°. Cd cites prajāsyati [as in text]) 1. 93. 38. For the avoidance of hypermetric foot. Jāsyati etc. occur in Epic only. See further in the chapter on Voice. The above form may be a case of future based on the present stem without the syllable -ya-, as in BHS (see Edgerton 31.3-5).

Mode of the s-future

Mode-forms of the s-future in the Ādiparvan are very rare. We find only two forms. These are future imperative 2d plural middle in dhvam. Whitney is not sure whether these forms should be regarded as future imperatives, or as an epic substitution of secondary for primary-endings (Whitney 938). The Rāmāyaṇa has similar forms, e.g., gamiṣyadhvam 7. 38. 66 (NW.); bhaviṣyadhvam 1.27.27. The epics show some two or three optative forms (Whitney 938), and the Rāmāyaṇa shows some unmistakable imperative forms, namely, ḍrakṣyantu 6.73.7; vatsyantu 7,40.17. BHS has kārayiṣyet, gamiṣyatu (Edgerton 31.37). Our Examples are:

√car

so'śapat kupito'smāṃs tu brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyaṣabha/
grāhabhūtā jale yūyaṃ cariṣyadhvaṃ śataṃ samāḥ//
(Ś₁ Ko. 3.4 D₅ bhaviṣyadhvaṃ; K₁ bhaviṣyamti; N_{1.2} V₁ B₁ D_n D₄ T G cariṣyatha) 1.208.21.
The text is not certain.

sarvaṣadhīḥ samāvāpya sarva-ratnāni cāiva hi/
manthadhvam udadhiṃ devā vetsyadhvam amṛtaṃ
tataḥ// (Ñ_{1.2} V₁ D_{1.2.5} lapsyadhvam; D6.7 viṃda°;
Cd as in text) 1.15.13.

√vid 'to
find'

iha māṃ sampratīkṣadhvam āgamiṣyāmy ahaṃ
punaḥ/, deśakālau veditvaiva vetsyadhvam paramāṃ
mudam// (Ś₁ K₁ vatsya°; Ñ₂ V₁ B Da D_n D_{2.4}
lapsya°; D₁ lipsase; T₂ G_{2.4.5} °dhve. K₄
lapsyathaivam durāsadam) 1.144. 19.

Future verbs showing confusion of active and
middle endings will be treated in the paper on Voice,
and irregular participles, in the article on Verbal
Adjectives and Nouns. Conditional forms are
regular.

√vid 'to
find'

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The Yajñāsālā of Kailāsa at Ellora and identification of some of its sculptures

The subsidiary excavation, enshrining the *Matrkās*, in the side wall on the south of the great Kailāsa Temple at Ellora has been popularly known as 'Yajñāsālā' or the 'Hall of Sacrifice'. The attribution of such a nomenclature by the local people is not without significance although the shrine is dedicated to the *Mātrkās*. Probably Fergusson & Burgess had gathered the nomenclature of *yajñāsālā* and documented it for the first time in their monumental work 'The Cave Temples of India' as early as 1880. In this paper it is proposed to discuss the significance and the propriety of the nomenclature of *yajñāsālā* as also identification of some of the enshrined images in the light of the available evidences.

The hall measuring about 37 ft. long and 15 ft. wide has two square pillars and pilasters in front, each pillar having a beautiful *dvārapālikā* with an attendant. On the floor behind the pillars are two square rock-cut altars. The *Mātrkā* group consisting of nine goddesses here and other deities are all arranged along the back and right walls respectively whereas along the left wall is a female flanked by *cāmaradhāriṇīs*. Among the sculptures in this hall, the *Saptamātrkās* on the back wall suffered most at the hands of vandals. But the extant images on the side-walls still bespeak eloquently of the vivacious beauty, buoyancy and force that made the Rāṣṭrakuṭa art of this phase so singular and crowning glory of the Deccan. The *Saptamātrkās*, as usual, are flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, each with a child and is four-armed. Sitting on a lotus seat, in *ardhaparyāṅkāsaṇa*, each of them leans on the heavy cushion provided at the back and has a halo behind the head. Although most of their attributes are lost, their vehicles below their seats are intact and help in the identification. Of iconographic interest are the vehicles of Vārāhī

and Cāmuṇḍā which are a buffalo and a jackal respectively and not a boar of Vārāhī and an owl or a corpse of Cāmuṇḍa as found in the other extant panels at Ellora.

As in the Rāmeśvara (Cave XXI) and Rāvaṇa-kā-khāi (Cave XIV) panels, here also *Mātrkās* are accompanied by Kāla, Kālī and an attendant. The group is in the left corner of the right wall. The fierce-looking Kāla, emaciated and naked, sits on a corpse with his right foot on the face of still another one lying on the floor and carries in his right hand a dagger while the left hand is broken. Curiously enough, Kālī and the other skeletal figure have been shown flanking behind Kāla, an arrangement necessitated apparently due to shortage of space. Kālī to the right of Kāla equally awe-inspiring is emaciated and carries in her right hand a dagger. The attendant to the left of Kāla carries in his two hands a dagger and a cup. The whole arrangement thus brings in a novelty in the figure composition. Next is a goddess with six arms most of which are broken. Among the objects held by her only a handle probably of a *khaṭvāṅga* or *triśula* in one of the right hands and a snake and a *modaka-bhāṇḍa* in the left hands are left. She has the third eye and is adorned with ornaments. Below her is a jackal gnawing at the left hip of the corpse lying on the floor, an arrangement which would suggest the identification of the goddess, as Cāmuṇḍā. At the end of the wall, heading the goddesses, is a four-armed goddess riding on a lion and has a trident in the extant back right hand. She is Caṇḍī or Durgā. The figures of the goddesses, together with Kāla, have been described differently in different works. Burgess wrote: "First, on the west end, comes Wāgheśvarī, four-armed, with *triśula*, and under her feet the tiger; then a second, somewhat similar figure; and next, Kāla, grinning skeleton with cobra girdle and necklace, seated on two dying men—a wolf gnawing the leg of one,—while behind him is Kālī, and another skeleton companion"¹ Dr Zimmer described them as "These figures along the west wall represent three aspects of Devi; center,

1 J. Fergusson & J. Burgess: *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 457.

on the lotus, the creating and preserving aspect; right, on the lion, the warrior aspect (Durgā); at the left, on two dead or dying men, is Kāla ("Time"), the lord of death, with the goddess peering over his right shoulder and, at his left a skeleton. c. 750-850 A.D."² Dr. Anand took them to be "Three goddesses, Kankali, Lakshmi and Durga."³ The conception as depicted in the set-up of the goddesses precludes a place for Lakṣmī in it. The lotus on which the goddess at the centre rests her left foot does not mean anything either, as Cāmuṇḍā also uses the lotus likewise. The grouping of the images, especially the corpse lying on the floor extending and being shown with the other corpse, would naturally lead one to believe that both the corpses go with Kāla but a closer examination of the arrangement *vis-a-vis* the situation would show otherwise. Allowing the spaces for the lion of Caṇḍī and the *śavāsana* of Kāla, it will be observed that there will be very little space available to accommodate the vehicle of the central image to a scale, in keeping with the other figures. Still another point which is to be considered in case the corpse on the floor is to belong to Kāla is that when all other goddesses have been provided each with a vehicle why this particular goddess should be deprived of one? So it appears, as already suggested above, the reason for which Kālī and the attendant figure flanking Kāla were pushed back, was the same that made the artist to conceive such a unique and unconventional device. It would further appear that the corpse on the floor with the jackal is to be considered as Cāmuṇḍā's vehicle as often depicted in the Eastern Indian representations as also in some of those found in the Southern India.⁴

2 H. Zimmer: *The art of Indian Asia*, vol. I, p. 410.

3 M. R. Anand: *Marg.* vol. VII, No. 4, p. 64, fig. 2.

4 On the pedestal of the image of Cāmuṇḍā, kept in the *garbhagrha* of the Gaḷgeśvara Temple at Galganatha (Dist. Dharwar, Mysore) can be seen such an arrangement. Similar representation in the Northern India is also not rare. For example, the Deogarh rock-cut panel of the *Mātrkāś* with the inscription of Svāmivaṭa depicts such one (E.I., vol. XVIII, p. 125).

The nine goddesses therefore are Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā and the *Saptamātrkās* who came to help Caṇḍī in the fight with the demon Raktavīja as narrated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. That the inspiration for conceiving such an arrangement might have come from the *purāṇa* can be inferred from the verses : “*Kāla-mṛtyū ca saṃpūjyou sarvāriṣṭaprasāntaye / Yadā cāṣṭabhujā pūjyā śumbhāsuranivarhiṇī || Navāsyāḥ śaktayaḥ pūjyāstathā rudra-vināyakou*”.⁵ The representations of Cāmuṇḍā once in the *Saptamātrkā* panel and again with Caṇḍī needs clarification. It may be remembered that the emanatory *Saptamātrkās* as given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* include Nārsiṃhī, and Cāmuṇḍā was created by Caṇḍī herself as Śiva created Yogeśvarī to help him in the fight with Andhakāsura. In the Deccan, for the purpose of depicting the *Saptamātrkās* the *Varāha-purāṇa* was followed which includes Cāmuṇḍā in place of Nārsiṃhī. The artists of the Deccan, in other words, were not familiar with the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* version. Thus it appears that while depicting the nine goddesses according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* the *Saptamātrkās* were depicted in the traditional way with Cāmuṇḍā and yet Cāmuṇḍā was figured once more together with Caṇḍī. Otherwise in the *Saptamātrkā* group Nārsiṃhī should have been depicted instead of Cāmuṇḍā.

In contrast to the goddesses the female, flanked by the *cāmaradhāriṇīs* on the left wall, is two-armed without a vehicle and is sitting on a throne. She does not have a halo behind her head either, which together with the other traits suggest her to be a non-divine character and a royal person, probably a queen.

Yajñasālā is a place where sacrifices are offered according to the *Vedic* rites. We do not know for certain what kind of *yajña* was performed or if at all a *yajña* was performed in the *yajñasālā* of Kailāsa. The size of the *yajñasālā* however does not favour the idea of a *yajña* actually being performed there by a king

5 Swami Jagadishwarananda Ed.-*Sri Sri Caṇḍī (In Bengali), 'Vaikritikarabasya,'* pp. 22-3.

with his retinue and the paraphernalia required for a *yajña*. Alternately the *yajñasālā* might have been executed in memorium of the *yajña* performed elsewhere. The two incomplete rock-cut sacrificial pits on the floor also point towards its non-functional character. From the arrangements however it is inferred that the sacrifice, whichever kind and wherever it might have been performed was aimed at obtaining divine power for gaining supremacy over the other rulers, a presumption which is supported by the presence of the *Mātrikās* held as martial goddesses. Among the sacrifices which are believed to confer kingship and paramountcy are *Agniṣṭoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Rājasūya* and *Aśvamedha*. There has been some controversy over the efficacies of the respective sacrifices. Discussing the issue and referring to *Agniṣṭoma*, Dr Puri says "Some texts place it above the *Rājasūya* suggesting that the former conferred paramountcy, while the latter only kingship. Others make the *Vājapeya* appropriate for a paramount lord and the *Rājasūya* for a universal monarch like Varuṇa."⁶ *Agniṣṭoma* is an integral part of the *Iyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice in which *soma* is sacrificed and Agni is glorified. Epigraphical records show that among other sacrifices, *Agniṣṭoma* was performed by the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman,⁷ the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II⁸, the Western Chalukya King Mangaleśa⁹ and the Eastern Chalukya King Viṣṇuvardhana II¹⁰. It may however be mentioned that *Vedic* ritualism lost its orthodox character in the historic period and at the time when

6 Dr. B. N. Puri: *India in the time of Patanjali* p. 170.

7 'Kāñchipurā aggitthomavājapeyassamedhayāji' etc. (E.I. vol. 1, p. 5)

8 'Dṛiṣṭam Pravarapurāt agniṣṭom āptoryyām-okṭhya - shodaśy-atirātra-vājapeya - bṛihaspati - sava-sādyaskra-chaturaśvamedha - yājinaḥ' (E. I. III, p. 269)

9 'Bṛihaspati - samahagniṣṭoma - vajapeya-paundarika-bahusvarṇa-śvamedh-āvabṛithasnāna pavitrikṛita-śariaḥ' (I.A., vol. VII, p. 161).

10 'Agniṣṭom-ādi-paundarika-paryyant āneka-kratu-yasṭuh'. (I.A., vol. VIII, p. 192).

Kailāsa was excavated there used to be fewer sacrifices. In the *yajñasālā* of Kailāsa also the details as were laid down in the *Vedic* texts cannot be expected. In plan the *yajñasālā* of Kailāsa approximates the one for *Agniṣṭoma* having eight component parts shown in the drawing (fig. 1) given in the Ramkrishna Mission's 'Cultural Heritage of India' (p. 448). The names of these parts are given as :

1. *Yupa*
2. *Uttarvedi*
3. *Daśapada*
4. *Havirdhāna*
5. *Sadas*
6. *Agnihotraśālā*
7. *Main Vedi*
8. *Patnīsālā.*

In trying to identify the parts in the *yajñasālā* of Kailāsa (fig.2) it is found that only five parts out of eight could be traced which probably would equate with their corresponding parts of the textual plan. These five parts are :

- (i) *Daśapada*
- (ii) *Havirdhāna*
- (iii) *Sadas*
- (iv) *Main Vedi*
- (v) *Patnīsālā.*

Dasapada and *havirdhāna* are then the two raised altars on the floor, the space surrounding them is *sadas* and the main *vedi* is occupied by the *Mātrkās*. *Patnīsālā*, according to the texts, is to

be on the west whereas in this case it is on the east as the main temple of Kailāsa itself is facing west.

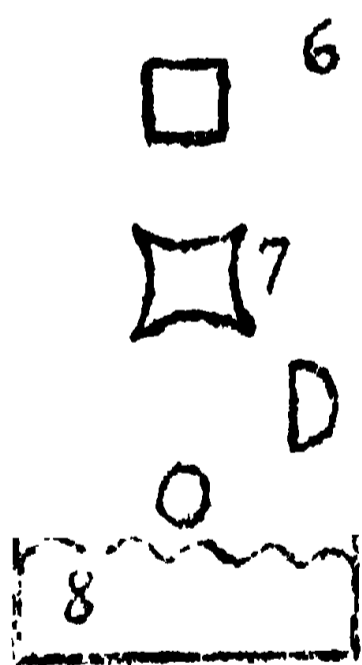
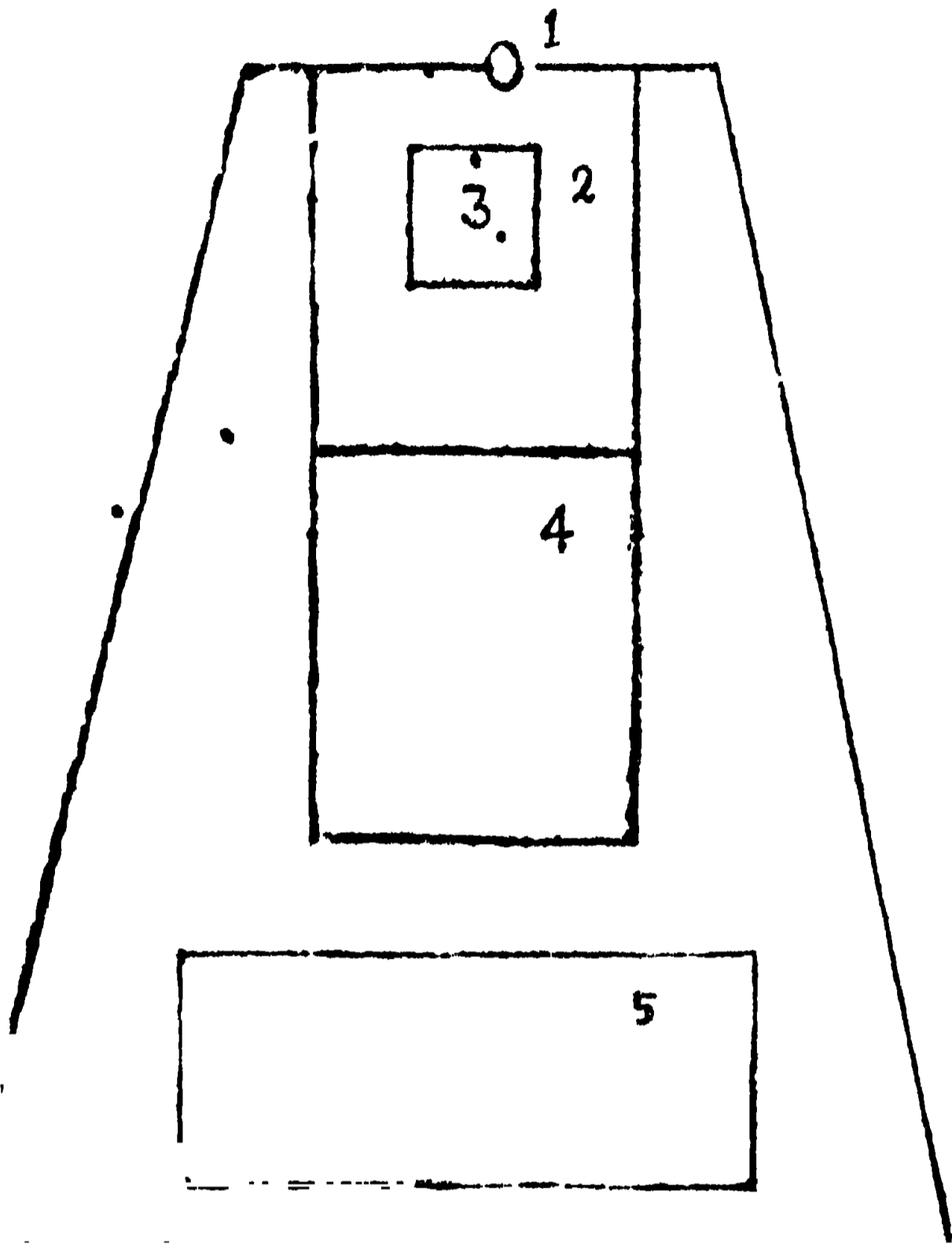


Fig. 1

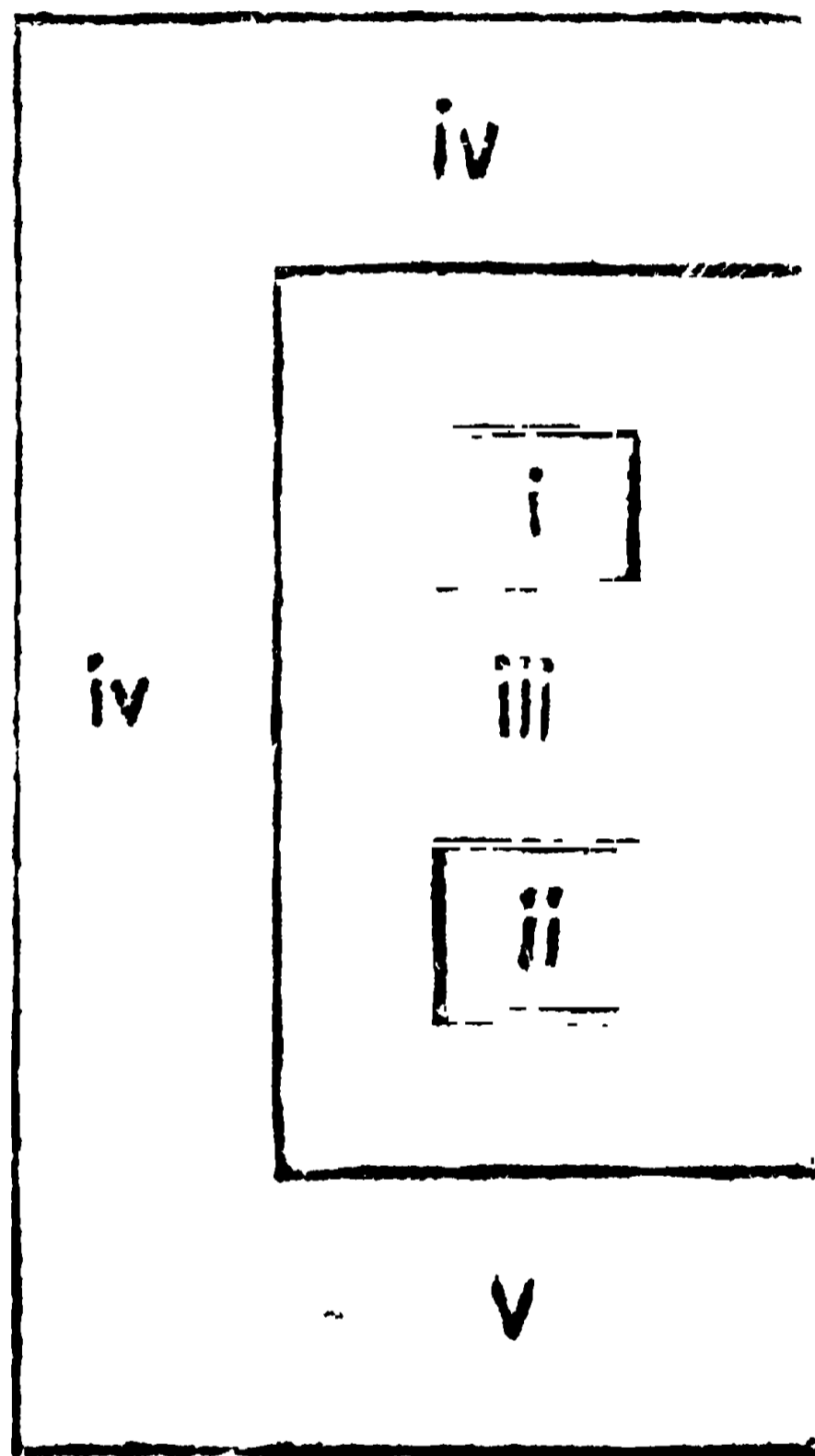


Fig. 2

The place in the *yajñasālā* of Kailāsa is occupied by a lady who from the depiction appears most probably to be a Rāṣṭrakuṭa queen. Such a supposition evokes two pertinent questions. First is under what circumstances the queen came to be sculptured and the next is what would be her identity? These questions are discussed below.

The *yajñasālā* came to be excavated later than the main temple of Kailāsa was, a fact which would place its date, allowing a reasonable margin for the excavation of the main temple, somewhere at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century A.D., attributable either to Dhruva (A.D. 773-793) or Govinda III (A.D. 793-814).

As there is no evidence available whatever to date the sculptures, it is difficult to say which of these two kings was responsible for the execution of this work, and more so, when a score of years do not show appreciable difference in style. It has already been pointed out that worship of the *Mātrkās* and *Agniṣṭoma* sacrifice both confer powers upon the worshipper and make him invincible. Although Dhruva too has left behind a brilliant account of his military exploits, historical data show that of all the Rāṣṭrakuṭa kings, Govinda III was the most illustrious who had under his command all the territories between Kanauj and Cape Comorin and Benaras and Broach. Should that be any indication to the authorship of the worshipper, then it stands to reason that the king who was destined to make such a remarkable record of martial exploits should need most the merits acquired by the sacrifice which is further reinforced by the inclusion of the *Mātrkās*. On the stylistic grounds of the sculptures, Dr. Goetz, however, has attributed the execution of the *yajñasālā* to Govinda III¹¹. It appears that by *circa* A.D. 795 he became the overlord of the Deccan after which he turned to the Northern India and the date of the great campaign is supposed to be A.D. 800.¹² Compared to Dhruva's northern expedition (c. A.D. 790) the one launched by Govinda III was more elaborate covering a wider field and had far-reaching results. Could it be possible that before embarking upon such a mighty and ambitious task he performed the sacrifice with a view to meet the success? And at the time of the sacrifice the co-operation of the wife was not

11 Dr. H. Goetz: *Artibus Asiae*, vol XV, 1/2, p. 100.

12 The writer has followed Prof A. S. Altekar in quoting the dates as given in '*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*', R. C. Majumdar, Ed.

available which necessitated the wife to be sculptured at the particular place viz. *patnīsālā*? For such a representation of the wife, in her absence, the example of the illustrious king Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* might have served as a precedence. In that epic, it is stated that after Sītā's banishment, when Rāma was performing *Aśuamedha* sacrifice a golden image of Sītā¹³ was made to serve as a proxy. In some other text, however, it is enjoined that the image of the absent wife is to be made of *kuṣa* grass. ('*Anye kuṣamayīm patnīm kṛtvā tu gṛhamedhinah | Agnihōtramupāsante yāvajjīvamānuvratāḥ*'). The name of the wife of Govinda III is given as Gāmuṇḍabbe in some of his inscriptions.¹⁴ But it is only after the hypothesis presented above is corroborated by other evidences that the image of the queen can be identified with any certainty.

The *yajñasālā* therefore was designed on the analogy to the *yajñasālā* for *Agniṣṭoma* which enshrined the *Mātrkās* too. It no longer maintains its orthodox character as a place of incantation to invoke the *Vedic* gods, instead the *Mātrkās* receive the oblations. It also signifies the synthesis between the old form and the new practice that gained ground and asserted itself in the religious life of the people with the change of time. The arrangement of the *Saptamātrkās* in the centre of the *yajñasālā* besides the usual import, might have had a different significance too which is understood when it is remembered that *Agniṣṭoma* is primarily a *soma* sacrifice and in the *Ṛgveda* the *Saptamātrkās*¹⁵ who apparently are described as *Sapta Sindhavah* are associated

13 'Kañcanīm mama patnīm ca dikṣāyām jñānīśca karmaṇi | Agrato Bbarataḥ kṛtvā gacchatvagre mahāyāsāḥ' (V. L. S. Pansikar, Ed. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 7. 91. 25).

14 J. F. Fleet: *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 126

15 *Saptamātrkās* are clearly mentioned later: (in *Ṛv.* IX. 3. 102) '*Jajñānaṁ sapta mātaraṁ vedhāmasāsata śriye*'. Who these mothers are, though not very clear, the indications show their being river goddesses. The writer is thankful to Śrī M. K. Dhavalikar for bringing this reference to his notice.

with the extraction of the *soma* juice (*Tavemeṣ sapta sindhavaḥ praśiṣaṁ somā sisnate. Ṛv. IX.3.66*).

The choice of the place for locating the commemorative of the sacrifice could not have been better, for Kailāsa was the pride of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which is situated by the side of the ancient trade route connecting the Deccan with the Northern India. Besides, the Jyotirlinga now worshipped in the nearby Ghr̥ṣṇeśvara temple was perhaps enshrined in Kailāsa and at such a place the king, who performed the sacrifice, could not afford to let a chance go, unavailed of, when it came for him to contribute his part in making Kailāsa in its present form, embellished with a galaxy of sculptural wealth.

R. SENGUPTA

MISCELLANY

Survival of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda in Eastern India

An important discovery has been made of a large number of families who preserve and follow the Paippalāda recension of the *Atharvaveda*. They live in the state of Orissa and the adjacent regions of West Bengal and Bihar. They have their own ritualistic manuals and observe the traditional rites and ceremonies preserved in the sacred texts. Up to this day, the Vedic scholars of India and the Western countries were not aware of the existence of the Paippalāda recension of *Atharvaveda* except that of a single mutilated manuscript of the *Samhitā* in Kashmir. Prof. D. M. Bhattacharya of the Research Department of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, has traced several manuscripts carefully preserved in Orissa. The Professor has brought to light valuable facts and materials showing that the eastern part of India has been preserving from time immemorial an entire branch of the important Ātharvana culture. He has got tape-recorded the Vedic mantras still chanted extensively by the Paippalādins of Orissa.

The new evidence goes against the assumption that the Paippalāda version of the *Atharvaveda* was exclusively associated with Kashmir, and was specially popular in that region. Prof. Bhattacharya has already taken in hand a critical edition of the Paippalāda-samhitā. He also intends to edit the *Karmapañjikā* and the *Āngirasakālpa*, two subsidiary works belonging to the Paippalāda school of the *Atharvaveda*.

N. DUTT

Ardhanārīśvara in South Indian Sculpture

Ardhanārīśvara (Īśvara who is half female) is a unique conception of the Hindu creative mind—the conception that the male and the female factors are indispensable entities in cosmic evolution. The union of Śiva and Pārvatī has been described by Kālidāsa as the blending of speech with its import.¹ Descriptions of Ardhanārīśvara are to be found in the Purāṇas, Āgamas and Śilpaśāstras such as the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas, the Aṃṣumadbhedāgama, Suprabhedāgama, Karaṇāgama, Śilparatna etc. The male aspect of Śiva is sculptured on the right side with appropriate ornaments, apparel and weapons, viz., the jaṭāmakuṭa, the crescent moon on the head, the serpent king Vāsuki adorning the right ear lobe, the trident, the kapāla representing the begging bowl in the right hand, yajñopavīta of pearls and precious stones, the snake girdle and a loin cloth of tiger skin. He is ūrdhva retas. On the left half is seen Umā with her hair parted centrally, *tilaka* on her forehead, *patrakuṇḍala* in her left ear, armlets, bracelets and rings adorning her arms and fingers. Tassels of beads hang down from her waist. In her left hand she holds either a mirror or a lotus flower (*nīlotpala*) and her leg is painted with red *lākṣā rasa*.² The image usually has two, three or four arms. Sculptures with two and four arms are rather rare while with three occur quite frequently.

1. वागर्थाविव संपृक्कौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

(Raghuvamśa, canto. 1)

2. अधुना संप्रवक्ष्यामि अर्धनारीश्वरं परम् ।

अर्धेन देवदेवस्य नारीरूपं सुशोभनम् ॥

ईशार्धे तु जटाभागो बालेन्दुकलया युतः ।

उमार्धे चापि दातव्यौ सीमन्ततिलकावुभौ ॥

वासुकिं दक्षिणे कर्णे वामे कुरडलमादिशेत् ।

बालिका चोपरिष्ठात्तु कपालं दक्षिणे करे ॥

त्रिशूलं वापि कर्तव्यं देवदेवस्य शूलिनः ।

वामतो दर्पणं दद्यादुत्पलं च विशेषतः ॥

Popular tradition has a fanciful legend to explain this composite form. Once the ṛṣis in Kailāsa went round Śiva and Pārvatī and paid their obeisance. But sage Bhṛṅgi, a devout worshipper of Śiva that he was, could not think of anybody else and as such he did not go round Pārvatī. Enraged at this, Pārvatī administered a curse that he be reduced to skeleton. Śiva seeing the plight of his devotee unable to stand erect in his skin covered skeleton blessed him with a third leg, whereupon the sage began to dance in ecstasy. Pārvatī was much perturbed and wanted to humble Bhṛṅgi. She performed severe penance to share Śiva's body so that she could make Bhṛṅgi circumambulate her also. The Lord pleased with his consort fulfilled her wishes. Undaunted by this trick of Pārvatī, Bhṛṅgi assumed the form of a beetle, bore a hole through in the centre of the chest and performed Pradakṣiṇa to Śiva alone. Pārvatī admiring the steadfastness of the devotee of her Lord showered blessings upon him.

Another interesting episode regarding the conception of Śiva is to be found in the Vāyu Purāṇa.³ In the beginning Sanaka,

वामबाहुश्च कर्तव्यः केयूरवलयान्वितः ।
 उपवीतं च कर्तव्यमणिमुक्तामयं तथा ॥
 स्तनभारं तत्रार्धे तु वामे पीतं प्रकल्पयेत् ।
 हारार्धमुज्ज्वलं कुर्याच्छ्रोणार्धं तु तथैव च ॥
 लिंगार्धमूर्ध्वगं कुर्याद्बालाजिनकृताम्बरम् ।
 वामे लम्बपरीधानं कटिसूत्रयान्वितम् ॥
 नानारत्नसमोपेतं दक्षिणं भुजगान्वितम् ।
 देवस्य दक्षिणं पादं पद्मोपरि सुसंस्थितम् ॥
 किञ्चिदूर्ध्वं तथा वामं भूषितं नूपुरेण तु ।
 रत्नैर्विभूषितान् कुर्याद्गुलीष्वङ्गुलीयकान् ॥
 सालङ्कारं तथा पादं पार्वत्या दर्शयेत् सदा ।
 अर्धनारीश्वरस्येदं रूपमस्मिन्हदाहतम् ॥

Matsya-Purāṇa 260.1-10.

3. अग्रे ससर्ज वै ब्रह्मा मानसानात्मनः समान् ।
 सनन्दनं ससनकं विद्वांसं च सनातनम् ॥
 सनत्कुमारं च विभुं सनकं च सनन्दनम् ।
 न ते लोकेषु सर्जन्ते निरपेक्षाः सनातनाः ॥

Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra the four mānasaputras were created by Brahmā for originating life in this world. But they having attained jñāna were neglecting their primary obligation, and thereby brought creation to a standstill. The Supreme creator saw this and was annoyed. From His wrath appeared an anthropomorphic half-male-half-female form.

Tirugnana Sambānda—a Śaiva saint—has a funny explanation for this aspect. In one of his Tevaram hymns sung in praise of the 'Lord of Tirutelichery' he wonders that Śiva while begging alms from the Ṛṣipatnis of Daṇḍakāraṇya as Biksatana could not probably think of a safer place for Pārvatī than to carry her in his person himself.⁴

The shaping of a half male and half female figure in a presentable and adorable form should have been a difficult task for any sculptor. A glance at the examples produced by the South Indian sculptors through the centuries would show how well they had done this job.

The earliest representation of Ardhanārīśvara in Tamil Nad is found in a niche at the north-east end of Dharmarāja Ratha at Mamallapuram. Here the image standing erect has a jaṭāmakuṭa and on the right side are seen ornaments and anatomical features of Śiva. The right upper arm holds a parasu⁵ while

सर्वे ते ह्यागतज्ञाना वीतरागा विमत्सराः ।
तेष्वेवं निरपेक्ष्येषु लोकवृत्तानुकारणान् ॥
हिरण्यगर्भो भगवान् परमेष्ठी ह्यचिन्तयत् ।
तस्य रोषात्समुत्पन्नः पुरुषोऽर्कसमद्युतिः ॥ .
अर्धनारीनरवपुस्तेजसा ज्वलनोपमः ।
सर्वं तेजोमयं जातमादित्यसमतेजसम् ॥
विभजात्मानमित्युक्त्वा तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ॥

Vāyupurāṇa, 9. 65-69

4 Kārulang kadalipikaṅ muttan karaipayum

Tērula neduvidyadār telicherier

Yērulāmpalakekida vaippidaminriyē

Vārula mulaiyalai yōr bāgattu vaithē,—Sambandar Dēvaram 139:4.

5 Mangaiyōr kūrūkanda maḷuvālan

—Ibid 104:7

the lower arm is in the *abhaya* pose. The loin cloth is seen extending upto the knee and tied with a snake girdle. Pārvatī on the left is adorned with the characteristic ornaments of a woman. In the upper arm is held a lotus flower (Lila Kamala) and the lower one is left dangling loosely. Numerous bracelets adorn the upper arm. The garment extends up to the end of ankles; an anklet is also sculptured. Patrakuṇḍala adorns her ear. The coiffure is worn in curls⁶ and rebellious locks are allowed to hang over the left shoulder in front. There is a slight broadening of the pelvis.

The transitional phase from the Pallava to the Cola style is found at Kodumbāalur in the erstwhile Pudukkottai State and in the Nagesvarasvami temple in Kumbakonam. The specimen from Kodumbalur comes from the Muvarkoil and is at present housed in the Government Museum, Pudukkottai.

Muvarkoil with three shrines was constructed by Bhutivikramakesari, an ally and vassal of Sundara Cola Parantaka II (956-973 A.D.). The figure here is in erect posture (*sambhaṅga*) with three hands. Śiva on the right half is holding a parasu in his upper arm while the lower caresses the forehead of the Vṛṣabha and is adorned with an anklet. The garment is well above the knee with the folds beautifully depicted. Pārvatī has only one arm decked with several bracelets and holding a lotus. Drapery on the left is well nigh the ankle and tassels hang down from her waist. The sculpture with its smiling face is a fine specimen of plastic art.

The other specimen from Nāgesvarasvami temple in Kumbakonam is similar to that from Kodumbalur excepting in that the lotus in the hand of Pārvatī is replaced by a mirror. The tribhaṅga pose with slight bending of the right foot and a corresponding tilt of the head adds to the charm and grace of Pārvatī. The image stands on a padmapīṭha. These two examples are a definite improvement over the Pallava specimen in posture, ornaments and apparel. The ample pelvis of the female

6 Sadai oru pāl orupālidankoḷ tāḷ kuḷaḷ—*Ibid* 364:4



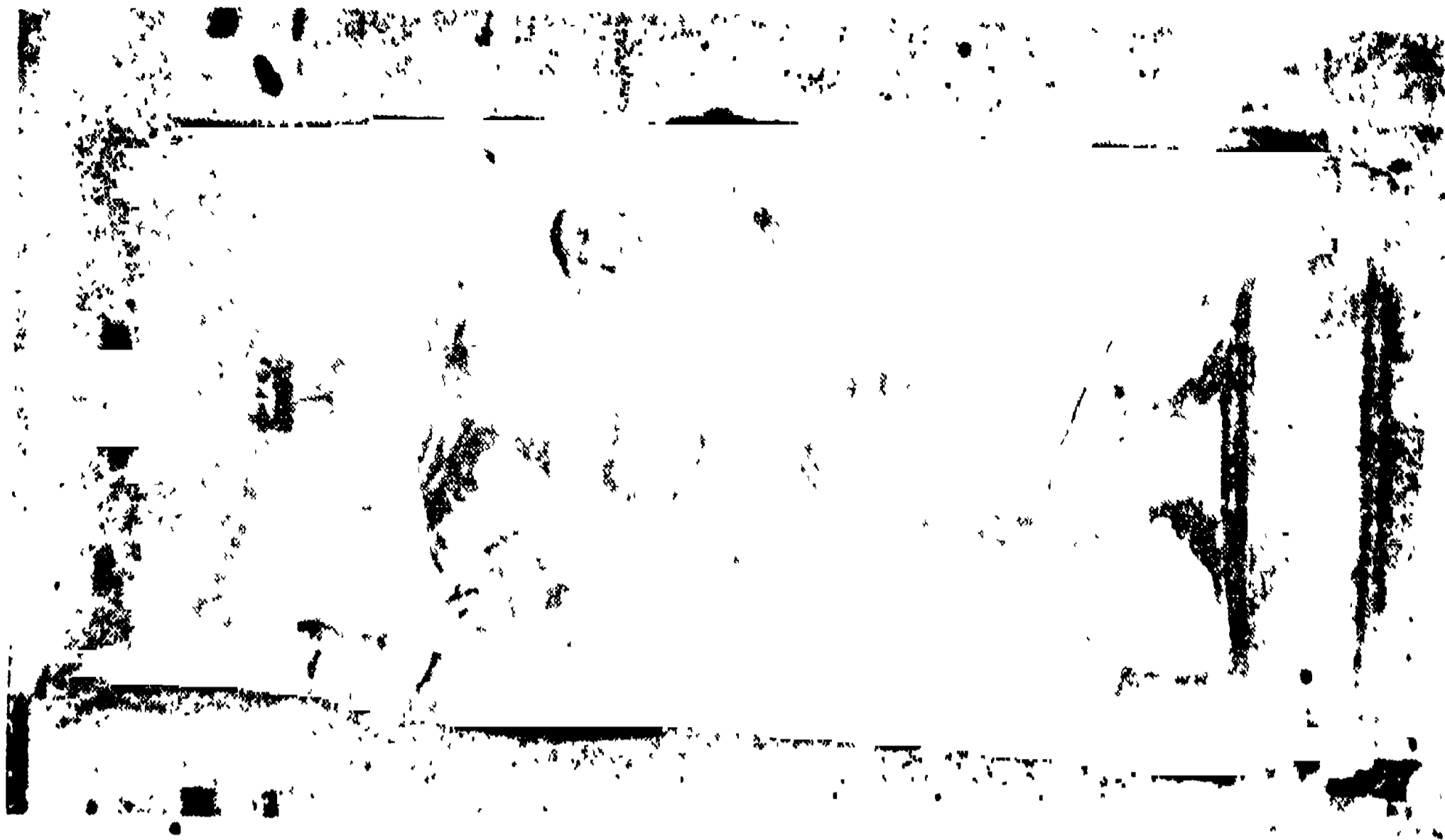
Ardhanārīśvara from Mamallapuram

—Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology.



Ardhanārīśvara from Tanjore

—Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology.



Ardhanārīśvara—Palarai

- Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology!

half heightens the smallness of the waist conforming to the description of the fair sex in classical Sanskrit literature. The slight bending of Śiva's right foot improves these anatomical features.

Another Cola specimen comes from the Brihadīvara temple at Tanjore. This temple constructed by Raja Rājā (985-1014 A. D.) stands out as a living edifice for the engineering talents of the ancient Tamils. Here the figure is rather squattish with a smiling face. The right leg is a little bent. As usual the right upper arm has the battle axe and the lower one is resting upon the forehead of the bull. The left arm adorned with bracelets is seen holding a parrot⁷ (Lica Suka). Tassels hang down from the waist on the left side and the drapery seems to be diaphanous. Anklets are worn on both the legs. This charming figure of Ardhanārīśvara proclaims sculptural genius of the Cola artists of South India.

As an example of the art of later Colas, a specimen from Somanātheśvara at Palayarai, near Kumbakonam, may be considered. The image is rather peculiar.⁸ Heretofore we have seen that it is Śiva, who is resting his hand on the forehead of the bull. But in this image, which has four arms,⁹ Pārvatī is seen resting her lower arm on the forehead of the bull while the upper one has the padma. A battle axe is held in the upper

7. दक्षिणार्धे हरं चैव वामार्धे पार्वतीं तथा ।
दक्षिणं कुञ्चितं पादं वामपादमृजु स्थितम् ॥
हरस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कूर्परं वृषके स्थितम् ।
प्रकोष्ठे शुकसंयुक्तं हरं परशुसंयुतम् ॥

(Suprabhedāgama 34th Paṭala)

8. कुञ्चितं वामपादं तु सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ।
वामार्धं पार्वतीरूपं दक्षिणार्धं महेश्वरम् ॥
अभयं परशुं दक्षहस्ते वामगतं भुजम् ।
वृषस्य मूर्ध्नि विन्यस्तकूर्परं चारु सुन्दरम् ।
पुष्पधृक्करणकं त्वन्यं चतुर्भुजमिदं स्मृतम् ॥

(Silparatna 22nd Paṭala)

9 Cf: Mahabalipuram specimen.

arm while the lower arm of Śiva is in the *abhaya* pose. The left leg is bent a little. The grace and charm observed in the earlier specimens tend to decrease.

A much later Cola specimen from Jambukesvaram or Tiruvanikkavisvaram in Narttamalai, Pudukkottai, with the respective halves treated as in the cases described above shows clear evidence of conventionalised drapery and ornaments and lacks the beauty of the earlier examples and marks the commencement of the stylised character of later Cola work. The temple of Jambukesvara was constructed by Parambudyar Kadamban Sengudiayan Gangadharan in the reign of Kulottunga II in about 1205 A. D.¹⁰

Much later in the Nayak period though the essential details are retained the workmanship show characteristic peculiarities of the period such as the pointed nose, the posture, in the artificial arrangement of the drapery and the sculpture becomes stylised in every respect.

Apart from these what would appear to be erratic forms are to be found in Tiruchengode Salem and in Karuttittangudi (Tanjore).

The Karuttittangudi example is unique in having the female part on the right side (as against the left) and is found in the temple of Vasistesvara in Karandai, near Tanjore. The image has three arms, two on the left and one on the right. The left upper arm is holding a paraśu and the lower one is resting upon the forehead of the bull. The right leg is slightly bent.

Thus one finds that the simple and lively forms of the early epoch gradually evolve into more and more stylised forms with the additional attributes or modifications. This will be evident also from the changing drapery with the advance of time.

C. KRISHNAMURTHI & K. S. RAMACHANDRAN

An Unknown Inscription of V. S. 1242 from Mewār

The Ābu Inscription of V.S. 1342 (*IA*. XVI, p. 345) and the Kumbhalgarh *Praśasti* of V. S. 1517 (G. H. Ojha, *History os Rājputānā* Vol. II. p. 440) clearly state that Kumārasimha, the Guhila ruler of Mewar, was succeeded by his son Mathanasimha and the latter by his son Padmasimha. Dr. H. C. Ray has remarked (*Dynastic History of N. India*, Vol. II, 1936, Calcutta, p. 1184) that “no inscriptions are known for the reigns of these two princes” but this view is no longer tenable at the present moment. During my visit to Āṭa (near Korāwāḍa, Mewar) on 8. 7. 1959, I found an interesting slab (measuring 36" x 22") fixed to the left inside the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the local Śiva Temple. A blurred inscription of V. S. 1239 and consisting of nine lines has been engraved on this slab as also noticed by G. H. Ojha in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer for the year ending March 1928*, p. 3, no. IV. i.e. “11th day of the bright half of *Caitra* of *Samvat* 12(3)9; when *Mahārājādbhirāja* Mahāṇsimha was ruling at Nāgdā, 190 *drammas* were granted to the temple by one *Deddāka*”. The legible portion of first two lines of this blurred record may be presented as follows:—

Line 1 :—संवत् १२३९ वर्ष चैत्र शु ११-शुक्र^१ [अद्येह] नागदेह^२ महारा-

Line 2 :—जाधिराज श्रीमहणसिंह देव.....etc.

Mahāṇsimha is identical with Guhila ruler Mathanasimha cited above. Recently, on 15.3.58, I discovered an interesting inscription of two lines carved on the lintel preceding the entrance to the main shrine of the *Pañcāyatana* Viṣṇu Temple at Īswāl, distant about 13 miles from Udaipur on Udaipur-Gogundā road. Incised on a rectangular slab measuring about 27 inches in length

1 i. e. संवत् १२३९ वर्षे चैत्र शुदि ११ शुक्ले । The year 1239 is also quite clear here though the preceding phrases are in incorrect Sanskrit.

2 i. e. Nāgadā, distant about 15 miles from Udaipur. It was the capital of the Guhila rulers during this period.....

this newly discovered epigraph pushes the limit of the regime of the same ruler (i.e. Mathanasimha) up to V. S. 1242. It is dated *Thursday, 11th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha of the Vikrama Śamvat 1242*. Probably it refers to the renovation of a grant or a certain strip of land for the worship of deity named as *Vohigha Svāmi* who has also been referred to as *Vohigasvāmi* in an earlier but blurred inscription of V.S. 1161 (consisting of 7 lines) in this very temple at Īswāl. This particular religious edifice appears to have been in existence during the beginning of the 12th century A.D. The second line of the existing inscription of V. S. 1242 clearly refers to the name of the contemporary ruler as Mathanasīha; the remaining portion of the record of course being somewhat in an obscure condition. The legible portion of the incorrect text³ may tentatively be presented as follows:—

Line 1 :—ओं (Symbol) ॥ संवत् १२४२ वर्षे वैसाख सुदि ११ गुरौ
श्रीवोहिघस्वामिदेवपूजापादै या प्रदत्त षेत्र पूना⁴ऊला प्रदत्त

Line 2 :—श्रीमहणसीहदेव विजय राये उधरित षेत्रं पूय प्रदर्ता । वार राज०
धांध लुह पकार्यं जनु कोपि लोपयति तत् गादहपत्तं ग्राय ॥

The existing inscription probably urges upon anybody not to usurp the Temple of the donation previously made and subsequently renovated in V. S. 1242 by Mathanasimha. It is thus evident, at the present moment, that his rule extended from V. S. 1239 to V. S. 1242 though it is not possible to state clearly and definitely the last regnal year of this Guhila Mathanasimha. A copper plate grant of V. S. 1251 from Kadmāla (25 miles from Udaipur) of course refers to his son i.e. Padma-

3 It is now for the epigraphists to go ahead with the incorrectness of the text in all its details. The use of ष for क्ष and स्व is equally interesting.

4 Does it refer to the original donation as having been made during the regime of one of his predecessors i.e. Vikramasimha alias Puñja, cf. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1207? The matter needs further scrutiny. पूय may even stand for पूर्व thus referring to the land as having been donated in past (पूर्व) or previously.

siṃha as the contemporary ruler. A fragmentary inscription on the pillar of the Temple of Valkaleśvara Mahādeva at Nara-siṃhapura (Bhomat region, Mewar) also refers to the regime of Padmasiṃha though the date-portion is mutilated therein (cf. Nathu Lal Vyas's paper in *Śodhayatrikā*, Hindi, Udaipur, Vol. V (3), pp. 50-52). Further discoveries are eagerly awaited to throw more light on the reign-periods of Mathanasimha and Padmasimha. Even then, the newly discovered inscription of V. S. 1242 (= 1185 A.D.) at Īswāl is of great value for determining the regnal years in respect of Guhila ruler Mathanasimha. An inscription of the year V. S. 1242 was also noticed by me at Kaṭhaḍāwan, distant about 4 miles from Īswāl.

R. C. AGRAWALA

Identification of Vyāghrataṭi Maṇḍalá

Long ago, the late S. N. Majumdar in his Notes appended to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, propounded the theory that Vyāghrataṭi maṇḍala of some Bengal inscriptions was situated in Lower Bengal and that the late name Bāgḍi of Lower Bengal is derived from the word Vyāghrataṭi. Later on this identification has been accepted by some other scholars.

In the inscriptions Vyāghrataṭi is a maṇḍala of the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti*. This maṇḍala, however, does not appear in the Gupta records that refer to the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. It first finds mention in the Khālimpur inscription of Dharmapāla, then again in the Nālandā grant of Devapāla, and for the third time in the Ānuliā inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena. In the Sena period of the history of Bengal, the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana, extended for some reason or other upto Lower Bengal in the south and comprised Vaṅga or the upper part of East Bengal in the east. But this dimension of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is vouchsafed neither by the Pāla records nor by the Gupta inscriptions where the limits of the *bhukti* are confined to North Bengal only. On the other hand there is absolutely no justification to suggest the derivation of Bāgḍi from Vyāghra except for a crude resemblance that exists between the two terms. What has led to the suggestion is obviously the fact that Lower Bengal, i.e., the Sundarban region, is infested with tigers (*vyāghras*). But the suggestion clearly connives at the other fact that tigers frequented before as even now many other parts of Bengal, particularly the Terai region of the North and also the jungles of the Malda and Cooch-Bihar Districts.

The legitimacy of the identification of Vyāghrataṭi maṇḍala with the Sundarban region would, again, stand upon the extension of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* upto Lower Bengal early in the Pāla period, proofs for which we have none at present. As such, nothing warrants us to locate the maṇḍala as referred to in the Ānuliā Inscription of Lokṣmaṇasena in Lower Bengal. The

extension of the limits of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in south and east in the Sena period is no proof, we must admit, for placing the Vyāghrataṭi *maṇḍala* in Lower Bengal under the comfortable belief that the name Bāgḍi of an extensive region of West and South Bengal has been derived from the term Vyāghra.

Add to this another consideration, to which attention was already drawn by the late N. G. Majumdar. In the inscriptions of the Sena Kings of Bengal we find that the lands situated in different localities of Bengal are measured by separate standards of measurement. The lands situated in Lower Bengal were measured by the *Samataṭiya-nala* measurement (Cf. Barrackpur Copper plate of Vijayasena). The lands of the Vyāghrataṭi were measured by the *Vṛṣabha-Śaṅkara-nala* (Ānuliā copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena), a measurement which according to the opinion of some scholars was introduced by Vijayasena himself. The Tarpaṇadīghī grant of Lakṣmaṇasena indicates that in his time there existed different standards of measurement in different parts of Bengal. The Uttara-Rāḍha-*maṇḍala* of the Vardhamāna *bhukti* like the Vyāghrataṭi-*maṇḍala* followed the *Vṛṣabha-Śaṅkara nala system* (Naihāṭi grant of Ballālasena). In the lower portion of the Vardhamāna *bhukti* as is found in the Govindapur Inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena lands are measured by a different *nala* standard than that used in the upper region of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, i. e., Uttara-Rāḍha. So it is possible that Vyāghrataṭi-*maṇḍala* was not a region of Lower Bengal but was a region within the boundary of original Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, i. e., in North Bengal. We may, therefore, conclude that Vyāghrataṭi-*maṇḍala* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is required to be placed somewhere in North Bengal.

Kailāsa : A Jyotirlinga at Ellora

The following stanza occurs in the verses from the *Śiva Purāna* which enumerates the twelve most revered *Jyotirlingas* in India :

वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमां नागेशं द्वारकावने ।
सेतुबंधे च रामेशं घुश्मेशश्च शिवालये ॥¹

Most of the *Jyotirlingas* mentioned in the *Śiva Purāna* have been satisfactorily identified with the existing ones in India because their exact location has also been clearly given in the text. The location of Ghuśméśa has not been mentioned clearly but it may be identified with the Ghrīṣṇéśvara at Ellora, District Aurangabad, Maharashtra State.

The legendary account regarding the existence of a *Jyotirlinga* at Ellora is indicative of the derivation of the name Ghuśméśa. It is said that a certain Brahmin, Sudharmā by name, had two wives who were sisters. The younger wife Ghuśmā was hated and envied by the elder wife of the brahmin though she was her elder sister. She killed the son of Ghuśmā and threw the corpse of the child into the lake nearby on the outskirts of the village. Ghuśmā was a pious devotee of Śiva and therefore by his grace her son was brought into this world again but Ghuśmā prayed the Lord Śiva to forgive her elder sister for her heinous crime. Śiva, pleased on account of her sheer virtuous behaviour and her devotion, stayed there in the form of a *Jyotirlinga* according to Ghuśmā's request.

We cannot test the historicity of this Purāṇic myth. Yet from the similarity between the names, the Ghuśméśa can be identified with the Ghrīṣṇéśvara at Ellora. It is noteworthy that there is a beautiful lake by the side of a hillock at Ellora to the south of the village.²

1 *Śiva Purāna, Dhyāna Samhitā, Adhyāya 38.*

2 Near the Ghrīṣṇéśvara temple at Ellora there is another tank built in the 18th century A. D. probably by Ahilyabai Holkar. Tradition has

The Ghr̥ṣṇeśvara temple at Ellora, which was constructed by Ahilyabai Holkar, the pious princess of Indore (1765-95 A.D.), is an excellent specimen of the Maratha architecture. It is worshipped even today by thousands of pious Hindus who believe that the shrine is the same *Iyotirliṅga* which is referred to in the Purāṇas. It is rather absurd to believe that the temple represents the *Iyotirliṅga* as it is comparatively of a later date while the literary reference is of an earlier period.³

This poses a problem regarding the identification of the *Iyotirliṅga* at Ellora and we have, therefore, to search for another important Śaivite shrine at Ellora. There is no other shrine of Śiva of sufficient importance at Ellora except the *Kailāsa*, the Cave XVI at that place. This magnificent rock-cut temple, an epic in stone, ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakuṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa I (953-58 A.D.), is perhaps the most remarkable of the cave temples in India. The shrine was held in high reverence by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa kings who lavishly decorated the temple with paintings and adorned the principal shrine with gold and jewels like rubies.⁴ It is spoken of in the Rāṣṭrakuṭa epigraphs as a *svayambhū* shrine. It may, therefore, be the *Iyotirliṅga* of the Purāṇic myth.

That the *Kailāsa* (or Rangmahal) was the original *Iyotirliṅga* even in those days is clear from the very name Ghr̥ṣṇeśvara. The word Ghr̥ṣṇeśvara is derived from the Sanskrit root *ghṛṣ*

it that it was built by the King Elu and its waters are supposed to possess miraculous properties and are said to have cured that king of a disease from which he was suffering, in gratitude for which he is said to have founded that village which derives its name from himself and to have excavated the temple of *Kailāsa*, i.e. Cave XVI at Ellora. Here again the tank of the legend may be the one I have mentioned above.

3 The date of the *Śiva Purāṇa* is also debatable. It is admittedly of a later date but not certainly older than the 10th century A.D. for Al Biruni knows it (Sachau, *Al Biruni's India*, I, 130). Dr. Pusalkar has ably proved it to be later than the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. (*Studies in Epics and Purāṇas*, p. 41).

4 *I. A.*, XII, p. 228.

and its meaning as given by Monier Williams is *to polish; to grind; to crush; to rub*. Thus the word *Ghriṣṇeśvara* implies the shrine of the god which is polished by chiselling and crushing the rock. The *Kailāsa*, the *chef-d'oeuvre* of the Hindu rock-cut temples, must have received this appellation on account of its rock-cut nature. There need therefore be no doubt that the *Kailāsa* was the ancient *Iyotirlinga* of the Purāṇic legend. Unfortunately the shrine is not in worship today but was worshipped in the ancient past. Al Masudi, the famous Arab geographer,⁵ who is the first to make a reference to the Ellora Caves, alludes to it as being a celebrated place of pilgrimage. In the 13th century also it was worshipped as is evident from the fact that the princess Devaldevi of Gujrath was captured by the soldiers of the Sultan Allauddin Khilji when she had been to Ellora possibly to worship the shrine.⁶

As the *liṅga* was destroyed during the Mogul regime the Hindus, who do not worship a broken idol, discontinued its worship.

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

5 Historical Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions, II, 442.

6 *Ibid.*, 443.

REVIEWS

Étienne Lamotte : HISTOIRE DU BOUDDHISME INDIEN DES ORIGINES A L'ERE SAKA. Louvain 1958 pp. xii+862 with 30 plates, 7 Plans and 5 Maps.

The work is a magnum opus with a modest title "History of Buddhism." The author has put together in a neat, concise and at the same time in a clear style all that is connected with the actual history of the origin and development of Buddhism from its origin to the early Christian eras. The topics dealt with are vast and varied but all throwing a flood of light on the historical evolution of Buddhism, e.g., political history of the period concerned; legends and traditions from Indian and Chinese sources; expansion of Buddhism with its causes and archaeological remains; its progress and regress in the different periods; its relation with the foreign rulers, who came and settled in India; its divisions and sub-divisions into various sects, with their doctrines and geographical distribution; the growth of the languages of the Buddhist literature; its philosophy and psychology and its teachings, which ended in the advent of Mahāyānic creeds and beliefs. The range of topics reveal the tremendous amount of energy and patience bestowed by the author on the work. It appears to us to be amazing that a single author and not a team of writers could deal with, so intelligently, accurately and efficiently so many subjects as history and legends, philosophy including psychology, art and architecture, political and religious factors for and against the growth of Buddhism along with minor points of sectarian differences.

The work evinces in every chapter not only the author's encyclopaedic knowledge but also his immense patience and perseverance in collecting and marshalling the findings of a large number of present day scholars of repute during the last half-a-century. The author, in fact, has left nothing untouched both in his study

and collection of facts as also in his analysis of the various forces which moulded the career of Buddhism in India in the pre-Christian era. The work will be exceedingly valuable to young scholars to find out what has already been written in the field of Buddhism and where these results are available, and what are the aspects left to him to work out in detail. The author has presented the vast amount of materials in such a well-arranged and charming manner that I felt disappointed when I came to the end of the book as the author did not write further about the post-Christian period of Buddhism. I hope the author will have patience and energy to give us a comprehensive history of Buddhism like the present one up to the Pāla period.

N. DUTT

The Vaitanasutra*

XXXVII

1. "Oh friend of gods ! I ask you for information, if you have seen into the matter with your mind. What are the three steps, by which Viṣṇu became victorious; what are they by which he pervaded this entire universe ?"

2. To his answers and enquiries he (the Brahman) replies! : "The Puruṣa entered into the five (breaths); these became firm in Puruṣa. I reply this to you: as protector of the sacrifice you do not stand higher than me. Distant as you are, you are neither later than me, nor earlier; what then ? Oh wise, be quite at this, you speak an instructive word, you do not stand on the same level as with me¹.

3. After, all have come out (of the Sadas) they address the stanza; I ask you (the sacrificer) about the extreme corner of the earth" (IX. 10. 13) and he replies : "This altar" (IX. 10. 14).

4. On the third day (of the Aśvatirātra) the first two savanas are like those of the Caturviṃśa day.

* Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. XXXV, No. 4, December, 1959, Supplement, p. 113.

1 The portion of Garbe's text, which stands as: *na tvam paro varo manna pūrvah* has been differently translated by Caland. The latter translates: "Weder du stehst mir voran, noch ein späterer noch ein früherer." Trans. "Neither you stand before me, nor you are later nor earlier." But we like to read *paro varo* as *paro'varo* and, consequently interpret *parah* as remote and *avarah* later; now, the word *avarah* quite perfectly stands as a correlative of *pūrvah* and gives the meaning here, we have suggested. Besides, there are two negative particles *na*, which should stand before *avarah* and *pūrvah* respectively. So there is no reason to assume its occurrence further before *parah* too. Obviously, our interpretation which requires no modification of the text with assumption of the negative particle *na* before *parah* has a greater claim for accuracy than that, which is based upon such an assumption, as Caland has made.

5. The Stotriya and the Anurūpa (-trcas) in the Ājya śastra of the Brāhmaṇācchamsin are the usual (i.e. those, which are prescribed for Jyotiṣṭoma).

6. The third savana and what follows are like those of the Atirātra.

7. After the conclusion of the Aśvamedha there takes place a sacrifice of five animals, which are to be bound to a sacrificial post, that is gored².

8. (After the Aśvamedha) there take place in every season six animal sacrifices, dedicated to Agni, Indra, the Maruts, Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra-Varuṇa and Agni-Viṣṇu.

9. In the Puruṣamedha the number of sacrificial animals, which are to be offered in every season and which are to be tied to the gored sacrificial posts, is double. In the Sarvamedha the number is multiplied four-fold.

10. The Puruṣa-medha follows the ritual of the horse-sacrifice.

11. It begins before the Caitra-full-moon and ends with the distribution of the desired gifts to the sacrificial priests.

12. The Iṣtis are intended for Agni Kāma, (Agni) giver and (Agni) path-preparer.

13. He (the Brahman) loudly proclaims to the people : "May all the possessions acquired by the sacrificer by conquest come together (to him)."

14. The sacrificer proclaims (to the people) : "For whom shall I give the thousand cows and hundred horses as treasures to the relatives ? Through whom shall I attain my ends.

15. If a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya offers himself, the people say : "The endeavour is successful."³

16. If such a person be not available he should conquer his nearest enemy (rivals) and offer him.

² Caland points out that in the Black Yajurveda the word *Viśākha-yūpa*, which Garbe reads, has been substituted by *Viśālayūpa*.

³ Caland suggests that the word *ācakṣate* of the text of Garbe should be emended as *ācakṣeta*. But *ācakṣate* might be an irregularity occurring in the original text.

17. For him he should give that (mentioned in the sūtra 14 above) to his relations.

18. He should (forcibly) take the entire property of him, whose wife meddles into the matter and announce loudly: "I shall kill this non-brahmin lady."

19. When the man (settled for offering) is bathed, decorated and set free (for one year) the Brahman utters these hymns over him: "The Puruṣa of thousand arms (XIX. 6) and "By whom the heel" (X. 2).

20. Throughout the year (during which the man, set free, moves about) there take place the Iṣṭis in honour of Pathyā, Svasti, Aditi and Anumati.

21. At the end of the year there takes place the animal sacrifice, dedicated to Indra-Puṣan.

22. The third day is fixed for the performance of the Mahāvratā.

23. While the man (selected for sacrifice) is tied to the sacrificial post he (the Brahman) utters the three hymns: "Let it rise" (XVIII. 1, 44-46) but he recites the concluding stanzas, meant for indicating rise, while the same man is set free.

24. While the man (selected for sacrifice) is brought to the Sāmitra fire the Brahman recites the stanzas, which are indicative of the man's approach to the fire.

25. While the man (selected for sacrifice) is laid down the Brahman recites the two stanzas: "Be there happiness to him" (XVIII.2.19.20).

26. While the man is killed the Brahman recites the Sahasra-vāhu (hymn) (XIX-6), the Yama (stanzas) and the Sarasvatī stanzas.

XXXVIII

1. Now, in order to cure the sacrificer he (the Brahman) recites to him the stanzas: "From your eyes" (II.33), "I set you free" (1.10.4), "Oh you gods (IV.13), "In whose" (VI.84), "Quickly go from here" (Kauś.sūtra 87.8) and "May the wind

come and blow all over" (Kauś.sūtra 117.4) ; it so happens in a meeting (of the sacrificer and the Brahman)⁴.

2. The female attendants recite in front: "A nice tank, whose water is drinkable" (XX.128.9)⁵.

3. The performance, in which there occurs the recital of the stanza: "Rise, oh wife" has been treated⁶.

4. All whisper then: "What spirit of us, now with the fathers" (etc. Kauś. sūtra 88.29).

5. After the enigmatical question (of the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu) the Brahman enquires of the udgātr: "The cows eat grass eagerly and carelessly ; I saw them moving together with the cowherds. When called they approached near cheerfully ; how the owners (of these cows) are happy with them."⁷

4 According to Monier Williams the word *Methana* means 'abusive speech'. If this is correct the translation should be made like this... "it so happens in an abusive language". But this does not agree with the locative case-ending of the form. The root '*mitha*' indicates 'to unite, meet, form pairs' from which the words *Mithuna* comes. So we have translated *Methana* as meeting.

5 Caland takes the portion *Methane Brahmā* of the previous sūtra as part of this sutra. Further he emends *methane* as *methate*. This makes his translation totally different from what we have given. He translates:—"I's schimpft der Brahman mit (der Strophe): ein wohl trinkbarer Teich; mit der vorhergehenden (Strophe schimpfen) die Frauen des Gefolges" Trans. "The Brahman insults with the stanza: A nice tank whose, water is drinkable'; with the preceding (stanza) the women of the retinue insult (the priests)." Caland clarifies the term *Pūrvēna* as *Purvayā ṛcā*; but he admits that he is not sure of the interpretation. His interpretation is doubtful but we too do not stand on a better ground. It should be mentioned here that Keith does not approve this emendation of Caland (IRAS 1910 p. 937).

6 Caland informs us that it occurs in the Kauś sūtra 80. 45. From him we come to know that it is the command of the Brahman to the wife, who lay by the side of the killed sacrificial person and is asked then to rise.

7 We have made the above translation in the light suggested by Caland. But it does not satisfy us. We think that the proper translation of the first half of the first line should be. "The cows led to the

6. After his reply and counter question the Brahman replies: “(There might be a man), whose daughter is blind indeed from birth ; is there a man, equipped with wisdom, who would marry her. Who would hurl his weapon against him, that marries her and sues for her⁸.”

7. The fourth day of the Puruṣamedha is like the fourth day of the Pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha ; the fifth day is an Atirātra.

8. When the middle (i.e. the third day) becomes a day of the Atirātra (and not of the Mahāvratā) the fourth and the fifth days become Ukthya and Agniṣṭoma.

9. On the last day, in which also a horse sacrifice takes place there are two kinds of sacrificial priests—the wives and those commanding orders⁹.

10. The first two days of the horse-sacrifice and the three of the Puruṣamedha are for the Sarvamedha, which is to be performed like the Puruṣamedha.

11. The days of the same are: One Agniṣṭut (1), One Indrastut (2) One Sūryastut (3), One Vaiśvadevastut (4), the third day of the Puruṣamedha is the fifth day, a Vājapeya (the 6th day) and one Āptoryāman (the 7th day).

12. On this day they kill the sacrificial animals of every kind.

barley-field (for pasture) pervade it being faithful”...The word *yava* means ‘barley’ and not “grass”. Further, we do not understand which particular expressions of the text he translates by the words ‘eagerly’ (begierig) and ‘carelessly’ (sorglos). Again, the expression *akṣantā* of the text is a combination of the words *akṣan tāḥ*. The former is the finite verb, of which the subject is the *gāvaḥ* and the latter is the object of the verb *apaśyam* following, of which the subject is ‘I’ understood.

8 Caland is inclined to emend the word *pratipraśne* of the text of Garbe as *pratipraśnād*. Keith is against such emendation. Vide JRAS, 1910, p 937.

9 Caland translates *Praśakṛtaḥ* as ‘servants’ (Diener); but ‘*Praśakṛt*’ is ‘one, who commands orders’; as such it does not agree with the idea of the ‘Diener’, ‘servant’ who carries out orders, but does not himself command. Caland opines that the simultaneous performance of Aśva-medha and the Puruṣamedha sacrifices is a very unusual phenomenon.

13. The last two days of the Pṛṣṭhyaśadaha (are the eighth and the ninth days of the Sarvamedha). A Viśvajit, which is to be observed like the Atirātra, is the tenth day.

14. At the end of the year the sacrificer throws the lower Araṇi into the Gārhapatya (fire) and the upper into the Āhavanīya, then takes the fire with the words: "This is your birth place" (III. 20.1) and moves to the forest¹⁰.

15. These are the sacrifices of a Kṣatriya. Here ends the Seventh chapter of the Vaitānasūtra, annexed to the Atharvaveda.

XXXIX

1. Now the modifications of the Stotriyas.

2. In the Ekahas, in all the places, where there is no mention of any specific rule the Stotriya-tṛca of the Ukthaśastra of the Brāhmaṇaccharin is constituted by the hymn: "We praise your ecstasy" (XX. 61.1-3).

3. In the Bṛhaspati-sava the Stotriya of the Ājyaśastra is: "I sing that in the Soma-drink" (XX. 78), while that of the Pṛṣṭhaśastra is: "We have him indeed yesterday" (XX. 97). In the first two Savanas (i.e. the first and the second) the same tṛcas serve as the Ukthamukha-tṛca and also as the conclusion. In the Midday savana the beginning tṛca of the concluding passage is wanting.

4. In the Gosava and Abhiṣecanīya the Stotriya-tṛca of the Ājya śastra is: "They yoke the yellow and red." (XX. 26.4-6).

5. In the Śyena, Saṁdaniśa, Ajira and Vajra the Stotriya-tṛcas in the Ājyaśastra are: "To one, who creates the beautiful form for help" (XX. 57. 1-3) or "May the songs delight you" (XX. 93. 1-3), while in the Pṛṣṭhaśastra are: "We invoke indeed you" (XX. 98).

6. In the Apūrva the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭhaśastra is: "To you for preliminary drinking" (XX. 99).

¹⁰ Caland suggests that the word *samsprśya* here bears the sense of *samāropya*.

7. In the Vrātya-stomas the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and the Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are : “Come here and take your seat” (XX. 68. 11-69. 1) and “Now, Oh Indra, fond of praise” (XX. 100).

8. In the Agniṣṭuts the Stotriyas of the Ājya and Pṛṣṭha-stotras are: “One, who is fit to be implored and to be respected” (XX. 102) or “We choose the Agni as our messenger” (XX. 101); “We implore the Agni for offering help to us” (XX. 103. 1-2) or “Agni, come here with the Agnis” (XX. 103. 2-3).

9. In the Tivrasut, Upaśada and Upahavya the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are : “This is yours, you call on him” (XX. 45) and “To you, oh lord, rich in treasures” (XX. 104); similarly also in the Vyusṭi-dvirātra.

10. In the Gosava-Vivadha- and Vaiśya-stomas the stotriyas of the Ājya and Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are : “To Indra, from all sides of you” (XX. 39. 1-3), “One, who is to be invoked by all” (XX. 104. 3-4).

11. In the Prācīna-stoma the Stotriya-pragātha of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra is: “Oh Indra, you in all expeditions.”

12. In the Rāj the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra is : “Which king of men” (XX. 105. 4-5).

13. In the Udbhid and Valabhid the Stotriya of the Ājya-śāstra is : “The sacrifice strengthened Indra” (XX. 27. 5, 28.2).

14. In the Indra-stoma the Stotriyas of the Pṛṣṭha and Uktha-śāstras successively are: “Oh Indra, lead us to knowledge” (XX. 79) and “This great courage is yours” (XX. 106).

15. In the Vighana the Stotriyas of the Ājya and Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are : “The people to his rage” (XX. 107. 1-3) and “That was in all the best” (XX. 107. 4-6).

16. In the Sūryastut the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and the Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are : “May it bring the jātavedas” (XX. 47. 13-15) and “Bright is the mark and the appearance of gods” (XX. 107. 13-15)¹¹.

11 We have translated the portion *citram devānām keturanikam* in the light of Caland's translation, which is: “leuchtend der Götter wahrzeichen und Erscheinung”. But another translation may also be

17. In the Vajra and the Punahstoma the Stotriya of the Uktha-śastra is: "May you bring Indra hither to us" (XX 108).

18. In the Sarvajit, Ṛsabha, Marutstoma and the last Sāhasra the Stotriyas of the Ājya and Pṛṣṭha-śastras are: "May you sing that in his Soma-drink (XX. 78) and "We have him yesterday (XX. 97. 1-2).

19. In the first two Sāhasras the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śastra is: "Of the sweet, now occurring in the middle" (XX. 109. 1-2).

XL

1. In the Virāja, Bhūmistoma, Vanaṣpatisava, Tviṣi and Apaciti, Indrāgnyohstoma and Indrāgnyoh-kulāya the Stotriyas of the Ājya and the Uktha-śastras are: "The pressed Soma juice to Indra" (XX. 110) and "Oh Indra, if you the Soma in Viṣṇu" (XX. 111).

2. In the Virāja, Agneḥstoma, Agneḥkulāya the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and the Pṛṣṭhya-śastras are: "We choose Agni as our messenger" (XX. 101) and "May we implore Agni for help" (XX. 103. 1-2).

3. In the Vinutti and Abhibhūti, in the Pāśi and Marāya, in the Śada and Upaśada, in the Samrāj and Svarāj the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and the Pṛṣṭha-śastras are: "All whatever to-day, oh killer of Vṛtra" (XX. 112) and "May you hear from us the both sides of it" (XX. 113).

4. On the days of the Rājasūya the Stotriyas of the Uktha-śastras are: "Oh Indra if you the Soma in Viṣṇu" (XX. 111), "Now, oh Indra, the friend of songs" (XX. 100), "You are indeed without a rival now" (XX. 114), "Oh Indra, may you bring us hither" (XX. 108). These stotriyas are prescribed also for the Caturaha—and the Pañcāha—ahīnas, for the Daśāha and also for the Chandoma-daśāha.

5. In the Tivrasut, on both the Ekāhas, which possess four stomaparyāyas, in the last two sāhasras, in the Daśapeya

suggested. We can render it quite suitably as: "Bright is the mark of the gods, which is their splendour."

and also the Vibhrāṁśayajña the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra is: "As if boiling yourself within the rays of the sun" (XX. 58. 1-2).

6. In the Sādyahkras without the Syena the Stotriya of the Ājya śāstra is: "I have indeed from the father" (XX. 115. 1-3).

7. In the Ekāhas celebrated like the Atirātras the following conditions obtain: in both the Sarvastomas the Stotriyas of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra are: "We need not be as strangers" (XX. 116), "He, who alone runs on the back of the water" (IX. 10.9-10).

8. In the Trivṛt—, Pañcadaśa—, Saptadaśa—, Ekaviṁśa—, Triṇava—, Trayastriṁśa—, and the Navasaptadaśa—atirātras the Stotriyas of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are: "May you hear from us the both sides of it" (XX. 113), "We have him yesterday" (XX. 97), "Oh Indra, drink the Soma, it stimulates you" (XX. 117).

9. In the Abhijit which is celebrated like the Atirātra the Stotriya of the Ājya-śāstra is: "Cheer the lord of the cattle with the recital of verse" (XX.22.4-6).

10. If the same be celebrated like the Ekāha and not the Atirātra then: "To you, Oh mighty, in the pressing" (XX.22. 1-3).

11. On the day of the Caturviṁśa, celebrated like the Atirātra the Stotriyas of the Ājya and the Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are: "Oh Indra, come hither, shining brilliantly (XX.84) and "May you not utter any thing else" (XX.85.1-2).

12. In the Viśvajit, which is celebrated like the Atirātra, the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra is: "He, who alone distributes" (XX.63.4-6).

13. In the Viśuvant, which is celebrated like the Atirātra the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra is: "Oh Indra, bring succour for us" (XX.79.1-2).

14. On the days of the Svarasāman, which is celebrated like the Atirātra, on the Go- and Āyus-day of the Abhiplava saḍaha in (among) the remaining and so also on the day of the Pṛṣṭha, which contains twenty one Stomas the Stotriyas of the

Ājya, Pṛṣṭha-and Uktha-śāstras are: “Indra with the bones of Dadhyañc (XX.41), “The hero, who is superior to all the army of the enemies” (XX.54), “you are indeed heroic” (XX.60)¹².

XLI

1. In the Vyūṣṭi, Āṅgīrasa-, Kāpivana- and Caitraratha-dvirātra the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra on each occasion on the first day is: “We extol this intoxicating drink of you” (XX.61). On each occasion on the second day the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra is: “To the hero, who is superior to all the army of the enemies” (XX.54).

2. In the Vaiśvadeva of the Cāturmāsya ceremony, in the Garga-, Vāida-, Chandomavat-, Parāka-, Antarvasu and the Aśvamedha-trirātra the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭhya-śāstra on the first day of each is: “Help well, Oh lord of help” (XX.118.1-2).

3. In the Sākamedha (trirātra) the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra on the first day is: “We invoke Indra for the divine service” (XX.118.3-4)

4. On the first day of the Vāida-trirātra and on the first Svarasāman day the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra is: “Oh Indra, may you lead us” (XX.108).

12 The word *śeṣeṣu* of the text creates some confusion. We do not know what it exactly means in the present context. Does it indicate: “In the remaining days of the Abhiplava” or “In the remaining days of the Pṛṣṭha”? If the latter be the correct translation how to connect the word *ekaviṃśa* with it. Does the word *ekaviṃśa* refer to the twentyone Stomas, which we have done above? The sūtra is not clear to us. Caland’s translation makes confusion worse confounded. We quote the translation of Caland below: “Bei den (als Atirātra gefeierten) Svara sāman (-Tagen), dem Āyus- und dem Go Tag vom Abhiplava (-ṣadaha) śeṣeṣu. Bei dem (als Atirātra gefeiertem) vom Pṛṣṭhya (-ṣadaha) Teil ausmachenden einundzwanzig Stomas enthaltenden Tag (sind die Stotriyas zum Ājya-, Pṛṣṭha- und Uktha-śāstra) etc:” Trans. “On the days of the Svarasāman, celebrated like the Atirātra, on the Āyus- and Go-day of the Abhiplava (-ṣadaha) śeṣeṣu. On the day, which is celebrated like the Atirātra and which contains twenty one Stomas (the Stotriyas of the Ājya, Pṛṣṭha- and Uktha-śāstras are) etc.” It is very difficult to ascertain how far Caland is right, since the text is obscure.

5. On each occasion on the second day of the Trirātras (mentioned within sūtras 2-4) the Stotriyas of the Ājya-, Pṛṣṭha- and Ukthaśāstras are: “We urge on this very Indra” (XX.47.1-3), “The most-excellent hymn has been sung” (XX.119) and “We extol this intoxicating drink of you” (XX.61.1-3).

6. On the second day of the Aśva-trirātra the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are: “I pronounce the speech with eight parts” (XX.42), “Of the sweet, now occurring in the middle” (XX.109).

7. On the second day of the first three days of the Pṛṣṭha-śadaha, which are celebrated like the Trirātra the Stotriyas of the Ukthaśāstra are: “You are heroic indeed” (XX.60.1-3)

8. On each occasion on the third day of the Trirātras (mentioned within sūtras 2-4) the Stotriyas of the Ājya-, Pṛṣṭha- and Ukthaśāstras are: “The great Indra, who with power (XX.139), “May you sing in praise of Indra, who is generous” (XX.51.1-2), “You are heroic indeed” (XX.60.1-3)

9. On the third day of the Sākamedha, which is celebrated like the Atirātra the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and Pṛṣṭha-śāstras are: “We incite this Indra” (XX.47.1-3), “Boiling yourself as if by the sun” (XX.58.1-2)

10. On each occasion on the third day of the Catūrātras the Stotriyas of the Pṛṣṭha- and Uktha-śāstras are: “Boiling yourself as if by the sun” (XX.58.1-2), “Oh Indra, may you lead us” (XX.108).

11. On each occasion on the fourth day of these Catūrātras the Stotriyas of the Ājya- and the Uktha-śāstras are: “The great Indra, who with power” (XX.138.1-3), “He, who alone distributes” (XX.63.4.6)

12. Instead of these Stotriyas (mentioned in the sūtra 11) on all the four days one may use optionally the following hymns as such (i.e. as Stotriyas): “May we not be like the strangers” (XX.116) “He who alone moves on the back of the waters” (XX.10.9-11).

13. On the fourth day of the Saṁsarpa and the Caturvīra-atirātra there appear optionally in the Ājya and the Pṛṣṭha-śāstras the following hymns as Stotriyas: "He is yours, you attended him" (XX. 45), "Oh you, rich in treasure, this is meant for you" (XX.104. 1-2).

14. In the Pañcarātras the Stotriyas are like those of the Trivṛt and of the following days.

15. On the second day of the Abhyāsaṅgya and the Pañca-śārādīya-pañcarātra the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra is: "Oh Indra, may you lead us" (XX. 108).

16. On the second day of the five days of the Pṛṣṭhya (-ṣaḍaha), which are to be celebrated as the Pañcarātra the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra is: "You are heroic indeed" (XX. 60. 1-3).

17. On the fifth day of the same Pañcarātra the Stotriyas of the Ājya- Pṛṣṭha- and the Uktha-śāstras are: "Rising with strength" (XX. 42), "Indra, who exulted by drinking" (XX. 56. 1-3) "May you sing hymns in praise of Indra" (XX. 62. 5-7).

18. On the fifth day of the five days of the Abhiplava-ṣaḍaha, which are to be celebrated like the Pañcarātra the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra is: "He, who alone distributes" (XX. 63. 4-6).

19. On the third day of the Abhyāsaṅgya and the Pañca-śārādīya the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śāstra is: "Boiling yourself as if by the sun" (XX. 58. 1-2).

20. On the Go-day of the Saḍaha, which is to be celebrated like the Saḍrātra the Stotriya of the Ukthaśāstra is: "You are without a rival (XX; 114), On the Āyus day "Oh Indra, may you lead us" (XX. 108).

21. On the fifth day of the same Saḍarātra the Stotriya of the Uktha-śāstra is: "Oh Indra may you come to us as a friend" (XX. 64. 1-3)

22. If the sixth day be an Ukthya the Stotriya of the Ukthaśāstra is: "He, who alone distributes" (XX. 63. 4-6) or "Oh Indra, if to that Soma, which is in Viṣṇu" (XX. 111).

XLII

1. On the second day of the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha, which is to be celebrated like the Saḍrātra, the Stotriya of the Uktha-śastra is : “You are heroic indeed” (XX. 60. 1-3).

2. On the third day of the same Saḍrātra the Stotriyas of the Ājya-, Pṛṣṭha- and Uktha-śastras are : “You appear along with Indra” (XX. 40), “We, who have pressed the Soma for you” (XX. 52), “Oh Indra, may you lead us” (XX. 108).

3. On the eighth day of the Dasāha, which is to be celebrated like the Daśarātra the Stotriya of the Pṛṣṭha-śastra is : “Oh Indra, if in the east, west and north” (XX. 120).

4. On the ninth day of the same Daśarātra the Stotriya of the Uktha-śastra is : “Come hither, we shall sing in praise of Indra” (XX. 120).

5. During nine days of the Trikakuddaśarātra the Stotriyas of the Pṛṣṭha-śastra are the following (of which the order of appearance here conforms to the order of succession of the days): “Oh lord of help, help profusely” (XX. 118. 1-2), “May you please the lord of the cattle by the recital of the hymn” (XX. 22 4-6), “To him, who is wonderful and capable of giving resistance” (XX. 9. 1-2), “We have him yesterday” (XX. 97), “The singers loudly recite hymn in honour of Indra” (XX. 38. 4-6), “Boiling yourself as if by the sun” (XX. 58), “Who knows him by the Soma-drink” (XX. 53) “To him the hero, who is superior to all the enemies” (XX. 54), “Oh Indra, if you are in the east, west and north” (XX. 120).

6. On the eighth day of the same Daśarātra the Stotriya of the Ājya-śastra is : “The great Indra, who by might” (XX. 138).

7. On the first and the last Chandoma-days of the Dvādaśāha, which are to be celebrated like the Dvādaśarātra, the Stotriyas of the Uktha-śastras are : “Oh Indra, may you lead us” (XX. 108) and “He, who alone distributes” (XX. 63. 4-6).

8. On the Svarasāman days the Stotriyas for the Ājya and the Pṛṣṭha-śastras successively are : “May you send the glowing hither” (XX. 71. 11-13). “To him who ushers in good” (XX. 46). Such is indeed in the Abhiplavaṣaḍaha.

9. In the *Taruprṣṭhasaḍaha* the Stotriyas of the *Prṣṭhaśāstras* are the following, (of which the order is in conformity with the order of the succession of the days): “Oh hero, we shout in praise of you” (XX.121), “We invoke you indeed” (XX.98), “Oh Indra, if for you hundreds of heavens (XX.81), “Oh Indra, drink the Soma and get yourself intoxicated” (XX.117), “With which will the shining be hither to us” (XX.124.1-3), “Shining may you be in our party” (XX.128).

• 10. After all these cited Stotriyas there comes the *Anurūpa* *tr̥ca*, which if possible, is to be restricted by the rules of the metre of the Stotriya.

11. The *Sattras*, spread over the whole year, have been explained at the time of the description of the *Gavāmayana*.

12. By this the *Ahīnas* and the *Rātri-sattras* too have been explained, according to some the *Ekāhas* too.

13. The arrangements of desires, which are obtained from the different *Soma-sacrifices*, are to be borrowed from the *Sāmaveda*.

14. The *Ahīnas* are celebrations, which extend over a period of two to twelve days ; and they either begin with the *Atirātra* or end with it.

15. The *Rātri-sattras* are the celebrations, which continue for more than twelve days, but less than a year.

16. In the *Daśarātra* there is one *Atirātra* in the beginning and another at the end.

17. The *Dvādaśāha*, which has got an *Agniṣṭoma* in the beginning, is called an *Ahīna*.

18. One should perform the sacrifices, which extend over thousand years, through the *Viśvajit*, which is the prototype of celebrations continuing for thousand years.

XLIII

1. The *Agnyādheya* is performed in the spring for the benefit of a brahmin, who desires the sacred knowledge, in the summer for the benefit of the king, who desires might, in the

rains for the benefit of the Kṣatriya, who desires prosperity ; in the autumn it is admissible for all.

2. For the sake of removing sickness it ends, according to some, with the dedication of the full-spoon gift.

3. According to the junior Kauśika (there is some prescription) for those, who perform merely the Agnihotra sacrifice.

4. With regard to them it stands that the Agnihotra, which is prepared from the fresh crops, is offered during the time of the Āgrayāṇa.¹³

5. The Agnihotra should be either of the sthālipāka' (i.e. rice boiled with milk) or of the rice-gruel.

6. When such is wanting one gives fresh grass to the Agnihotra-cow to eat and offers the Agnihotra with the milk of the same, desirous if he be of fortune.¹⁴

7. Keeping three fires ablaze is necessary¹⁵.

13 Caland takes the sūtras 3 and 4 as one sentence and translates accordingly. He, by such mingling, seems to make a confusion. According to him the translation stands as: 'Für diejenigen, welche (bloss) das Agnihotra periodisch darbringen, für die (wird es, das Agnihotra) nach Kauśika junior beim Āgrayayāṇa (d.h. wenn die zeit des Agrayāṇa dar ist) von der neuem (Feld-frucht dargebracht)'. Trans. 'For those who merely offer the Agnihotra periodically, for those, according to junior Kauśika, in the Āgrayayāṇa (i.e. when the time of Āgrayāṇa is already come) it happens that the Agnihotra of the fresh crops is offered.' Caland admits that the translation is not very clear. So he says, "Die Interpretation ist nicht ganz sicher; vielleicht gehört auch sūtra 5 noch hinzu." Trans. "The interpretation is not definite, probably the sūtra 5 should also be taken along with these." But to us such a statement seems to be uncalled-for.

14 It is interesting to note that Caland translates *nava ghāsam* as: 'neue Frucht' which in English is "New fruit" i.e. crop. But this does not seem to be happy as the term *ghāsa* means also 'grass' in Skt., which is offered to the cows. This is intended here. Besides Caland takes the word *Śrikāmasya* as a portion of the following sūtra and not of this one. So he has omitted that portion in the translation of the present sūtra. But we do not think that it is necessary.

15 Caland, who construes *Śrikāmasya* of the preceding sūtra, with

8. Performance of the Agnihotra is necessary for one, who desires to reach to the heaven.

9. He, who desires to obtain all, performs it with fresh milk.

10. He, who desires to obtain the power of the senses, performs it with curd.¹⁶

11. He, who desires to obtain brilliance, performs it with fat.

12. He, who desires to obtain beauty, performs it with mustard oil.

13. He, who desires off-springs, performs it with 'rice-pap.

14. He, who desires the ownership of a village, performs it with rice broth.

15. He, who desires strength, performs it with the rice-crop.

16. He, who desires to obtain the glory of a brahmin, performs it with the Soma.

17. He, who desires prosperity, performs it with meat.

18. He, who desires to obtain a long life, performs it with water.

19. He, who desires to obtain all, performs the New and the Full-moon sacrifices.

20. He, who desires to possess off-springs, performs the Dākṣāyaṇa-sacrifice.

21. He, who desires to obtain cows, performs the Sākamī-prasthāpya sacrifice.

22. He, who desires to obtain all, performs the Saṅkrama.

23. He, who desires to obtain cows, performs the Idā-dadha sacrifice.

24. He, who desires to possess off-spring, performs the Sārvasena sacrifice.

the present one adds before his translation the portion "Für einen dre Glück wünscht". Trans. "For one, who desires fortune"...

¹⁶ Caland translates the word *Indriya* as 'Mut' i.e. courage; but *Indriya* means also 'senses'—here 'the power of the senses',

25. He, who desires to practise sorcery, performs the Śaunaka sacrifice.

26. He, who desires to possess off-spring, performs the Vaśiṣṭha sacrifice.

27. The Ayana of the heaven and the earth is prescribed for one, who desires a homestead.

28. Those, mentioned above (in the sūtras 20 to 26) are the periodical forms of the New and the Full-moon sacrifices.

29. The Āgrāyana is prescribed for one, who desires food.

30. The terminal sacrifice is prescribed for one, who desires all.

31. The animal (goat) sacrifice, of which the offering is intended for Indra-Agni, is prescribed for one, who desires longevity, posterity and cows.

32. The sacrifice of a yellow parrot or a ram, intended for Yama, is prescribed for one, who desires sound health and aspires for reaching the world of the fathers.

33. The sacrifice of a male horse, intended for Tvastṛ, is prescribed for one, who desires to possess offsprings.¹⁷

34. These two animal sacrifices are performed with a certain desire in the mind.

35. The Soma-sacrifice (lasting for a day) is prescribed for one, who desires to obtain all.

36. The Ukthya is prescribed for one, who desires to obtain cows.

37. The Vājapeya is prescribed for one, who desires to exercise absolute control (over all).

38. The Atirātra sacrifice is prescribed for one, who desires prosperity.

39. The Gavāmayana is prescribed for one, who desires to perform the Dvādaśāha sacrifice.

17 Caland interprets the word *Vaḍava* as 'a female goat' or 'ram', "unmännlicher Bock" in his own words. He likes to identify it also with *vipumsaka* or *napumsaka*. But *Vaḍava* is a horse, the feminine of which *Vaḍavā*, a mare, is well-known in literature,

40. The Rājasūya is prescribed for one, who desires to exercise absolute control (over all).

41. The Aśvamedha and the Puruṣamedha sacrifices are prescribed for one, who desires to possess all.

42. The Sarva-medha sacrifice is prescribed for one, who desires superiority.

43. Since desires are unlimited, so the varieties of sacrifices are countless.

44. They have been explained in the description of the original forms (Prakṛti).

45. The order of sacrifices is to be known from the Brāhmaṇas and also the manner by which an oversight is to be adjusted (by insertion of necessary aphorisms).

46. He, who reads both these Kalpas and knows them really, obtains prosperity by the performance of all the sacrifices and finds all his desires fulfilled.¹⁸

47. So it is said also : “This statement of the Brahman is true with regard to the reader as also with regard to the sacrificer.”

Here ends the Eighth Chapter of the Vaitānasūtra, annexed to the Atharvaveda.

(Concluded)

S. N. GHOSAL

¹⁸ The two Kalpas represent the Kauśikasūtra and the Vaitānasūtra.

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Bhoram Deo Temple and its Inscription,
V. S. 1608

Recently I had an occasion to visit the Bhoram Deo Temple which, as Cunningham described it, "is situated in a small circular valley of the Mekhala range of hills near the village Chapari, 11 miles to the east of the town of Kawardha,¹ or Kamardha as it is written on the maps. The valley is about one mile in diameter, with two narrow openings on the east, which are covered by a long low ridge, standing out about a quarter of a mile from the foot of the range. The village of Chapari lies in the southern gap behind the ridge. The Bhoram Deo Temple stands at the western end of a long embankment which forms a large lake on the north side of the valley."²

The temple "is a very fine old building". At present it is known after the name of Bhoram Deo, the Gond deity, when in actual fact it has nothing to do either with the Gonds or their religion and was built before the establishment of the Gond rule in this part of the country. A misreading of the date 1608 V.S. as 106 V.S. in an inscription in the temple which is being edited here led some to trace the origin of the Gonds to the beginning of the Christian era.³

General Cunningham who visited the place in 1881-82 described this temple and others in its vicinity in detail.⁴ But

1 It is 78 miles from Durg, M. P.

2 *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1881-82, vol. XVII, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 34 ff.

his conclusions that it was a temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa built by Lakṣmaṇa Deva in the reign of one Śrī Gopāladeva in about 840 of the *Kalachuri samvat*, the date of the inscription on the pedestal of an image of a "bearded man sitting with joined hands" in the temple,⁵ and that king Gopāla of this inscription may be identified with Bhūpāla Singh Deva of the Haihaya dynasty of Chhattisgarh, as Gopāla and Bhūpāla are synonymous terms,⁶ are not correct as explained below.

The inscription dated in V.S. 1608 and inscribed on the stone slab fixed in the wall on the left side of the southern door of the temple and noticed by Cunningham,⁷ Jenkins⁸ and Hiralai⁹ kept so far concealed in its text the history of this otherwise mysterious and colossal structure. Because of its shallow engraving the inscription had so far defied decipherment.

This record, which is being edited here for the first time, covers a space of 20½" long and 13" wide and contains in all 19 lines of writing. The characters which are carelessly engraved are *Nāgarī*. What is more interesting is its language which is *Hindi* with a little of corrupt *Samskr̥ita*. This aspect of the record is as much interesting as its contents, since it gives an idea of the form of the *Hindi* language at that time and the eclipse of the once glorious traditions of *Samskr̥ita*. It reflects the decadence of Indian culture when corrupt *Hindi* was used with corrupt *Samskr̥ita*. Particular reference may be made to the use of *māhārājādhirājā* for *mahārājādhirāja*, *sivālaya* for *śivālaya*, *rānī*, for *rāñī*, *ṣambha* for *khambha* (*Sams. Stambha*), *aru* for *aur*, *Ganesāyanamā* for *Gaṇeśāyanamaḥ*, *rāgnī* for *rājñī* and *kanīṣṭa* for *kanīṣṭha*. The use of *ṣa* for *kha* is also interesting. This shows that the language and literature which had flourished

5 Cunningham: *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 35; Edited in *CII.*, Vol. IV, pp. 580 ff.

6 *ASR.* vol. XVI., pp. 37-38.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 34 ff.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 35, fn. 1; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV, pp 505-66.

9 *List of Inscriptions in C P. & Berar*, (2nd Edn.), p. 174, No. 304.

under royal patronage for thousands of years had starved out to lose their purity and elegance to the extent to which the corrupt forms quoted above show. They also reflect the culture of the patrons and the patronised.

The stone slab which bears the record is damaged and a small portion of it on the top right corner containing a couple of *akṣaras* of the first two lines are broken off and lost. This shows that the slab was affixed to the temple wall after it had suffered damage and when some repairs to the temple, and its *maṇḍapa* were carried out in more recent times.

The record belongs to the reign of *Mahārājā Śrī Pratāpa-chandradeva*. It makes no mention of the name of the family to which he belonged, nor gives its object.

The inscription begins with the date which is given as *Samvat 1608, Śrāvāṇa Vadi 30. Śukra*, which, if the year 1608 is taken as expired and 1609 current, corresponds to Friday, August 19, 1552 A.D., since *Śrāvāṇa Vadi 14* (or 29 according to the method of dating of the record) ended on Friday. If the year 1608 is taken as current, it will correspond to August 2, 1551 A.D., but the date then falls on Sunday.

The second line of the inscription is mostly effaced except a couple of *akṣaras* which make no meaning. Line 3 begins with *Svasti* and invocation to Gaṇeśa. Next it speaks of the *Śivālaya* of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhuvanapāla*, meaning obviously thereby that this temple was constructed by king Bhuvanapāla. (ll. 4-5). Ll. 5-6 speak of the *kalaśa* of the temple being broken by some one whose name is not clear. Only *māḍāva ko pati Safā*—, meaning Safā—, probably the name of the lord of Māḍāva, can be read. The meaning of the text in ll. 7-9 is also not clear. As it is, it appears to say that Mahārājā of Ratanpur, whose name as it is recorded was Dādurāya, took away the *chhatra* (i.e. *kalaśa*) and *khambha*, pinnacle, of the temple to Saṅgameśvara and then *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Ghāgujī* sent for the *kalaśa* and the *khambha*. Neither the meaning nor the context of the words *kamīṇa kamāla* occurring in. 111 is clear. *Kamīṇa* may be *kamīnā*, the mean or the base, and *kamāla* may be a

name; and if it is that, it may have some connection with the one who broke the *kalaśa* of the temple. In that case the use of the word *kamīnā* for him may be just out of indignation for defiling the temple. But since the inscription states earlier that *māḍāva ko pati* broke the *kalaśa*, the meaning of these words is not quite clear.

From l. 11 begins the genealogy of the family to which *Mahārājā Śrī* Pratāpachandradeva and his father *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Ghāghujī* belonged. The first king mentioned is *Rājā Śrī Rāmachandra*. His son was *Vāḍamadeva* (may be read as *Vādamadeva*), his son *Daśarājadeva*, his son *Nārāyaṇadāsa*. The son of *Nārāyaṇadāsa* was the good *Śrī Ghāghujī*. He is called good probably for the good deed of getting back the *kalaśa* and *khambha* of the temple. The queen of *Śrī Ghāghu* is called *Sītā Dvīpā*; *Dvīpā* was probably her name, which is qualified by *Sītā* for the sake of a praise. *Mahārājā Śrī* Pratāpachandradeva was the son of *Śrī Ghāghujī*. He is called *Jaṅgamāra*, valiant in war. Next is mentioned *Dhīrasimha*, younger brother of *Śrī Pratāpachandra*. He is called the brave.

As stated earlier the inscription refers to the present Bhoram Deo Temple when it speaks of the *Śivālaya* (Śiva temple) of *Mahārājādhirāja Bhuvanapāla*. This disproves the suggestion which Cunningham made on the basis of two images of *Viṣṇu* and *Lakṣmī* on *Garuḍa* (3' × 9'.2") and another of *Viṣṇu* and *Lakṣmī* (1'.10" × 1'.9") found there that the temple was dedicated to *Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa*¹⁰. That it was a Śiva temple finds support from the fact that the original *Argha* is yet *in situ* in the sanctum, while the original *Līṅga* appears to have been removed and replaced by another of a very small size in comparison to the *Argha*. The *Nandi*, placed outside the temple, opposite the eastern door of the *Maṇḍapa* and facing the deity in the sanctum, further confirms this. There was no *Viṣṇu* image in the temple, nor was it removed from there at any time as Cunningham thought¹¹. The *Viṣṇu* image "over the

middle of the three entrances” is one of the images, as Cunningham himself describes, like those of “Viṣṇu and his different *Avatāras*,” and *Śiva*, *Kālī*, *Gaṇeśa*, etc. which decorate, and are placed in the niches in the walls of the temple¹².

King Bhuvanapāla may be identified with Bhuvanapāla, son of Nala Deva and grandson of Gopāla, of the Phaṇi or Nāga *Vamśa* mentioned in the inscription in the Mandava Mahal¹³, about half a mile from the Bhoram Deo Temple. This Gopāla appears to be the same person mentioned in another inscription on the pedestal of the image of “the bearded man” placed in the temple and dated in 840 of the *Kalachuri Samvat*¹⁴. This fixes the date of Gopāla as 1089 A.D. and disproves Prof. (now Dr.) Mirashi’s¹⁵ suggestion, already made earlier by Rai Bahadur Hiralal¹⁶, that he was a feudatory of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The use of the Kalachuri era by any ruler need not make him connected with, or subordinate to, the Kalachuri rulers. He need not be identified with Gopāla of the Sheorinarayan inscription dated in *K.S.* 919¹⁷ as this prince was a Kalachuri or with Gopāla of the Pujaripali inscription¹⁸ who appears to be the same as of the Sheorinarayan inscription¹⁹ referred to above, since the rule of the Nāga or Phaṇi Gopāla could not have extended upto that place²⁰. In that case Bhuvanapāla will have to be placed in *circa* 1150 A.D.

But the silence of the Mandava Mahal inscription about the construction of this temple by Bhuvanapāla when it makes mention of king Bhuvanaikamalla, a later descendent of Bhuvanapāla,

12 *ASR.* vol. XVII, p. 38

13 Hiralal: *List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar* (2nd Edn), p. 175, No. 305 and from my own ink impression.

14 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, pp. 36 & 42; *CII.* vol. IV, pp. 580 ff.

15 *CII.*, vol. IV, pp. 580.

16 *List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, p. 174, No. 304.

17 *CII.*, vol. IV, pp. 526 ff.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 588 ff.

19 *CII.*, vol. IV, pp. 526 ff.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 589.

building a *Nilaya* of Śiva (Śiva Temple) and a big tank (*mahāms-tadāgaḥ*)²¹ and Rāmachandra²² building a Śiva temple, which is no other than the present Mandava Mahal where the inscription dated V.S. 1406 of his reign is at present lying, is rather curious. The big tank and the present Bhoram Deo temple, which magnificently stands on its bank, are the Śiva Temple and the tank built by Bhuvanaikamalla. Hence, it appears that Bhuvanapāla and Bhuvanaikamalla have been confused by the author of the inscription that is being edited here. Bhuvanaikamalla may be placed about C. 1270-1295 A.D., since two generations of rule intervened between the Nāga Rāmachandra, who was ruling in V.S. 1406 according to the Mandava Mahal inscription, and Bhuvanaikamalla. This date conforms to the declining art of the images on the temple walls.

The temple was thus constructed by Bhuvanaikamalla, a king of Phaṇi or Nāga family described in the Mandava Mahal inscription and not by his predecessor Bhuvanapāla. The date of the construction of the temple may be *circa* 1280 A.D. This also explains the presence of the image of the Nāga in the temple²³ as Nāga was the family deity (*kuladevatā*) of these kings. This further shows that the image of the *Yogi* on the pedestal of which four inscriptions, one of which is dated in K.S. 840, are inscribed is earlier than the temple and that

- 21 श्रीखड्गदेवाद्भुवैनकमल्लस्तनूभवोभूद्भुजवीर्यशाली ।
 आसाद्य राज्यं फणिवंशकेतोः शशास पृथ्वीं चतुरर्णवान्तां ॥४७॥
 जित्वा वैरिबलानि खड्गसुहृदा दोषणा स पूषणा समस्ते,—
 जखी चतुरः पुरीमरचयद्दुर्गावलीं दुर्गमां ।
 यस्या दक्षिणतः स्वयं सुरनदी बाहोदरी शङ्करी,
 यत्तीरे हटकेश्वरे फणिकुले——स्वयं निर्गतः ॥४८॥
 आराधिता तेन राज्ञा ब्रह्मणी देवता स्वयं ।
 आरक्षकी कृता यस्याः खड्गस्येवाधि देवता ॥४९॥
 तामुत्तरेण नगरीं तरुणेन्दुमौलेरभ्रं लिहो विरचितो निलयः शिवस्य ।
 सिन्धो सपत्न इव तत्र तरंगलेखाभूभंग भीषणतरश्च महास्तडागः ॥५०॥

22 From my own ink impression of the inscription.

23 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 35.

Lakṣmaṇa Deva mentioned in one of them had nothing to do with its construction. The inscriptions which record the names of Lakṣmaṇa Deva, his queen, the queen mother and his son and daughters and that of *Sādhva Dhāṅgu*, who caused a beautiful image of *Umā Māheśvara* to be made during the reign of king Gopāla in *K. S. 840*,²⁴ make no mention of this temple.

A couple of beautiful images of *Umā Māheśvara* are yet placed inside and outside this and the other brick temple north of the former. One of them may be the beautiful image spoken of in the inscription dated in *K. S. 840*. The art of the *Umā Māheśvara* images is definitely earlier than the art of the temple. Some of the images placed in the niches of the temple are similarly earlier than those carved out on the walls of the temple. This shows that they all belonged to another temple which was earlier than the present Bhoram Deo Temple and, even, the image of *K.S. 840*. The brick temple on the north of the present Bhoram Deo temple appears to be the one to which these images belonged. Cunningham's²⁵ suggestion that this temple is of the same age as the Bhoram Deo temple does not appear to be correct. The brick work appears to be modern; originally the temple seems to have been built of stone. It was also a Śiva temple, which fact is clear from the *Argha* lying half buried in an overturned condition in its sanctum. But from the style of its architecture and the images, it may be assigned to an earlier age than the Bhoram Deo Temple. As it is today it is of a very modest size and plan in comparison to the imposing Bhoram Deo Temple, except that its sanctum is of the same size as that of the latter.

The temple appears to have derived its present name from king Vāḍama Deva, who is mentioned in the present inscription as the son of Rāmachandra, the founder of the family. This Rāmachandra is different from the Rāmachandra mentioned in

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 35 & 42; *CII.*, vol. pp. 580 ff; Hiralal, *op. cit.*, No. 304, p. 174.

25 *ASR.*, vol, XVII, p. 39.

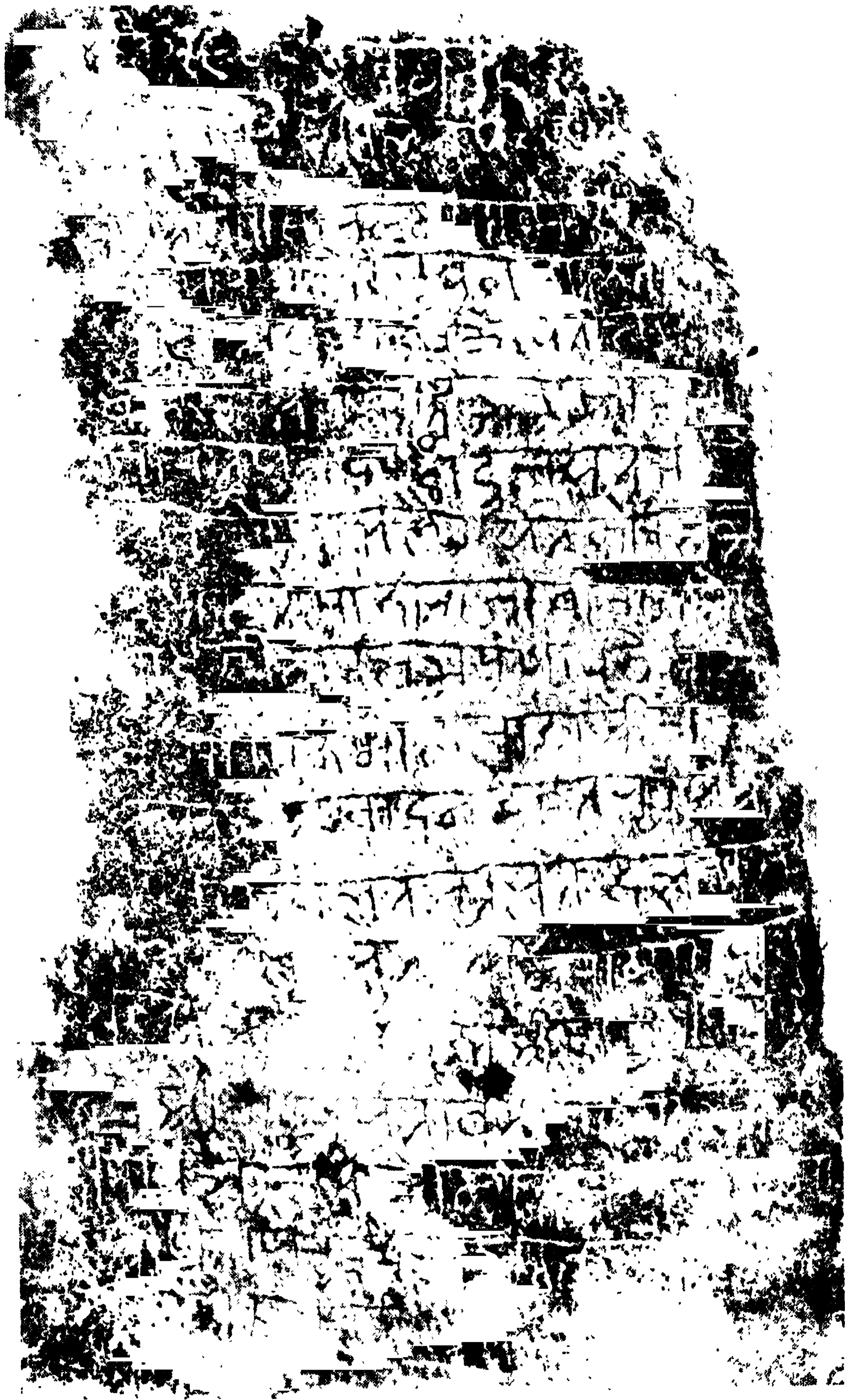
the Mandava Mahal inscription who belonged to 'the *Phani* or *Nāga* family and flourished nearly two hundred years earlier than the former. Vādama was corrupted into Boḍama (and it is in this way also that the temple is often named by many today) and Boḍam Deva was then confused with Bhoram Deo, the Gond deity and began to be associated with the temple. Since king Vādama Deva and his family were in course of time forgotten and are not known from any other source, the tradition built on corruption of the names and wrong associations was accepted by the people to explain the origin and the history of the temple.

The temple has no *kalaśa* or pinnacle. The local people explain its absence by relating a tradition that as it was decided to build the temple in one night when the day dawned before the *kalaśa* could be completed, it had to be left without it. This tradition gained ground because the people had no source to know that the *kalaśa* had been actually broken by some invaders. The inscription very clearly makes mention of the *kalaśa* of the temple being broken. Unfortunately the name of the perpetrator of this vandalism cannot be precisely read. He was the lord of *Mādāva*. Only the first two letters of his name which consisted of three and read like Safa are left; the third and the last letter being effaced in the damaged portion of the inscription. But why the Mahārājā of Ratanpur, Dādurāya, carried away the *Chhatra* and *Khamba* of the temple to Saṅga-meśvara is not clear. It appears that sometime later Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Ghāghuśrī brought them back.

According to the traditional history of the Haihayas of Ratanpur, as recorded by one Revaram, Dādurāya or Dādu Sahāi ruled from 1462 to 1487 A.D. He was followed by his son Puraṣottama Sahāi (1487-1509 A.D.) and his grandson Vāhara Sahāi (1509-1526 A.D.). The dates which Cunningham²⁶ and following him Wills²⁷, Hiralal²⁸ and others assigned to these

26 *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 79. 27 *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 36.

28 *List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, p. 206.



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three kings and their predecessors and successors on the basis of the history of Ratanpur by Revaram were wrongly calculated²⁹. Vāhara Sahāi, Vāhara or Vāharendra is also known from three inscriptions, one dated in V.S. 1552 (A.D. 1495) at Ratanpur³⁰ and two, one of which is dated in V.S. 1570³¹ (A.D. 1513 A.D.), at Kosagain.³² Revaram's history reveals that Vāhara built the *maṇḍapa* of the *Mahāmāyā* temple at Ratanpur in V.S. 1551 (A.D. 1493). In one copy of Revaram's *Ms.*, at one place it is said that it was built in V.S. 1552 (1495 A.D.). Vāhara's inscription in the *maṇḍapa* of the *Mahāmāyā* temple is also dated in the same year, i.e. V.S. 1552, which shows that it was built by him in that year. Revaram states further that Vāhara had been appointed as heir-apparent by his father during his life time. This explains the date of the *Mahāmāyā maṇḍapa* inscription which falls in the reign of Puraṣottam Sahāi, father of Vāhara, according to Revaram. The names of Vāhara's father and grandfather, Rāmachandra and Madanabrahma respectively, given in a Kosagain inscription³³ are different from those given by Revaram. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to explain these contradictory statements unless it is assumed that Vāhara belonged to a different family ruling from Kosagain and was adopted as his son by Puraṣottama. The two Kosagain inscriptions show that Vāhara had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to Kosagain after V.S. 1552 (A.D. 1495). One of Vāhara's successors is said to have arranged *Niyoga* between his queen Rānī Sonkunwarī and his Dīwān Baḍagainyā Brāhmaṇa as he had no son and Rājasimha was born to him. Rājasimha also had no son. He is said to have adopted one Mohansingh, a prince of the Haihaya family of Raipur, as his son. Mohansingh

29 The dates given for Dādusahāi are 1472 to 1497 A.D., for Puraṣottama Sahāi 1497 to 1519 A. D. and for Bāhara Sahāi 1519 to 1546 A.D.

30 *CII.*, vol. IV, pp. 554 ff.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 563 ff.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 557 ff.

33 *CII.*, vol. IV, pp. 558 & 562.

could not ascend the throne as he failed to reach Ratanpur before Rājasingh's death and the latter's uncle Saradārsingh was accepted as king.

The date of demolition of the *kalāśa* of the temple may then be fixed between 1462 and 1487 A.D. It is not possible to identify *Mādāva ko pati Safā* who broke the *Kalāśa*. *Mādāva* may be Mārō, formerly one of the 18 forts of Chhattisgarh and now a village in the Mungeli Tahsil of the Bilaspur District³⁴, or Māṇḍu in Mālava. The latter identification cannot be convincingly adopted since the *Khaljī* Sultān Ghiyas-ud-Dīn of Mālava (1469-1500 A.D.)³⁵, who is called as Sultān of Māndo in his inscriptions³⁶, could not possibly have invaded the Kawardha regions. Mārō of Bilaspur is included in the list of 52 forts of the Gond king Saṅgrāma Shāh of Garhā who ruled from 1481 to 1530 A.D.³⁷. But Saṅgrāma Shāh could not have demolished the *kalāśa*. It is also difficult to believe that Yūsuf 'Adil Khān, who had been sent by the Bahmani Sultān Muhammad Shāh III (1463-1482 A.D.) and who had captured Wairagarh in the Chanda District and Lanjī³⁸ in the Balaghat District of M.P. could have thought it prudent to push through the difficult mountain ranges to attack the temple protected by them, as this would have been a too great a risk for him to take. It may only be suggested that the Moslem invader who broke the *kalāśa* was an officer of Bahlūl Lodi (1451-1489 A.D.)³⁹ who had his headquarters at Maro in the present Mungeli Tahsil of the Bilaspur District.

34 *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 52.

35 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 712

36 Hiralal: *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

37 Hiralal: *Madhya Pradesh kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), p. 89; Wills: *Raj Gond Maharajas of the Satpura Hills*, pp. 112 f; *ASR.*, vol. XVII, p. 48

38 Brigg's *Firishtā* vol. II, p. 489. Brigg's identification of Wairagarha and reading of Lanji as Ranjny, as pointed out by Wills, is not correct. (Wills: *Raj Gonds*, p. 40 fn. 3).

39 *CHI.*, vol. III, p. 690.

Ghāghujī, who brought back the *kalaśa* and *khambha*, may be placed in *circa* 1520-1540 A.D. as the present inscription which is dated in V.S. 1608 (A.D. 1552) was issued during the reign of his son Pratāpachandradeva. If Ghāghujī brought back the *kalaśa*, why it was not restored to the temple is not known. The temple does not have its *kalaśa* even today. The *kalaśa* was probably broken during the reign of Nārāyaṇadāsa, father, or Dāsarājadeva, grandfather of Ghāghu and was later taken away by Dādurāya. If the tradition that at one time a certain mountain chief Ghughusa waged war for ten years against the Rājā of Ratanpur has any historical truth, it may mean that Ghāghujī, who was certainly a mountain chief, had to fight against the Rājā of Ratanpur for ten years to recover the *kalaśa*. Several stories about Ghughusa are known. One speaks of the present Ghughusa *pahāda* (hill), some three miles from Ratanpur, being the abode of Ghughusa. He is said to have been killing barbers and harassing the Raja of Ratanpur and was ultimately killed by a barber. The people of Kawardha also told me the story of a certain Ghughusa who had at one time his abode in the hills in the lap of which lies the Bhoram Deo Temple. A little more than a mile from the Bhoram Deo Temple lie the ruins of a fort, its massive rampart wall and remains of palaces in thick forest. This must have been the residence or the hideout of Ghāghu or Ghughusa. Another tale associating Ghughusa with a hill called Ghughusa Pahad is also told by the people of Deokar, a village between Kawardha and Durg.

It is difficult to identify the Ratanpur king against whom Ghaghujī had to fight. According to Revaram, Bāhara was followed by his son Kalyān Singh, who ruled from 1526 to 1563 A.D. In V. S. 1620 (1563 A.D.) he had to attend the court of the Moghul Emperor Akbar because of his strained relations with the Gond kings of Mandla. He stayed at Delhi for eight years and returned in V. S. 1628 (1571 A. D.). But the *Jahāngīranāmā* records that prince Parwez had sent a force against this king and after collecting a ransom of 80 elephants and one

lakh rupees took him to Delhi.⁴⁰ This must be about 1612 A.D. There seems to be no truth in the tradition that Ghughusa was killed by Bhūpāla Sing of Ratanpur.

The dynasty of kings described in the present inscription was established in the regions round Kawardha by Rāmachandra after the *Phaṇi* or *Nāga* kings who ruled there for centuries had been defeated and driven out. Rāmadeva, father of Haribrahmadeva of Raipur, claims to have defeated Bhoṇigadeva of the *Phaṇi vamśa*.⁴¹ This took place before V.S. 1458 (1401 A.D.), the earliest known date of Haribrahmadeva.

Bhoṇigadeva may be the son of Arjuna, eldest son of the Phaṇi Rāmachandra during whose reign the Mandava Mahal inscription dated in V.S. 1406 (1349 A.D.) was issued. Scores of memorial and Sati pillars in the Bhoram Deo Temple and the Mandava Mahal and in their vicinity, some of which are dated in V.S. 1430, 1433, 1445 tell the tale of bitter battles fought at this place, soon after which the glory that this place had enjoyed under the Nāgas for centuries faded away. The warrior memorials with the warrior on horseback or otherwise and donning their sword and the shield give an idea of the heavy casualties which the princes and commanders of the Nāga rulers and others suffered when the place was attacked by the Hailhayas of Raipur and Rāmachandra of the present inscription, as also later by the Moslems, the Ratanpur kings and the Gond kings of Garha.

The family to which Ghāghujī belonged was probably a Gond.

Saṅgameśvara to which Dādurāya had taken away the *kalāśa* and *khamba* of the temple was situated at the confluence of some three rivers near Ratanpur. I am unable to identify this place. It was regarded as very holy and Anandibai, the senior queen of Bimbaji, had built a temple of *Saṅgameśvara Mahādeva* at this place. Bimbaji was the son of Raghuji Bhonsle and was placed in charge of the administration of Ratanpur when this kingdom was conquered by the Marathas.

40 *Tūzūk-i Jahāngiri*, Tr. by Rogers, vol. II, p. 93.

41 *CII.*, vol. IV, p. 576.

42 *ASR*, vol. XVII, p. 37.

TEXT¹

- L. 1 संवत्(त्) १६०८-श्रावन^२ वदी ३० × × ×^३
 L. 2 सुके^४क— —स धि—व प— — ते^५ × × ×^६ [1*]
 L. 3 स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशायनमा^७ ॥॥ महाराजा-
 L. 4 धीराजा^८ श्रीभुवनपाल तस्य
 L. 5 शिवालय^९ माडाव को पती^{१०}सफा-^{११}
 L. 6 कलश भङ्ग कीन्हे^{१२} अरु^{१३} महारा-
 L. 7 जा^{१४} रत्नपुर को दादुराय ते सङ्गमे-
 L. 8 श्वर को षाम^{१५} ले^{१६} गये ते को [छ] त् प्र-
 L. 9 रु^{१७} षाम^{१५} ते महाराजाधीराज^८ श्री
 L. 10 घाघुजी कलस^{१७} प्ररु^{१३} षाम^{१५} वैलाये^{१८}
 L. 11 कमीण कमाल^{१९} राजा श्रीरामचंद्र
 L. 12 तस्य सुत वाङ्मदेव तस्य पुतो
 L. 13 घटामादास तस्य सुत दसराज

- 1 * From an ink impression and the original Stone.
 2 Read: श्रावण
 3 A couple of *akṣaras* are lost here.
 4 Read: शुके
 5 Most of the *akṣaras* of the line are effaced.
 6 A couple of *akṣaras* are lost here.
 7 Read: गणेशाय नमः
 8 Read: महाराजाधिराज
 9 Read: शिवालय.
 10 Read: पति.
 11 The reading is not certain.
 12 Read: कीन्हे
 13 Read: अरु meaning और
 14 Read: महाराजा.
 15 Read: खंभ Skt. स्तंभ
 16 Read: ले.
 17 Read: कलश.
 18 Read: बुलाये
 19 The context and the meaning of these two wor

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- L.14 देव ॥ तस्य सुत श्री नारायणदास
L.15 तस्य सुपुत्रो राजा श्रीघाघुश्री ॥ त
L.16 स्य श्री रामी²⁰ पतीव्रता²¹ राणी²² सीता
L.17 द्वीपा तस्य सुत श्री माहाराज ²³ जङ्गमा-
L.18 र श्रीप्रतापचंद्रदेव तस्य कनीष्ट²⁴ बंधु
L.19 श्रीधीरसिंह²⁵ वीर ॥

SANT LAL KATARE

- 20 Read: राज्ञी.
21 Read: पतिव्रता.
22 Read: रानी.
23 Read: महाराजा.
24 Read: कनिष्ट.
25 Read: धीरसिंह.

Date of Viṣṇupurī

By his famous compilation *Bhaktiratnāvalī* also called *Bhagavad-bhakti-ratnamālā* in some manuscripts, Viṣṇupurī made Bhāgavata Dharma or the Bhakti cult of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, popular in Assam. The work is really a compilation of selected stanzas taken from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. A commentary on the work under the name of *Kāntimālā* was written by the author himself. It has been treated as a part and parcel of the work by its Assamese translators.

Mādhavadeva, the most prominent disciple of Śaṅkaradeva, translated the entire *Bhaktiratnāvalī* with *Kāntimālā* into Assamese poetry at the direction of his preceptor Śaṅkaradeva during the 6th decade of the 16th century A.D. Another translation into Assamese prose was made under the name *Kathā-ratnāvalī* by Vaikunthanath Bhāgavata Bhattācārya Kaviratna, generally known as Bhaṭṭadeva, the most eminent disciple of Dāmodaradeva, who was one of the companions of Śaṅkaradeva, Bhaṭṭadeva lived from 1560 to 1638 A.D.

Laudiyā Kṛṣṇadāsa an adherent of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and contemporary of Advaitācārya also translated *Bhaktiratnāvalī* into Bengali poetry during the first part of the 16th century A.D.

In the *Kathāgurucarita*, a work written in old Assamese prose by an anonymous author, dealing with the life of some Gurus belonging to Mahāpuruṣiyā sect, and in the *Kanakalatā-carita*, another work dealing with the life of Kanakalatā, wife of Śaṅkaradeva's grandson, there is a genealogy of the Bhāgavata sect to which Śaṅkaradeva belonged. The genealogy runs as follows:—At first the Ādinirañjana told *Bhāgavata* to Anādi-ananta, who transmitted it to Kālapuriyā Nārāyaṇa. The latter explained it to Nara-Nārāyaṇa, from whom it was received by Haṃsa Nārāyaṇa, who gave it to Sūryamaṇḍalī Nārāyaṇa, from whom it came to Śrīnārāyaṇa. The latter revealed it to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. Brahmā explained the Bhāgavata religion to

Nārada, Nārada to Vyāsa, Vyāsa to Śuka, from Śuka it came to Suta, from Suta it came down in chronological order to his disciple Manoharāsuta, Śaṅkarācārya, Śridharasvāmin, Bhāskarācārya, Nṛsiṃha, Paramānanda, Ratnabhārati, Mahābhārati, Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭācārya, Viṣṇupurī, Brahmānanda and Jagadīsa Miśra. From Jagadīsa Miśra it was received by Śaṅkaradeva.

“पूर्वे आदि निरञ्जने कैले श्रीभागवत अनादि अनन्तत, तारा कैले कालपुरीया नारायणत, तान्त हन्ते पाले नरनारायणे, तारात हन्ते पाले हंसनारायणे, तेओँ कले सूर्यमण्डली नारायणत, तेओँ कले श्रीनारायणत, तेओँ कले ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेशत, एकशरणकै, तेहे ब्रह्मा कले नारदत, तारा कले व्यासत, व्यासे शुकत, शुके परीक्षितत, रत्न सूतत, ताने शिष्य मनोहरासूत, ताने शिष्य शङ्कराचार्य, ताने शिष्य श्रीधरस्वामी, ताने शिष्य भास्कर आचार्य, ताने शिष्य नृसिंह, परमानन्द, ताने शिष्य रत्नभारती, ताने शिष्य महाभारती, ताने शिष्य पुरुषोत्तम भट्टाचार्य, ताने शिष्य विष्णुपुरी, ताने शिष्य ब्रह्मानन्द, ताने शिष्य जगदीश आनि गुरुजनक दिच्छ ।”

[कथागुरुचरित p. 173]

“शुना सर्व्वजन भागवत पूर्व्वकथा ।
 यिमते भेलन्त व्यक्त पृथिवीत एथा ॥
 पूर्व्वे आदि निरञ्जने अनादित कैला ।
 अनादिये अनन्तर आगत कहिला ॥
 अनन्ते कहिछा कालपुर नारायणे ।
 काल पूरीये कैला हंसनारायणे ॥
 हंस नारायणे सूर्य नारायणत कैला ।
 सूर्य नारायणे श्रीनारायणत कहिला ॥
 श्रीनारायणे ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेशत ।
 ब्रह्मादेवे कहिलन्त नारद आगत ॥
 नारदे व्यासत व्यासे शुकत कहिला ।
 शुकदेवे परीक्षित सभात कहिला ॥
 उग्रश्रवा सुते ताक शुनि आछिलन्त ।
 तेहो पाचे मनोहर सूतत कहिलन्त ॥
 तेहे कहिलन्त पाचे शङ्कराचार्यत ।
 शङ्कराचार्ये कहिलन्त श्रीधरस्वामीत ॥
 श्रीधरस्वामीये कैला भास्कराचार्यत ।
 भास्कराचार्ये कैला नृसिंह आगत ॥
 नृसिंह कहिला पाचे परमानन्दत ।
 रत्न भारतीत तेहो महाभारतीत ॥

महान्भारतीय पुरुषोत्तमत थलन्त ।
 पुरुषोत्तमे विष्णुपूरीत कैलन्त ॥
 ताने षिष्य ब्रह्मानन्द भट्टाचार्यनाम ।
 ताने शिष्य जगदीश मिश्र यार नाम ॥
 तेहे भामवत श्रीशङ्करक दिला ।
 एहिमते भागवत एराज्ये आसिला ॥

[कनकलता आइरचरित pp. 54-55]

Besides this, in almost all the biographies of Śaṅkaradēva, who is said to have lived long from 1449 to 1568 A.D., the same story of Śaṅkaradeva's getting the *Bhāgavata* from Jagadīśa Miśra, a Brahmin belonging to Trihuta, during the time when Śaṅkaradeva had lived at Bardoa, has been recorded. It is also understood from the biographies that Śaṅkaradeva stayed at Bardoa continually from 1531 to 1538 A.D.

There is however one further point requiring consideration in this connection. Many writers flourishing in ancient Kāmarūpa, prior to Śaṅkaradeva have quoted a great number of verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. For instance, we can point out to *Smṛtiratnākara* by Vedācārya and the *Varṣapradīpa* by Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, both written during the 14th century A. D. and mentioned by Dāmodara Miśra in the 1st half of the 15th century A. D. According to the statement in *Gurucarita*, Śaṅkaradeva had written *Uddhavasamvāda* a work in Assamese poetry based on themes of *Bhagavatapurāṇa* before Jagadīśa Miśra met him. Pītāmbara Dvija also had compiled a work consisting of translations from a portion of the *Bhāgavata* into Assamese poetry. From these it is clear that even before Śaṅkaradeva's birth, *Bhāgavata .purāṇa* was circulated throughout this province. In this circumstances how the statement given in *Gurucarita* regarding the importing of the *Bhāgavata* into Assam through Jagadīśa Miśra can be accepted as correct. Dr. Maheswar Neog too raises the same question and rightly solves it on the ground of Rāmānanda's statement by saying that Śaṅkaradeva received an edition of *Bhāgavata purāṇa* including Śrīdharasvāmī's commen-

tary *Bhāgavata-bhāvārtha-dīpakā*, which probably had not been found here before the date.¹

In the *Kathā-gurucarita* and the *Sriśaṅkaracarita* which is ascribed to Rāmacarṇa ṭhākura, a nephew of Mādhava-deva writes that Viṣṇupurī in the last days of his life advised his direct disciple Brahmānanda to send a copy of his *Bhaktiratnāvalī* to Śaṅkaradeva, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the eastern part of this country. According to his advice his disciple Brahmānanda sent a copy of the work to Śaṅkaradeva through Kaṅṭhabhūṣana Dvija who had approached him for higher study in Vedānta philosophy.² It happened during the time when Śaṅkaradeva was in the third period of his active life covering roughly the years from 1544 to 1568 as assigned by Dr. Mahe-swar Neog.³

Regarding the time, to which Viṣṇupurī should be assigned, Mm. H. P. Sastri states: "There was a Maithila Brahmin in the beginning of the 17th century A. D. who renounced the world and became a Vaiṣṇava monk and whiled away his time by selecting verses from the *Bhāgavata* bearing on *bhakti*. These he explains by a commentary of his own, entitled *Kāntimālā*. The text is known as *Bhaktiratnāvalī*"⁴ Mm. Sastri's conclusion is based on the two verses which are found after the last colophon of the work in a few manuscripts. The verses are,—

“महायज्ञ शर प्राण शशाङ्क गणिते शके ।
फाल्गुने शुक्लपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां सुमङ्गले ॥
वारानस्यां महेशस्य सान्निध्ये हरिमन्दिरे ।
भक्तिरत्नावली सिद्धा सहिता कान्तिमालया ॥”

But the conclusion is not correct. Though the verses are noticed in some manuscripts of the work, they are later compositions

1 Sri Sri Śaṅkaradeva, 2nd ed., p. 76.

2 VI Part. Stanza 3523-29. *Kathāgurucarita*, p. 174.

3 Introduction to *Sriśaṅkara Vākyāmṛta* edited by Sri Harinarayan Datta Barua, p. 7.

4 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collection of Bengal Asiatic Society*, Preface to Vol. V, p. cxxxiii.

made by some copyist who probably recorded the time of the completion of transcribing it. If the verses, in any form had been noticed in original work, by Mādhavadeva and Bhaṭṭadeva, they would have certainly translated them. It would not have been possible for them to translate the work during the 16th century A.D. if the work had not been in existence at the time.

In the India Office Catalogue by Eggeling there is a reference to a manuscript of *Bhaktiratnāvalī* copied in 1595 A.D.⁵ On this ground Dr. S. K. De also holds that the work *Bhaktiratnāvalī* cannot be accepted as composed later than 1595 A.D.⁶

Pandit Atulkrishna Goswami and Pandit Balaichand Goswami, joint editors of *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, set down Viṣṇupurī about 250 years before Śrī Caitanyadeva's birth.⁷

Mr. C Hayavadana Rao suggested the 13th century A.D. to be the approximate time of Viṣṇupurī stating thus:—“Two Madhva writers prominently stand out in the work of popularising Ānandatīrtha's religion in Bengal prior to the rise of Caitanya. They are Viṣṇupurī in the thirteenth century and Mādhavendrapurī in the fifteenth century.”⁸

Dr. Biman Bihari Majumder states that probably Viṣṇupurī, being a disciple of Jayadharmā (the 11th Guru of Mādhva line) lived his life so as to receive the favour of Mādhavendrapurī and Śrī Caitanyadeva.⁹

Further the learned author has collected four evidences for showing Viṣṇupurī as a contemporary of Caitanayadeva—

(1) *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* describes Viṣṇupurī to be one of Mādhavendrapurī's disciples.

5 Vol. VI, p. 1272-73.

6 *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, 1938-39, pp. 197-99.

7 Introduction to *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, a Bengali edition published in Calcutta, 419 Caitanyābda.

8 Introduction to the *Śhrikarabhāṣya* Vol. I, p. 182.

9 *Sri Caitanya Cariter Upādān*, Parisiṣṭa (Ka), p. 79.

(2) Priyadāsji, the commentator on Hindi *Bhaktamāla* explains that in response to a letter of Caitanyadeva, Viṣṇupurī compiled his work *Bhaktiratnāvalī* and presented it to him.

(3) Hamiltan Buchanan has stated in his Purnea Report that he heard in 1809 of a learned saint named Viṣṇupurī living there 300 years ago. He had married again afterwards and became a householder. This time is in agreement with 1509 A. D. when Caitanyadeva was 23 years old.

(4) Jayānanda and Locana have included Viṣṇupurī as belonging to Caitanya's followers (गण).

In the genealogy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Viṣṇupurī is stated as belonging to Madhva school. Karṇapūra describes in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* that Brahmā was the disciple of Paramavyomeśvara, Brahmā's disciple was Nārada, his disciple was Vyāsa, and Vyāsa's disciple was Śuka. Śuka had initiated many pupils into the Bhāgavata religion. Afterwards Madhvācārya being initiated in Kṛṣṇa mantra by Vyāsa himself, divided the Vedas, and compiled *Śatadūsanī* in which he explained *Saguṇa Brahman* out of *Nirguṇa Brahman*. From Madhvācārya, the chronological lineage of the sect came down in the following order: —

Padmanābhācārya, Narahari, Mādhavadvija, Akṣobhya, Jayatīrtha, Jñānasindhu, Mahānidhi, Vidyānidhi, Rājendra and Jayadharmā, to whose sects (गण) Viṣṇupurī belonged and compiled the works *Bhaktiratnāvalī*. Following Jayadharmā the line chronologically runs as Puruṣottama, Vyāsātīrtha, Lakṣmīpati, and Mādhavendra who introduced this religion. Mādhavendra's disciple was Īśvarapurī who got himself honoured by obtaining Caitanyadeva as his disciple.

“अतः कलो भविष्यन्ति चत्वारः सम्प्रदायिनः ।
 श्री-ब्रह्म-रुद्र-सनका वैष्णवाः क्षिति पावनाः ॥
 तत्र माध्वः सम्प्रदायः प्रस्तारादत्र लिख्यते ।
 परव्योमेश्वरस्यासीच्छिष्यो ब्रह्मा जगत्पतिः ॥
 तस्य शिष्यो नारदोऽभूत् व्यासस्तस्यापि शिष्यताम् ।
 शुको व्यासस्य शिष्यत्वं प्राप्तो ज्ञानावरोधनात् ॥
 तस्य शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च बहवो भूतले स्थिताः ।

व्यासाल्लब्ध-कृष्णादीक्षो मध्वाचार्यो महाशयः ॥
 चक्रे वेदान् विभज्यासौ संहितां शतदूषणीम् ।
 निर्गुणाद् ब्रह्मणो यत्र सगुणस्य परिष्किया ॥
 तस्य शिष्योऽभवत् पद्मनाभाचार्यो महाशयः ।
 तस्य शिष्यो नरहरिस्तत्शिष्यो माधवद्विजः ॥
 अक्षोभ्यस्तस्य शिष्योऽभूत् तच्छिष्यो जयतीर्थकः ।
 तस्य शिष्यो ज्ञानसिन्धुस्तस्य शिष्यो महानिधिः ॥
 विद्यानिधिस्तस्य शिष्यो राजेन्द्रस्तस्य सेवकः ।
 जयधर्मा मुनिस्तस्य शिष्यो यद्गणमध्यतः ॥
 श्रीमद् विष्णुपुरी यस्तु भक्तिरत्नावलीकृतिः ।
 जयधर्मस्य शिष्योऽभूद् ब्रह्मण्यः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥
 व्यासतीर्थस्तस्यशिष्यो यश्चक्रे विष्णुसंहिताम् ।
 श्रीमाल्लक्ष्मीपतिस्तस्य शिष्यो भक्तिरसाश्रयः ॥
 तस्यशिष्यो माधवेन्द्रो यद्धर्मोऽयं प्रवर्तितः ।

* * *

तस्य शिष्योऽभवच्छ्रीमानीश्वराख्यपुरी यतिः ।
 कलयामास श्रीङ्गारं यः श्रीङ्गारफलात्मकः ॥
 अद्वैतः कलयामास दास्य सख्य फले उभे ।
 श्रीमान् रङ्गपुरीद्येष वात्सल्ये यः समाश्रितः ॥
 ईश्वाराख्यपुरीं गौर उररीकृत्य गौरवे ।
 जगदाप्तावयामास प्राकृताप्राकृतात्मकम् ॥”

[गौरगणोद्देशदीपिका २१—२५]

Narahari Cakravartī, the author of one *Bhaktiratnākara* in Bengali poetry exactly follows Karṇapūra in describing Viṣṇupurī as one belonging to Jayadharmā's followers. (गण)

“जयधर्ममुनि तार अद्भुत चरित ।

इहार गणोते विष्णुपुरी शिष्य हैला । .

भक्तिरत्नावली ग्रन्थ प्रकाश करिला ॥”

In the quotation from *Gaura ganoddeśadīpikā* and *Bhaktiratnākara* it is only stated that Viṣṇupurī was a member of Jayadharmā's party or belonged to the same school with Jayadharmā but not clearly expressed if he was the direct disciple of Jayadharmā. Therefore, only on the basis of the above mentioned lines Viṣṇupurī cannot be regarded as a disciple of Jayadharmā.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavīrāja, the renowned author of *Śrī Caitanya Caritāmṛta* says that Mādhavendrapurī is the primary seed of the *Bhaktikalpataru*. The seed blossomed forth and got nourished in the form of Īśvarapurī. Śrī-Caitanya even being the planter of the tree, by his inscrutable power, became also the trunk of it. Paramānandapurī, Keśava Bhārati, Brahmānandapurī, Brahmānanda Bhārati, Viṣṇupurī, Keśava Purī, Kṛṣṇānanda Purī, Nṛsimhānanda tīrtha and Sukhānanda Purī—these nine smaller roots sprang from the main root of the tree¹⁰

It indicates that the author knew Viṣṇupurī to be one of the contemporaries of Mādhavendra Purī and as an adherent of the faith common with Caitanyadeva but does not clearly indicate if he was a direct disciple of Mādhavendrapurī.

In view of the above fact, we should examine Viṣṇupurī's own writings about his personal history, if any can be found out. No other work of Viṣṇupurī, besides *Bhaktiratnāvalī* and its commentary, *Kāntimālā* is available.

The colophons,¹¹ noticed in all manuscripts found in Assam are literally translated by Mādhavadeva. There the author calls himself "Tairabhukta Paramahaṃsa" meaning an inhabitant of Tirabhukti, modern Trihut in Behar province and a follower of Śaṅkarācārya's system. Throughout the work the author strictly follows Śrīdharasvāmī's view which appears to be in close agreement with the Advaita school of Śaṅkarācārya than the Dvaita school of Madhvācārya. In course of his explanation of the Bhāgavata's verses, Viṣṇupurī clearly shows his confidence in Advaitajñana as well as *Bhagavadbhakti*. That is in full agreement with the view of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.¹²

10 *Śrī Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, Ādi-lilā, 9. 1-3.

11 इति श्री पुरुषोत्तम-चरणारविन्द-कृपा मकरन्द-विन्दु-प्रोन्मिलित-विवेक-तरैभुक्त-परमहंस श्रीविष्णुपुरीग्रथिता श्रीभागवतामृताब्धिलब्ध-श्रीमद्भगवद्भक्ति-रत्नावली सकान्तिमाला सम्पूर्णा ॥

12 ज्ञानमात्मतत्त्वविषयम्, अहेतुकं हेतुशून्यं शुष्कतर्काच्यगोचरमौपनिषदमित्यर्थः ।

[कान्तिमाला १।११]

The information found in the colophon that he was an inhabitant of Trihuta, positively agrees with the aforesaid statement given by Hamilton Buchanan.

Further, the author has indirectly let us know the name of his Guru as Puruṣottama. This word of double meaning denotes directly God Viṣṇu and indirectly suggests his Guru who was known by this name. Mādhavadeva so explained the meaning of the word thus:—

श्रीमन्त उत्तम पुरुषदैवकी नन्दन आनन्दसिन्धु ।
ताहार चरण पङ्कजर यिटो कृपामकरन्दविन्दु ॥
ताहार प्रसादे मोहोर परम विवेक वाढिल आसि ।
सेहि मइ विष्णुपुरी त्रिदुतीया परमहंस सन्न्यासी ॥

[रत्नावली १।२६३]

महा कान्तिमाला युक्त भक्तिरत्नावली ग्रन्थ
करिलोहो अनेक यतने ।

विचारिया पूर्वापर इहार गुणक जानि
तुमि सव तुष्ट हैबा मने ॥

श्रीमन्तपुरुषोत्तम चरण पङ्कज कृपा
मकरन्द विन्दु प्रसादत ।

विष्णुपुरी विरचित श्रीभक्तिरत्नावली
एहिमाने भैला समापत ॥

[भक्तिरः १२०१]

The statement informing that Viṣṇupurī was the disciple of Puruṣottama, given in the *Kathāgurucarita* and *Kanakalatācarita* also may be taken as correct on the ground that it has been supported by Viṣṇupurī's own writings. It would, therefore, be right to assume that Viṣṇupurī's preceptor or Guru was one

मुमुक्षुव इत्यनेन भक्तिसाध्यस्य ज्ञानस्य फलं मोक्षो दर्शितः । [काः माः १।१४]

मोक्षस्य सुखरूपत्वेऽपि भक्तौ तदनुभवाद् गरीयस्त्व' शर्करातद्भोजिनोरिव ।

* * * * * कोषं लिङ्गशरीरमात्मावरणमशानं वा । [काः माः १।२०-२१]

यथाहि यागादीनां प्रामाण्यमुक्त्वा शेषे सर्वोपमर्द्दनेनाद्वैतमुक्तं वेदे, तथा हरिनामापि प्रायश्चित्तेषु । एवञ्च यथा अद्वैतश्रुतिश्रद्धालुभिर्यागादिष्वकृतेष्वपि न तद्वेदाप्रामाण्यं

तथा नामोच्चारणमहिम श्रद्धालुभिः प्रायश्चित्तान्तरेऽकृतेऽपि । सुकरत्वादसम्भावना-
दीनां चाद्वैतपक्षतुल्यत्वात् । [काः माः ६।३१] etc.

Puruṣottama by name and not Jayadharmā. On this point the conclusion of Dr. S. K. De and Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao that Viṣṇupurī was the disciple of Śrī Puruṣottama, is fairly correct¹³.

We have not sufficient materials to identify this Puruṣottama if he was Jayadharmā's disciple of Madhva sect, mentioned in the above quoted passage from *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā*. It is also noticed that one Puruṣottama, whose parents were Mānī and Viṣṇu by name, compiled a work entitled *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā* published by Tukaram Javaji in Nirnaya sagara Press 1917. From the internal evidences of these two works, it is possible to suggest that both the authors (Puruṣottama and Viṣṇupurī) belonged to the common faith and held the same view on the point of religion and philosophy.

Regarding the period of time to which Viṣṇupurī should be assigned there is, however, a clear point to be considered. Viṣṇupurī, in his *Kāntimālā* not only follows Śrīdharaśvāmī's writings but in the last concluding verse of the work clearly refers to the name Śrīdharaśvāmī in a very respectful manner and prays that the scholars may kindly excuse him if he had not been able to explain in the light of Śrīdharaśvāmī's writings.

“अत्र श्रीधर सत्तमोक्ति लिखनेन्यूनधिकं यत्त्वभूत् ।

तत्क्षन्तु सुधियोऽर्हत खरचनानुब्धस्य मे चापलम्” ॥

(B. R. 13. 14)

Mādhavadeva translates it thus: —

“इहार् श्रीधरस्वामी उक्त्तिलिखन्त यत् न्यूनधिक भैल निरन्तर ।

सिसव चञ्जलदोष मद् लुभीयार क्षमा करिवे उचित महन्तर ॥”

[भः रत्नाः १२१०]

Śrīdharaśvāmī's date must be placed later than Viṣṇusvāmin and Vopadeva while Śrīdharaśvāmī quotes their verses in his *Bhāgavata-bhāvārtha dīpikā*.

¹³ Introduction to the Śrīkarabhāṣya, vol. 1, p. 182. *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, pp. 14-15.

R. G. Bhandarkar elaborately expounds that Viṣṇusvāmī was the son of the councillor of a Dravida chief, and assigns him to the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. on the ground of Nābhāji's statement in his *Bhaktamāla*, that Viṣṇusvāmī's successors were Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Trilocana and Vallabha. Jñānadeva was the author of a commentary called *Jñāneśvarī*, on the *Bhagavadgītā* dated in 1290 A. D.¹⁴

As regards the time to which Viṣṇusvāmī should be assigned, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, in his Introduction to the *Srīkarabhāṣya* rightly states:

“The date of Viṣṇusvāmī accordingly would have to be fixed not only after Rāmānuja but also after Madhva. We may not be far wrong if we assign Viṣṇusvāmī to about the close of the thirteenth century A. D.¹⁵

Following the views of the abovementioned learned scholars we may place the date of Viṣṇusvāmī in the last quarter of the 13th century A.D. Hence Śrīdharsvāmī may be placed towards the last quarter of the 14th century A.D. The majority of critics of Indian thought including Dr. S. Radhakrishnan have definitely assigned last part of the fourteenth century A. D. to Śrīdharsvāmī.¹⁶

Relying upon the same reason, we can, without hesitation, assign Viṣṇupurī, who has respectfully mentioned Śrīdharsvāmī's name and has accepted him as an authority on Bhāgavata religion to the close of the fifteenth century. A. D.

According to the Assamese tradition recorded in the biographies of Śaṅkaradeva, *Bhaktiratnāvalī* of Viṣṇupurī came to Assam when Śaṅkaradeva had completed his compilation of *Bhaktiratnākara*, the only Sanskrit work by him. We have been able to trace a few passages from *Kāntimālā*, written by Viṣṇupurī himself, quoted in the *Bhaktiratnākara*. It is not reasonable to take these as later interpolation because Rāmacarana Ṭhākura,

14 *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religions Systems*, p. 77.

15 Vol. I, p. 150.

16 *Bhagavadgītā*, Introduction by S. Radhakrishnan, p. 17.

the nephew of Mādhavadeva and junior contemporary of Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva while translating *Bhaktiratnākara* into Assamese poetry, accepted those portions as authentic and translated them with similar regards.¹⁷

In this work, it is precisely noticed that Śaṅkaradeva in explaining the verses of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* absolutely relies upon the *Bhāgavata-bhāvārtha-dīpikā* of Śrīdharasvāmī and the *Kāntimalā* of Viṣṇupurī. Further, it is interesting to note that even the readings in many places of *Bhaktiratnākara*, it will be readily recalled, are taken from either of these works. On this ground we may suggest that probably Śaṅkaradeva, having received the copy of *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, revised and recompiled again his work *Bhaktiratnākara* adding some lines from the *Kāntimālā*.

In this connection, it may also be observed that in the biographies of Śaṅkaradeva it has been found that Śaṅkaradeva having received the *Bhaktiratnāvalī* told his followers thus:— “Had I got the work a little earlier I would not have compiled *Bhaktiratnākara* trying so much.”¹⁸

From this it cannot be definitely stated that the compilation of the *Bhaktiratnākara* had already been finished when the copy of *Bhaktiratnāvalī* came to his hand. Therefore, it may be held that *Bhaktiratnākara* was under compilation at the time when *Bhaktiratnāvalī* was received by Śaṅkaradeva.

From the story, which we have already stated from ‘*Kathā-gurucarita*’ and ‘*Śaṅkaracarita*,’ it is understood that Brahmānanda, a direct disciple of Viṣṇupurī, remembering the advice of his Guru despatched a copy of *Bhaktiratnāvalī* to Śaṅkaradeva during the time later than 1544 A.D. and that *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhara’s commentary was received by Śaṅkaradeva at Bardoa near about 1531 A.D.

17 C. f. (a) *Bhaktiratnākara*, 7. 17. etc.

(b) *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, *Kantimala* 5. 31. etc.

and (c) *Bhaktiratnākara* by Ramacarana Thakura 11. 39-45 etc.

R. M. Nath’s Ed. 327-336 M. C. Mahanta’s Ed.

18 आगे पोवा हले भ्रमकै रत्नाकर नकरोए.....

[कथागुरुचरित p. 175]

It has been stated in all biographies of Śaṅkaradeva that Jagadīśa Miśra breathed his last at Bardoa when his recitation of Bhāgavata was finished. It follows that Jagadīśa Miśra died younger and earlier than his Guru Brahmānanda.

It is also clearly related in *Gurucaritas* that Viṣṇupurī had died some years before 1544 A.D. while Brahmānanda or Rāma-bhaṭṭa sent *Bhaktiratnāvalī* to Śaṅkaradeva, though Jagadīśa Miśra, his disciple, died earlier than 1538 A.D.

In the *Kathāgurucarita* and *Śrīśaṅkaradeva-Mādhavadeva-carita* by Daityāri Ṭhākura, (son of Rāmacarana Ṭhākura), it is recorded that Śaṅkaradeva's heart was full of joyful emotion when he found 'Ekaśaraṇa' in the last chapter of the work *Bhaktiratnāvalī* and he revealed that Viṣṇupurī was his *San̄gi* (a companion), belonging to the same sect.¹⁹ It clearly indicates that Śaṅkaradeva came in direct contact with Viṣṇupurī long before this event. Dr. P. C. Chaudhuri also reasonably remarks that "We have definite evidence of his (Śaṅkaradeva's) long stay at the Jagannātha temple of Puri where he must have held religious discussions with the Vaiṣṇava reformers like Viṣṇupurī."²⁰

If we assume Viṣṇupurī to have lived long, at least for eighty years, his date may be placed between 1440 and 1520 A.D.

Viṣṇupurī's date has to be fixed as posterior to Śrīdhara Svāmī's (1400 A.D.) and anterior nearly by 25 years to when

19 किना महा दिव्यग्रन्थ मानिया मनत ।
उठिलन्त ग्रन्थखान धरिया शिरत ॥
नाछन्त हरिषे अतिमने महारङ्ग ।
बोलन्त जानिवा विष्णुपुरी मोर सङ्ग ॥ [p. 174]

बोले विष्णुपुरी मोर सङ्गी [कथागुरुचरित p. 175]

20 "Assam and Orissa"—an article published in the Assam tribune, February 16, 1958.

Śaṅkaredeva received *Bhaktiratnāvalī* between 1544 and 1568 A.D. T. N. Sarma also in a footnote of his 'Mādhavadeva and his works', rightly remarks that "so Viṣṇupurī must have been lived in the second part of the 15th and the first part of the 16th century."²¹

MANORANJAN SHASTRI

²¹ "Aspects of Assamese literature" published by the Gauhati University.

History of Sambhar

Sambhar is situated at a distance of seven miles from Phulera Junction in Jaipur Division of Rajasthan. The territory round about Sambhar appears to be an old one. Devayānī tank of this place is pointed out as the same tank in which Devayānī, who afterwards became the queen of Rājā Yayāti, was thrown by the princess Śarmiṣṭhā.¹ Besides, about 3460 antiquities such as pottery, terracotta, shell objects, Punch marked and Indo Sassanian Coins etc. have been found out here in the excavations.² Hendley holds that these antiquities are the Buddhist objects and that the mounds in which they have been found was the site of an important Buddhist town.³ On the contrary, the terracotta sealing of the sacrificial post with the inscription of 'Indasamasa' of the third century B. C. and the mystical symbol of *Svastic* prove that the site was Brāhmanical. The old city of Sambhar seems to have been founded by Vāsudeva Cauhāna in about the 7th century A. D. at a distance of 11 or 12 miles from the present site of Sambhar now known as Sāratha in the vicinity of the goddess. Śākambharī (the consort of Śiva) and was named after the goddess. Somehow, the lake of this place also seems to have been connected with him.⁴ In the very beginning, it was neither a village nor a town or city but only a cluster of a few scattered huts. Under the rule of the Cauhānas, it became the premier city of Northern India.

The early Cauhāna rulers of Śākambharī were ruling as the feudatories of the Pratīhāras in the 8th or 9th century A. D. Durlabharāja I is said to have defeated the King of Gauḍa and to have reached *Gaṅgā Sāgara* in the battle between his overlord

1 *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, Chapter 78.

2 Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar by Daya Ram Sahani.

3 *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Year 1884.

4 *Prīthvirājavijayamahākāvya*, p. 90.

and Dharmapāla of Bengal.⁵ His son and successor was Govindarāja I also known as Guvaka I who is said to have attained pre-eminence in the Court of Nāgabhaṭṭa II.⁶ He also fought against the Muslims of Sindh under his master Nāgabhaṭṭa II.⁷ Simharāja was the first Cauhān Śākambharī ruler to assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja by freeing his territory from the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras. He granted several villages to the temple of Harṣanātha, a village seven miles from Sikar.⁸ After him, his son Vighraharāja II, who was ruling in 973 A. D., defeated the Cālukyan ruler Mūlarāja of Gujerat.⁹ Then, his brother Durlabharāja came to the throne. He invaded the territory of Cāhamāna Mahendra of Nadol who sought the protection of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī.¹⁰ His son Govindarāja seems to have come into clash with Mahmūd of Ghazni but did not suffer much.¹¹ His successor Vākpatirāja II defeated Guhila Ambāprasāda II of Āghāṭa.¹² The next king was Vīryarāma who was defeated by the Cauhāna Aṇahīla of Nadol¹³ and subsequently lost his life in a battle with the Paramāra Bhoja.¹⁴ The next great ruler was Pṛithvīrāja I who is known to have been ruling in 1105 A. D. He killed 700 Cālukyas who went to Puṣkara to rob the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁵ He was the patron of Jainism and had a golden cupola put on the Jaina temple at Ranthambhor.¹⁶ He was succeeded by his son Ajayarāja who founded the city of Ajayameru and transferred his

5 *Pṛithvīrājavijayamahākāvya*, p. 105.

6 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 2, p. 116 (Harṣa Inscription V. 13).

7 *Prabandhakoṣa*.

8 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 2, p. 116

9 *Pṛithvīrājavijayamahākāvya*, p. 113

10 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X. p. 17.

11 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 81

12 *Pṛithvīrājavijayamahākāvya*, p. 115

13 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX. p. 70

14 *Pṛithvīrājavijayamahākāvya*, p. 117.

15 *Pṛithvīrājavijayamahākāvya*, p. 119.

16 *Catalogue of Mss. in the Patan Bhandars*, p. 312

capital from Sambhar to Ajmer. Jayasimha Sidharāja was the first ruler of Gujerat who conquered Sambhar after defeating the Cauhāna Arṇarāja, the son of Ajayarāja. His inscription¹⁷ found here proves that his kingdom extended up to Sambhar.

From another source,¹⁸ Māṇikyadeva Cauhāna is known as the son of Vāsudeva, the founder of the Śākambharī branch of the Cauhānas. He is said to have flourished in 695 A.D. In his time, the present process of salt manufacture from the lake is believed to have been first discovered by Kalpatjī of Kāyastha family. The king not only granted him the right of recovering 1·23 pies per maund upon the issues of salt but made him his *Khājāñcī*. It is for this reason that Kalpatjī and his descendants up to this day are called *Manekabhandārī*. The right of realizing 1·23 pies per maund was called *Bharti Kharch* which was directly recovered from the *Banjārās* and other traders of salt for centuries down to the taking over charge of the Sambhar-lake by the British Government by his descendants. The Sambhar-lake remained a great source of revenue to the Cauhāna rulers. Even the traders of this place assigned the taxes on salt and on horses for the benefit of the temple of Harṣanātha near Sikar in 973 A. D.¹⁹

After the defeat of Prīthvīraja III in the hands of Muhammad Ghori, Sambhar fell into the hands of different rulers. In 1198 A. D. it passed to the Sultanate of Delhi and on account of its great repository of salt, it has always been a valued possession. For some time, it became independent under Bālhaṇadeva, ruler of Ranthambhor because his kingdom extended up to Manglānā about 15 miles west of Sambhar.²⁰ He was ruling in 1215 A.D. as a feudatory of Sultan Iltutmish. He probably threw off the yoke of the Muslims sometime after 1215 A.D. But in 1226 A.D., Iltutmish led an army against Ranthambhor and con-

17 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 52, p. 234

18 *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. 3, p. 217 (Even known from the strong traditions of the local place).

19 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 2, p. 116.

20 *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 85

quered it along with Sambhar.²¹ The *Hammiramahākāvya* gives a description of Hammīra's *digvijaya*. From Puṣkara, he went to Śākambharī plundering on his way a number of towns and from that place to Ranthambhor.²² Sāraṅadhara, whose grandfather Rāghava was a courtier of Hammīra, refers to this king as a ruler of the Śākambharī country in his *Paddhati* composed in 1363 A.D.²³

Muzaffar Firoz Shah Sultan was ruling over Sambhar in 1363 A.D. An inscription of 1363 A.D. of his reign records the construction of a well through the efforts of Bāmdeva who is mentioned as submissive to Islam.²⁴ The inscription also refers to the production at Sambhar of salt, a certain portion of which was allotted for the maintenance of the well. From a *Praśasti* of the *Holireṇukī-caritī*²⁵ written in V. S. 1608, it is known that one of the ancestors of Pt. Jinadāsa was honoured by Firoz Shah. His son Padmā gave different kinds of charities and was highly revered by Giyāsa Shah. He is said to have built a big Jaina temple at Sambhar. Padmā's son was Binjhā who was the famous physician and was rewarded by Nasīra Shah. All these seem to be the Tughluq Sultans of Delhi. For some time, it was also kept by the Mahārāṇās of Chitor. But in 1437 A.D., Mujaid Khan, ruler of Nagaur and son of Shamskhan Gazi, had conquered and wrested it from Rānā Mokala of Chitor.²⁶ But soon his son Kumbha Karaṇa defeated Mujaid Khan and also his nephew. He occupied Nagaur and also the area round about Sambhar-lake.²⁷ From the *Rāyāmalarāso*, it is known that the ruler of this place participated in a battle against Gayasuddin, the ruler of Māndu as a feudatory of Mahārāṇā Rāyamala.²⁸

21 *Rājputānā Kā Itihāsa*, p. 308

22 *Hammiramahākāvya*, IX, 99.

23 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 85

24 *Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56, p. 31

25 *Praśasti Samgraha* by Jugal Kishore Mukhtar, No. 45.

26 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1923-24, pp. 15-16.

27 *Viravinoda*, p. 327.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

Sambhar flourished greatly in the time of Jālaluḍḍin Mohammad Akbar, Mughal emperor of India. It has been annexed as a Sūbā to Ajmer. The marriage of Akbar with the daughter of Raja Bihārī Mal of Amber was celebrated here with great pomp and show in 1562 A. D. On this occasion, he built a mosque in the Nizamat premises and also built a tank in it. At this time, Bulland Khan was a governor representing Delhi emperor at Sambhar. After the death of Akbar, his son Jahangir succeeded to the throne in 1605 A. D. He too visited Sambhar several times. He built a tomb on the hillock of the goddess of Śākambharī and also a water reservoir in 1627 A. D. This place was ruled by the emperor's officers namely Murārī Dās, Beni Das, Bijairāj, Mirza Julikarna etc. Julikarna, son of Sikandar, caused to be made the Chatri in 1615 A. D. in the just and victorious reign of the king Jahangir. The Sarai of this place was rebuilt in 1634 A. D. during the reign of Shahjahan.

Aurangzeb was intolerant towards the Hindu religion. He thought to break the idol of the goddess Śākambharī and for this purpose, he himself with an army of soldiers came down to Sambhar and rode off towards the goddess. In the very nick of time, when Aurangzeb was about to order the idol to be broken down, the goddess with her spiritual power is believed to have created so many insects that the emperor and his soldiers were badly beaten off. Thus, when the emperor was totally vexed and could find no remedy, he prayed to the goddess to get them relieved of their miseries in return for which the emperor promised on his part to set up another goddess there named afterwards Norangdevī which is still worshipped. The goddess was then pleased to show mercy to the emperor and all was brought to a standstill. He also repaired the old fort of the Cauhānas in 1695-96 A. D. In his time, Ajitasimha of Jodhpur took possession of Sambhar for a short time.

In the time of Mohammad Shah, the Delhi throne had become weaker and there were constant wars and strifes all over India. The emperor was the puppet in the hands of others. Nawab Abdulla and Mir Khan were committing

robberies. At this critical time, Sayyid governors at Sambhar ceased to remit the provincial incomes to the royal treasury. They were not obeying the emperor. At that time, the Assistant Subedar at Sambhar was one Sahib Ram, *Kāyastha* by caste who had seven sons. Udaisiṃha proved to be brilliant among them. He was a master of Persian, Urdu, and Hindi languages. He aspired to succeed to the governorship of Sambhar. He went to Delhi. With the help of Kripāram, representative of *Mahārājā* Madho-siṃha of Jaipur in the court of Mohammad Shah, he approached the emperor. He prepared an account based on the average of ten years' income and submitted it to Mohammad Shah, the Delhi emperor promising double income. Mohammad Shah, finding that there was not a single pie deposited in the royal treasury by the Sayyid rulers at Sambhar, ordered Rājā Udai Siṃha to assume the rulership of Sambhar. These orders written on a pink piece of paper still extant are dated 1739 A.D.

Rājā Udaisiṃha then came straight to Ajmer from where he took some 200 *Sowārs* and turned towards Sambhar. The Sayyid governors were at once removed. At first, the title of Rai was conferred on Udaisiṃha. The emperor was so much pleased with the efficiency of his administration that shortly afterwards, he conferred on him the title of Rājā and increased the number of *Sowārs* from 200 to 600 and ordered Rājā Udaisiṃha to rule Sambhar as an independent ruler. Day by day, his power increased to such an extent as to enable him to subdue Jobner, Khandelā, Khakhardi, Nagaur etc. That Sambhar was situated on the border line of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States and its ruler had become powerful led the two *Mahārājas* to lead war against Rājā Udaisiṃha. At the end of the 12th year of his reign, he was overcome in 1742 A. D. by *Mahārājā* Abhayasiṃha of Jodhpur and *Mahārājā* Isarasiṃha of Jaipur with their respective armies. The two *Mahārājas*, not finding a favourable opportunity, sent a message to Udaisiṃha that they wanted a treaty with him to prevent anything untoward happening to either party. Rājā Udaisiṃha acceded to this proposal and without apprehending danger went to the two

Mahārājas with his *Dewān* Hargovind. He was arrested and taken to Jaipur as a State prisoner. An attempt was made to force him to sign a treaty to the effect that he would govern Sambhar as a subordinate chief of the two States which he refused to do. He died in 1776 A.D. Thus, Sambhar came into the hands of Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars.

The family goddess of Rājā Udaisimha was Śrī Ṭhākurajī Bihārījī-Mahārāja, for whom he built a temple at Devayānī in the courtyard of his garden where the said goddess still stands and is worshipped by the Brāhmin priests. On the left side of this temple, there is a marble stone fixed in the wall which bears the following words engraved on it :—

“Highly esteemed Rājā Udaisimha with his own efforts and by his own undertaking, is ever busy in meditation. This is a new garden and its date has been told by the Angel that the foundation of a garden has been laid 1156 Hijri.”

He also built a separate court building known as Diwāna Khānā which is still standing. After his death, the Darbars of Jaipur and Jodhpur States granted several rights and privileges to the members of his family for their maintenance and showed them great respect.

In 1743 A.D., the Darbars succeeded in getting possession of Sambhar along with 40 villages attached to it. Out of 40 villages, twenty eight were misappropriated and annexed to the respective states and the remaining 12 were left under Sambhar. They are still known as the twelve hamlets of Sambhar and are under the jurisdiction of the Shamlat. The two Darbars appointed for Sambhar their two representatives respectively who used to conduct the administrative affairs and were called Hakims. Thus, the dual administration started here.

The Epoch of the Gaṅga Era

The exact epoch of the Gaṅga era has long been a matter of controversy. Several scholars have proposed for it different dates ranging from A. D. 349-50 to A.D. 877-78.¹ None of these could, however, explain *all* dates of the era which contain details necessary for verification. I discussed this problem nearly twenty years ago in an article published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVI, pp. 326 f. and showed that the Gaṅga era commenced on *amānta* Caitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (which corresponded to the 14th March A. D. 498). The epoch of the era for a current year is therefore A. D. 497-98, and for an expired year is A.D. 498-99. In my article I showed from a detailed examination of as many sixteen dates which were till then known to contain details necessary for verification that the era suited them all. Later, four more Gaṅga dates containing similar details were discovered and were shown to be quite regular according to the epoch fixed by me.² Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has reopened the question in his article on the Māḍagrāma grant of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman and his feudatory Bhīmakhedī published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 45 f, and tried to show that the epoch of the Gaṅga era falls between A. D. 546 and 556. His arguments for this view may be stated as follows:—

(1) The Māḍagrāma grant was made by Bhīmakhedī, son of

¹ For the commencement of the era Mr. G. Ramdas has proposed A. D. 349-50 (*JBORS.*, vol. XVIII, p. 291), Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 494 (*JAHRS.*, vol. V, pp. 267 f.), Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A.D. 496 (*Ind. Ant.* vol. LXI, pp. 237 f.), Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao A.D. 497-98 (*JAHRS.*, vol. XI, pp. 19f.), Dr. R. C. Majumdar some date between A. D. 550 and 557 (*Ind. Cult.*, vol. IV, pp. 179 f.), Mr. R. D. Banerji, A. D. 741 (*History of Orissa*, vol. I p. 239), Mr. B. C. Majumdar, A. D. 772 (*JBORS.*, vol. II, pp. 361-62), and Mr. R. Sewell and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, A. D. 877-78 (*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 58).

² See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVII, p. 192; vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.; vol. XXX, pp. 23 f.; vol. XXXIII, pp. 101-2.

Dharmakheḍi of the Kadamba family, who was a feudatory of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman in the Śaka year 988. Dharmakheḍi mentioned in this grant is identical with the homonymous Kadamba feudatory of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman, who granted the Mandasa plates³ in Śaka 976 or 967 (according to the interpretation we put on the expression *Śakābda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mita*). We may, therefore draw up the following genealogical table of the two families:—

<i>Gaṅga family</i>	<i>Kadamba family</i>
	Bhīmakheḍi (I)
Anantavarman	Dharmakheḍi (Ś. 967 or 976)
Devendravarman	Bhīmakheḍi (II) (Ś. 988)

Now, Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi, who was a feudatory of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, made the Sūnhipura grant⁴ (recorded in the Santa-Bommali plates) in the Gaṅga year 520. The year 520 of the Gaṅga era and Śaka 988 (or A.D. 1066) both thus fell in the reign of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman. The epoch of the Gaṅga era therefore falls within x years of A.D. 1066 minus 520 *i.e.* A.D. 456, x denoting half the average duration of a reign of, say, 30 years. The Gaṅga era may therefore be said to have been inaugurated some time between A.D. 530 and 560.

(2) This Devendravarman, the suzerain of Dharmakheḍi and Bhīmakheḍi, may be identified with Rājatāja-Devendravarman, who is said to have ruled for eight years from A. D. 1068 to 1076 or from A. D. 1070 to 1078. These dates will have to be changed slightly in view of the date A. D. 1066 of the contemporary Mādīgrama grant. Devendravarman may have ruled from A.D. 1066 to 1076. As the date G. 520 falls in his reign, the epoch of the Gaṅga era must lie between A.D. 546 and 556.

3 *JBORS.*, vol. XVII, pp. 175 f.

4 *JAHS.*, vol. II, pp. 178 f.

We shall now examine this theory of Dr. Majumdar.

(1) The date of the Māḍagrāma grant is given in the following words⁵ *Sakāvadana-sata-aṣṭāśīti-samvartu* which Dr. Majumdar takes to mean *Śakābda-nava-śat-āṣṭāśīti-samvat* or Śaka 988. It will be noticed that he has to supply an *akṣara* (viz. *va*) after *na*. When Dr. Majumdar sent me a copy of his article previous to its publication, I asked him if the reading of the date was quite certain. He said it was so, but now I find from the facsimile published with his article in the *Epigraphia Indica* that the wording of the date is capable of another interpretation. The expression *Sakāvadana* may as well denote *Śakābdānām* as in the date *Śakābdānām pramāṇe* etc. of the Rayipadu inscription⁶ of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Coḍagaṅga (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1961). It would therefore appear that the word denoting hundreds has been omitted in this expression through inadvertence as in so many other cases of inscriptional records.⁷ The main basis for Dr. Majumdar's theory is thus extremely shaky. The other prop of his theory viz. the date *Śakābda-nava-śataka saptarasa-mata*, which he takes as meaning Ś. 976 or Ś. 967, is equally shaky; for as I have already shown, the intended expression in that case is *Śakābda-nava-śataka-saptadaśamita* meaning Ś. 917. This goes against Dr. Majumdar's reading Śaka 988 of the date of the Māḍagrāma grant; for Dharmakheḍī, the father of Bhīmakheḍī II (whose Māḍagrāma grant is dated Ś. 988 according to Majumdar) could not have flourished in Ś. 917 *i.e.* 71 years before his son.

(2) Dr. Majumdar has not been able to state the exact epoch of the Gaṅga era. Previously he stated that it lay between A.D. 550 and 557. Now he says that it must lie between

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 50-51.

6 *An. Rep. S. I. Ep.* for 1895-96, No. 390; *IASB.*, vol. LXXII, p. 102, No. 10. See also the Telugu expression *Saka-varushambulu* occurring in the same in Nos. 1962 etc. (with the v. l. *Sakvabdambulu*) in Bhandarkar's *List*, pp. 271 f.

7 See, for instance, the date of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 276.

A.D. 546 and 556. Elsewhere he says that 'the exact epoch may perhaps be fixed within these limits by the astronomical data contained in epigraphic records.' Let us therefore see how far these data support the epoch (viz. some date between A.D. 546 and 556) as suggested by him. Unless the epoch suits *all* verifiable dates, it cannot be said to be certain.

While fixing my epoch of the Gaṅga era I had taken for examination some crucial dates. I shall examine them now in accordance with the epoch proposed by Dr. Majumdar—

(1) Ponduru plates⁸ of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmāṇava—Gn. 500 Āṣāḍha-māsa dina 5 Ādityavāra. This date must fall between A.D. 1046 (500 *plus* 546) and A.D. 1056 (500 *plus* 556). In this period Āṣāḍha śu. di 5 fell⁹ on Sunday only in A.D. 1048 and 1051. So the epoch of the Gaṅga era must fall either in A.D. 548-49 or 551-52.

(2) Indian Museum plates¹⁰ of Devendravarman—Gn. 308 with a solar eclipse in Māgha. This date must fall within the period between A.D. 854 (308 *plus* 546) and A.D. 864 (308 *plus* 556). In this period there was only one solar eclipse in the month of Māgha, viz. that which occurred on the *amāvasyā* of *pūrṇimānta* Māgha in A.D. 856. There was no such eclipse either in *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Māgha in any other year in this period. So the epoch of the Gaṅga era should be A.D. 548-49. This grant shows also that the months of the Gaṅga year were *pūrṇimānta*.

These two dates can be reconciled only according to the epoch of A.D. 548-49. If Dr. Majumdar's reading and inter-

8 *JAHRS.*, vol. XI, pp. 7 f.

9 I have taken the month here as *amānta*. It is possible to take it as meaning Āṣāḍha va. di. 5, in which case the *tithi* would fall on Sunday only in the years A. D. 1051 and 1054. The epoch would in that case be either A. D. 551 or 554. In neither case would it agree with the epoch indicated by the next date examined here, viz., Gn. 308 of the Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman.

10 *Ep., Ind.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 73 f.

pretation of the dates of the Maḍagrama grant and the Mandasa plates are correct, this epoch should be applicable in *all* verifiable Gaṅga dates. Let us try it in some cases mentioned below.

(3) Ponnuturu plates¹¹ of Sāmantavarman—Gn. 64 Puṣya śu. di 13. The grant was made on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti. Now, Gn. 64 would, according to the epoch of A.D. 548-49, correspond to A.D. 612-13. In this year the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred on the 19th December A.D. 612, while the ~~tithi~~ Puṣya śu. di. 13 was current eight days before on the 11th December. This date goes definitely against that epoch.

(4) Chicacole plates¹² of Indravarman III—Gn. 128, Caitra dina 15. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa. According to the epoch of A.D. 548-49, the Gaṅga yera 128 becomes equivalent to A.D. 676-77. As the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the preceding Mārgaśīrṣa, the eclipse must have occurred in A.D. 675-76. In this year there was no lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa. In fact there was no lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa in any year in the period from A.D. 673 to 688. *This date therefore goes not only against the epoch of A.D. 548-49 but also against the whole period from A.D. 546 to A.D. 556, in which, according to Dr. Majumdar, the epoch of the Gaṅga era must lie.*

(5) Andhavaram plates¹³ of Indravarman—Gn. 133 with a solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa. According to the epoch of A.D. 548-49, the eclipse must have occurred in the month of Śrāvaṇa in A.D. 681-82. But there was no lunar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Śrāvaṇa not only in the year A.D. 681-82, but in none of the following years up to A.D. 684-85. This date also goes against the epoch of A.D. 548-49.

(6) Santa-Bommali plates¹⁴ of Nandavarman—Gn. 221, Aṣāḍha dina pañcamī. The grant was made on the occasion of a

11 *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 236 f.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, 121.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 37 f.

14 *JAHRS.*, vol. II, pp. 185 f.

solar eclipse in some unspecified month. Now, Gn. 221 should, according to the epoch of A.D. 548-49, correspond to A.D. 769-70. In that year there was only one solar eclipse *viz.* that which occurred in *pūrṇimanta* Āśvina. It could not have been intended in this grant as it did not occur before Āṣāḍhadina pañcamī when the plates were issued. The evidence of this grant also goes against the epoch of A.D. 548-49.

(7) Musunika grant¹⁵ of Devendravarman III—Gn. 306 with a solar eclipse in some unspecified month. Now, Gn. 306 should, according to the epoch of A.D. 548-49, correspond to A.D. 854-55. There was no solar eclipse in the *Caitrādi* year corresponding to A.D. 854-55, or even in A.D. 855-56. The epoch is therefore inapplicable in this case also.

The evidence of grant No. 2 discussed above shows that if the epoch of the Gaṅga era lay in the period A.D. 546 to 556, it must be that of A.D. 548-49. But the examination of the dates of the grants No. 3 to 7 shows that that epoch is inapplicable in their cases. We must therefore conclude that the Gaṅga era did *not* commence in the period from A.D. 546 to 556. The evidence of verifiable dates of the Gaṅga era thus goes definitely against Dr. Majumdar's theory.

The question now arises, 'what is the correct date of the Māḍagrāma grant?' As shown above, the year of the Śaka era is inadvertently omitted while stating the date in lines 15-16 of that grant, but in view of the palaeography¹⁶ of it the date can only be Ś. 888. This corresponds to A.D. 966-67. This date squares with other dates of the Gaṅga kings according to

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 23 f.

¹⁶ The characters of the Māḍagrāma grant are definitely earlier than those of Peddabammidi plates of Vajrahasta III, dated in the Śaka year 982, edited by Dr. Majumdar himself in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 305 f. See especially the forms of the letters *r*, *h*, etc.

my epoch of the Gaṅga era (*viz.* A.D. 498-99) as shown below.

<i>Gaṅga King</i>	...	<i>Kadamba Feudatory</i>
		Dharmakhedi I
Devendravarman	...	Bhīmakhedi I (Ś. 888 = A.D. 966)
Anantavarman	...	{ Dharmakhedi II (Ś. 917 = A.D. 995 and Gn. 520 = A.D. 1018).
Devendravarman	...	

In my article on the Epoch of the Gaṅga Era published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 326 f. I have shown that these kings were identical with Kāmārṇava I, Vajrahasta II and Madhukāmārṇava III mentioned in the Naḍgām and other inscriptions of Vajrahasta III.

Dr. Majumdar has raised the following objections against our view that the date of the Mandasa plates is Ś. 917.¹⁷

(1) There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in Śaka 917.

(2) No king named Devendravarman is known before Ś. 992.

Both these statements are incorrect. If we take the epoch of the Gaṅga era to be A. D. 498-99 as shown by me, it can be easily shown that a Gaṅga king named Anantavarman was ruling in Ś. 917 or A. D. 995-96. See, e. g. the following genealogies: —

<i>I Ponduru Plates</i>	<i>II Simhīpura Grant</i>	<i>III Chicacole Plates</i>
Kāmārṇava		
Vajrahasta (Gn. 500 = A. D. 998-99.)	Anantavarman	Anantavarman
	Devendravarman (Gn. 520 = A.D. 1018-19)	Madhukāmārṇava (Gn. 526 = A.D. 1024-25)

The dating of these grants shows that Vajrahasta, who was ruling 20 years (in Gn. 500) before Devendravarman *alias*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXI, p. 46.

Madhukāmārṇava (Gn. 520 and 526) was probably identical with the latter's father Anantavarman. As this Anantavarman was ruling in Gn. 500 (A. D. 998-99), he must be identical with the homonymous king who was on the throne in Ś. 917 (A. D. 995-96) as stated in the Mandasa plates.

As regards Dr. Majumdar's other statement that no king named Devendravarman is known before Ś. 992 (A. D. 1070) we may invite his attention to several kings of that name who ruled in an earlier age. See e. g. Devendravarman I of Gn. 163-195, Devendravarman II of Gn. 251-56, Devendravarman III of Gn. 306-310, Devendravarman IV of Gn. 397 etc. Instances of Gaṅga kings being named Devendravarman and Anantavarman in succession also occur in an earlier age.¹⁸ See e. g. the following:—

Devendravarman I (Gn. 183-195)

↓
Anantavarman I (Gn. 204)

↓
Devendravarman II (Gn. 251-256)

As I have shown, the epoch A. D. 498-99 fixed by me has been tested in the case of *all* verifiable dates discovered till now. It has been found to be applicable in every case without any exception. This cannot, however, be said in the case of the other epochs including that proposed by Dr. Majumdar. There should, therefore, be no doubt about the correctness of the epoch fixed by me.

V. V. MIRASHI

18. See Bhandarkar's *List*, pp. 201 f. and other research journals subsequently published.

Private Commercial Dealings of the Servants of the East India Company from 1757-1767

A period of history seems long or short according to how events run their course. Ten years of good government is a period too short, ten years of misrule is a period agonisingly long. In this context the period under study, namely 1757-1767, when the servants of the East India Company carried on an organized campaign of loot and plunder under the authority of the British name and flag constitutes one long chapter on the major abuses of power by the English in the course of Indian history.

Before the arrival of the English, Bengal had a flourishing internal and external commerce. The inland trade consisted of traffic in commodities, that were produced and consumed within Bengal and included such necessities of life as salt, grain as well as betelnut and tobacco. It had been entirely in the hands of Indians and its retail formed one of the main sources of profit to them.

Beginnings of British Trade

The first *sanad* granting the privilege of *dastak* to the Company to cover all goods whether imported or purchased in the country for export was accorded by Aurangzeb in 1667.¹ It was renewed regularly in later years, notably by Farrukhsiyar in 1717² and Siraj-ud-Daulah in 1756. Mir Jafar also sanctioned it. According to this *farman* the export and import trade of the Company was made completely free of duty. A certificate or *dastak* as it is commonly called, signed by the English President or Chiefs of Factories shown at toll houses or *chowkeys* protected the commercial property from payment of duty. But the benefit

1 Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*, vol. VI, p. 222.

2 For details of the *firman* see D. N. Banerjee, *Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal*, vol. I, Appendix pp. 654-56.

of this exemption accrued to the Company as a corporate body alone and by no stretch of imagination could the individual servants claim the use of it for their own private gain. In fact whenever an attempt had been made to extend the protection offered by the Company's *dastak* to the trade carried on by their servants in the interior, it had been vigorously opposed by the *Subahdar* on the ground that it defrauded the public exchequer and injured Indian merchants. Before the English Company made themselves the sovereigns of Bengal and during the independence of the Mughal empire, the Company's goods, by virtue of the *farman* from the Court of Delhi, passed with their *dastak* duty free, while those of other traders were exposed to the payment of the duties established by the country government. This gave them a monopoly which was both invidious and unjust. But who could question it? Since the subversion of the Mughal empire, the ascendancy of the English was secure by the elevation of Mir Jafar to the subaship of Bengal. With impunity the servants of the Company broke all rules of restraint and openly engaged in the interior trade of the country. The barriers of the country once shattered, it became impossible to stop the inundation. The Company's *dastak*, that was meant to protect only the goods of actual exportation or importation, was employed by the Company's agents of all description to protect their private trade in any and every part of the country. The English passes were moreover openly sold and were often forged. For the Europeans, merely to enter this trade was in itself an abuse, but to use it as a virtual monopoly was the extreme of unprincipled conduct. Few people dared to dispute the ground with them and those who did were easily ousted, for the *dastak* enabled the English merchant to procure supplies at half the cost incurred by his rival. By these practices the sources of public revenue were being speedily depleted and the poorer subjects rapidly reduced to complete poverty.

The irony of it all was that the practice was directly undermining the Company's fabric. For while the latter was sinking under the burden of war, its servants were enriching themselves

with those very funds that ought to have supported the war. In short "Bengal presented a curious picture of *Subah* unarmed, with a revenue of almost two million sterling at the mercy of the servants" who adopted unheard of practices to enrich themselves while ruining the Company.

Voice of dissent

It must be said to the credit of the Court of Directors that, though they were often mistaken in their views, in this particular case at least, they gave no countenance to the proceedings. Many of their letters speak of the system in terms of strong condemnation. Two in particular written about this time are expressed in language so becoming that they deserve to be quoted.

Referring to the arguments of those who endeavoured to defend their claim to trade in the three commodities by cleverly twisting the imperial *farman*, the Court of Directors write, "Treaties of commerce are understood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties; is it then possible to suppose that the Court of Delhi, by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the detriment of their revenues, and the ruin of their own merchants? We do not find such a construction was ever heard of until our own servants first invented it"³ And again "Much has been urged by our servants at different times in favor of the right to this trade which we have always treated as a most absurd claim. The words of the Phirmaund are 'whatever goods the English Company shall bring or carry etc. are duty free'. To suppose that the Court of Delhi could mean by these words a monopoly of the necessaries of life over their own subjects is such an absurdity that we shall not lose time or words in trying to refute it."⁴

3 Public Letter from Court, dated 26 April 1765, para. 23.

4 Public Letter from Court, dated 17 May 1766, paras. 32-33.

An unlimited power has a tendency to breed oppression and tyranny particularly when it is placed at a great distance from the controlling power. Hitherto the communications and orders of the Company, no matter how harsh in tone, had been received by their servants in India with submissiveness. But the architects of the recent successes in Bengal, overrating the importance of their achievements, resented censure which appeared to them at once imperious and unjust. The several commands of the Court of Directors requiring them to discontinue the inland trade remained literally a dead letter.

A Deal with Mir Kasim

Mir Kasim was hardly seated on the throne when he became aware that Indians were being ousted from the internal trade. He could not but be dismayed for this was injurious to his dignity and to his revenues. Therefore as soon as he felt firm in his authority, he decided on the abolition of those inland immunities which had impoverished the treasury. He sent the strongest remonstrances to the President and Council regarding the oppressions committed by the English.⁵

Vansittart, the then Governor of Bengal, recognized the abuses to which the methods of trade had led, but he was unwilling to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed for five or six years. So he proposed an agreement with the Nawab Mir Kasim to the effect that in respect of inland trade a customs duty of 9% should be collected from the Company's servants and all other traders alike.

This agreement was rejected by the Council at Fort William who maintained that the English having Company's *dastaks* were entitled to carry on their trade, foreign as well as inland, duty free, in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.⁶ The Council refused to ratify the agreement and insisted that except in the matter of salt on which they agreed to pay a duty of

5 Vansittart, Henry, *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 13-14, 185 *et seq.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

2½%, English private trade should be subjected to no duty whatsoever.

Mir Kasim was however of a mettle different from his predecessor. On learning that the engagements which had been entered into by Vansittart were rejected by the Council, he at once issued orders abolishing all duties and establishing free trade throughout Bengal for two years, thus placing all traders on an equal footing. The English were not expected to take lying down these pretentious orders which in practice would have spelt a sudden stop to their easy fortunes. Thereafter the declaration of war between the English and Mir Kasim was merely a question of time. It is clearly seen therefore that the shameful abuse of *dastaks* by the English was the main cause of the war that broke out in 1763, with such far-reaching consequences.

Mir Jafar restored

At this time Mir Jafar provided the British with a ready substitute. His weakness would ensure the continuance of their influence. So when actual hostilities broke out the Council at Fort William decided that the ex-Nawab Mir Jafar should be restored to the Masnad. The deed was done before any one was aware of it, but as the first condition of his reinstatement, Mir Jafar was required to sanction the flagrant exemption from duties of the Company's trade claimed by the majority of the Council and to accord the Company and its agents those commercial advantages which Kasim Ali had withdrawn. Articles three and eight of the treaty (quoted below) between the English East India Company and Mir Jafar, reinstating him in the Nawabship of Bengal, signed on 10 July 1763 are very illuminating:

“Thirdly. I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their firmaun and several husbul-hookums,⁷ of carrying on their trade by means of their own

⁷ *Hasb-ul-Hukm*, document issued agreeably to royal authority by the Yazir or other high officer of Government.

dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt on which a duty of 2½ per cent is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price”.

“Eighthly. The late perwanahs issued by Cossim Ally Khawn granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before”^{7a}

As a consequence of this, the inhabitants of the country were to pay the duties while the English were exempted. James Mill condemns the avidity and avariciousness of the Company’s servants in these words: “The conduct of the Company’s servants upon this occasion, furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record, of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of the country should exempt their goods from duty: They now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders”. The inevitable result of this discrimination was the impoverishment of the Indian agencies engaged in internal trade and the concentration of the whole trade of the country into the hands of the English. Monopolies of all kinds are by their very nature unavoidably pernicious, but an absolute government of monopolists was beyond all measures of reckoning.

Court of Directors intervenes

The Court of Directors took this occasion to express their disapproval of the articles in the new treaty with Mir Jafar in the following words: “These are terms which appear to be so very injurious to the Nawab and to the natives that they cannot in the very nature of them tend to anything but that producing great heart burnings and dissatisfaction”.⁸ And until a more equitable

^{7a} Bolts, William, *Considerations on India Affairs*, Appendix pp. 15-16.

⁸ Public letter from Court, dated 1 June 1764, para. 56.

and satisfactory plan could be framed, the authorities at Fort William were to consult the Nawab as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade in salt, betelnut, tobacco and other articles produced and consumed in the country, that may be advantageous to all i.e., the Nawab, the Company and likewise the Company's servants.⁹ And again referring to article 5 in the treaty with Najm-ud-Daulah concluded on 25 February 1765 which provided for unlimited exercise of trade free from all duties except 2½% on salt, they expostulate thus: "This Fifth Article is totally repugnant to our orders contained in our General Letter.....dated 1st June 1764, in which we not only expressed abhorrence of an article in the Treaty with Meer Jaffier literally corresponding with the present 5th Article, but in positive terms directed you in concert with the Nabob, to form an equitable plan....."¹⁰

It may be said in defence of Vansittart that he was himself an honourable man, but he was too weak to stem the tide of corruption. The reports of mismanagement so alarmed the Court that they proposed the name of Clive as the only man capable of disentangling the vicious knot. "We have such an entire confidence in Lord Clive's great Abilities and good Intentions that we make no doubt these great abuses will be particular objects of his care and attention, and that he will be able to carry these our orders effectually into execution".¹¹ In their personal letter to Clive, the Court wrote "...it may be adjusted on such a plan to the satisfaction and with the concurrence of the Nabob as may redound to the honour of the Company and effectually prevent the confusion and oppression that have sprung from the abuses practised in it of late years....."¹² And Clive, in order to strengthen his claims to the candidature of Governorship of Bengal, became vociferous in condemning the internal commerce

9 *Ibid.*, para. 57.

10 General letter from Court, dated 19 February 1766, para. 27.

11 Public letter from Court, dated 15 February 1765, para. 40.

12 Court's letter to Lord Clive, dated 26 April, 1765.

carried on by the servants of the Company in the following terms: "The trading in salt, betel and tobacco having been one cause of the present disputes, I hope these articles will be restored to the Nabob and your servants absolutely forbid to trade in them."¹³

Clive assumes power

When Lord Clive arrived on 3 May 1765 and assumed all the powers of the government, civil and military, it could scarcely be doubted that he would be zealous in carrying out the orders of the Court of Directors, consonant as they were with his own avowed opinions. A Select Committee with full powers was nominated to help him, and he was assured of a fair support from England. The second administration of this statesman, although less brilliant than the first, is in many respects more interesting.

The picture that Clive drew of the prevailing corruption was gruesome. "Upon my arrival, I am sorry to say, I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate as would have alarmed any set of men." "The sources of tyranny and oppression which have been opened by the European Agents acting under the Authority of the Company's servants and the numberless Black Agents....., will I fear be a lasting reproach to the English name in this country".¹⁴ This letter, a historic document, and singularly curious in nature, is important and makes an interesting study. In the following terms Clive has passed strictures on the Gentlemen in Council. "The Gentlemen in Council of late years at Bengal, seem to have been actuated in every consultation by a very obstinate and mischievous spirit. The office of Governor has been in a manner hunted down, stripped of its dignity and then divided into 16 shares", and again, "we saw plainly that most of the gentlemen in Council had

¹³ *Fourth Report, Appendix 2.*

¹⁴ Clive's letter to Court, dated 30 September, 1765, para. 2,12.

been too deeply concerned themselves in the measures which required amendment for us to expect any assistance from them; on the contrary, we were certain of finding opposition to every plan of innovation and an unanimous attempt to defeat the intentions of the Proprietors... .."¹⁵ Yet while he was addressing the Court in such a language and playing the role of a reformer, he secretly entered into a partnership with his colleagues of the Select Committee for trading in the very same article, salt!¹⁶

According to Lord Clive, it was indispensable to the integrity and efficiency of the public service that the Company's servants should not be left to starve in the midst of wealth which their position enabled them to grasp. He felt that the reason why the servants of the Company engaged in these illicit transactions was because their regular emoluments were not enough. From the earliest period the East India Company had followed the example of other commercial companies in condemning their agents to a mere pittance of salary and leaving them to eke out their livelihood by some other means. This system had continued even when the English factory had expanded into a kingdom. It now remained with Clive to deal with this difficult and potentially explosive situation.

Advent of the Society of Trade, First Plan

With obvious efforts at camouflaging the monopoly of internal trade carried on by the servants of the Company, he devised a plan which consisted in the formation of a Society of Trade¹⁷ in which all the servants of the Company were shareholders. This Society was to be managed by a committee of two members of the Select Committee and two members of the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, para 9, 10.

¹⁶ Cobbett's *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. XVII, p. 349, 368 *et seq.*

¹⁷ For details see Select Committee Proceedings dated 10 August, 1765, also the *Fourth Report*, dated 21 April, 1773, Appendix 33, p. 509 *et seq.*

Council. It was to take into its hands all dealings in salt, betelnut and tobacco. The supplies were to be obtained through Indian merchants and to be retailed at reasonable prices. These articles were to be transported to a certain number of places for sale, to be disposed of at those places alone, by their agents. The country merchants might "then become the Purchasers and again transport the Articles whither they think they have the greatest prospect of profit."¹⁸ He subjected this trade, however, to the payment of a considerable duty and devised a number of regulations as a safeguard against the abuses and oppressions to which, under such a monopoly, the inhabitants might otherwise have been exposed. At a resumed meeting of the Select Committee, it was resolved that the inland trade was to be subject to a duty payable to the Company at the following rates:

Salt.....35% valuing the 100 mds.

at the rate of 90 A Rs.

Betelnut.....10% on the prime cost.

Tobacco.....25% on the prime cost.

The Committee expected that the Company would receive a clear revenue of at least 100,000 sterling per annum from these duties¹⁹

On these principles, while the Europeans generally were prohibited from participating in the inland trade, the servants of the Company were allowed in the form of the Society of Trade a qualified monopoly in the traffic of the very things the Court had determined to put a stop to. Referring to the plan, the Select Committee held that it would provide sufficient groundwork for commencing the trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco.²⁰

Information regarding the institution of the Society of Trade was first communicated to the Court of Directors by Clive in his

¹⁸ Select Committee Proceedings, dated 10 August 1765; also the *Fourth Report*, article 8.

¹⁹ Select Committee Proceedings, dated 18 September 1765; see also *Fourth Report*, Appendix 36, p. 511.

²⁰ Select Committee Proceedings, dated 10 August 1765; see also *Fourth Report*, article 13.

letter dated 30 September 1765. In view of the explicit orders of the Court, it would be interesting to judge the Directors' reaction to the formation of the Society of Trade. They opined that it was neither consistent with the honour of the Company nor their dignity to promote such an exclusive trade; that it was their duty to protect and cherish the inhabitants and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national enemy. "We cannot therefore approve the plan you have sent us for trading in salt, betelnut, and tobacco or admit of this trade in any shape whatever and do hereby confirm our former orders for its entire abolition....."²¹ In a separate letter the Court wrote to Clive that the vast fortunes acquired by carrying on inland trade had been obtained by tyranny and oppression "ever known in any age or country" and that they could not be brought to approve it even in the limited and regulated manner as in the plan laid down by the Select Committee at Calcutta.²²

Second Plan

The Court of Directors repeatedly forbade in the strongest terms possible this monopoly of trade and in their General letter²³ to Bengal dated 19 February 1766, they positively directed their Governor in Council to declare a formal renunciation of trade in those articles. But these remonstrances were of little avail. In open defiance of the oft-repeated orders the Select Committee at its meeting held on 3 September 1766²⁴ determined upon prolonging it for another year under what is known as the *Second Plan*. Justifying the continuation of the monopoly, Clive observed that when the Court had issued those orders "they could not have had the least idea of the favourable Change in the Affairs of these Provinces, whereby the Interest

²¹ Court's Letter to the Select Committee dated 17 May 1766, para 36.

²² Court's Letter to Clive, dated 17 May 1766, para 6.

²³ General Letter from Court, dated 19 February 1766, para 28.

²⁴ *Fourth Report*, Appendix 52; also Select Committee Proceedings, 3 September 1766.

of the Nawab, with regard to Salt is no longer immediately concerned."²⁵

The working of the first plan according to Lord Clive had revealed certain defects which the second plan sought to remove. Briefly, all salt provided by the Society of Trade was to be sold at Calcutta and at places where it was manufactured. It was to be sold only to Indian merchants at the rate of two rupees per maund who on their part could transport it to any part of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thus no Company's servant could have any concern in its sale. Provision was also made in the plan for the fixation of the price of salt in different markets, and the duty on salt payable to the Company was to be raised from 35 to 50%²⁶ which "according to the present state of the salt trade will produce the Company from 12 to 13 lacks of rupees per annum".²⁷ Clive evidently hoped to secure the approbation of the above plan on the basis of the handsome increase in the Company's revenues.

The information regarding the second plan of the Society of Trade was conveyed by Lord Clive to the Court in the following terms: "...the trade in salt and betelnut is now regulated upon a plan which will still perhaps admit of improvements for the advantage of the Company... ..the Company are in fact the sole proprietors of the immense revenues of the 3 Provinces, not to mention the 12 or 13 lacks of rupees per annum, now arising from the duty upon salt and betelnut... .."²⁸ And again in the Select Committee's letter to the Court dated 9 December 1766, the plan is referred to as "the most equitable system we could then devise according to which the trade was carried out to the benefit of the Company and their servants without injury to the Nawab and without molestation or oppression of the inhabitants."²⁹

25 *Ibid.*

26 Banerjee, *op. cit.* p. 412 *et. seq.*

27 *Fourth Report*, No. 52, article 10.

28 Clive's Letter to Court, dated 6 September 1766, paras 1-2.

29 Select Committee Letter to Court, dated 9 December 1766, para. 4.

In spite, however, of the several checks and limitations to which Clive subjected this monopoly, fresh abuses crept in. The Court of Directors did not approve of the establishment of the Society which really made the monopoly of salt trade by the Europeans closer than ever before. It is true that the prices charged by the Society were 12 to 15% lower than the average prices prevalent in other parts of Bengal for several years but even these prices judged by our present day standards are exorbitant. The Directors' letter that sealed the illicit trade of the Company's servants lays down in unequivocal terms "We have taken your Plan for conducting the Salt Trade, as contained in your proceedings of the 8th September 1766 into our most serious consideration, and having revised all that we and you have wrote, on the subject of the Inland Trade in general, and of salt in particular, we are the more convinced of the absolute necessity of excluding all persons whatsoever excepting the natives only from being concerned therein, and we accordingly hereby ratify and confirm the Orders we gave in our Letters of the 29th February and 17th May 1767 that no Company's Servants, Free Merchants or any Europeans, shall in any mode or shape whatsoever either by themselves or Agents directly or indirectly Trade in or be concerned in carrying on an Inland Trade in Salt, Betelnut, Tobacco or in any other Articles produced and consumed in the country, and such Trade is absolutely abolished

"³⁰ The Society eventually came to an end in October 1768.

These pernicious and oppressive monopolies and the attendant rapacity and misconduct of the Company's servants continued for some time more until 1775, when Hastings abolished the fraudulent use of *dastaks*.

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³⁰ General Letter from Court, dated 20 November 1767, para. see also *Fort William-India House Correspondence*, vol. V, pp. 55-56.

Did Hārīta know the Tantras ?

In his commentary on *Manu-smṛiti* 2. 1 Kullūkabhaṭṭa quotes a statement of Hārīta which runs as follows :

“athāto dharmam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ/śruti-pramāṇako dharmah/,
śrutiś ca dvividhā—vaidikī tāntrikī ca //”

Taking the word ‘tāntrikī’ in this extract to mean the Tantras Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. P.V. Kane translates it thus :

“Now then we shall explain *dharmā* ; *dharmā* is based upon revealed texts (śruti) ; revealed texts are of two kinds, the Vedic and the Tantric”.¹

It is evident that according to Dr. Kane Hārīta took Śruti to consist not only of the Vedas but also of the Tantras. A similar view was expressed by Arthur Avalon in his Introduction (p. 92) to his *Principles of Tantra*.² Prof. Nīlakānta Śāstrī also says “Kullūka Bhaṭṭa quotes a statement of Hārīta that Śruti is twofold: Vaidika and Tāntrika”.³ There are also other scholars who agree with Kane, Avalon and Śāstrī in their interpretation of the word ‘tāntrikī’ in the above lines of Hārīta. But we have found strong reasons for holding a different view with regard to the meaning of the word ‘tāntrikī,’ and these are as follows :—

(1) The language and style of the above extract shows that it consists clearly of three aphorisms in prose which formed part of a Dharmasūtra ascribed to Hārīta and with which this Dharmasūtra began and that this *Hārīta-dharmasūtra* must have been an early work. Now, Hārīta is a very ancient sage named and referred to as an authority on Dharma in the Dharmasūtras

1 Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. I, p. 72. For the Sanskrit text of Hārīta’s statement see also *ibid.*, I, p. 3, note 15.

2 Published by Ganesh and Co. Ltd., Madras, 1952.

3 *Cultural Heritage of India* (published by the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1956), vol. IV, pp. 69-70.

of Baudhāyana, Āpāstamba, Vasiṣṭha and others⁴ who look upon the Vedas as the final source of, and authority on, Dharma. On the other hand, the Tantras (including the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, Śaiva Āgamas, and similar other works) have been looked down upon and stamped as extra-Vedic Pāṣaṇḍa-śāstras by the comparatively early Smṛtis and Purāṇas as well as by the Mīmāṃsakas such as Kumārila-bhaṭṭa and others. Thus, the *Manusmṛti* (12. 95) says:

“yā veda-bāhyāḥ smṛtayo yāś ca kāś ca ku-dṛṣṭayaḥ/
sarvās tā niṣphalāḥ pretya tamoniṣṭhā hi tāḥ smṛtāḥ//”

“Those Smṛtis which are outside [the pale of] the Veda, and those [others] in which there is bad vision [or knowledge, of their authors], are all useless after death, because they have been declared as based entirely on ignorance”.

By the words ‘veda-bāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ’ in the above verse of the *Manu-smṛti* Medhātithi means the scriptures of Śākyas, Kṣapaṇakas, Nirgranthas, Anarthavādas, Śobhas (?), Bhojakas, Pāñcarātrikas, Pāśupatas and other heterodox people who look upon their scriptures as the works of gifted personalities capable of directly preceiving the subjects dealt with by them and do not admit that Dharma has its source in the Veda. So, in Medhātithi’s opinion, the scriptures of all these sectaries, containing teachings opposed to those of the Veda, have to be rejected without any reservation. The *Ṣaṭtrimśan-mata*, as quoted in Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa’s *Smṛti-candrikā*⁵ II (Āhnikā-kāṇḍa), p. 310, states:

“bauddhān pāśupatān jainān lokāyatika-kāpilān/
vikarmasthān dvijān sprṣṭvā sacelo jalam āviśet/
kāpālikāṃs tu saṃsprṣṭya prāṇāyāmo ’dhiko mataḥ//”

“After touching the Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas, and those twice-born [people] who take to unlawful

4 *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* ii. 1. 70; *Āpāstamba-dharmasūtra* i. 13. 11, 18. 2, 19. 12, 28. 5, 28. 16, 29. 12, 29. 16; *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra* 2. 11; and so on.

5 Edited by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1914.

acts, [a man] should get into water with [all his] clothes on ; but in case of contact with the Kāpālikas, [performance of] Prāṇāyāma is prescribed as an additional [duty]”.

There is another verse, ascribed to the ‘*Brahmāṇḍa-p.*’ in the same work (II, p. 311), which runs as follows :

“śaivān pāśupatān spr̥ṣṭvā lokāyatika-nāstikān/
vikarmasthān dvijān śūdrān savāsā jalam āviśet//”

“One should get into water with the garments on after touching the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas, Nāstikas, those twice-born [people] who have taken up duties not meant for them, and the Śūdras”.

In *Kūrma-p.*⁶ 1. 12. 25off. the Vedas have been declared as the only sources of Dharma, and the Dharmaśāstras of Manu and other sages, the eighteen Purāṇas, the Upapurāṇas, the works on Phonetics, etc. which are auxiliary to the Vedas, and the treatises on the science of Logic have been said to record this Vedic Dharma, but the literatures of the Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Yāmalas, Vāmas, Ārhatas, Kāpilas, Pāñcarātras, Dāmaras and ‘many others of these types’ have been denounced as ‘going against Śruti and Smṛti’ (śruti-smṛti-viruddhani) and said to be intended for deluding those who mislead others ‘by taking to bad (i. e. anti-Vedic) scriptures (ku-śāstr-ābhiyogena).’ Similarly, in *Kūrma-p.* 1. 16. 115-117 the literatures of the Kāpālas, Nākulas, Vāmas, Bhairavas, Pūrvapaścimas, Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas (i. e. Āgamic Śaivas) and many others have been said to be meant for deluding those who are outside the pale of the Vedic Dharma; and in *Kūrma-p.* II. 37. 146-7, 21. 32-33, and 16. 15-16 the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāśupatas (i. e. Āgamic Śaivas), Lāṅgalas, Bhairavas, Pāñcarātras and others have been decried as delusive, and the sectaries have been called ‘Pāṣaṇḍas’, with whom none is advised to speak. According to *Kūrma-p.* I. 24. 31-34 the Sāttvata-śāstra, promulgated by Amṣu’s son

6 Published by the Vaṅgavāsi Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1322 B. S.

Sattvata, a devoted worshipper of Vāsudeva, was meant for bastards and others. The *Varāha-p.* also makes disparaging statements with regard to the extra-Vedic Śaiva scriptures such as the *Niḥśvāsa-saṃhitā* and the *Śiva-siddhāntas*.⁷ While commenting on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 1. 103 Aparārka quotes from the '*Brahmāṇḍa-p.*' a number of verses in which the Kāpālikas, Sāttvatas, Bauddhas, Jainas and others have been decried as 'following bad practices and being foreign to the acts of purification' (*durācārāḥ śaucācāra-bahīṣkṛtāḥ*) and classed with the outcasts (*patita*). In his *Tantra-vārttika* Kumārila-bhaṭṭa says that those texts relating to *dharma* and *adharma* which were compiled by Śākya and the propounders of the systems of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and the like, are unacceptable because of their being opposed to the Veda and having their origin in perceptible causes such as avarice, etc., even though these texts contain a good number of statements which agree with those of the Veda.⁸ It is needless to refer to any more authorities. From the above statements it is evident that the Tantras were widely denounced by the staunch followers of the Vedic Dharma. But this strict attitude towards the Tantras had to be relaxed generally with the progress of time. The great spread of Tantricism among the Hindus as well as the Buddhists made its influence felt more and more by the Purāṇas, which, in spite of their great loyalty to the Vedas and the Vedic culture, have always aimed at religious synthesis and professed *miśra* (composite) Dharma in accordance with the changes in the Hindu society.

7 See *Varāha-p.* (ed. Vaṅgavāsi Press, Calcutta, 1313 B. S.), chaps. 70 and 71.

8 yāny etāni trayividbhir na pariḡhītāni trayi-viparīt-āsambaddha-dṛṣṭa-śobhādi - pratyakṣ - ānumān-opamān-ārthāpatti-prāyayukti-mūl-opanibaddhāni sāṃkhya-yoga-pāñcarātra - pāśupata-śākya-grantha-pariḡhīta-dharm-ādharma - nibandhanāni teṣām evaitac-chruti-virodha-hetu-darśanābhyām anapekṣaṇiyatvaṃ pratipādyate/. See *Tantra-vārttika* on Jaimini's *Pūruva-mimāṃsā sūtra* i. 3. 3-4 (*Mimāṃsā-darśana*, Ānandāśrama Press ed., p. 194).

On the other hand, there came into existence many new Tantras which imbibed Vedic influence in a greater degree. So, feeling that the Tantras, which had already influenced the lives of millions, could no longer be ignored as a source of Dharma, some Purāṇas classified these works into two groups, viz., Vedic and non-Vedic, and prescribed the former for recognition as a source of Dharma. Thus, in its Vāyaviya-saṃhitā (1. 28. 5-18) the *Śiva-p.*⁹ says:

“Both *parama* and *aparama* Dharma have been declared by Śruti. It is Śruti which is our authority in [all] matters to be indicated by the word *dharma*. Parama Dharma, [extending] upto Yoga, occupies the crest of Śruti, but Aparama Dharma likewise remains lower in its mouth..... This Apara Dharma, which is the means of accomplishing Para-dharma, has been recorded properly and extensively in all its parts by the Dharmaśāstras, etc. Of these [two types of Dharma], the former, viz., Para-dharma, which is said to be the best practice, has been elaborated to some extent by Itihāsa and Purāṇa; but it is by the Śaivāgamas that it has been amplified further in all its divisions and subdivisions..... Śaivāgamas also are traditionally known to be of two kinds—Vedic (śrauta) and non-Vedic (aśrauta), the Vedic ones being imbued with the essence of Śruti, and the others being independent [of it]. At first the independent [Śaivagamas] were divided into ten, and then again into eighteen, under the names of ‘*Kāmika*’ etc., and are [generally] named as ‘*Siddhānta*’. But [those Śaivāgamas] which are full of the essence of Śruti have an extent of hundreds of crores [of works], in which the best Pāśupata Vrata and Jñāna have been described..... Pāśupata Yoga [narrated] in these is sure to make Śiva visible, [and] consequently Pāśupata Yoga is considered as the best practice.....”

The *Devī-bhāgavata* goes a step farther and recommends for acceptance as a source of Dharma those parts of even the *aśrauta* Āgamas which do not go against the Vedas. It says:;

9 Published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta 1314 B. S.

“What is ordained by Śruti and Smṛti is called Dharma. What the other scriptures say is the shadow of Dharma. The Veda arose from my omniscient and omnipotent self..
 A king should banish from his kingdom those outlaws who forsake the Veda-dharma and take recourse to another.
 The various other Śāstras found on earth, which are contradictory to Śruti and Smṛti, are Tāmasa pure and simple. Śiva composed the scriptures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulas and Bhairavas with the only intention of delusion. For the deliverance of those best Brāhmaṇas who were burnt by the curses of Dakṣa, Bṛḥgu and Dadhīca and were caused to deviate from the path of the Vedas, the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Śaṅkara. Here and there in these works there are portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these [portions] the followers of the Vedas do not incur sin.”¹⁰

The *Mahābhāgavata* has a more liberal view and makes no difference between the Āgamas. In it Devī is made to say :

“O Śaṅkara, the Āgama and the Veda are my two hands with which I sustain the whole universe consisting of stationary and moving objects. If, out of ignorance, anybody violates [the prescriptions of] these two, he is sure to slip down from my hands. It is true and undoubted that I am unable to deliver that person who worships [me] by violating [the directions of] the Āgamas and the Veda. A wise man should practise Dharma by taking these two as the same.
 Those, who worship these [forms of mine], are considered as Vaiṣṇavas in an assembly.”¹¹

Similarly, in *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*¹² II. 6. 135-143 Satī is

¹⁰ *Devī-bhāgavata* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed.) VII. 39. 15-16, 25a-b, 26-31, Also cf. XI. 1. 21-32.

¹¹ *Mahābhāgavata* (Venkateśvara Press ed.) 8. 77-82.

¹² Published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1314 B. S.

found to say in much the same words as those of Devī in the *Mahābhāgavata*:

“See me, the mother of the world, O almighty [Śiva], with your divine knowledge, and yourself write Śāstras for my worship. Speak out the highly effective *mantras*, *stavas* and *kavacas* of my different forms such as Kālī, Tārā, etc. You are to become the author of the Āgama, and Hari himself is to write the Veda. You were intended to become the author of the Āgama first of all, and it was afterwards that Hari was engaged to write the Veda. Āgama and Veda are my two splendid hands. With these two I support the three worlds. O Dhūrjaṭi, one, who violates [the prescriptions of] the Āgama and the Veda, falls from my hands for ever. I am unable to save with my defective hands that person who transgresses one of these two (i.e. Āgama and Veda) and follows the other. These are the two difficult but auspicious ways between which one should never differentiate”.

The liberal view which the *Siva-p.*, *Devī-bhāgavata*, etc. came to entertain with regard to the Tantras, was the result of the recognition given to the popular literatures of the Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas, etc. in the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, *Yogi-yājñavalkya* and other early works. For instance, the *Mahābhārata*, though naming Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata as faiths holding views different from those of the Vedas, highly praises and recommends as an authoritative source of Dharma the ‘excellent’ (uttama) Pāñcarātra Śāstra which the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin sages spoke out unanimously on the mount Meru in consistence with the four Vedas and which was meant for dealing with the [religious and social] duties of all grades of people and guiding them in their activity and inactivity.¹³ The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* says that Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Śaiva and Pāśupata are the five established systems for the quest for Brahman and that the Pāñcarātra system follows the prescriptions

¹³ *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsi Press ed.) XII. 335. 27ff.

of the Vedas and is the most effective in putting a stop to rebirths.¹⁴ According to the *Yogi-yājñavalkya*, *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, *Pañcarātra*, the Vedas, and *Pāśupata* are 'highly authoritative' and are not to be contradicted with reasons.¹⁵ With the growing popularity of the composite Dharma of the Purāṇas the above statements of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas with regard to the Tantras came in much later days to influence a section of the Smṛti-writers, with the result that some of them recognised only the Śrauta Āgamas or Tantras as authorities on Dharma, while some others went so far as to accept those statements of even the Aśrauta Āgamas which did not go against the prescriptions of the Vedas. So, it is evident that the Smṛti-writers' recognition of the Tantras as an authority on Dharma was a matter of much later days. Consequently, Hārīta, the author of an ancient Dharmasūtra, who was referred to as an authority on the Vedic Dharma by such early and orthodox Vedic scholars as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha and others, cannot be expected to have recognised the authority of the Tantras, which, as we have already seen, were first stamped out even in the Purāṇas as Pāṣaṇḍa-śāstras.

(2) If, by the word 'tāntrikī' occurring in one of the three aphorisms quoted from Hārīta's work, Kullūka-bhaṭṭa meant the Tantras, then it would be very natural for him to draw upon these works also as authorities in his commentary on the *Manu-*

14 *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* I. 74. 34-36 and II. 22. 133b-134a.

These verses as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II. i, p. 25 and Mitramiśra's *Viramitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣā prakāśa*, p. 23, read 'vedāḥ' for 'śaivaṃ' and 'veda-mārga-' for 'vidyā-grāma-'.

15 *Yogi-yājñavalkya* (printed under the title '*Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya-smṛti*' in *Smṛti-saṃdarbha*, vol. IV, Calcutta, 1953) 12. 4—

sāṃkhyam yogam pañcarātram vedāḥ pāśupatam tathā /
atipramāṇāny etāni hetubhir na vicālayet /

This verse has been quoted by Aparārka in his commentary (p. 11) on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 1. 7 with v. l. 'yogaḥ', 'pañcarātram' and 'vicārayet' and by Mitramiśra in *Viramitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*, p. 21 with v. l. 'yogaḥ', and 'virodhayet' (for 'vicālayet').

smṛti which declares the 'entire Veda' to be the final source of Dharma in the verse

“vedo 'khilo dharma-mūlaṃ smṛti-śīle ca tadvidāmi/
ācāraś caiva sādḥūnām ātmanas tuṣṭir eva ca//” (2.6)

“The entire Veda is the source of Dharma, and the tradition and practice of those who know it, and also the usages of virtuous men, and self-satisfaction”.

As a matter of fact, Kullūka-bhaṭṭa explains the verses of Manu by drawing upon the Brāhmaṇas, Dharmasūtras, Dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, etc. in many places, but there is not a single occasion on which he names or refers to a Tantra anywhere in his work. This complete silence of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa about the Tantras would be tantamount to ignoring a part of Śruti as authority on Dharma if he really took 'śruti' to consist of the Vedas as well as of the Tantras. It must not be argued that the word '*veda*' in the above-mentioned verse of Manu means only 'vaidikī śruti' (and not 'tāntrikī śruti') as understood by Dr. Kane, Prof. Śāstrī and others, because Manu himself takes 'Śruti' to be the same as the 'Veda' (śrutis tu vedo vijñeyah- *Manu-smṛti* 2. 10) and says that 'by practising Dharma declared by Śruti and Smṛti a man earns fame here and the highest bliss hereafter'¹⁶, that 'Śruti is the final authority to those who want to know Dharma'¹⁷, and that 'in case of contradiction between two Śrutis (sacred texts), both are to be regarded as [sources of] Dharma'¹⁸.

As we do not know of any other work of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa, we have to depend only on his commentary (entitled *Manu-arthamuktāvalī*) for his attitude towards the Tantras. The *Śrāddhasāgara*, of which the only manuscript has been preserved in the

16 *Manu-smṛti* 2. 9—

śruti-smṛty-uditam dharmam anutiṣṭhan hi mānavah/
iha kirtim avāpnoti pretya cānuttamaṃ sukham//

17 *Ibid.*, 2. 13b—

dharmam jijñāsamānānām pramāṇam paramam śrutiḥ.

18 *Ibid.*, 2. 14a—

śruti-dvaidham tu yatra syāt tatra dharmāv ubhau smṛtau.

library of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and which names Kullūka-bhaṭṭa as its author, has been shown by the late Professor Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya to be a spurious work of late origin.¹⁹ So, we cannot agree with Dr. Kane that it was Kullūka-bhaṭṭa who wrote this *Śrāddha-sāgara* and also an *Aśauca-sāgara* and a *Vivāda-sāgara* referred to in the *Śrāddha-sāgara* as works of his.²⁰

From what has been said above it is evident that by the term 'tāntrikī śrutih' Hārīta could not mean the Tantras, nor did Kullūka-bhaṭṭa take it in that sense when he quoted the said aphorisms of Hārīta in his commentary on *Manu-smṛti* 2. 1. As a matter of fact, Hārīta used the terms 'vaidikī śrutih' and 'tāntrikī śrutih' to mean respectively the Jñāna-kāṇḍa and the Karma-kāṇḍa of the Veda, the words 'veda' and 'tantra' being employed from early times to mean 'knowledge' and 'ritual' respectively.

R. C. HAZRA

19 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII, 1951, pp. 109-118.

20 Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, I, pp. 361-2.

Raja Jaylal Singh—A Forgotten Hero of the Mutiny

Sixties of the nineteenth century witnessed one of the most important events in the history of India. A couple of years after Lord Dalhousie had left his office and when Lord Canning had occupied the Gudgee of the Governor General of India, the whole country was set ablaze by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, rather a Sepoy War than a mere mutiny. In this freedom movement of India, Oudh, which was seething with discontent, played an important part and Raja Jaylal Singh was its chief torch-bearer, guide and moving force. He was the practical politician who realized the need of organising the movement in such a way that there must be something more than an unorganised mass up-heaval, that the movement must be guided and controlled by a properly instituted Government of the revolutionaries.

But it is an irony of history that this Jaylal is now totally forgotten. Scarcely anybody not even possibly the most renowned historians on the subject knew anything about him. Innumerable articles and treatise on the Sepoy Mutiny had been published since the mutiny but unfortunately this leader had not been treated in them. Very recently some case-records have been discovered in a bundle in the Lucknow Collectorate labelled as "the Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta." A glimpse through these documents supplies us with materials to reconstruct the history of Raja Jaylal.

Galib Jung, Jaylal's father had two wives. One of his wives gave birth to Rugbur Dyal and Nusrut Jung and the other Jaylal and Bene Madho. Jaylal and his father were trusted high officials under the ex-King Wajid Ali Khan of Oudh. They were eye-witnesses to the gross injustice done to the King of Oudh and his subjects. Jaylal was deputed by Wajid Ali as ambassador to Brigadier F. Wheeler in command of the army of demonstration at that time.¹ The Kings of Oudh were all along

¹ Decision in Government vs. Joy Lal Singh's proceedings, Lucknow.

friendly to the East India Company but they had to pay heavy penalty for this unhealthy friendship. The kingdom was annexed and the King was banished from Oudh and was imprisoned in the Fort William in Bengal.

With the King of Oudh disappeared the power and prestige of Jaylal. He came to live at Lucknow with other members of his house and was always on the look out for an opportunity to take revenge. It is this spirit of revenge that led him to join the Mutiny. Charles Ball stated, "The insurgent Chiefs of Oudh with their followers, animated by a desire to avenge the wrong inflicted upon their native sovereign by the prostration of his throne, and the degradation of his kingdom to the level of a mere English province, there assembled to make a last effort for native independence."²

The relationship between the King of Oudh and the Company was apparently friendly. There was always a tendency for extracting more and more from the Nawab in both cash and kinds by the Company. The first treaty between the Company and the Nawab of Oudh—the Treaty of Allahabad, concluded during the second Governorship of Clive became effective in 1765. It bound the Nawab Shuja-Ud-Daula to pay to the Company 50 lakhs of Rupees and the two districts of Kara and Allahabad. The next Governor General, Warren Hastings, on the plea "Of such members who wanted to be the friends of the English" turned Oudh into a "Vassal State" and lent a brigade of British troops to the Nawab. Hastings himself stated, "We engaged to assist the Vizier.....because the security of his possessions from invasions.....is in fact the security of ours." By the Treaty of Benaras in 1773 Oudh was given back the two districts of Kara and Allahabad in lieu of 50 lakhs of Rupees.

During the time of Sir John Shore the Nawab of Oudh had

Colloctorate Mutiny Busta; vide *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol II, p. 645.

2 Charles Ball: *The History of the Indian Mutiny* Vol II.

to pay Rs. 76 lakhs to the Company for the maintenance of the Company's Army stationed at Oudh.

Lord Wellesley by the infamous "Subsidiary Alliance" on the 10th of November 1801 forced the Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan to sign a treaty by which the Nawab's force was disbanded and a reinforced English garrison was stationed at Oudh. The Nawab ceded to the Honourable the East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, Gorakhpur, Doab regions and Rohilkhand and in return the Company engaged to defend the Vizier against all foreign and domestic enemies. The Nawab also agreed to "act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company."³

Next came the treaty of 1837 effected during the time of Lord Auckland by which the Governor General tightened the grip still further on grounds of chaos and confusion in the country. This treaty was concluded on the 11th of September, 1837, between Lord Auckland and Mahammad Ali Shah. The Nawab was to pay 16 lakhs of Rupees to the Company per annum for the maintenance of a force for the protection of the territory of the Nawab. The British Government reserved to itself the right of appointing its own officers for the management of whatsoever portions of the Oudh territory, either to a small or to a great extent in which misrule might have occurred and for so long a period as it might deem necessary.⁴

Then came the final stroke. Dalhousie appeared on the scene. He was bent upon the annexation of Oudh. The pretext was not far to seek. On grounds of mismanagement and evil Government of the country he decided to annex Oudh. Colonel Sleeman, the then Resident in the Nawab's Court, protested but to no effect. Frederic Shore from his personal experience, 20 years before the annexation expressed that the people were happy and the land was in abundance in crops at Oudh. Herman

3 *Select Documents of the British period of Indian History* by Dr. D. C. Ganguli, p. 139 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 235 ff.

Merivale also stated that when Oudh was annexed the country was densely populated and prosperous. Even General Low stated that the Nawabs were friends of the British Govt. and the last five Nawabs worked according to the advice of the Residents. Their works were also praiseworthy. The fault lay not so much with the Nawabs as with the system itself, for the Subsidiary system was bound to fail. The system was responsible for the defects in the administration.

Lord Dalhousie sent his new Resident Colonel Outram on the 4th of February 1855 to the Court of the Nawab of Oudh at Lucknow. Under direction from Outram, Nawab Wajid Ali had to sign the loathsome treaty. Outram declared that the State of Oudh now became part and parcel of the British India. The Begums were brought out of the Harem and property of the Nawab was either looted or sold on auction. The Nawab was removed to Muchikhola near Calcutta. Oudh' was annexed in February 1855 and in March 1857 Sir Henry Lawrence was called upon to assume the office of the Chief Commissioner.

Thus the Nawab who was always friendly with the British was dispossessed and was even removed from his country. It was under this Nawab Wajid Ali that Raja Jay Lal Singh and his father worked in high position.

For various reasons the Indians were gradually bored and were restless. But the most important of these was the acquisition of province after province by Lord Dalhousie. The fire of Revolution broke out first at Berhampore in Bengal on the 26th February 1857. It gradually gained ground and on the 11th of May the Sepoy's declared Bahadur Shah as the Padsha of Hindusthan. Practically the whole of Northern India was a dry magazine and only required a spark. In the mean time reports reached Lord Canning that the exiled Nawab of Oudh Wajid Ali and his ministers were trying to excite the Sepoys of Oudh and they were in communication with the Sepoys. It was also reported that the Talukdars of Oudh were in conspiracy

with the Nawab. One day an employee of the Ex-Nawab was arrested on a charge of conspiracy and he was ordered to be hanged for treason on the 15th of June. By some means which no one knew he managed to escape from the custody.

This incident made Canning suspicious about the Nawab. George Edmonstone was sent to Muchchikhola where he was arrested and brought to the Fort William and put into confinement with his councillors.

So it was natural that neither the Nawab nor his ex-employees were happy with the English and were seething with discontent and was waiting for a favourable moment to revolt.

On the 10th of May 1857 Revolution broke out at Meerut. This was a signal of revolt throughout the whole of Oudh. The rebellious Sepoys from Faizabad and other places proceeded towards Lucknow for occupying the British Residency. On the Fayzabad-Lucknow metalled road there was a village which was known as Chinhat. Chinhat was six miles from Lucknow.

On the evening of 29th June "several reports reached Sir Henry Lawrence" the Chief Commissioner,—"that the rebel army, in no very considerable force, would march from Chinhat on Lucknow on the following morning ; and the late Brigadier-General⁵ therefore determined to make a strong reconnaissance in that direction". Sir H. M. Lawrence was accompanied by Colonel Inglis and other officers. The battle that followed at Chinhat was disastrous for the English. Captain Stevens, Captain Maclean and many other officers were killed or were wounded. The total number killed and missing was nearly 200.

Thus on the 30th of June 1857 the British force came to encounter a heavy loss and face disaster at Chinhat. The rebels now gained ground and became more brave and serious

5 Sir H. M. Lawrence K. C. B. late in command of the Oudh Field Force.

6 From the letter of J. E. W. English, Her Majesty's 32 nd, commanding Garrison of Lucknow to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department dated 26. 9. 57; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol II, p. 59.

and flocked into the city of Lucknow and laid siege to the Residency. The rebel Head Quarters was established in the 32nd Barrack.

On the 1st and 2nd of July 1857 the rebels assembled in a temporary court which was held in the house of Mr. Weston—the house was commonly known as Meerza Wala Kothi. The name of Jaylal was first heard here when he was called by the army. He at once presented himself to the soldiery and was elected their mouth-piece and chief.⁷ He undertook the whole duty of supplying the army, and immediately he was placed in charge of the city of Lucknow.⁸ From this time onward he played the leading role in the freedom struggle in Oudh.

This faithful servant of the last Nawab now took up the cause of his royal patron with great earnestness and sided wholeheartedly with the cause of the freedom of the country.

When the rebels entered the city, the chief duty that lay before the Sepoys and Raja Jaylal was to place one Nawab on the throne in whose name the work and administration could be carried on. But this was a complicated problem. Nawab Wajid Ali was still living though behind the British prison bar and it might not prove expedient and proper to place a new Nawab in his place. There were several other claimants and their supporters. The cavalry of the rebel force, put forward the claim of Sooliman Kudr who was the son of Mulka Ahud (Malika-i-Ahad). On the other hand the Infantry and Raja Jaylal wanted to place Brijis Kudr. Raja Jaylal who was the faithful servant of the Royal family put forward the argument that it was the birth-right of the ex-King's offspring to be crowned as Nawab in preference to other candidates and since Brijis Kudr was the son of Wajid Ali the late Nawab, he was to be

7 Decision in Government vs. Jay Lal Singh's proceedings—Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol II, p. 647.

8 Statement of Mir Wajid Ali Darogah; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 81.

crowned.⁹ But even then Jaylal was not blind to the cause of freedom movement and its need for unity. He stated that the Nawab thus crowned should be subordinate to the Emperor of Delhi. Mummoo Khan also supported the claim of Brijis Kudr. For a few days the problem regarding the enthronement was discussed and Jaylal acted as the link between the army and the supporters of other claimants. Ultimately his negotiation, proved successful. Jaylal was taken to the Khas Muhul by Mummoo Khan and the wives of the ex-King assembled. Khoord Muhul and Sooltan Muhul were called in by Huzrut Muhul. "The Raja stated that all the officers of the army had sent their Salams and stated that they had come to help them, that the English had taken the country from the King and imprisoned the King and created all sorts of difficulties and that they now wished to place Bridges Kudr (Brijis Quadar) on the throne, that they should be satisfied with this arrangement."¹⁰

Some of the Muhuls refused to sign a Memo brought by Jaylal from the Officers which purported that all the Muhuls were Rajee (agreed) to the placing of Brijis on the Mussnud. Huzrut Muhul of course agreed to it and presumably signed.

Therefore Jaylal Singh went with a letter from Huzrut Muhul through which invitation was sent to the officers to come to her and hear what she had to say. On the following day Jaylal Singh came with the army officers to the Khash Muhul. Jaylal and Khan Ali Khan (who had come in with the forces from Mahmood) then said that the question of coronation must be settled on that very day. Jaylal and Khan Ali Khan then expressed that it was proper to crown the prince in the traditional royal coronation cushion. According to their wishes the Guddee in which the former Nawabs were crowned was found out. It was set in Chandee Wala Bara Durree where not only

9 *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, page 79.

10 Statement of Mir Wajid Ali Darogah taken on 8. 7. 1859 in the proceedings, Government vs. Raja Jay Lal Singh—Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 82.

Jay Lal who was the spokesman of the officers was present with military officers such as Shahab-ud-din-Khan 15. I. C., Burkat Ahmed 15 I. C., Omorau Singh, Ragnath Singh and others but also Safdar Ali, Meer Kajim Ali, Aga Meerja, Meer Mahdee, Ahmed Hussain, Mummoo Khan, and Brijis Kudr. In this grand assembly the representative of the officers handed over to Huzrut Muhul through Raja Jaylal Singh four conditions which they thought, "was necessary for Huzrut Muhul to agree to, before they set up Bridges Kudr."¹¹

But such was the confidence of Jaylal on the Military that though in the confusion the paper containing the conditions was lost yet "the officers said it did not matter; it might be sealed afterwards, if Jaylal Singh became security for the fulfilment of the conditions, which he did."¹²

Birjis Qadar was then dressed in the Mundeel (a dress for the Nawab). It was further decided that after this whatever orders came from Delhi should be final. The Durbar was held at Chandee Wala Bara Durree.

Subsequently on Sunday, July 5, 1857 the Military officers came with Raja Jaylal and took their seats in Qasar-ul-Khagan. Then the officers put some five demands before the would-be-King Mirza Birjis Qadar and on his apparently agreeing to these, did the crowning of the King Birjis a boy of ten years only amidst 21 gun shots according to the custom of the people of Oudh. In this coronation ceremony Jaylal was the chief organiser, under whose guidance, instruction and mediation the whole thing came to a successful solution. That he was the guiding spirit and was in confidence of both the army officers as also of Huzrat Muhul is apparent from the written statement dated 5. 7. 1859 of Matta Deen, a Munshi of Raja. "She (Huzrat Muhul) was highly pleased with the Rajah".

From this time onward we find that Jaylal became the most important figure. It was under his guidance the Government

11 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

12 *Ibid.*

and the army were constituted. He was "concerned in appointing the minister and other officers of the State, and for these services he received honours and substantial rewards".¹³

The second day after the coronation of Birjis Kudr according to the advice of Raja Jay Lal Singh, Shruf-od-Dowlah was made the Naib (Minister), Meer Kazim the Darogah of the Magazine, Hissam-od-Dowlah the General and Mummoo Khan as the Darogah of Dewan Khana. Jay Lal himself got from Huzrut Muhal 4 regiments, a Battery, one Rasalla and the Elakas of Dariabad, Rudaoli, Azimghur, Jaunpur.¹⁴ Jay Lal was first a claimant of the Dewan Khana but subsequently in order to have every thing run smoothly gave up his claim.

After the establishment of the Government Jay Lal wanted to establish peace in the country and free the people of constant fear of chaos and confusion. The sepoy were engaged in looting and in all sorts of violence. So it came to him that the establishment of a court for the proper conduct of the business of Government was the need of the hour. His influence was so great that, "the whole of the officers then made Jay Lal the Head Officer of the court"¹⁵

Eight or ten days after the coronation of Birjis Kudr a court was formed. The court was generally held in the Chandee Wala Bara Durree. Raja Jay Lal was the Superintendent of this Court. In the court thus constituted there were in all nineteen members. According to the statement of Syed Eusuf, Darogah of Shahinshah Muhal, the court was used to assemble in the Tara Kothee 2 or 3 times a week. But subsequently dispute arose between the Moulvee Ahmed Ola Shah and Mummoo Khan and Shruf-od-Daula, the majority

13 Decision in Government vs. Raja Jay Lal Singh's proceedings—Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 647.

14 Statement of Moonshi Wajid Ali, 4th Police Infantry taken on 29. 6. 1859. *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 98.

15 *Ibid.*, page 97.

joining Mummoo Khan and the new court assembled in Nageena Walla Bara Durree. Jaylal joined this court.

Apart from this court the officers of the army used to assemble sometimes in the Dilkhossa (Dilkusha), sometimes in the Estables (stables) Choperwala, sometimes in the Tara Kothie. Raja Jay Lal Singh was the superintendent of both these courts and by his order all the courts assembled at specified hours. He "was the medium of communication between the court and the Begum, and he used often to reproach the other officers when their men behaved badly or when he heard of English successes".¹⁶

After the establishment of the court and the Government Jay Lal began to organise the army and recruit men for the revolutionary Government. He appointed Ram Partab Sing, nephew of Raja By Shes Umbar Sing (Bishambhar Singh) to the post of Meer Moonshi. In organising the attacks on the British, Jay Lal played an important part. He used to send scaling ladders, cotton bales etc.. It was he who supplied Baildars and labourers and mining implements for the different entrenchments. He took a leading part in looking after the fortifications and preparations.

The Fayzabad-Cawnpur road was of strategic importance to the Revolutionary force. Jay Lal was put in charge of the safety and superintendence of this road. He did that work with great skill and energy. The Rajah himself used to go out along the road patrolling. It was reported by Matta Deen that during the course of patrolling once Jay Lal "Cut off and brought in the head of some Road Superintendent or Electric Telegraph Official" and sent his head to the Begum through Jay Ram Singh, his son-in-law. Regarding the same affair Mushi Wajid Ali stated that the Raja and others of his party fell upon a Sahib who was pulling up the telegraphic wire and caught him.

16 Statement of Mymood Ally Moonshi (Mahmud Ali Munshi) of the Court of the officers of the army taken on 23. 6. 1859; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 25.

The Sahib gave them all valuables he had, to escape death; they took them and then cut his head off and sent it to the Begum.

But Raja Man Singh whose deposition was taken on oath and signed by him at the end and recorded by G. Carnegie, Dy. Commissioner, Lucknow on the 6th of September 1859 and who admitted that "there is a hereditary quarrel between our family and that of Deft" (i.e. Jay Lal), stated that "in respect of the 'head; I do not think the Deft had any thing to do with it personally.....I believe the Deft was at his own house when this affair occurred, and I never heard that he or his nephew got kheluts for it".¹⁷

During the fight with the English at Alum Bagh, Jay Lal was appointed to look after and secure the entrenchment works. At that time he worked in the entrenchment which he placed at Kurbulla at Tal Tutora, day and night. It is said that during those days he never paid a visit even to his home.¹⁸

Hur'karaahs were also appointed for the intelligence of the wounded and killed etc.. He organised the Intelligence Department and looked after the wounded.¹⁹

Jay Lal understood that if the army was to be kept under control and if the Revolutionary Government was to succeed then the soldiery should be paid regularly. But it proved to be a very difficult task. But Jay Lal proved equal to the situation. "Before the victory at Lucknow the treasury was low and money was required for the pay of the army. The Rajah therefore went off to Duriabad to make collections. He used always to dig all over the city whenever he heard of buried treasure or wealth. Moreover, he dug up many lakhs of rupees out of Aly

¹⁷ Statement of Man Singh; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 231, 232.

¹⁸ Statement of Mutta Deen, *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 94.

¹⁹ Written statement of Matta Deen (Mata Din) Moonshi of Rajah Jay Lal Singh taken on 5. 7. 1859 and the decision in the trial proceedings—Government vs. Raja Jay Lal Singh; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 92, 80 and 647.

Nukee Khan's (the ex-minister) house and disbursed them to the army to keep them together.²⁰ He also dug out immense treasures of the ex-Nazim, the Aghaie.²¹ Jay Lal often used to write letters even to the defaulting Rajas or Chakladars, to send money or belongings of the English and often these were collected by his force.²²

The rebels started killing people without any trial. The Reign of Terror created by them shocked the noble heart of Raja Jay Lal. To protect life and property from the ravages of the sepoys he suggested the establishment of a Jail. A Jail was established and he himself took charge of it²³. The Jail was in the Imambara of Golam Hussain in Rekab Gunge. Half caste Christians, Spies and Government Servants were kept in the Jail for about four months. Some of them were then removed from the control of Jay Lal to Kaisar Bagh²⁴. Gungu Singh Jamadar was placed in charge of the security of jail, Ram Saran Darogah, a nephew of the Raja looked after its supplies, while Meer Hussoo interrogated the prisoners and Matta Deen and Maulavi Abdul Rujie (Razi) recorded their deposition. Raja Jay Lal's own regiment guarded the prisoners and Bustee Singh was his officer there²⁵. Raja dealt with the prisoners himself and had the power of releasing them on his own responsibility. But

20 Statement of Moonshi Wajid Ali; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 647 and 101.

21 Decision in the trial proceedings; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 647.

22 Raja Jay Lal Singh's letter to Rameswar Bakhsh, Taluqadar Mallawan—Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 135.

23 Role of Raja Jay Lal in the proceedings—Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 80.

24 Statement of Mymood Aly (Mahmud Ali) Munshi of the Court of the officers of the army taken on 23. 6, 1859; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 109.

25 Statement of Daya Krishna taken on 24. 6. 1859 in the proceeding; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 108.

when Higher Officials demanded prisoners, Jay Lal did not interfere and made over the prisoners demanded. When Mummoo Khan demanded all the Kiranees and Christians, the Raja ordered them to be sent out of the jail. These people were subsequently murdered. In the trial of Raja Jay Lal attempt was made to paint him in a black colour by a number of interested witnesses who deposed that Jay Lal was himself present at the time of the murder and enjoyed the sight²⁶. But if Man Singh is to be believed Jay Lal could be seen nowhere near the place of murder and by no stretch of imagination he could be held guilty of killing these prisoners. In fact such a conduct would be against the very spirit of the man which led him to establish the jail. If Jay Lal wanted the unfortunate prisoners to be killed he had no reason to establish the jail or to take all the trouble to keep the prisoners there. He might have simply closed his eyes and allowed the rebel sepoy to do the job.

During the revolutionary period Jay Lal who practically worked as the War Minister was to be found every where at once. He was entrusted with all important works by virtue of his qualities of leadership and control over the army and the masses. "The making, repairing, digging entrenchments, mines, supplies, labourers, scaling-ladders were all under Jay Lal Singh ; he used also to go to superintend the attacks and neither the court nor assault could take place without Jay Lal's consent"²⁷.

The ingenuity of the army beseizing the Residency preserved them in a great measure from injury by the missiles of the British ; they dug narrow trenches ten feet deep near their guns, into which they could at once spring and find security when they saw a shell approaching. That praise by Gubbins certainly

26 Decision in the Trial proceedings; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 650 and Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh (1877) Vol. II.

27 Statement of Munshi Wajid Ali; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 98.

gives credit to Jay Lal since he was the chief organiser of the seize of the Residency, Bailey Guard Gate²⁸.

On the 1st August 1857 Nana Sahib the chief leader and organiser of the Sepoy War came to Lucknow. Raja Jay Lal and his brothers went to Futteypore Chowrassie, in the Safipur District with 12 camels, 29 Bullock-carts, 10 carriages, 20 or 25 elephants to receive him. Nana Sahib was given residence at Dowlat Khana and Jay Lal sent carpets, flowers and other articles from his own house for the use of Nana there. Jay Lal or his brother kept watch over Nana's comfort and health and paid frequent visits to him. Nana Sahib was very much pleased with Jay Lal's service and gave him and his brother Rugbur Dyal robe of honour (Khiluts)²⁹. Man Singh stated that Jay Lal "certainly took a prominent part in locating him in the Daulat Khana and visiting him there". But Jay Lal in his statement said that whatever he did, he did at the instance of the Queen. Mir Wajid Ali was in charge of looking after the welfare of Nana. Articles given to Nana, were given from the Khilat Khana on being approved of by the Queen.

Jay Lal was the Nazim of Azimghur and Jaunpore. It is apparent from the extracts of Intelligence of Carnegie, in-charge of Intelligence Department, Jaunpore dated 13. 10. 57, as also from the letter from the Secretary to the Government, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India at Benaras dated 15. 10 57 that an attack on Azimghur and Jaunpore was contemplated by the revolutionists and that the attack would be made under the guidance of Jay Lal. In this contemplated attack it was arranged that the Chuckladar of Aodamow, Syed Golam Hussain should collect men from the Talukdars of Sultanpur for Jaunpore and Meer Mahomed Hussain the Chuckladar of Azimghur should supply 1000 men for advance on Azimghur. As soon as Jay Lal would come from Lucknow, the force for

²⁸ Gubbins—The Mutinies in Oudh; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 194.

²⁹ Witness of Munshi Wajid Ali; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 652.

the attack on Jaunpore was to move from Sultanpur and for Azimghur to move from Fyzabad along the Gogra, and Nazims of Sultanpur and Goruckpur should co-operate with him. Accordingly Jay Lal arrived at Durryabad with 3000 Sepoys. All preparations for the attack were made at Fyzabad and a workshop was established for the repair of heavy guns; at Dilkhoosa House, a quantity of lead was dug up, made into bullets and distributed between Lucknow, Goruckpur and Sultanpur. It was further decided that another invasion would be effected from Goruckpur. The Lieutenant Governor received on the 12th of October 1857 an information about the possibility of an immediate attack upon Jaunpur and that already a body of 2000 armed men had crowded the frontier. They were supposed to be the advance party of a large body amounting to 4000 to 6000 men. On the following day news received from Azimghur also stated that actual advance of regiments of sepoy and ressalahs of cavalry were taking place. About 1200 Goorkhas were recalled to Jaunpore for the impending invasion. The Chief Commissioner received intimation from Major General Sir H. Grant, of the intended move on Fyzabad and Durriabad. The collection of rebels at Durriabad estimated by Captain Reid at 10,000 men and 8 guns.

Unfortunately, however, no detail of the battle is known to us. It is learnt from the letter of T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to G. F. Edmonstone that General Sir H. Grant's force reached Durriabad in the last week of July 1858 and the rebel force evacuated the place and Grant's force reached Fyzabad on 29th July. But we can conclude from the above that Jay Lal was able to muster a strong force and played a prominent part in the movement of the rebels against the English at Azimghur, Jaunpore, Fyzabad and Durriabad and was able to stand the British Force at least up to the end of July 1858.

On the 3rd of November 1857 Raja Jay Lal had a conference with the Begum, the Nawab Shuruf-ood-Dowlah, Mummoo Khan, Munowar-ood-Dowlah, Raja Man Singh, all the

commanders and captains of Regiments and the Sardars of Levies and Sardars and Baboos. It was decided that arrangements should be made so that the Europeans might be defeated and turned out of the Bailee Guard and Alum Bagh.

Accordingly, the Bailee Guard was attacked on the 5th of November from nine points. As regards Alum Bagh, when the Europeans reached the place, Shuruf-ood-Dowlah called Raja Jay Lal, Raja Man Singh and other Sardars on the 6th and advocated a combined attack on the force at the Alum Bagh. Jay Lal gladly agreed to it and proceeded with 300 mutinous regiments, 500 sawars, 200 Bildars and 4 guns. Raja Man Singh also went with his men. The force surrounded Alum Bagh and severe fighting ensued. This was on the 6th November 1857.³⁰ The attack on Bailee Guard was so severe that the "Europeans in Bailee Guard entreated for permission to retire in peace on the honour of the sepoys."

"On December 18th, Order was given that the Residency position was to be evacuated, and to be replaced by the Alum Bagh."

It appears that the English retreated from the Residency by the end of November 1857. In the Telegraphic message from the Commandar-in-Chief to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, November 23, 1857 (Further papers no. 6 relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies, Enclosure 33 in No. 4), we get, "Last night I caused the garrison of Lucknow to execute its retreat from the Residency, covered by the relieving force, which then fell back on Dilkhoosha, in the presence of the whole force of Oudh... ..the Residency was given up."

Jay Lal was so much powerful and had so much control and influence over the new King and Begum Huzrat Muhal that on several occasions he was entrusted with top secret and important matters. During the month of May 1858 the Begum and the Prince had several correspondences with Jang Bahadur, the

³⁰ News of Foreign Secret Consultations 26th February 1858—National Archives, New Delhi; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 249.

Maharajah of Nepal in order to win him over and get his help in the freedom movement. In these correspondences Jay Lal played an important part. We know that the Begum and Prince had written letters and sent a Vakeel to the Nepal Rajah, through Raja Jay Lal Singh to the effect that a good understanding and friendly feeling had always existed between Nepal and Oudh, it was therefore improper for Nepal to join the English, on the contrary bearing in mind former friendship, it should join Oudh in exterminating the English.³¹

Thus fought Raja Jay Lal Singh with the English in different spheres. But the Revolution did not last long. On the 1st of November 1858 a Proclamation by Queen Victoria in council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and people of India was issued which practically declared clemency to all officers and by 31.12.58 the last battle was fought and all was calm. The despatch of Lord Clyde, Commander-in-Chief to Lord Canning the Governor General dated 7.1.1859 stated that there was "no longer even a vestige of rebellion in Oudh."

After the revolt Jay Lal "had been received into favour; his rebellion had been condoned under the amnesty." But unfortunately about a year after the close of the Revolutionary war, "His own confidential servants turned against him".³² Possibly his foster brother Rugbur Diyal was responsible for the drawing up of a proceeding against him. He was on trial on the following charges:—

1st Charge:—Being a leader in rebellion, in organizing a rebel Government, in having placed at the head of the rebel sepoys and murderers, in becoming the spokesman of the rebel officers to the Begum and medium of communication between the rebel army and Brijis Kudr, in holding high office, in having a

31 Quoted in the decision of the trial proceedings Government vs Raja Jay Lal Singh from the Journal of the Intelligence Dept.; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 646.

32 Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh (1877) Vol. II; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, p. 640.

jail for the confinement of Christians and encouraging the arrest and extermination of Christians generally and their followers.

2nd Charge:—Aiding and abetting in the murder of Mrs. Green, Miss Jackson, Mrs. Rogers, Mr. Carrew, M. J. Sullivan, Mrs. Fellow (insane), Baptist Jones, Barker and other christians and Mamood Khan Kotwal in all 22 or 23 persons on the 24th September, 1857.

In the trial proceedings, the confidential Secretary of Jay Lal, Matta Deen, Moonshi Wazid Ali, Syud Eusoof and others deposed against him.

The prisoners were sent by the Rajah of Dowerah and were accordingly called the Dowerah party. It was said that “on the approach of Havelock’s force a great impression seized the rebels that the rescue of prisoners was the main object of the advance. Defendent and Captain Muckdoom Bux etc. expressed a determination to kill the prisoners.” “The Defendant is said to have got on the top of the gate way, and to have watched the massacre”.³⁴

Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh with a bit of poetic embellishment notes, “Raja Jai Lal Singh, a man of large territorial possessions and of great influence with the mutineers, followed the.....party of prisoners to the fatal scene,”—“the space in front of the Tara Wali Kothi, between it and the Qaisar Bagh (Palace of the King),” and “mounted one of the gates of the Qaisar Bagh, since destroyed, in order better to feast his eyes on their dying agonies, and to applaud the prowess of his sepoys”.³⁵

He was charged of these crimes and the case—“Government Vs. Raja Jay Lal Singh” was heard by P. Carnegie, Dy. Com-

33 Trial proceedings—statement of Raja Jay Lal Singh; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, page 115.

34 Trial proceedings—Govt. vs. Raja Jay Lal Singh; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 650.

35 Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh (1877) Vol II; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II, page 640.

missioner of Lucknow and he was committed to the Sessions Court to stand his trial on the charges which had been brought against him. According to the decision by the British Court he was found guilty and death sentence was awarded. On the 1st day of October 1859 he was put to death in front of the Tara Wali Kothi.

One word regarding the trial would not be out of place. It could well be doubted whether the proceeding was a fair one. There was no doubt that Jaylal was an influential man and that he was the real brain behind the mutiny and that he organised the Government, the Court and the mutiny. But it could be doubted whether he was responsible for the murder of the Dowerah prisoners.

From the statement of Jay Lal we know that possibly his foster brother was responsible for the drawing up of the proceeding. Matta Deen himself stated on re-examination that "Deft and his brother Ruglur Dyal became enemies after the annexation... During the rebellion all lived in the same house, but they had their separate apartments and Ruglur Dyal and the Deft had no concern with each other".³⁶ So it was natural to suspect that for some ulterior motive, might be personal benefit and in order to get some favour from the British Government Ruglur Dyal after the rebellion, had brought the charges against Jay Lal. So was also possibly the case with other witnesses against him.

But Man Singh stated, "when the Dowerah prisoners were killed there was the utmost confusion ; no one was in his right mind ; the Alum Bagh had been taken and there was a general panic. I have never been able to satisfy myself whether the Deft. had any share in the murder of the prisoners, or whether he witnessed that black deed or not".³⁷

36 Trial proceedings—Govt. vs. Raja Jay Lal Singh; Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Busta; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II page 96

Mr. Carnegie also stated, "the two brothers have an undoubted coolness"; *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. II p. 652.

37 Deposition on oath of Raja Man Singh recorded by P. Carnegie, on the 6th of Sept. 1859, before the Deft. (Raja Jay Lal) signed at the

We people of India of these days can say that had the trial been a fair one and performed in a cool atmosphere uninfluenced by mutual jealousy and hatred of the time, the result could have been otherwise and Jay Lal could "die the common death of all men, and be visited by the visitation of all men."

It is a pity that such a hero of the struggle was so quickly forgotten and few of his countrymen came to know of him. Jay Lal was after all the servant of the Begum and the Prince and so, though he was a moving force, a leader and a guide of the revolutionists and he was the brain of the revolution in Oudh, the historians overlooked him and made a hero of the Begum.

The papers now discovered at Lucknow Collectorate show that Jay Lal was a hero of the sepoy Mutiny of almost the same importance as the Nana Sahib, Tantia Topi and others. He was one of those who sought to make the motherland free from the grip of the British and deserves to be remembered and respected as a national hero.

ANUNAY BANERJEE

The Early Jaina Monastic Life

The Jaina Monastic Order,¹ like that of the Buddhist, was inspired by and modelled after that of the Brahmanical Sannyāsins; and hence the Hindu, the Jaina and the Buddhist orders show close affinity. The points of resemblance among these three orders and the indebtedness of the Jaina and the Buddhist orders to the Brahmanical one have been scholarly dealt with in detail by Jacobi in his introduction to the *Jaina Sūtras*.² Like the Buddhist Bhikṣus, the Jaina monks also depended on begging, possessed meagre material belongings, practised non-violence and truth, observed Brahmacharya and Asteya, abstained from music, intoxicants, high beds, garlands and eating at forbidden hours.³ The main difference between the two orders was that while the Buddhist system stressed on following a middle course (Majjhima-patipadā), the Jaina monks aimed at practising extreme asceticism.

The main features of the Jaina monastic life were the following:—

At the time of entering the monastic fold, the Jaina monk had to take the five great vows of *Ahimsā*, *Sanṛita*, *Asteya*, *Brahmacharya* and *Aparigraha*.⁴ These five vows, when compared to the eight precepts of the Buddhists, show a striking resemblance, suggesting that one borrowed from the other. But the reason of close resemblance between the two is due to their being adopted from the five vows of the Brāhmaṇa Sannyāsins.⁵ The first vow of non-violence (*Ahimsā*) prohibited killing in any form of all living-beings, including plant life. It aimed at restraining the monks from using even harsh words or speaking such

1. The present account of the Jaina monastic life is based on the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra* which deals with the monastic discipline of the Jaina monks and is regarded by the authorities on the subject as referring to the early days of Jainism.

2. *SBE.*, XXII.

3. *Ibid.*, XXII, Introduction.

4. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 202-209.

5. *Ibid.*, XXII, Introduction.

truth which might hurt anybody; for this also was a form of violence in the Jainistic outlook.⁶ According to the second vow the monk was always to speak the truth and to dissociate himself with any word of untruthfulness.⁷ He was also expected to use moderate and restrained language.⁸ Though the vow of truthfulness was taken, but truth liable to harm one was to be avoided as already referred to above.⁹ The vow of *Asteya* prohibited the monk from taking possession of anything which did not belong to him.¹⁰ This vow reveals that the material possession of the Jaina monk consisted of what he obtained by begging, i.e. he had to subsist on begging. According to the fourth vow of *Brahmacarya*, all sexual pleasures were to be given up both physically and mentally.¹¹ The fifth vow of *Aparigraha* aimed at renouncing all attachments to the pleasures of the five senses.¹²

The Jaina monks remained all along wandering from place to place, avoiding visit to certain places.¹³ Places of musical performances and merrymaking, parks, gardens, playgrounds and the like were prohibited for them, as these might lead them to moral lapses, either physically or mentally. Places disturbed by riots, quarrels and revolutions were to be avoided for the reasons of personal insecurity. Woods and mountains were haunted by robbers and so they also were unsafe. Market towns and halting places of caravans were not to be visited by the monk, as he might be mistaken for a thief or an agent of the robbers.

Generally he stayed at a place for the maximum period of a month.¹⁴ It was during the rainy season that he like the members of other orders stayed in one place.¹⁵ The Jainas adopted this

6 *SBE*, XXII, pp. 146-47; 202.

7 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 204-5.

8 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 149.

9 e.g., if a monk was asked, 'O long-lived Śramaṇa, did you see a man, or a cow, or a buffalo, or a snake?', he observed silence or denied (*SBE*, XXII, pp. 146-47).

10 *SBE.*, XXII, pp. 206-9

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

14 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 126.

15 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 136. It is called *pajjusana* in the *Jaina Sūtras*.

practice for two reasons; firstly, living-beings were trodden and killed by walking, and secondly, it became difficult to trace routes due to the growth of grasses and weeds and accumulation of rain water.¹⁶ A village or town suitable for study and religious practices, where alms could be available easily, and which was not haunted by members of rival orders and beggars, was regarded as a suitable place for the Varṣāvāsa.¹⁷ Usually, after staying for four months one was to leave the place of Varṣāvāsa, provided roads were comparatively free from living-beings and a large number of travelling ascetics (Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas); otherwise he did not leave it till the end of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa.¹⁸

The Jaina monk begged a lodging from the householder where he desired to halt for sometime.¹⁹ The lodging for him was not to be in crowded places like assembly halls, temples, family quarters, garden houses etc.²⁰ He generally avoided to meet members of rival orders, and hence did not prefer to halt in temple-like places, haunted by members of religious orders. Family quarters were not commended for him with the apprehension of his indulging in the pleasures of senses, either physically or mentally, or being a party to family quarrels, or contacting contagious diseases, or causing inconvenience to the family members due to his uncleanness.²¹ He stayed in such a lodging which was suitable for the life of the Jaina mendicant and the acceptance of which did not interfere with the vows of his ascetic life.²² For sleeping, he begged a couch of the prescribed quality.²³ If several monks stayed in the same room, beds were not spread closely, but at such intervals that no monk could touch the limb of the other.²⁴ This rule was laid down with the apprehension of arousing sex-desire by physical contact.

16 SBE.

18 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 137.

20 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 126-27.

22 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 120-21.

24 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 135.

17 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 136-37.

19 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 120, 130-31.

21 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 122-24.

23 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 132-33.

The Buddhists aimed at moderation in asceticism and allowed the Bhikṣus to possess material objects necessary for a life of their ideal. The Jainas stood for extreme austere practices, and hence permitted the monks to possess objects of humble nature like robes, shoes, staff and umbrella essential for the Bhikṣu life.²⁵ The ideal before them was to possess as meagre as possible. In the Buddhist Order all the material objects were allotted to the individual Bhikṣu by the Saṅgha which received them from the laity; in the Jaina Order the monks directly begged them from the householders. But both specified the qualities of such objects and also the number to be possessed by a monk. The Buddhist Bhikṣu possessed even trifles like needles etc., but objects of this nature were borrowed by the Jaina monks from the householders when needed and were returned back to them.²⁶

Like the Brāhmaṇa Sannyāsin and the Buddhist Bhikṣu, the Jaina monk shaved his head.²⁷ But in respect to dress, unlike the former two, he went to the extreme simplicity of remaining naked. Those who did not go upto this extent, put on white dress,²⁸ unlike the Brahmanical and Buddhist Bhikṣus who wore Kāṣāya clothes. Both the Jaina and Buddhist monks were in the beginning putting on cast off rags, but this practice was modified and clothes were begged from the householders. In the Buddhist Order robes were donated by the donors to the Saṅgha which distributed them among the needy Bhikṣus, but in the Jaina Order every monk begged his set of robes from the householder individually,²⁹ and this was in line with the practice of the Hindu Sannyāsins. When begging a garment from the laity, he specified its fabric (one out of wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton, Ārkūṭa, or the like)³⁰ and the type (upper one or the under garment).³¹ The Buddha permitted to possess a set of

25 *SBE.*, XXII, p. 171.

26 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 172.

27 *Ibid.*, XXII, Introduction, p. XXV.

28 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 63.

29 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 159.

30 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 157, 58.

31 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 157-159.

three robes; Mahāvīra allowed to put on either the upper one, or the under-garment, or both, exception being in the case of the weak and the diseased monk.³² In winter he could possess even four pieces of clothes.³³ However, the nun possessed four pieces (two of 3 cubits each and two of 2 and 4 cubits).³⁴ Here also he begged for one which was intended for donation.³⁵ But unlike the Buddhist Bhikṣu, he was permitted to borrow a robe from another monk for a limited period subject to certain conditions.³⁶ This provision seems to have been made considering the Jaina monk's possession of only one garment generally.

It has been already referred to above that the Jaina monk did not put on dyed clothes. He was further prohibited from using washed, perfumed, or those of costly fabrics.³⁷ As a rule he abstained from washing his clothes, but if washing became necessary, scanty water was used for the purpose.³⁸ With the idea of ensuring personal safety and observing non-violence, clothes were not spread for drying on a raised place like a pillar, or one which was not stable, or where there was possibility of the existence of living-beings.³⁹

Monks acquired their almsbowl by begging from the laity.⁴⁰ But bowls made of precious metals or stones or the ornamented ones were not to be accepted by them.⁴¹ The bowl bought for the sake of the monk concerned was also prohibited for him.⁴² With

32 *SBE.*, XXII, pp. 68-69, 71, 157.

33 *Ibid.*, XXII, 67-68.

34 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 157.

35 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 159.

36 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 163-64. According to the prescribed rules the monk who borrowed a robe from his fellow mendicant was to return it within five days and not to change its colour. He was also not to give it to some one else for use.

37 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 158, 160-61, 163.

38 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 162.

39 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 162.

40 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 160, 170.

41 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 166-67.

42 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 166. The same rule applied to robes also (*Ibid.* pp. 157-58).

the ideal of causing no inconvenience or monetary burden on the part of the laymen, bowls made of ordinary materials like wood or clay or bottlegourd etc. were permitted for the use of the Jaina monks.⁴³ A used one or the left off required by no other ascetic could be accepted.⁴⁴ At the time of begging a bowl it was the duty of the monk to specify the quality out of the permitted ones,⁴⁵ because he could possess only one almsbowl, besides a drinking vessel.⁴⁶ Conscious of the observance of non-violence, he was to inspect it thoroughly at the time of receiving to see that it did not contain living-beings, seeds or grass.⁴⁷ If any of these were present there (inside the bowl), he removed them and wiped off the dust ; but if the bowl was wet or moist, he did not wipe or rub it, obviously apprehending the presence of life therein.⁴⁸ Thus, the rules laid down by Mahāvīra for the monks show that they were mainly guided by the ideal of non-violence.

MADAN MOHAN SINGH

43 *SBE.*

44 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 167

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 166.

47 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp 167, 169.

48 *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 169-70.

New Light on Śarabha Image

Like his various *anugraha mūrtis* Lord Śiva has numerous *sambhāra mūrtis* too, of which mention may be made of Gajasambhāra, Tripurāntaka, Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Aghora and Śarabha or Śarabheśa. The Śarabha incarnation of Lord Śiva is a peculiar one. In it the Lord appears in a chimæra like (composite form of man, bird and beast) Śarabha, a mythical animal. It is generally believed (as in Purāṇic and Āgamic texts) that Lord assumed the form of Śarabha in order to chastise Nṛsiṃha, an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu.

The circumstances leading to the assumption of this form by Śiva are differently told in different texts, and we shall describe them later on. However, there are other texts' at least one has come to my notice, viz., Kālikāpurāṇa—where it has been said that Lord Śiva assumed the form of Śarabha in order to chastise Varāha, an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. This is no doubt a unique one.

Description of Śarabha-mūrti in different texts (Āgamic and Paurāṇic)

(a) *Uttarakāmikāgama*—Śarabheśa is described in the Uttarakāmikāgama as follows:

The body of Śarabheśa is that of a bird of golden colour. He has two uplifted wings; two red eyes; four legs resembling those of a lion, and four others with sharp claws lifted upwards; a fine tail; and out-stretched manes. The body above the loins of the same is that of a man with a divine head, while the face is that of a lion with sharp teeth—on the whole a terrific appearance. Not only that the said animal is to be shown as carrying Nṛsiṃha with two of his legs but also the body of Nṛsiṃha is that of a human being with hands held in the añjali pose¹.

1 Pakṣyākāraṃ suvarṇābhaṃ pakṣadvaya samanvitam //
Ūrdhvapakṣa samāyuktaṃ raktanetradvayānvitam /

(b) *Śrītattvanidhi*—The *Śrītattvanidhi* gives a little different description. This text says that the image of Śarabheśa should have 32 arms, in the right ones of which are to be found Vajra etc. (16) and the left should keep Pāśa etc. (15), while the rest should be embracing Durgā. The image of Śarabheśa, as described in this text, may be styled as that of Mahā-Śarabheśa. Moreover, the same gives a philosophical explanation of different limbs—different deities representing different limbs.²

(c) *Śarabhopeniṣat*—The *Śarabhopeniṣat* gives a philosophical explanation of the different limbs of Śarabha, and says that Hari himself is Śarabha and is capable of bestowing 'Mokṣa' to all beings (cf. *Viṣṇu-Śivayorabhedah*, śloka 1-39, p.171). This text also says that after killing Nṛsiṃha 'Śarabharūpin' Mahādeva became mighty Vīrabhadra, clad in leather. But in

Pādais-siṃha padākāraiścaturbhiṣca samanvitam //
 Sutikṣṇa-nakha-saṃyuktair-ūrdhvasthair-vedapādakair /
 Divyalāṅgula saṃyuktam suvikīṛṇa jaṭānvitam //
 Kandharordhva narākāram divyamauli samāyutam /
 Siṃhāsyam bhimadaṃṣṭram ca bhimavikrama-samayutam //
 Harantam Narasiṃham tu jagat saṃharaṇoddhṛtam /
 Kṛtāñjalipuṭopetam niṣceṣṭita mahātānam //
 Naradeham tadūrdhvāsyam Viṣṇum padmadalekṣaṇam /
 Padābhyāmambarasthābhyām kukṣisthābhyām ca tasya tu //
 Gaganābhimukham devam kārayec-charaveśvaram /

—Verses from the *Uttarakāṃikāgama* quoted in T. A. G. Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* Vol. 2, Pt. 1, pp. 90-91, 171-74.

Mahāmevasamākāram-aṣṭapadam Raviprabham /
 Dvātrīṃśad-vāhu-saṃyuktam Sūrya-Som-Āgni-locanam //
 Durgākāla dvipakṣam ca sutikṣṇa ghana-garjitam /
 Ūrdhvokeśam mahābāhum nānālakāra-bhūṣitam //
 Vajramuṣṭhyabhayam cakram śaktim daṇḍāṃkuśau tathā /
 Khadga-khatvāṅga-paraśūn-akṣamālās-thi-śulakam //
 Dhanuśca musalam c-Āgnim dadhānam dakṣiṇair karair /
 Vatadam pāśahastam ca gadām vānadhvajau tathā //
 Krakañca kroḍāśankhau ca khetam nāgam ca paṅkajam /
 Kapālam pustakam kuntam Durgāśliṣṭa karāmbujam //
 Halam vāme dadhānam ca bhūṣaṇam karapaṅkajair /
 Daṃstrollāsam mahāsiṃha jaṭacchaṭā nipīḍitam // —Rao, Ibid.

the *Lingapurāṇam* it is said that Vīrabhadra, being ordered by Śiva, assumed the form of Śarabha in order to kill Nṛsiṅha.

(d) *Kālikāpurāṇam*—The *Kālikāpurāṇam* says that Śarabha is the quintessence of the energy of all gods—a grotesque and dreadful mythical animal having 8 legs, 4 upwards and 4 downwards. In this form Śiva has a big nose, claws, 8 teeth, 4 legs on the back and a long tail. The complexion of the same is cinder-black.³

The *Kālikapurāṇam* gives a brief account of the different limbs of Śarabha, though the attributes in different hands are not mentioned here. It does not also mention the names of Śarabha. It differs from the previous accounts in one respect, viz. that it describes Śarabha as cinder-black i.e. kṛṣṇāṅgāra (contra. *Suvarṇābhaṅgāra* in 'a' and *Raviṅgāra* in 'e').

Iconographic illustrations

As regards the iconographic illustrations of this peculiar mūrti (saṁhāra) of Śiva, viz. Śarabha, it may be pointed out here that they belong to the mediaeval times (Chola period), and hail from the south. There are altogether five sculptures of this form in the temples at Chidambaram, Dārāsūram and Tribhuvanam, near Kumbakonam, in the District of Tanjore.⁴

3 Tatalḥ sarvair-devaganaiḥ svam svantejo.....//.....Ādadhe.....
II v. 44.

Tatalḥ Śarabharūpī sa tatksanād-Giriśo'bhavat /

Ūrdhvādhabhāgataśc-āṣṭapadayuktaḥ.....su-Bhairavaḥ //, v. 45.

Sudirgha nāsānakharam kṛṣṇāṅgāra samaprabham //, v. 48.

Dirghavaktra mahākāyam-aṣṭadaiṅṣṭrā samanvitam //, v. 49.

Bibhratam sasatam pucchandirghatarastriyaḥ //, v. 51.

—Quoted from the *Kālikāpurāṇam*, Venkatesvar Press Edn.,
Bombay, Chap. 31, p. 68 ff.

4 P. V. G. Iyer, *South Indian Shrines*; C. Sivaramamurti, *Parallels and Opposites in Indian Iconography*,—J. A. S. (L), Vol. 21, 1955, No. 2, p. 85, pl. 13. Fig. 25 ;

T. A. G. Rao—*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pl. E.

The bronze image of Śarabha in the temple at Tribhuvanam is very interesting. Here Śiva is represented as an animal with three legs having the body and face of a lion with outstretched manes. He has four arms, upper ones (right) carrying paraśu and mṛga, while the lower (left) bear pāśa and agni. The front leg is raised and pinioned over the body of Nṛsiṃha, while the two hind legs are straight-fixed to the pedestal. This description of Śarabha greatly differs from those given in the previous texts in so far as it describes him as three-legged and four-armed. The aforesaid texts describe him as eight-legged and eight-armed and in one case thirty-two armed.

Another beautiful representation of Śarabha can be found in one of the niches of the Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāsuram (see the pl.) as well as in the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram.

The circumstances in which Śiva was obliged to take the Śarabha form have been differently told in different texts. In the following paragraphs I intend to describe them:—

(1) *Uttarakāmikāgama* and *Śritattvanidhi*—Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha incarnation killed the demon king Hiraṇyakaśipu, who was causing much harm to the gods. Even after the destruction of the demon-chief, which was the purpose of this incarnation, Nṛsiṃha continued to be so ferocious that he became a source of terror to gods. The gods approached Śiva for succour which was readily agreed upon, and the latter at once assumed the form of a Śarabha—a dreadful mythical animal 'that usually subjugates lions. The animal then approached Nṛsiṃha' after making a thunderous sound and put an end to this terrible form by trampling the same under his feet. He wore the skin of Nṛsiṃha as his garment, and the head was worn on his chest.

(2) *Śarabhopeniṣat*—It is said in this Upaniṣad that once the Almighty Lord Rudra-Maheśvara assumed the form of Śarabha, a grotesque animal, and tore asunder the body of Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha form with his sharp claws. By doing so He became famous as Vīrabhadra, the mighty, who wore the skin of Nṛsiṃha.



Sarabhamūrti, Airāvateśvara
Temple, Dārāsūram, Tanjore Dt.
(facing p. 4)

In order to show the prowess, the Lord should be represented as chastising Nṛsiṃha, the source of terror.⁵

(3) *Liṅgapurāṇam*—In chapter 96 of Pūrvakhaṇḍa of the Liṅgapurāṇam, it is said that when Nṛsiṃha became a source of terror to other gods Lord Śiva ordered his attendant Vīrabhadra to assume the Śarabha form and kill Nṛsiṃha.

(4) *Kālikāpurāṇam*—The story of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu and the annihilation of the latter by Lord Śiva has been described in the Kālikāpurāṇam in great details. It is as follows:

Being greatly terrified by the tortures of the sacrificial Boar (*Yajña-Varāha*) and his offsprings, the gods went to Lord Viṣṇu and prayed for his intervention by giving up the body of the Boar (Fol. 80D). But the latter expressed his inability to comply with their requests. The gods next approached Lord Śiva for succour, and the latter promised them his help. Accordingly the Lord, assumed the form of Śarabha, and rushed towards the Boar and his babes. The three young boars, named Suvṛtta, Kanaka and Ghora, seeing Śarabha approaching them very fast, attacked him with their snouts. As a result of it Śarabha fell into the ocean. The boars, too, leaped into the same in anger. Consequent to the fall of the boars along with their father and Sarabha, there was a great upheaval in the heaven and earth (Fol. 81 B). The boars attacked Śarabha with their snouts, hoofs, teeth etc., and the latter fought alone against the four boars with sharp teeth, snouts, sharp claws and tail. This fight continued for one thousand years. Though there was a great onrush

5 Yo ghoram veṣamāsthāya Śarabhākhyam-Maheśvaraḥ /
Nṛsiṃham lokahantāram samjaghāna mahābalaḥ //, v. 6,
Harim harantam padbhyām-anuyānti sureśvaraḥ /
Mā vadhiḥ Puruṣam Viṣṇum vikramasva mahānasi // v. 7.
Kṛpayā Bhagavān-Viṣṇum vidadāra nakhaiḥ kharaiḥ /
Carmābaro mahāvira Vīrabhadra babhūva ha //, v. 8.

—Quoted from the Śarabhopeniṣat, forming a part of The Śaiva, Upanishads, Ed. by A. Mahādeva Śāstri, Adyar—Madras, 1925, p. 171, śls. 1-39.

of floods, the struggling boars and Śarabha renewed their fight there, too. Consequently the whole world became submerged under water. Being implored by Brahmā to save the world from the Deluge, Viṣṇu assumed the form of a big Fish and caught hold of the Vedas and the *Saptarṣi-Maṇḍala*. In order to please Śiva, Viṣṇu went to the spot where the former fought with the Boar. The latter i.e. Viṣṇu was aggrieved to see the tired Śarabha (a form of Śiva) agonising in pain and breathing heavy sighs, and ordered his Nṛsiṃha form to appear before him. This being done, the Lord extracted his energy from the body of Nṛsiṃha for the well-being of the *Yajña-Varāha* (Fol. 82 B). The solar-like energy, which entered the body of Viṣṇu from that of Nṛsiṃha, was watched by both the boars and Śarabha. Seeing Nṛsiṃhadeva becoming weaker and weaker, Varāhadeva realised his limited powers and breathed constant deep sighs. These sighs created many boars, who again started a fierce war against Śarabha,' and went on inflicting injuries on him. In doing so they were helped by Nṛsiṃhadeva. Seeing the pathetic condition of Śarabharūpin-Śiva, Viṣṇu touched him ; and that acted as a tonic to the latter, who gathered more energy than ever and made a thunderous sound which trembled the 14 worlds. (Fol. 83 B). The sound led to the creation of the dreadful '*Pramathas*' (i.e. the gaṇas of Śiva). They came with various weapons and percussion drums, and were ordered by Śarabha to strike mercilessly the cruel-natured boars. A pitched battle then took place, and the combatant groups—belonging to Śarabha and Varāha respectively—began an aerial war. Guessing that the destruction of the boars was imminent, Varāhadeva became extremely anxious, and meditated upon the past event. As arranged previously, the latter expressed the desire to make an end to his earthly existence. At that time Śarabhadeva tore the body of the mighty Nṛsiṃha into two parts with the help of his teeth, and that led to the creation of Nara and Nārāyaṇa—former from the front portion and the latter from the back. Lord Viṣṇu then approached the combatants Śarabha and Varāha, after placing Nara-Nārāyaṇa and the *Saptarṣi-*

Maṇḍala in the boat guarded by Matsyadeva. (Fol. 84 A and 84 B). In order to fulfil his promise Varāhadeva made arrangements for the dedication of his life, and asked Śiva to help him in doing so. (Fol. 85 A). As requested, the latter tore asunder the body of the former right from the middle of his neck by the frontal attack of his mouth (tuṇḍa), and allowed the same to fall into water. The offsprings and gaṇas of Varāha were also killed and thrown into water in the like manner. The body of Varāhadeva, thus torn asunder by Śarabha, was taken to the heaven by the 3 Lords, viz. Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva, comprising the *Holy Trinity*, and the gaṇas of the last-mentioned Lord. The said body was finally cut into pieces by Viṣṇu with the help of his Sudarśana Cakra.

6 Kālikāpurāṇam (MS.) Fol. 80B.

Mārkaṇḍeya uvāca /

Iti teṣānnigaditam śrutvā vākyān Janārdanaḥ // (?)

Uvāca Śaṅkaraṇḍevaṁ-Brahmānañca-viśeṣataḥ // (?)

Tatkr̥te devatāḥ sarvāḥ prajāśca sakalā imāḥ //

Prāpnuvanti mahadduḥkhaṁ śiryate sakalāñjagat //

Varāhaṁ tadahaṁ kāyaṁ tyaktuṁ svecchayā na hi śakyate
Śaṅkara //

Tataḥ sarvair-devagaṇaiḥ svam svantejo Vṛṣadhvaje //

Ādadhe tena valavant-sotiva samajāyata //

Tataḥ Śarabharūpī sa tatksanād-Giriśobhavat //

Fol. 82B.

Tataste yuyudhuḥ sarve potra-ghātena potrinaḥ //

Khuraprahārair-damstrābhīr-gātra-kṣepai pradārunaḥ //

Śarabhopyathā damstrābhīr nakhaistikṣṇai kharaistathā //

Lāṅgulaiśca prahāraiśca tuṇḍāghātair-mahāsvanaiḥ //

Fol. 83B.

Athāgataṁ vikṣya Hariṁ Varāha sasmāra pūrvvān-Nṛsiṁha-
mūrtti //

Smṛtastadā teṇa samāgāma sakhā Varāhasya hiten-Nṛsiṁhaḥ //

Tamāgataṁ vikṣya tadā Nṛsiṁhau-tadiya kāyannijateja ādāt //

Dṛṣṭam Varāhaiḥ Śarabhena tejo yat-Śūryatulyam praviveśa
Viṣṇau //

Vijñāya tejorahitam Nṛsiṁhaṁ sasarja niśāsa ca yān Varāhaḥ //

From a study of the above paragraphs, the readers can form an idea about the different varieties of Śarabha-mūrti (textual as well as iconographic) and the circumstances leading to the assumption of this form by Lord Śiva. It has already been pointed out that this particular *sambhāra-mūrti* of Śiva was very popular in South India. Iconic representations of the Śarabha image therein were done at the behest of the protagonists of Śaivism, who were powerful during the Chola period. The Śaivas naturally came into conflict with the followers of Viṣṇu, when the rival sects were racing with each other for the propagation of their respective faiths (cf. Śiva-Kāñcī and Viṣṇu-Kāñcī). But fortunately enough, there were no instances of intense hatred and violent strife between these two rival sects as can be found in the religious history of Europe. In India, the sectarian animosities were canalised through the concoction of mythological stories and representations thereof. In the creation of this as well as many other images this characteristic mode of giving vent to sectarian ill-feeling is clearly discernible. This sort of feeling can be noticed in the chimeralike images of Śarabha

Fol. 85A.

Tadā daṁṣṭrāgraghatena Natasimha mahābalah /
 Śarabho Bhagavān sarge dvidhā madhye cakāra ha //
 Narasiṁhai dvidhā bhūte narabhāgena tasya ca /
 Naraśca samutpanno divyarūpī mahān-ṛṣi /
 Tasya paścātyabhāgena II (?)
 Nārāyaṇa iti kṛtaḥ I (II)

Fol. 85B.

Tataḥ stuṅḍah prahāreṇa Śarabhaḥ Kaṅṭhamadhyataḥ /
 Bhitvā vapur-Varāhasya pātayāmāsa tajjale //
 Te pātayitvā prathma Suvṛttam Kanakam tathā /
 Ghoram ca kaṅṭhadeseṣu bhitvā jaghāna /
 Paṭiṣu Varāheṣu Brahmā Viṣṇu Harastathā /
 Sṛṣṭyartham-cintayāmāsuḥ punareva samāgatāḥ /
 Harasya naścaturbhāgena bhājitā //

Fol. 87A. Marks the end of Chap. 30.

MS No. G. 980-57-E5-Govt. Collection, Asiatic Society.

Date 1803 Samvat i.e. 1746 A.D.

and Nṛsiṃha carved at the Darasuram temple. Here a god of one sect (i.e. Nṛsiṃha) is sometimes shown lying under the feet of a deity belonging to a different sect (i.e. Śarabha). The sculptor has faithfully translated into action the sectarian rancour of the Śaiva myth-maker and hence the relief, whose theme is somewhat weird and grotesque, lacks in grace and refinement. However, the grotesqueness of the same (i.e. the relief) is partially relieved by the elegant carving of the tiny figures of the human admirers on the top and the pose of the hapless abandon, in which Nṛsiṃha is shown.⁴

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7 Banerjee, *Dev. of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edn., p. 488.

MISCELLANY

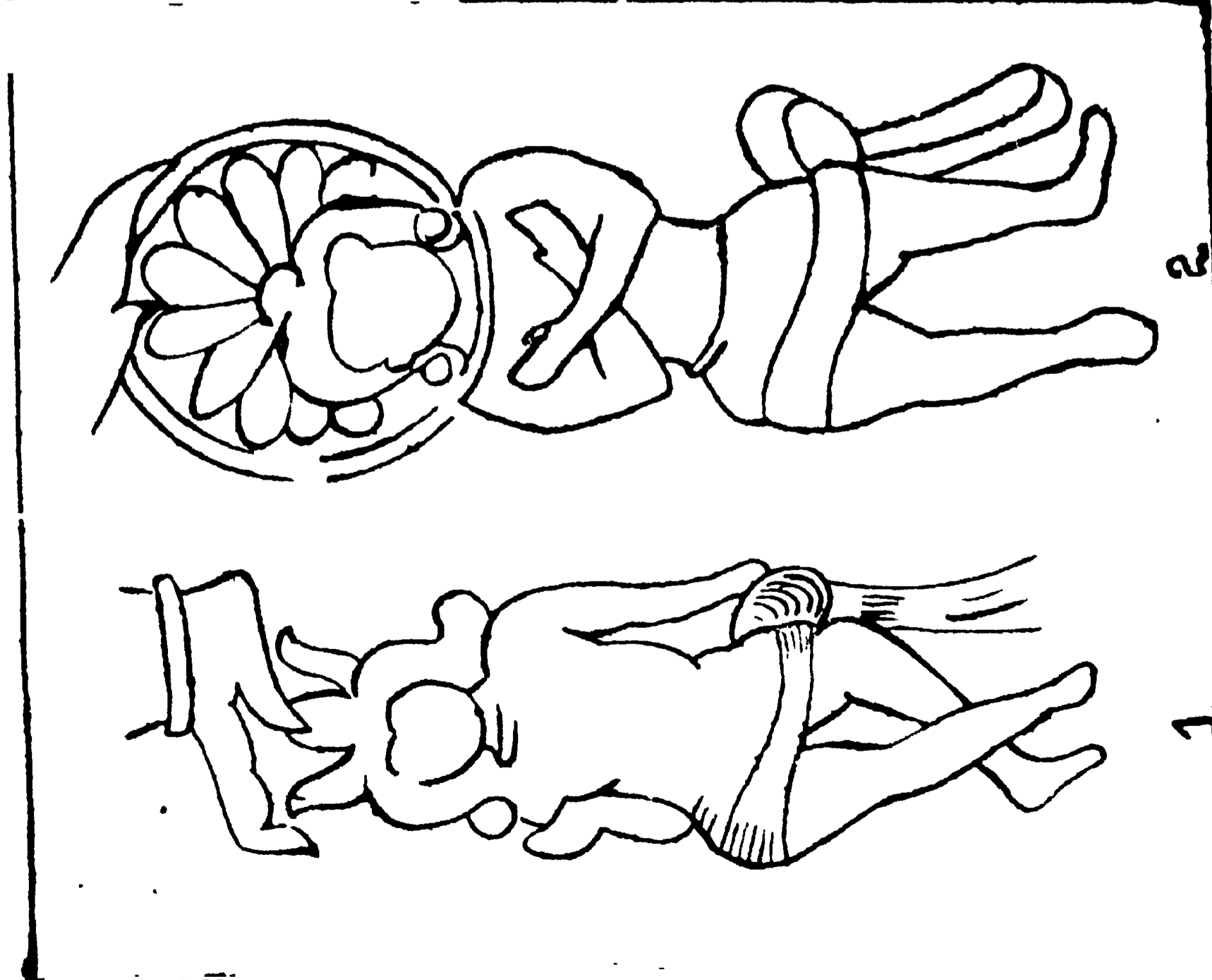
Triśūla Puruṣa in Indian Sculpture

Much has been written about the depiction of Viṣṇu's¹ weapons (*āyudhas*) in human form and that too as dwarfish figures. According to the literary evidence, *triśūla* of Śiva should also be presented likewise [T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, I (2), pp. 77-9 of Appendix, text only]. The sculptures, presenting the *Triśūla-Puruṣa* have not been fully noticed as yet and it is now proposed to make a few observations about such rare pieces in the realm of ancient Indian iconography.

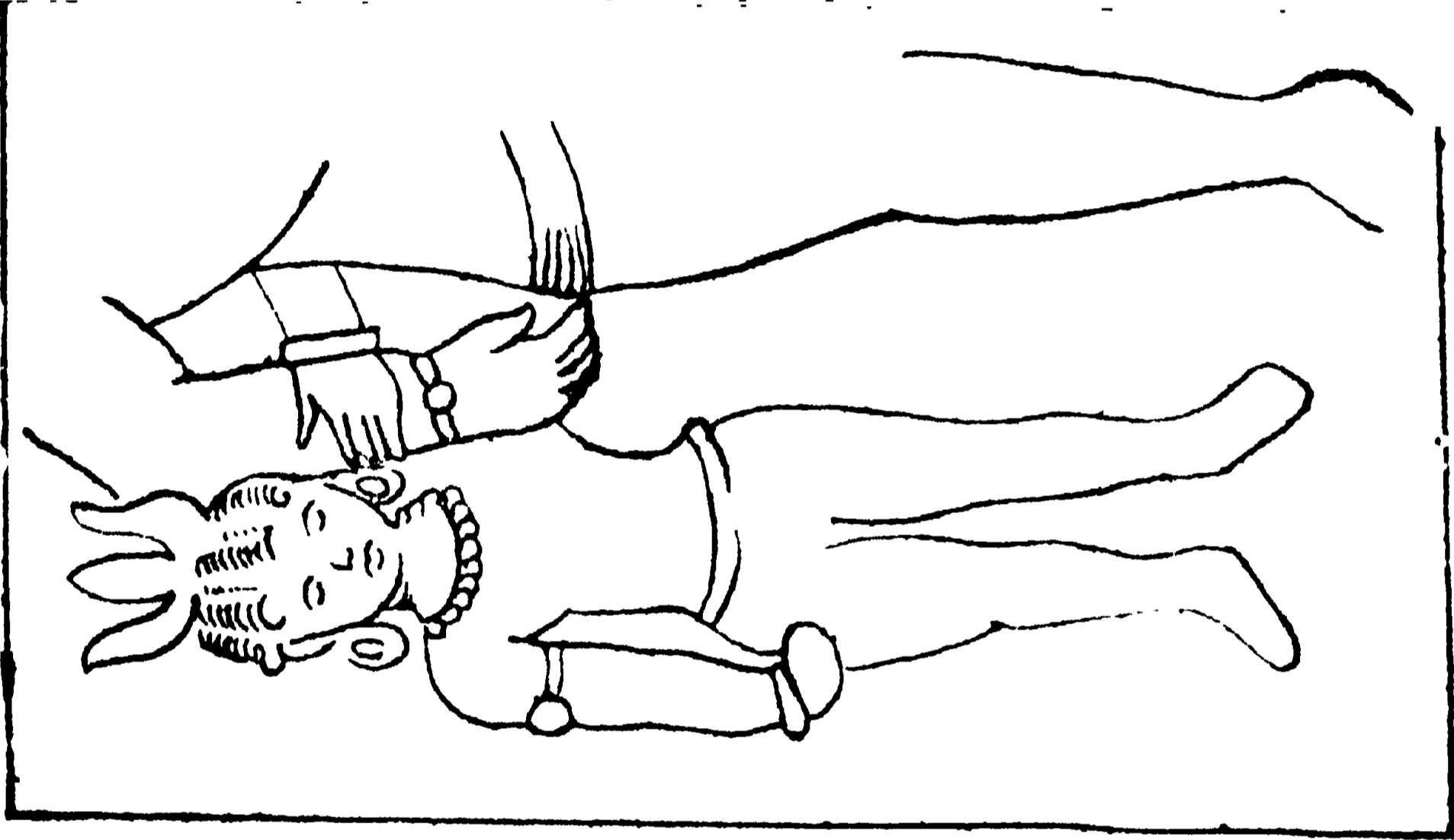
The famous late-Gupta statue of standing Śiva from Mandasor presents a staff-like trident (*musala* like *triśūla*) with an axe attached to it. On both the sides of the standing deity appear *jaṭādhārī* attendants or *dvārapālas*, each holding a trident of the same height as the main figure itself. Since we notice this device on both the sides of Śiva here, these male figures may be regarded as attendants (*gaṇas*) of Śiva² [cf. *Ancient India, Bull. of Arch. Survey of India*, New Delhi, VI, pl. XIX-B for this relief]. Staff-like trident has also been noticed by me in several post-Gupta sculptures from Rajasthan i.e. in *Haribara* from Bedlā (R. C. Agrawala, *Lalitakalā*, no. 6, pp. 63 ff., and plates), Śiva from Kalyāṇapura (near Rikhabdeva), Ābānerī (near Jaipur) etc., and so also in a contemporary sculpture from Śāmālājī (Idar State; S. N. Chakravarty, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Historic period in Prince of Wales Museum of Western India at*

¹ J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, revised edition, 1956, Calcutta, pp. 537-539; C. Sivaramamurti's paper in *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona, Switzerland, XVIII (2), 1955, pp. 128-136 and plates; V. S. Agrawala, *Journal U. P. Hist. Society*, XXII, old series, pp. 84-85.

² Cf. Madhuri Desai, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, 1958, Bombay, plates 18 & 19 for details of *dvārapālas* in this statue from Mandasor.



Trisūla-Puruṣa
 A. Harihara
 Relief in Allahabad Museum.



B. *Trisūla-Puruṣa*
 Relief in Lucknow Museum.



C. *Trisūla-Puruṣa*
 A panel of the *torana*-pillar from Khulchi-pura.

Bombay, 1958, Bombay, pl. I), a feature which is not to be seen in any of the extant early sculptures from Āmjhara (Dungarpur).

The early-medieval temples outside the village at Osian (near Jodhpur, Rajasthan) also present interesting details in this respect. In one of the *Haribara* sculptures at Osian, the *Cakrapuruṣa* of Viṣṇu is holding a wheel in left hand and a spear to the left of the left leg. The male person to the right of the right leg and having top knot hair on the head holds a full size trident in the left hand. He may tentatively be identified as *trisūla-puruṣa* though the main deity holds a trident of smaller size in the back right hand (K.M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, Bombay, pl. 55A). The same device can also be seen in another unpublished *Haribara* sculpture from the same place. It is of course not possible to hazard the view that the subsidiary male figures, holding tridents and wheels in both these reliefs, are *Trisūla Puruṣas* and *Padmapuruṣas* respectively in the real sense of the term. In this connection two post-Gupta and unpublished sculptures³ in the State Museum at Lucknow (no. AC-2984) and Municipal Museum at Allahabad (no. H-104) are quite interesting because therein we find the trident mark stamped above the heads⁴ of the male figures appearing as dwarfs below. The sculptors had the specific intention of presenting the trident of Śiva in human form there. A small post-Gupta panel from 'Khilchipura' (near Mandasor) and reproduced by Mrs. Madhuri Desai (*Gupta Temple at Deogarh, op. cit.*, pp. 22) also presents an identical device of *trisūla puruṣa* in human form, i.e., behind Śiva, here, has been carved a dwarfish male figure bearing the trident mark above his head.⁵ In fact

3 Information and drawings kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Joshi, Queens College, Banaras.

4 The weapons of Viṣṇu were also depicted in an identical manner; cf. Sivaramamurti, *Artibus Asiae, op. cit.*, p. 134, pl. VIII. I also discovered two Viṣṇu images of this type at Āhār near Udaipur.

5 Mrs. Desai has not marked the importance of this particular emblem.

the upper portion of the trident has been made to rest on the head of this dwarfish figure, the head of which has not been crowned with matted locks at all as in the reliefs from Osian cited above. The utter absence of a trident in the hands of Śiva⁶ in the Khilchipura relief is equally interesting.

All the aforesaid sculptures, presenting a vivid view of the Trisūla Puruṣa in the post-Gupta art, are really valuable relics for Śaiva iconography and it is earnestly hoped that more material of subsequent and earlier periods will soon be available for scrutiny and study by the scholars of Indian Iconography.

R. C. AGRAWALA

6 He holds, in his right hand, a lotus flower and the left hand has been placed on the left thigh.

Epigraphical Notes

1. *Bhadrak Inscription of Gaṇa*

This Prakrit inscription was published by me with illustration in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIX, pp. 169 ff., a few years ago. Since the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, further consideration of its reading and interpretation by other scholars is welcome. I am therefore glad that Dr. K. C. Panigrahi has recently published an article on the inscription in the pages of this journal (above, vol. XXXV, No. 3, September 1959, pp. 240-46). It is however a matter of regret that I find it difficult to agree with the points raised by him.

While enumerating the defects of my interpretation of the Bhadrak inscription, which are stated to have induced Dr. Panigrahi to re-edit the epigraph, he raises the following points :

“(1) 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. (2) Again, if the epigraph records the donation of 80 *ādhavāpas* 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. (3) 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.”

I should point out that the first and third of the above three points, raised by Dr. Panigrahi, are based on a misunderstanding of what I have said about the Bhadrak inscription, while the second point goes against the clear evidence at our disposal.

The main part of the inscription in lines 1-2, which is the subject of Dr. Panigrahi's comments quoted above, was read and interpreted by me as follows (:)

Mahārāja-siri-Ḡaṇasa Saṁ 8 | Mūlajapena devā 3 datā ādhavāpa 80 | Mahākulapati-ayya-Agisamena Pānide vaḍidaṁ paḍichidaṁ | (Sanskrit : *Mahārāja-śrī-Ḡaṇasya saṁ[vatsare] 8 | Mūlajapena dēvāḥ 3 dattāḥ ādhavāpāḥ 80 | Mahākulapati-āry-Āgniśarmanā Pānide vaṭitaṁ pratīṣṭam |*)

My interpretation of the passage was as follows :

In the 8th regnal year of the illustrious *Mahārāja Gaṇa*, 3 images of deities were donated by *Mūlajapa* along with 80 *Ādhavāpas* of land and the allotment of the land at *Pānida* was accepted by *Mahākulapati Ārya Agniśarman*.

It may be mentioned here that, in Dr. Panigrahi's opinion, what I have read after *Agisamena* 'does not give any sense'. But in *Pānide vaḍitaṁ paḍichidaṁ*, *vaḍitaṁ* may be regarded as the same as Sanskrit *vaṭitam* or *vaṇṭitam*, derived from the root *vaṭ* or *vaṇṭ* meaning 'to divide, apportion, partition or share', and may be taken in the sense of 'apportioned [land], or 'allotment [of land]'. The word *paḍichida* is the same as Pali *paṭicchita* and Sanskrit *pratīṣṭa* meaning 'accepted.' *Pānide* was taken to mean 'at *Pānida*', i. e. in a locality called *Pānida*. The passage was therefore understood in the sense that *Agnisarman* accepted the allotment of the 80 *Ādhavāpas* of land at *Pānida*. This does not appear to be especially unintelligible to me.

As regards the first and third of the three points marked in the passage quoted above from Dr. Panigrahi's article, it will be seen that, in my interpretation, *Mūlajapa* is the name of the person who donated three images for installation in a temple while Dr. Panigrahi does an injustice to me in thinking that I have taken the expression *mūlajapa* in the sense of a procedure for the consecration of images, that in my interpretation the name of the donor of the images and the land measuring 80 *Ādhavāpas* is absent and that it is an impossible omission. I do not really understand how the meaning of my language could have escaped even a casual reader of my article.

In the second of the three points, Dr. Panigrahi complains that there are no 'exact specifications' of the donated land and that there is no inscription recording a gift of land without

specifications. I am really surprised at this comment. As will be seen from my interpretation of the inscription, the land measuring 80 *Ādhavāpas*, donated by Mūlajapa, was situated at a place called Pānida. This is enough specification for an early record like the Bhadrak inscription which has been assigned to the third century A. D., since it is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy that the boundaries of the donated land or village are not generally quoted in the early inscriptions such as those of the Sātavāhanas. This was generally the case even in later records when the boundaries of the land or the village granted were well-known to the donees and the people of the neighbourhood. In the Nasik inscription of the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, we have the passage *eta amha-kheta-nivatana-satāni be 200 imesa pavajitāna Tekirasina vitarāma*, “We give away this two hundred—200—*Nivartanas* of land belonging to us in favour of the Trairāsamika ascetics”, while, the Nasik inscription of the same king’s 24th regnal year has *ya dāni etba nagara-simē rājakaiṃ khetaiṃ amha-satakaṃ tato etesa pavajitāna bhikhūnaiṃ Teranabukānaiṃ dadama khetasa nivatana-sataṃ 100*, “We give away now one hundred *Nivartanas* of land—100—out of that royal land which personally belongs to us and lies at the border of the city, in favour of these Trairāsmika monks.”¹ Sometimes villages were given away even without specifying their names.² Most of the Damodarpur plates and many other charters of the Gupta age such as the Baigram plate do not quote the boundaries of the land or village which formed the subject of transactions.³

As regards Dr. Panigrahi’s reading and interpretation of the Bhadrak inscription, I do not agree with any of his views. The most important of his suggestions is that he reads *Mahārāja-Suraśamma* in place of my reading *Mahārāja siri-Gaṇasa*.

1 See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 192, 194.

2 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 194, No. 85.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 286, 325, 343 ff.

Dr. Panigrahi's reading of the king's name appears to me to be untenable.

2. Capital of the Later Aulikaras

Prof. V. V. Mirashi raised two points in order to prove that the later rulers of the Aulikara dynasty of West Malwa had their capital at Ujjayinī and not at Mandasor (above, vol. XXXIII, No. 4, December 1957, pp. 314-20) while I offered certain arguments to show that this theory is not at all proved by the mention of Dravyavardhana as an *Āvantika nrpa* in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā* and that of Nirdoṣa in the Mandasor inscription of the time of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, dated V. S. 589 (*ibid.*, vol. XXXIV, No. 1, March 1959, pp. 72-75). Prof. Mirashi has now commented on my arguments against his views (*ibid.*, vol. XXXV, No. 3, September 1959, pp. 254-58) and I propose to deal with the points raised by him in the following lines.

1. I pointed out that all the Aulikara inscriptions (i. e. all the records of both the Earlier and Later Aulikaras) have been discovered at Mandasor or its neighbourhood (most of them at Mandasor itself and only a few outside), that none of them was found at Ujjayinī, and that the Early Aulikara king Bandhuvarman and the Later Aulikara monarch Ādityavardhana have been clearly mentioned in the Mandasor inscriptions of their reigns as having their capital at Daśapura or Mandasor. Prof. Mirashi now points out that, in respect of the Later Aulikaras, "the objection...has not much weight; for only two records of these kings have been discovered so far," and that the passage *puram daś-ādikam* in the description of Ādityavardhana in the Mandasor inscription does not suit the metre and may possibly be read as *pura-deś-ādikam*. I do not find any substance in the points raised here.

If the discovery of the only two inscriptions of the Later Aulikaras at Mandasor does not prove their relation with that place (which, in Prof. Mirashi's opinion, even lay outside

Avanti) does the fact that none of their records have come from Ujjayinī help us at all in locating their capital at that city?

In his original article, Prof. Mirashi admitted that Ādityavardhana had something to do with *daś-ādika pura*, i.e. Daśapura. As I pointed out that this admission clearly goes against his theory, he now proposes to read *pura-deś-ādikam* in place of *puram daś-ādikam* which he thinks metrically defective. I am sorry that I do not find any error in the reading of the text and the metre of the stanza while I consider the reading of *da* as *de*, as now proposed by him, as quite impossible. On the other hand, *de* goes against the general rule *pañcamam laghu sarvatram* in respect of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in which the stanza is written. There can be no doubt that Ādityavardhana is represented in the stanza in question as the ruler of Daśapura.

2. Prof. Mirashi draws our attention to Utpala's commentary (tenth century) in which the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (sixth century) passage *Āvantikaḥ nṛpaḥ*, used in the description of Dravyavardhana, has been explained as *Ujjayinyāḥ nṛpaḥ*. In my opinion, Utpala's late testimony is of no importance when we have the contemporary evidence of the Mandasor inscription of Ādityavardhana's time stating that he was ruling at Daśapura. But, even if it is regarded as proving that Dravyavardhana had his capital at Ujjayinī, how does it also prove that all the Later Aulikara kings had their capital at that city?

Prof. Mirashi is inclined to interpret *Āvantika* as 'one residing in the city of Avanti or Ujjayinī', while we explained it as 'belonging to the Avanti country'. He now draws our attention to the passage *Āvantiyāḥ Pāriyātrāḥ saba Daśapura-jair = bhūta-bhāṣām bhajante*, occurring in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (tenth century) and mentioning the Āvantiyas (people of Avanti) and Daśapurajas (people of Daśapura) separately, and says, "This shows clearly that Avanti did not include Daśapura." But in our opinion, *Āvantiyāḥ* in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* passage means 'the people of the city of Avanti or Ujjayinī' and not 'the people of the Avanti country'. Even if it is believed that the people of Daśapura formed a part of the people of Avanti,

they could have been separately mentioned according to the *Māthara-Kauṇḍinya-nyāya* explained and illustrated in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, N.S. ed., vol. I, p. 113. As regards the separate mention of the Vidarbhas and Vatsagulmas in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, Prof. Mirashi himself takes his stand on this *nyāya* when he says elsewhere, "Though Vatsagulma was included in Vidarbha, it is mentioned separately as its customs were in some respects different from those of the other parts of Vidarbha" (above, vol. XXII, No. 4, December 1946, pp. 313-14).

3. Prof. Mirashi says, "Dravyavardhana, who was a predecessor of Yaśodharman, was ruling from Avanti or Ujjayinī. 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...'. But there is no proof that Dravyavardhana, even if he had his capital at Ujjayinī, was the immediate predecessor and father of Yaśodharman. He may as well have been a predecessor of Ādityavardhana who was one of Yaśodharman's predecessors and had certainly his capital at Daśapura or Mandasor.

4. Prof. Mirashi now admits that the Mandasor inscription of V. S. 589 does not mention Nirdoṣa as Yaśodharman's viceroy stationed at Daśapura. But he says, "he was appointed *Rājasthānīya* of the country extending from the Vindhya mountain in the south to the Pāriyātra in the north and the Arabian Sea in the west. Daśapura is the only well-known 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." There are too many conjectures involved in this. In this first place, not Nirdoṣa but his uncle Abhayadatta is mentioned in the inscription as the *Rājasthānīya* of the said territory although it may be conjectured that Nirdoṣa succeeded his uncle in the latter's viceroyalty. Secondly, it is wrong to say that there is no other well-known place in this area excepting Daśapura since there was Madhyamikā near Chitor and a recently discovered Aulikara inscrip-

tion,⁴ unfortunately fragmentary, actually mentions Daśapura and Madhyamā or Madhyamikā as well as a *Rājasthānīya*. It is also strange that the vague mention of Nirdoṣa in a Mandasor epigraph is regarded by Prof. Mirashi as evidence enough for locating his headquarters at that place ; but the discovery of both the Later Aulikara inscriptions at Mandasor (one of the two records mentioning the king as the ruler of the city) induces him to locate the Later Aulikara capital elsewhere. In our opinion, there is no proof that Nirdoṣa had his headquarters at Daśapura.

5. We suggested that, even when Yaśodharman had his capital at Daśapura, there might have been a governor (*Rājasthānīya*, not a feudatory) stationed at Daśapura itself conducting the administration of the metropolitan province of Yaśodharman's kingdom. Prof. Mirashi considers it unlikely and says, "we have so far had no instance of a feudatory or a *Rājasthānīya* of an emperor governing the territory round the latter's capital." But have we definite evidence that it was the emperor himself who ran the administration of the district round his capital ? To us this seems to be most unlikely and it appears that, in most cases, there was an officer appointed for the purpose. We may here refer to two such instances. The Sesai and Bangla (near Narwar) inscriptions⁵ suggest that Jaitravarman was the governor of the district round the Jajpella capital at Nalapura (Narwar) during the reign of Gopāla. The Paramāra king Jayasimha-Jayavarman issued one of his Mandhata copper-plate charters⁶ in V. S. 1317 while staying at Maṇḍapa-durga (Mandu). That Maṇḍapa was his capital seems to be suggested by his description as 'staying at Maṇḍapa' (*Maṇḍapa-madhyastha*) in the Balvan inscription⁷ of king Hammīra of Raṇastambhapura. But another copper-plate grant⁸ from Mandhata, dated V. S. 1331, is known to have been

4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 53 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff.

6 *Ibid.*, vol. IX, pp. 117 ff.

7 *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 49, verse 7.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 139 ff.

issued, with Jayaśiṃha-Jayavarman's permission, by one of his officers, named *Sādhanika* Anayasimha, who was stationed at Maṇḍapa-durga, in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas, who had been settled in a locality within Maṇḍapa by Anayasimha himself, in respect of some villages situated in certain districts of the Paramāra king's dominions. *Sādhanika* Anayasimha thus seems to have been the governor of the metropolitan district of his master's kingdom. We have also to note that, when an *Uparika* (provincial governor) was ruling over the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* apparently with his headquarters at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, an *Ayukta* (ruler of a district) also had his headquarters at the same city.⁹

There is thus no evidence in favour of the conjecture that Ujjayinī (and not Daśapura) was the capital of the Later Aulikaras.

3. *The Koḷagallu and Kuḍatini Inscriptions,* 967 and 971 A. D.

These two inscriptions were published respectively in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, pp. 260 ff., and *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. IX, Part i, p. 43, No. 70. Recently Dr. G. S. Gai has quoted two stanzas (the first occurring in the Kuḍatini epigraph and the second in both the Koḷagallu and Kuḍatini records) in his interesting note on Tarkāri published above, vol. XXXV, No. 3, September 1959, pp. 271-73.

Both the inscriptions record the installation of the god Skanda-Kārttikeya by Gadādhara described as a good ascetic (*satapasvin*) apparently belonging to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Sāṇḍily *gotra*, who was born at Taḍā-grāma and used to sit only on an iron seat (*lohāsanin*), and as the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa

⁹ See the Damodarpur inscriptions of the reigns of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.), Budhagupta (477-94 A.D.), etc. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.) and the Paharpur inscription of 478 A.D. (*ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.).

country or people and the illuminator of the Varendrī country.¹⁰ Thus Gadādhara was an inhabitant of Taḍā-grāma (identified with a village near Dinajpur in North Bengal) situated in Varendrī (parts of North Bengal) forming a part of Gauḍa (western and north-western parts of Bengal). This reminds us of Kullūka's commentary on the *Manusmṛti*, describing the commentator who was originally an inhabitant of a locality in Varendrī within Gauḍa.¹¹

The person who composed the Koḷagallu and Kuḍatini records of Gadādhara was another man of a family hailing from Varendrī. The first of the two stanzas in the description of this person, which occurs only in the Kuḍatini inscription, runs as follows:

*Gaṁgā-pūte sadā-ramye Varendrī-puṇya-maṇḍale(le) |
durggam-ottara-dig-bhāge grāmaḥ-Pāhuniyojane ||*¹²

“There is a village in [the area known as] Pāhuniyojana in the inaccessible northern region in the sacred territory of Varendrī which is purified by the Ganges and is always pleasing.” The district of Pāhuniyojana, in which the village in question was situated, thus lay in the northern part of Varendrī. The description of the said part of the territory as *durgama*, i. e. difficult to reach or traverse, reminds us of the fact that the Dāmodarpur (Phulbari P. S., Dinajpur District) inscription of 542 A. D. describes certain areas of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* (Dinajpur region) in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (i. e. Varendrī) as an *araṇya* or forest territory (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 336). As the lands mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plates appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Vāyigrāma (*ibid.*, p. 325), i. e., modern Baigram near Hili in the Bogra District, the wild tract seems to have covered the present Hili-Balurghat region of North Bengal, now partly in West Bengal and partly in East Pakistan.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 264:

Lob-āsani ca Sāṇḍilyas = su-tapasvī Gadādharaḥ (1)
vidvaj-jan-āśrayo vidvām(dvā)n = Gauḍa-cūḍamaṇir = guṇi ||
Svarga-vāsa-nimitt-ārthaṁ Taḍā-grām-otbha(dbha)vena tu (1*)
sthāpito divya-mantreṇa Varendry-udyo(ddyo)ta-kāriṇā ||*

¹¹ *Gauḍe Nandanavāsi-nāmni sujanair = vandye Varendryām kule
śrīmad-Bhaṭṭa-Divākarasya tanayaḥ Kullūka-bhaṭṭo = bhavat |*

¹² *SII*, vol. IX, Part i, p. 43.

The said verse is followed in the Kuḍatini inscription by another stanza which also occurs in the Koḷagallu record. The text of this verse runs as follows :

Śrī-Karmāra-kul-ābhūya-dviija-vara-grāmas = tu Tarkārīto¹³
niṣkrāmya krama-nirmālas = samabhavat = tasmin = Ṛṣiḥ =
paṇḍitaḥ (1)*
sta(ta)t-putraḥ = prathitaḥ kṣitāu = Ativabala¹⁴ = tasmād =
abhūda(bhūd) = yas = sutas =
tena śrī-Madhusūdan-ākhyā-kavinā śastā praśastiḥ kṛta ॥

The interpretation of the stanza as published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and quoted in this journal is defective. As they stand, the first and second sentences in the first half of the stanza mean to say that the village in Pāhuniyojana, referred to in the stanza quoted previously, which was the habitation of learned Brāhmaṇas, bore the name Śrī-Karmāra-kula (literally 'the illustrious blacksmiths' family or residence') and, after having separated itself from Tarkāri, became pure in course of time, and that the learned Ṛṣi was born in the said village. 'Becoming pure in the course of time' would then mean that the stigma of the association with blacksmiths was gradually removed by the settlement of the learned Brāhmaṇas. In that case, the person in question would appear to have been a Brāhmaṇa. But the mention of this person without the name of his *gotra* renders it doubtful that he was a Brāhmaṇa. Moreover, the above interpretation of the verse involves the unnecessary repetition of the word *grāma* in the second stanza. Considering the number of errors in the engraved text, it is therefore not impossible to think that the first foot of the stanza has to be read as *Śrī-Karmāra-kul-ābhūye dviijavara-grāmāt = tu Tarkārīto*. In that case, the subject of the verb *samabhavat* (became) in the passage *Tarkārīto niṣkrāmya krama-nirmālas = samabhavat* (became gradually pure after having come out of Tarkāri) would be the family of the blacksmiths and

13 This is the reading of the Koḷagallu inscription. The printed text of the Kuḍatini inscription has *grāmasya Tarkārīto*.

14 The rest of the stanza is not found in the published text of the Kuḍatini inscription.

not the village as suggested by the text as it is.' If this is accepted, the word *vaṁśah* has to be understood with *śrī-Karmāra-kulābhvayah* and the passage would then mean '[a family] known as the community of blacksmiths.'

If such is the case, the composition of the *praśasti* by a person of the blacksmith community of Bengal would be an interesting fact. In this connection, it has to be noted that the poet's family is stated to have become pure gradually after having left their original home in a village dominated by Brāhmaṇas. This may suggest that, after settling elsewhere, the members of the family gave up their hereditary profession. Although it was generally the Brāhmaṇas who acquired proficiency in the Sanskrit language and received honour at the royal courts for their learning, a large number of Sanskrit *praśastis* are known to have been composed by members of the non-Brāhmaṇa communities, especially the Kāyasthas.¹⁵ In Bengal, the Vaidya or physician community was always famous for their Sanskrit learning and produced great poets and Sanskritists like the celebrated Umāpatidhara and Bharatamallika, and there are also some *praśastis* composed by poets belonging to this community.¹⁶ During the rule of the Buddhist kings of East India such as those of the Pāla dynasty, Sanskrit learning does not appear to have been confined to the Brāhmaṇas.

The Silimpur inscription¹⁷ describes the village called Bālagrāma, which was situated in the Puṇḍra country (i.e. Puṇḍra-wardhana-bhukti) and was an ornament of Varendrī, as an offshoot (*prasūta*) of Tarkāri, which was attached to Śrāvasti, and as having the Sakaṭī [river] intervening between Tarkāri and Bālagrāma, while the Brāhmaṇa village called Vaigrāma in Sāvathi (Śrāvasti) mentioned in the Guakuchi plate¹⁸ of king Indrapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa, is apparently the modern Baigram near Hili. Thus the

15 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 337, 339, 343,

16 See R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A.S.B., vol. V, No. 3), pp. 78, 82.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 290.

18 P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, p. 137.

Hili-Balurghat region is called Śrāvasti in these records and Pāhuniyojana in the Kudatini inscription. It appears that a large number of Brāhmaṇas of Śrāvasti in the ancient Kośala country in Madhyadeśa (i. e. the Set-Mahet region in the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of U. P.), especially of Tarkāri in that region, were settled in the Hili-Balurghat area in North Bengal and that these Brāhmaṇas named their new settlements after their old habitations in U. P.¹⁹

It may be pointed out in this connection that Tarkāri, the home of the Brāhmaṇa donee, is located in some records in Madhyadeśa (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 121) while, according to the evidence of the Dāmodarpur inscriptions, there was enough state land of the uncultivated class for disposal in the Hili-Balurghat region (cf., e. g., *Select Incriptions*, p. 284, note 10, etc.). Another fact to which attention may be drawn is that the Brāhmaṇas of a village named Kroḍāñca, Kroḍāñji, Kroḍāñja, Kolañca, Kolāñca, etc., apparently situated in U. P. and very probably in the Śrāvasti area, were highly respected by the Brāhmaṇas of Mithila in the early medieval period.²⁰ It is not possible to believe that Maithila Brahmanas could have been so much respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas of North Bengal. Moreover, according to certain traditions, the ancestors of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal hailed from the said locality. The same village called Kroḍāñja is stated to have been situated in Śrāvasti in the Subhañkarapāṭaka grant of king Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa and it is very probable that this Śrāvasti is identical with the Hili-Balurghat region of North Bengal. Thus several places in the said region appear to have been named after some celebrated Brāhmaṇa villages in the Śrāvasti area of U. P.

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¹⁹ We may refer in this connection to Pāṭaliputtiram in the South Arcot District (*A.R.E.P.*, 1918-19, p. 25), which was apparently so named by some people settling there from Pāṭaliputra (near Patna), called a *Bhaṭṭā grabhāra* in early medieval epigraphs (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, pp. 119, 126).

²⁰ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 52-53.

²¹ P. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and corrigenda.

REVIEW

The BRĀHMANĀSARVASVA of Halāyudha (Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad Series No. 29). Edited by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya and published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Shambazar, Calcutta, 1960.

Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharyya is to be congratulated for his nice edition of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* by the illustrious *Dharmādhyakṣa* of King Lakṣmaṇasena, who along with his esteemed father, Ballālasena, were responsible for the uninterrupted progress and flourishing of Vedic and Purāṇic studies in Bengal. Like the *Paddhati* of Bhavadeva, much in requisition among the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas, the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* has been highly popular among the Yajurveda Brāhmaṇas, and, as a matter of fact, for the bulk of Vedic students in eastern India. The text appears in the present form free from the many errors of omission and commission of previous editions. Halāyudha has given us an inkling into the genesis and the *raison d'être* of the limited scope of his work, in the course of which he has pointed out the drawbacks of the method of Vedic acquaintance prevalent in his time, as well into his ripe scholarship in the Purāṇas and the *Dharmaśāstras*. His criticism of the manner of approach of the Rād̥hīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, who indulged in discussions about the importance and value (*itikartavyatāvicāra*) of Vedic sacrifices is understandable when one seeks to account for the influx of Brāhmaṇas with practical knowledge thereof in different bands and different periods from north-western India particularly. His characterisation of such immigrants as mere 'reciters' is a bit harsh and may be an index of a spirit of intolerance, quite natural among the resident Brāhmaṇas. Works like the *Brahmasaṃskāra-mañjarī* by Nārāyaṇa Ṭhākura (Bhaṭṭa) (of the 16th century), who was the grandson of an immigrant of this type, would serve to disprove his contention.

The *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* is valuable for its embodying a reliable text of the *mantras* necessary for our daily worship and in sacra-

ments as much for its lucid interpretation thereof. Though the author has tried to keep himself abreast of the tradition of Vedic exegesis in the latter item, he has offered real aid in the understanding of certain *mantras*, where later masters of the calibre of Sāyaṇācārya have failed (a point to which the learned editor has drawn our attention in his introduction). What strikes even a casual reader on this head is his bias towards a Purāṇa-cum-Dharmaśāstra approach. Whether this has been a peculiarity of Vedic scholarship of his time or country or of both cannot be definitely ascertained. The fact, however, is that traditional lore in Bengal has never lost sight of the role of Vedic scholarship in an integrated course of ancient education—a point which our worthy editor has sought to demonstrate by his labours spreading over a quarter of a century and which has been instrumental in his recent discovery of the Paippalāda-śākha of the Atharvaveda and his investigation into its provenance in E. India. That he is eminently fitted for his present job is borne out by the inspiring and informative introduction to this edition and by his praiseworthy attempts at selecting the proper readings in the midst of the jargon of readings presented in his mss.

There are two points to which the reviewer would like to draw the attention of scholars. The mss. material utilised for the text appears to be a piecing of different portions—as is proved to the hilt by the repetition of the self-same interpretation of *mantras* (an emergency which the author on his own admission has sought to avoid) in different contexts. The index of citations should have been more profitably arranged under authors and texts than in their present form of alphabetical arrangement of the *mantras*. There are quite a good number of printing mistakes, many of which are not noted in the corrigenda. The reviewer would have liked a uniform method (which is also the traditional method) of marking the *avagraha* in cases of *akāra* and *ākāra* of *sandhis*.

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SIBAPADA CHAKRAVARTI—*Knowledge and Understanding*: The writer points out his difference of opinion from that of Dr. R. Das. Dr. Das says “Philosophical thinking is thinking at a higher level and more reflective than scientific thinking.” The writer maintains that if there be a reflection or understanding in science, that is only a philosophical aspect of it. Science is concerned with sensible facts and not with meanings proper. The difference is one of kind.

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Vedanta: It has been shown that Advaitism may be described as mysticism based upon knowledge, and not upon feeling or imagination. Logic and mysticism are not opposed to each other in Advaitism. They supplement and fulfil each other.

FR. J. BRITTO—*Mystical Experience, the Meeting Point between India and the West*: It is a comparative study of Western and Indian mysticism.

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**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great
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H. R. C. WRIGHT—*James Augustus Grant and the Gorakpur Opium, 1789-1796*. It deals with the opium trade of J. A. GRANT.

D. D. KOSAMBI—*At the Crossroads Mother Goddess Cult-sites in Ancient India*. It is a continued article. The writer traces the history of the origin of offering food at the Cross Roads in the evening. He utilises the data from the *Mṛcchakatika* and other books and present-day practices in Mahārāṣṭra.

D. K. BASSETT—*The trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623-84, Part I*.

R. RUSSELL—*Some Problems of the Treatment of Urdu Metre*. The object of this article is to consider briefly the treatment of Urdu metre in existing works on the subject to show where they are inadequate and to suggest the lines of a more satisfactory approach.

C. A. STOREY—*A Baz-Namah and a Faras-Namah*.

**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay,
Sardha-Satabdi Special Volume, 1956 & 57**

V. S. AGRAWALA—*The meaning of Kumārī Dvīpa*. According

to the writer, Kumārī dvīpa originally denoted the extreme southern point of India, but in the *saṅkalpa-mantra*, it was employed as the designation of the whole of the Indian Peninsula.

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYAGAR—*Dharmaśāstra in South India with special reference to the contribution made by Śrī Vedānta Deśika*. The writer gives a survey of the Dharmaśāstras composed in South India and particularly of the works of Vedānta Deśika, the eminent poet, dialectician and philosopher of South India.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI—*National Cultures and National Attitudes to the World*. (The Indonesian Panth-Sila, Hellenism, Indianism, Sinism, Hebraism and Africanism). After surveying the various national cultures, the writer concludes "We have thus in the various types of national cultures, as expressed by national attitudes to the world and being, a sum-total of man's ideals and aspirations in this way, namely, to realise himself in this mundane existence".

S. B. DEO—*Terracotta Figurines and Toys from Maheshwar Excavation*. This paper gives the description of several terracotta figures and toys, found in the excavations at Maheshwar, in Madhya Bharat along with their probable dates.

G. V. DEVASTHALI—*Rāmanārāyaṇa and his Gurucandrodaya-kaumudī*. The writer has found the work Gurucandrodaya-kaumudī of Rāmanārāyaṇa. In this paper he deals with some important pieces of information relating to the author and his works and views.

A. M. GHATAGE—*A Locative Form in Paumacariya*.

P. K. GODE—*Studies in the history of Tambula—Use of Lime and Catechu in Tambula and its Antiquity, circa A. D. 100-1900*. The writer gives the history of Tambula, lime etc. from various sources.

B. G. GOKHALE—*The Image-world of the Dhammapada*. The writer shows that the image-world of the Dhammapada is as

extensive as the universe itself. It draws upon the world of nature, the world of animals and birds, the world of human beings and even the world of gods.

REV. H. HERAS—*The High Endowments and Dignity of Yama.*

G. C. JHALA—*Bānocchiṣṭam Jagat Sarvaṃ* (In Sanskrit). The writer supports this well-known quotation by illustrations.

P. M. JOSHI—*'Āli' Ādil Shāh I of Bijapur (1558-1580) and his Royal Librarian: Two Ruq'as.* The two documents reproduced in this paper were issued by a council of ministers of Āli Ādil Shāh I of Bijapore (1558-1580).

D. D. KOSAMBI—*Origins of Feudalism in Kashmir.*

R. C. MAJUMDAR—*Study of Indian History.* The writer has opined that "Study of any historical movement in India should first concern itself with the collection of facts, and generalisation, interpretation and integration which would necessarily follow, and should be strictly limited to obvious deductions from them.

M. A. MAHENDALE—*North-Western (and Western) Influences on the Mysore Edicts of Aśoka.*

B. C. LAW—*Lay Women in Early Buddhism.*

V. V. MIRASHI—*A Note on the Bhilsa Inscription of Vācaspati:* The inscription states *inter alia* that Kauṇḍinya Vācaspati, the chief minister of a king named Kṛṣṇa, defeated a king of Cedi and killed a Sabara chief named Siṃha. The writer identifies King Kṛṣṇa with the Candella prince Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa, younger brother of Dhaṅga, who was ruling over the Dudahi-Bhilsa territory in circa 960-985 A.D.

UMESH MISHRA—*A Brief Account of the First Stage in the History of Buddhism:* The writer deals with the life-history of Gotama and with the main ideas of Buddhism during the first stage of its history.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI—*Ancient Indian Education from Inscriptions:* The purpose of this paper is to bring

together select and typical epigraphic references to the subject of Ancient Indian Education.

A. D. PUSALKAR—*Identity and Date of Pravarasena, the author of the Setubandha*: It has been shown that Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II was the author of the *Setubandha* and that he may have received occasional help from Kālidāsa. The first decade of the fifth century may be taken as the date of the work.

V. RAGHAVAN—*Bhavabhūti and the Veda*: With apt quotations the writer has shown that Bhavabhūti is saturated with the atmosphere, ideas and diction of the Veda and its ancillary literature.

KUNHAN RAJA—*Raghuvamśa-parāmarśah* (In Sanskrit).

H. D. SANKALIA—*Excavations at Maheshwar and Nevasa and their possible bearing on the Puranic History*: From the finds of excavations, the writer thinks that these indicate the possible development of man and his material culture in the Narmada-Godavari basins from the Early Stone Age right up to the Muslim rule.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI—*Satiya Puta*: It is a note on Satiya-puta in the R. E. II of Asoka.

B. R. SHARMA—*The Pañca-janas in the Vedas*: The writer has shown that Pañca-janas stands for all the denizens or beings of the whole universe whether they are divine, semi-divine, human or super-human. It does not mean only "five human tribes."

T. K. TOPE—*Administration of British Justice in India from 1600 to 1861 A.D.*

A. N. UPADHYE—*Kings and Dynasties mentioned in the Tiloya-paññatti*.

H. D. VELANKAR—*Jānāsrayi and Prakrit Metres*.

SUPPLEMENT

AGE OF THE RGVEDA

BY

Dr. NARENDRA NATH LAW

CALCUTTA

1961

CHAPTER I

VIEWS OF SCHOLARS ON THE AGE OF THE ṚGVEDA

(A) Max Müller's Divisions of the Vedic Period

1. Max Müller (=M) (1823-1900) was the first scholar who tried in 1859 to construct a sort of chronology of the oldest Indian literature.¹ Alexander's invasion of India, and the appearance of Buddhism in the country are, according to him, the two fixed milestones, from which a start could be made of this chronology. As a reaction to Brahmanism, Buddhism presupposes the existence of the Veda with the Hymns, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads, which must, therefore, be dated before 600 B.C. He fixes the time for the Sūtra literature as 600 to 200 B.C., and allots 200 years to each of the three periods for Chandas, Mantra, and Brāhmaṇa, that precede the Sūtra period. So, the first three periods of ancient Vedic literature may be arranged in the following manner :

Max Müller's allotment of 200 years to each stratum of Vedic literature results in landing us in 1200 B. C. or 1500 B. C. as the time of origin of the *R̥gveda*.

1. 1200 to 1000 B.C.—Chandas
2. 1000 to 800 B.C.—Mantra
3. 800 to 600 B.C.—Brāhmaṇa

2. The earliest times which produced poetry of the ancient Ṛṣis constituted the Chandas period. While referring to whatever is left of the language and poetry of that period, M. speaks of their charm as unsurpassed by Indian literature of any later age. He characterizes this poetry as beautiful, original, and spontaneous.² The greater portion of the *R̥gveda* belongs to the Mantra period, which succeeded the Chandas. The hymns uttered then were expressions of the spontaneous impulses of the human heart.³

The different periods of Vedic literature and their characteristics. The Chandas Period.

1 Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (=History)* (1859), Pāṇini ES., p. 295. Winternitz gives a summary of M's arguments in his *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 292.

Cf. also Max Müller, *Preface to the R̥gveda Saṃhitā* (Text), (1862), vol. IV, pp. v-vii

2 Max Müller, *History*, p. 271. Elsewhere in the *Preface to the R̥gveda Saṃhitā* (Text), vol. IV, p. vii, M. writes of the "ancient poets or Rishis, who, by their songs, gave the first impulse to the religion, the poetry, the worship of the Aryan dwellers in India."

3 Max Müller, *History*, p. 271

3(a). M. cites several instances of hymns, belonging to the Chandas period¹. Extracts from three of them are given below to explain their nature.

Hymn VII. 77

She shines upon us, like a young wife, rousing every living being to go to his work. The fire had to be kindled by men ; she brought light by striking down darkness.—*Rk* 1.

Shine for us with thy best rays, thou bright Dawn, thou who lengthenest our life, thou the love of all, who givest us food, who givest us wealth in cows, horses, and chariots².—*Rk* 5.

Hymn VII. 86

Wise and mighty are the works of him (Varuṇa) who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments. He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven; he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth³.—*Rk* 1.

Hymn VII. 89

Let me not yet, O Varuṇa, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy !—*Rk* 1.

If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind, have mercy, Almighty, have mercy⁴.—*Rk* 2.

1 For the hymns, see Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 ff.

2 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 284 ; Text, vol. IV :

उपो रुरुचे युवतिर्न योषा विश्वं जीवं प्रमुवन्तीं चरायै ।

अभूदग्निः समिधे मानुषाणामकज्योतिर्बाधमाना तमांसि ॥७,७७,१॥

p. 187

अस्मे श्रेष्ठेभिर्मानुभिर्वि भाह्युषो देवि प्रतिरन्ती न आयुः ।

इषं च नो दधतो विश्ववारे गोमदश्चावद्रथवच्च राधः ॥७,७७,५॥

p. 189

Cf. H. H. Wilson's Tr. of the *R̥gveda Samhitā*, vol IV. pp. 160, 161

3 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 279 ; Text, vol. IV :

धीरा त्वस्य महिना जनूंषि वि यस्तस्तम्म रोदसी विदुवां ।

प्र नाकमृष्वं नुनुदे बृहन्तं द्विता नक्षत्रं पप्रथच्च भूम ॥७,८६,१॥

p. 212

Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 278 ; Text, vol. IV :

मो षु वरुणा मृन्मयं गृहं राजन्नहं गमम् ।

मृळा मुक्षत मृळय ॥७,८६,१॥

यदेमि प्रस्फुरन्निव दतिर्न ध्मातो अद्रिवः ।

मृळा सुक्षत मृळय ॥२॥

Regarding the hymn to Dawn, M. speaks of it as a fair specimen of the simple and original poetry of the Veda. It has no reference to any sacrifice, it can hardly be called a hymn in the usual sense of the word¹.

3(b). The Chandas period was followed by the Mantra period. Mantra is the name of a hymn employed for sacrificial purposes.²

The Mantra
Period The literature of the Brāhmaṇa period exhibits a stratum of thought, which is unintelligible without the admission of a preceding age, during which the diverse features of the *Brāhmaṇas* had their natural growth, their meaning and purpose³.

The only document available for the study of the character of the Mantra literature is the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*.

In describing the time when the collection of the hymns of the *R̥gveda* took place, M. agrees with Roth that it was "a less practical age than that of the Brāhmaṇa period; an age, not entirely free from the trammels of a ceremonial, yet not completely enslaved by a system of mere formalities; an age no longer creative and impulsive, yet not without some power of upholding the traditions of a past that spoke to a later generation of men through the very poems which they were collecting with so much zeal and accuracy."⁴

There is ample internal evidence in the hymns themselves that some of their authors belong to a later generation. Hence a distinction must be made between the primitive (Chandas), and the secondary (Mantra) period. That the later hymns are not the outcome of a free, original, and unconscious inspiration is only natural⁵.

(1) May I never go, royal Varuṇa, to a house made of clay: grant me happiness, possessor of wealth, grant me happiness.

(2) When, Varuṇa, I am throbbing as-if (with awe) like an inflated skin, grant me happiness, possessor of wealth, grant me happiness.

Wilson, Tr., vol IV, p. 180

1 Max Müller *History*, p. 278. He remarks that the language of the simple prayers of the Chandas period is "more intelligible to us, their whole world of thought and feeling is nearer to us, than anything we find in the literature of Greece and Rome, and there are, here and there, short expressions of faith and devotion, in which even a Christian can join without irreverence."

2 Max Müller, *Preface to the R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, vol. IV, p. vi

3 Max Müller, *History*, p. 236

4 *Ibid.*, p. 246

5 *Ibid.*, p. 256

3(c). The orthodox view regarding the Veda is that the Veda-Saṃhitā is divided into two parts.¹ Mantra and Brāhmaṇa together are called the Veda. They are closely connected. For this reason, M. remarks that “whatever does not come under the name of Mantra is Brāhmaṇa, whether it contains reasons, explanations, answers, censures, recommendations, doubts, commandments, relations, old stories, or particular determinations.”² The Brāhmaṇas profess to teach the performance of the sacrifice, but additional materials, explanations, illustrations, etc. of things connected with the original faith and ceremonial, occupy large portions of the Brāhmaṇas³. They are mostly in prose.

The Brāhmaṇas are a broad division of the Vedic literature comprising Brāhmaṇa proper, Āraṇyaka, and Upaniṣad.

The Brāhmaṇa proper is the *Karma-Kāṇḍa* (rituals) of the Veda. To dilate on the meaning and application of particular Mantras is its main purpose.

The second portion is called the Āraṇyaka. It serves as a bridge between rituals and spiritual knowledge. It had to be studied by a Brahmācārin (student) during his stay at the residence of his Guru in the first *āśrama* (the first stage of life). At the time of reading the Āraṇyakas, a sequestered place, whence no roofs of tenements were visible,⁴ or a forest outside the village⁵, had to be selected for the purpose. Until the Āraṇyakas were finished, the studies were not considered to be completed. As it was the practice to study the Āraṇyakas in forest, they were called the ‘forest portion’ of the Brāhmaṇa⁶. Sacrifices

¹ मन्त्रब्राह्मणयो वेदनामधेयम् ।

Āpastamba-Yājñaparibhāṣā-Sūtra, I. 33

² Max Müller, *History*, p. 176

³ *Ibid.*, p. 175

⁴ At the time of reciting Mantras in Āraṇyaka-vrata named Śukriya, one had to go to अञ्चदिर्देश region.

अध्येष्यमाणः प्राचीमुदीचीं दिशमुपनिष्कम्य देशेऽञ्चदिर्देशं पराचीनमधीयीत ।
Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra, 21. 3 & 10

⁵ अपि वारण्ये तिष्ठेदास्तमयात् । Gobhla-Gṛhya-Sūtra, 3. 2. 33 शुक्लपक्षे वहिर्ग्रामाद्विक्रं देशमेत्य वा ॥ Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Kārikā, 14. 3

⁶ ऐतरेयब्राह्मणेऽस्ति काण्डमारण्यकाभिधम् । अरण्य एव पाठ्यत्वादारण्यकमितीर्यते । [The name of one of the Kāṇḍas is Āraṇyaka. As it had to be read in forest, it was so called.]

have been expressly mentioned in the Āraṇyakas, but they were practised as mental operations without the external paraphernalia.

The Brahmācārin after returning home at the end of his studies at the residence of his Guru became a householder (Gṛhin). During that period the lessons taught by his Guru from the Āraṇyakas were cogitated by him at intervals in a secluded place. When after the age of fifty, he went out to live in a forest in the third stage of life (Vānaprastha), he was not in a position to perform sacrifices due to his inability to collect the requisites for the same. He performed the rituals mentally according to the Āraṇyakas for spiritual progress¹.

The third portion of the Brāhmaṇa is called the Upaniṣad. It is, in fact, a collection of chapters on philosophy. Upaniṣad. There are passages in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads "unequaled in any language for grandeur, boldness, and simplicity".²

The vastness of the prose literature in the Brāhmaṇas and its gradual evolution requiring a long period can be imagined from what has been said already in this para.

3(d). M. places last the Sūtra period allotting to it 400 years from 600 B. C. to 200 B. C. The strictly orthodox The Sūtra Period. view does not include the Sūtras in the Vedas (Śruti), which, according to that view, close with Upaniṣad.

Sūtra means string ; and all the works written in this style are nothing but one uninterrupted string of short sentences³.

They are manuals containing specific procedural directions for performing the sacrifices, which were gradually increasing in bulk. The desultory discussions of the procedure (Kalpa) described in the Brāhmaṇas could not be used as practical guides. For this reason, the composition of the Sūtras became necessary.

(B) Criticisms on 200-year period for each Vedic stratum

4. The fixation of 200 years as the time for the formation of each stratum of Vedic literature led many to deny its antiquity. M. was opposed by several scholars such as H. H. Wilson, B. Saint-Hilaire, and W. D. Whitney. In his *Preface* to the 4th vol.

1 Some information regarding the Āraṇyakas has been taken from a pamphlet by Prof. Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya.

2 Max Müller, *History*, p. 174

3 *Ibid.*, p. 36

of the *R̥gveda Sam̥hita* (Text) (1862), M. quoted *in extenso* the remarks of these scholars, and tried to meet them.

Extracts from Wilson's remarks as quoted by M. from the *Edinburgh Review*, 1860, p. 375, are given below :

“Professor Müller thinks it impossible to assign a shorter interval than two centuries for the origin and accumulation of the mass of Brahmanical literature that must have existed. We confess that we are disposed to look upon this limit as much too brief for the establishment of an elaborate ritual, for the appropriation of all spiritual authority by the Brahmans, for the distinction of races or the institution of caste, and for the mysticism and speculation of the *Āraṇyakas* or *Upanishads*: a period of five centuries would not seem to be too protracted for such a complete remodelling of the primitive system and its wide dissemination through all those parts of India where the Brahmans have spread.”

Wilson is in favour of making each stratum as long as 500 years.

“[We] think there can be little doubt that, instead of two centuries, we may venture to conjecture four or five, and so carry the commencement of the *Brahmaṇa* period to the tenth or eleventh century B C.”¹

5. Such criticisms served to give a turn to M's opinion, which can be traced to 1862. For, in the above-mentioned *Preface*,

he declares: “I need hardly say that I agree with almost every word of my critics. I have repeatedly dwelt on the merely hypothetical character of the dates, which I ventured to assign to the first three periods of Vedic literature. *All I have claimed for them has been that they are minimum dates*, and that the literary productions of each period which either still exist or which formerly existed, could hardly be accounted for within shorter limits of time than those suggested.”²

Max Müller modifies a little his previous opinion about years to be allotted to each Vedic stratum.

Like many other scholars, he also felt that 200 years were scarcely sufficient to account for the growth of the poetic literature ascribed to the *Chandas* period.³

He states that it was pointed out to him “that although on the evidence of literature alone, no higher antiquity could

1 Max Müller, *Preface to the R̥gveda Sam̥hitā* (Text), vol. IV, p. viii. Wilson's further remarks will be found in para 6 (b).

2 Max Müller, *Preface to the R̥gveda Sam̥hitā* (Text), vol. IV, p. xiii

3 *Ibid.*, p. xiii

have been claimed for the earliest poetry of India than the thirteenth century B. C., I ought to have strengthened my argument by additional evidence, and particularly by that of certain astronomical data which have long been brought forward as establishing the existence of Vedic poetry as early as the fifteenth century B. C.”¹

6. Since the publication of the above opinion of M., there appeared other observations on his theory.

6(a). In 1863, in his *Preface* to the edition of the Text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Martin Haug puts the date of the composition of the bulk of the *Brāhmaṇas* between 1400 and 1200 B.C. A period of *at least* 500 to 600 years is, in his opinion, necessary for the *Samhitā*, with an interval of 200 years between the end of the *Samhitā*, and the beginning of the *Brāhmaṇa* proper. “Thus,” says he, “we obtain for the bulk of the *Samhitā* the space from 1400-2000 B. C.; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so, that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic Literature between 2400-2000 B.C.”² Thus, 2400 to 2000 B.C. is fixed for the commencement of the Vedic literature; 2000 to 1400 B.C. for the composition of the bulk of the *Samhitā*; and 1400 to 1200 B.C. for the composition of the bulk of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

6(b). In addition to what Wilson wrote in the *Edinburgh Review*, he further remarked in his *Introduction* to his English translation of the *Rgveda Samhitā*, that many of the historical and genealogical traditions contained in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* etc. had foundations in fact. So, “the course of events, the extension of Hindus through India, the origin and succession of regal dynasties, and the formation of powerful principalities, all unknown to the *Samhitā*, are equally indicative of the lapse of centuries between the composition of the *Sūktas* and the date of the earliest works that are subsequent to the great religious, social, and political

1 *Ibid.*, p. xiv

2 M. Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rgveda*, vol. I (1863), Intro. pp. 47, 48

changes which, in the interval, had taken place".¹ The interval is estimated by him to have been more than 1000 years.²

6(c). Jacobi (=J) refers³ to M's assumption of a minimum of 200 years for each of the last three out of his four Vedic strata. He states: "This estimate is far below the minimum of the possible period, during which in India a department of literature could take its rise, reach perfection, become obsolete and die out, to give place finally to a thoroughly new departure. For a Brāhmaṇa, for example, could not be widely spread by being learned by heart by a gradually extending circle of Brahmans, and with the size of the country, this would certainly demand a long time. Every man, who learned such a work, became, so to say, a copy of it, and to carry out the figure, a written copy, to which no new work could be added. But several of such works must successively take the place of their predecessors, before the entire class of works in question became obsolete. I maintain that a minimum of a thousand years must rather be taken for such a process, which in the conditions that prevailed in ancient India was of necessity a very slow one, especially when we take into consideration that in historical times the literature of the classical period remained for more than a thousand years nearly unaltered".⁴

According to Jacobi, 1500 B.C. or thereabout is an impossible date regarding the composition of the R̥gveda.

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6(d). In regard to M's division of the Vedic literature into 4 periods—the Chandas, Mantra, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra,—Tilak (=T) remarks in his *Orion*: "As each period presupposes the preceding, while the last or the Sūtra period is prior, 'if not to the origin, but at least,' to the spreading and political ascendancy of Buddhism in the fourth century before Christ, that learned scholar (i.e. M.), by assigning two hundred years for each period arrives at about 1200 B.C. as the latest date. at which we may suppose the Vedic hymns to have been composed."⁵

Tilak holds the view that many centuries had elapsed before human mind could grow so luxuriant as to accelerate the development of literature within a short period.

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1 Wilson *Introduction* to his translation of the *R̥gveda Samhitā*, vol. I. First Aṣṭaka (2nd ed. 1866), p. xlv

2 *Ibid.*, xlvi

3 *Indian Antiquary* (=IA), "On the Date of the R̥gveda" by H. G. Jacobi (translated from the German by J. Morison), June, 1894, vol. 23, pp. 154-159

4 *Ibid.*, p. 158

5 B. G. Tilak, *Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas* (Poona, 1893), p. 2

T. points out that there are different opinions as to the divisions of the Vedic literature, some holding that the Chandas and Mantra cover one period, though a long one.¹

In this connection, T. cites Haug's calculations for the commencement of the Vedic literature between 2400 and 2000 B.C. and says that the assumption of each period being 200 years (M.), 500 years (Haug and Wilson), or 1000 years cannot help us to arrive at the age of the Veda, and that other means must be found out for the purpose.² The other means referred to is astronomical calculation.

6 (e). Bühler (=B.) supports³ J's opinion that the assignment of 200 years by M. to the development of each of the three oldest forms of Vedic composition leads to sheer impossibilities, and that materials from Indian literature itself supply general and special arguments for the objection. The stage, says he, which the Indo-Aryan researches had reached rules out altogether the placing of the oldest Vedic hymns at about 1200 or even 1500 B.C. He does not support M's supposition that the early literary activities of India showed greater luxuriance⁴ than that of later periods, and hence "the conjecture that the ancient Indo-Aryans raced through the so-called Chhndas, Mantra, and Brāhmaṇa periods at a furiously fast pace, loses its chief support".⁵

Oldest Vedic hymns cannot be placed in 1500 B. C. (Bühler).

(C) Evidence of Max Müller's far-reaching change of opinion at the end

7. In one of the series of Hibbert Lectures delivered by M. on the *Origin and Growth of Religion*⁶, he is seen to be still holding the theory regarding the age of the *Rgveda* as enunciated by him in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*,⁷ though he seemed to modify it in 1862. Even then his idea was that "there is

Max Müller's views in the Hibbert Lectures (1878).

1 *Ibid.*, p. 3

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4

3 *IA.*, Sept., 1894, vol. 23, pp. 238-249: "Note on Professor Jacobi's Age of the Veda and on Professor Tilak's Orion" by G. Bühler.

4 In his *Preface to the Rgveda Saṃhitā* (Text), vol. IV, p. vii, M. states that the limit of 200 years can be assigned to each period "only under the supposition that, during the early periods of history, the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times."

5 *IA.*, p. 246

6 Delivered at the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, in April, May and June, 1878

7 See pp. 153-156

nothing more ancient and primitive, not only in India, but in the whole Aryan world, than the hymns of the *Rigveda*. So far as we are Aryans in language, that is in thought, so far the *Rig-veda* is our own most ancient book.”¹ In other words, he could not think of any earlier date at that time.

8. All this changed when M. spoke on *Physical Religion* in his *Gifford Lectures* in 1890. There are many passages in them which leave no doubt as to what really was M’s idea regarding the antiquity of the *Rgveda*. Some of the passages are given below:

Max Müller’s opinion undergoes a very great change in his *Gifford Lectures* (1890).

(a) “... .. it (*Rigveda*) is more primitive than any other literary work we are acquainted with.”²

(b) “.....We possess in the whole world no literary relics intellectually older than the oldest hymns of the *Rig-veda*, and I doubt whether we possess any literary relics chronologically older at all events, in our own, the Aryan world.”³

(c) “.....Who can deny that Veda (*Rigveda*) is the oldest monument of Aryan speech and Aryan thought, which we possess?”⁴

(d) “.....We do find there (in the *Rigveda*), and there alone, the oldest record of what one branch of that race thought about this life and its many problems and what is believed about the gods and another life.”⁵

(e) “If now we ask how we can fix the date of these three periods, it is quite clear that we cannot hope to fix a *terminum a quo*. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000, or 1500, or 2000, or 3000 years B. C. no power on earth will ever determine.”⁶

9. Two facts may be mentioned here to show that M. was quite conscious of his first estimate of the age of the *Rgveda* falling short of what it should have been.

(a) In the *Preface* to his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (1903)⁷, T. refers to the different strata into which Vedic literature was

1 Hibbert Lectures, p. 157

2 Max Müller, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, *Physical Religion* (1890), p. 14

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15

4 *Ibid.*, p. 17

5 *Ibid.*, p. 20

6 *Ibid.*, p. 91

7 According to Tilak’s statement, the first manuscript of the book was written at the end of 1898 (p. iv).

Max Müller's sympathetic views on the summary of Tilak's Book (1903).

divided and the times allotted to them. Before the publication of the *Orion* in 1893, it was generally believed that the oldest of the strata could not be older than 2400 B.C.¹ He tried to show in the *Orion* that there are astronomical data in the *Rgveda* and other Vedic literature, which supply reliable evidence for ascertaining the different periods of Vedic literature, and that these astronomical statements "unmistakably pointed out that the Vernal equinox was in the constellation of Mṛiga or Orion (about 4500 B.C.) during the period of the Vedic hymns, and that it had receded to the constellation of the Kṛittikās, or the Pleiades (about 2500 B.C.) in the days of the Brāhmaṇas."²

Though this theory was received by some scholars with doubts yet the force of the arguments was acknowledged by Jacobi, Bloomfield, Barth, Bühler, Dikshit and others. Bloomfield, in an Address on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of John Hopkins University, referred to Tilak's book the *Orion* and expressed the opinion that "the language and literature of the Vedas is, by no means, so primitive as to place with it the real beginnings of Aryan life", which may reach back, according to him, several thousands of years more."

These words encouraged T. in his researches regarding the primitive home of the Aryans, in which he was engaged for the last ten years (1893-1903). Relying on Vedic evidence, he wrote down his first manuscript at the end of 1898, and sent a brief summary to M. In it he modified his theory as expressed in the *Orion* (1893). He divided the period from the commencement of post-Glacial era to the birth of Buddha into five divisions. Of these, we are concerned with the following:

(1) 5000 to 3000 B. C.—Orion (i. e. the asterism Mṛgaśiras) period, when the vernal equinox was in the Orion. Many Vedic hymns were traced by T. to this period.

1 "The chief result of my inquiry would be evident from the title of the essay. The high antiquity of the Egyptian civilization is now generally admitted. But scholars still hesitate to place the commencement of the Vedic civilization earlier than 2400 B. C. I have endeavoured to show in the following pages that the traditions recorded in the *Rigveda* unmistakably point to a period *not later* than 4000 B. C., when the vernal equinox was in Orion, or, in other words, when the Dog-star (or the Dog as we have it in the *Rigveda*), commenced the equinoctial year." Preface to *Orion*, p. iii

2 B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (1903), Preface, p. i

3 *Ibid.*, p. ii

(2) 3000 to 1400 B.C.—Kṛttikā i. e. the asterism Pleiades period.¹

The main point sought to be established in the *Arctic Home* may be given briefly in T's own words as follows: ".....the beginnings of Aryan civilisation must be supposed to date back several thousand years before the oldest Vedic period; and when the commencement of the Post-glacial epoch is brought down to 8000 B.C., it is not at all surprising if the date of primitive Aryan life is found to go back to it from 4500 B.C., the age of the oldest Vedic period."²

It may be mentioned that to arrive at the above conclusion, T. used 542 passages from the *R̥gveda* (the number of Sūktas being of course much less). In regard to 77 of these passages, his interpretations, he mentions, were different from those of Yāska and Sāyaṇa, and thereby their obscurity was removed.³

T. did not expect that "a scholar, who had worked all his life on a different line, would accept the view⁴ at once, and that too on reading a bare outline of the evidence in its support. Still it was encouraging to hear from him that though the interpretations of Vedic passages proposed by me were probable, yet my theory appeared to be in conflict with the established geological facts."⁵

T. replied that he would soon place before M. elaborately the evidence that supported his view, but unfortunately, M. died (in 1900) before this could be done."

9 (b). M. Winternitz deals with the age of the *R̥gveda* in his *History of Indian Literature* and tries to give an explanation of M's theory in the following way:⁷

What M. did was nothing more than the fixing of the lowest limit. Winternitz considers that the placing of the *R̥gveda* between

1 *Ibid.*, p. 454

2 *Ibid.*, p. vi

3 *Ibid.*, p. vi. See Index of Vedic passages (used by T.), pp. 491-500.

4 The view is that the Aryans had originally an Arctic Home, and that the Mṛgaśiras and Kṛttikā periods began 5000 B. C., and 3000 B. C. respectively.

5 *Ibid.* pp. iii, iv. T. thanked M. for his disinterested kindness in getting him free from prison earlier than the fixed term (18 months,—reduced to 12) through the efforts of M. and many friends, and on this occasion, he sent the summary mentioned above.

6 *Ibid.*, p. iv

7 M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (English translation), vol. 1 (1927). The original German book had been published about 20 years ago (about 1907).

Winternitz's explanation of Max Müller's aforesaid theory.

1200 B. C. and 1000 B. C. is hypothetical and arbitrary, and regrets that this notion "in the course of years, received more and more the dignity and character of a scientifically proved fact."¹

Winternitz asks for a more liberal interpretation of M's statement, because M. himself did not mean that the interval of 200 years for each period really took place, and that in 1000 B. C. *at the latest the Rgveda Samhitā* was completed.² He considered 1200 to 1000 B. C. only as the lowest limit. Winternitz then refers to the passage quoted already³ from Gifford Lectures to prove his own thesis.

(D) *Duration of each Vedic stratum*

10 (a). Inadequacy of a period of 200 years for each stratum of Vedic literature may also be evident by the consideration of the following facts.

That by 1200 B. C. or even 1500 B. C. the greater portion of India should be Aryanized is regarded as an impossibility by B.

Aryanization of large portions of India could not have been accomplished by 1500 B. C.

He cannot also accept the view that the ancient Indo-Aryans acquired such a large area, and founded different states within the space of five to eight hundred years. It should also be borne in mind that this area had been inhabited not only by

forest tribes but also by people possessing a civilization not much inferior to that of the invaders. For these reasons, even double of the period of 800 years mentioned above might not have been sufficient for the purpose.⁴

The existence of the heterodox sect (Jainism) in the latter half of the 8th century B.C. makes the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period in 800 B. C. an impossibility.

10 (b). B. points out that researches on religious history show that the number of religions that appeared as a protest against Hinduism and in defiance of the authority of the Vedas was more than one.

Of the heterodox sects, Jainism is one, and its founder Pārśva⁵ stated to have died in B. C. 776. B. remarks that if it be admitted

1 M. Winternitz, *History*, vol. 1, p. 293

2 *Ibid.*, p. 293

3 See para 8(e).

4 *IA.*, 1894, p. 247

5 According to Jacobi, he was the real founder of Jainism, and lived in the second half of the 8th century B. C.

that a sect, whose teachings are based on the doctrine of Jñāna-mārga, sprang up at that early period, it becomes impossible to reconcile this admission with the theory that the Brāhmaṇa period began in 800 B. C.

B. refers to another heterodox sect called Bhāgavata, or Sātvata, or Pāñcarātra as much anterior to the rise of Jainism. He

As the Bhāgavata sect is anterior to Jainism, it is impossible to fix the date of early Aryan literary activities at 1500 B. C.

states that "still more irreconcilable with the theory that the literary activity of the Indo-Aryans began about 1200 or 1500 B. C. is another point, which, I think, can be proved, viz. that the ancient Bhāgavata, Sātvata, or Pāñcarātra sect, devoted to the worship of Nārāyaṇa and its deified teacher

Kṛishṇa Devakīputra, dates from a period long anterior to the rise of the Jainas in the eighth century B. C. To give the details here would unduly lengthen this already long note. And I reserve their discussion for my *Indian Studies*, No. IV."

11. On both the counts, Winternitz gives partial support to B.

(1) In regard to the Aryanization. B. states that the growth and development of the *Rgveda* and Vedic literature taught by generations of teachers took several centuries, and that during this long period the Aryans did not advance beyond the stretch of land between the Indus and the Ganges. Thereafter he asks: If this advance from the extreme north-west to the eastern Gangetic land occupied such long time, how many centuries then must have been necessary for bringing into fold the whole of central and southern India. His answer is that in view of the above circumstances 700 years (1500 B. C. to 800 B. C.) will not appear to be a very long period.²

(ii) B's statement that Buddhism and other early heterodox sects in India presuppose the completion of the whole of the Vedic

(ii) because of the completion of the Vedic literature before the rise of heterodox sects.

literature is supported by Winternitz. He endorses the opinion of Oldenberg as against that of Hopkins, Rapson and others that many centuries must have elapsed between the earliest Upaniṣads and earliest heterodox literature. If Jaina and

Bhāgavata literature be taken to have filled the intervening period, the date of the Upaniṣads, the Āraṇyakas, the Brāhmaṇas, and

1 *IA.*, 1894, p. 248

2 M. Winternitz, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 300-303

consequently Mantras, and Chandas, must be pushed back further. As the development of the whole of the great Vedic literature cannot be explained, if it be dated in 1500 B. C., he points to about 2000 B. C. or 2500 B. C. as the commencement of the said literature.

12. Among the documents found by Hugo Winckler in the excavations at Bogh'az Kōi (Asia Minor) in 1907, some Hittite clay tablets were discovered recording treaties between Subbiluliuma, the king of the Hittites, and Mattiurja, the king of Mitani, dated about 1400 B. C. The deities of both the nations are invoked as guardians of the treaties. The names of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatyas (i. e. the two Aśvins) are found among the Mitani deities.

The possibility of some deities at Boghaz Kōi being Vedic Indian gods pushes back the date of the *R̥gveda* to nearly 2000 B. C.

Ilāni *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* ilāni

uru-w-na-aš-ši-cl

(Variant) *a-ru-na aš-ši-il*

ilu in-dar ilāni nā-ša-a [t-ti-ia-a)-n-na

(Variant) *in-da-ra nā-š [a]-at ti-ia-an-na¹*

The discovery of the five Indian gods caused some perplexity among the scholars, specially because the names were grouped together in the same way as in the *R̥gveda*. J. states that the two groupings establish the Vedic origin and character of the deities which were adopted into the Mitani pantheon. For this reason, any suggestion pointing to date the *R̥gveda* later than about 1400 B. C. is an impossibility.²

This view is accepted by Sten Konow, Hillerbrandt, and Winternitz. For the explanation of the association of the Vedic deities with those of Mitani, Winternitz remarks that an assumption is necessary that just as there had been immigration of the Aryans into India from the West, so there must have been isolated migrations of the Aryans from India to the West.

1 *JRAS.*, 1909, "On the Antiquity of Vedic Culture", by H. Jacobi, p. 723

2 Winternitz, *History*, vol. i. pp. 304-306

CHAPTER 2

ASTRONOMICAL EVIDENCE ON THE AGE OF THE RĠVEDA

13. Scholars have attempted to establish the age of the Rġveda with the help of astronomical evidence, collected from the Rġveda and other Vedic literature. In interpreting the same texts, they have differed, rendering the ultimate conclusions different. An attempt will be made here to see how far they agree or differ in regard to some conclusions from textual and astronomical data and whether any dependable results can emerge.

Difference of opinion as to the conclusions from astronomical evidence.

Winternitz remarks in this connection that "Attempts to determine the period of the Veda by the aid of *astronomy* come to grief owing to the fact that there are certain passages in the Vedic texts which admit of various interpretations. However correct the astronomical calculations may be, they prove nothing unless the texts in question admit of an unambiguous interpretation."¹

T., however, uses astronomical evidence in his *Orion* (1893) in which he states that "a comparison with Bentley's work will show that the present essay is more literary than astronomical in its character. In other words, it is the Sanskrit scholars who have first of all to decide if my interpretations of certain texts are correct, and when this judgment is once given, it is not at all difficult to astronomically calculate the exact period of the traditions in the Rigveda."²

14. T. in 1893, and J. in 1894, published almost identical results of their astronomical investigations into the age of the Rġveda, carried on independently of each other³ T. calls the period from 5000 B. C. to 3000 B. C. the Orion Period,⁴ as during these 2000 years, the vernal equinox passed gradually from the commencement of the asterism Orion (Mṛgaśiras) to that of the next,

Tilak and Jacob's conclusions agree, and are supported by Böhler.

1 Winternitz, *History*, p. 30.

2 Preface to the *Orion*, p. v

3 See T's *Orion* (1893), as also J's article "On the Date of the Rigveda" in *IA.*, June, 1894, vol. 23, pp. 154-159.

4 In 1893 in the *Orion*, T. had stated that the Orion Period lasted from 4000 B.C. to 2500 B.C., which was strongly opposed by Whitney, and Thibaut in *IA.*, 1895. He, however, followed his own line of thought, and considered it fit later on to fix the Orion Period as 5000 B.C. to 3000 B.C. in the *Arctic Home* (1903), p. 454.

viz. Pleiades (Kṛttikās). Many hymns of the *R̥gveda* (including the Vṛṣākapi hymn) were in existence at that time.

According to J., the period of Vedic civilisation extended from 4500 B.C. to 2500 B.C.¹

Both the scholars, J. and T., turned to B. independently of each other for his opinion. In an article, entitled "Note on Professor Jacobi's Age of the Veda and Professor Tilak's *Orion*" in the *IA.*, 1894, pp. 238-249, B. declared that both of them had made good their main proposition, viz. that the Kṛttikā-series is not the oldest Nakṣatra series known to the Hindus, but that they knew of another preceding it viz. the Mṛgaśiras series.

I shall have occasion to discuss more fully the opinions of J. and T. and their criticisms by Whitney (=W.)² and Thibaut (=Th.) and the support received by them from B. Only a brief statement of the position has been given above.

15. W. and Th.'s criticisms of J. and T. require very careful scrutiny. It should be stated at the outset that the exactitude of modern astronomers helped by present-day instruments cannot be expected from the ancient investigators in the field of astronomy.

Nor do J. and T. claim it. All that is expected is that the ancient astronomers should be judged by the standard that prevailed in those times. Their main props were observation, and more observation. They had to be very careful in this matter, for they knew that an inaccuracy unchecked long would vitiate their activities, secular as well as religious, including the performance of the sacrifices. Therefore, they had to be well-acquainted with the Nakṣatras, the courses of the sun and moon, the proper length of the year, months etc. There is no reason to believe that they were completely devoid of astronomical knowledge or that they allowed a mistake to continue for any length of time. We owe it to J., T., and B. that they have removed many unfounded notions regarding the astronomy of ancient Indians.

Whitney and Thibaut hold views opposite to those of Jacobi and Tilak.

1 *IA.*, June, 1894, p. 157

2 Whitney's article is entitled "On a recent Attempt, by Jacobi and Tilak, to determine on Astronomical Evidence the Date of the Earliest Vedic Period as 4000 B.C.". It was first published in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, March, 1894, and reprinted after his death in *IA.*, 1895, pp. 361-369.

3 Thibaut's article "On some recent Attempts to determine the Antiquity of Vedic civilization," appeared in *IA.*, April, 1895, pp. 85-100.

16. I want to mention in this connection that though more than sixty years have passed since J. and T. wrote and were adversely criticised by W. and Th. and were supported by B, the views expressed by them did not receive the attention they deserved.

A careful study of the opinions of Jacobi and Tilak with the supporting evidence is necessary.

17. One difficulty in studying the texts used by different scholars for determining the age of the Veda lies in the fact that after the lapse of so many centuries, the old traditions having been lost, it taxes the brain to the utmost at times, to find out the right interpretation of Vedic texts. Couched as many of them are in language through which it is difficult to get at the real meaning, even Yāska or Sāyaṇa's comments do not reach the fullest clarity. For this reason, every Vedic scholar has to fall back upon his own intelligence to interpret a passage or solve a problem connected with the same.

Difficulty in properly interpreting Vedic texts.

(1) THE R̥BHUS (SEASONS)

18. I shall now proceed to examine some of the opinions advanced by J. and T. and their criticisms by others.

In the *R̥gveda*, references to the R̥bhus are many¹. Yāska² and

1 *RV.*, I. 20 ; I. 110 ; I. 161 ; I. 164 ; IX. 33-39 etc. R̥bhus occur in 11 hymns.

2 Yāska gives the alternative synonyms thus : ऋभव उरु भान्तीति वा । ऋतेन भान्तीति वा । ऋतेन भवन्तीति वा । तेषामेषा भवति ॥ XI. 15 (*The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, ed. Lakshman Sarup, 1937, p. 194). (1) R̥-bhavaḥ are (so called because) they shine widely (uru + √bhā), or (2) they shine with sacred rite (ṛta + √bhā), or (3) they live with sacred rite (ṛta + √bhū). (*The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta* (Tr.), Lakshman Sarup, 1920, p. 173.)

विष्टी शमी तरणित्वेन वाघतो मर्तासः सन्तो अमृतत्वमानशुः ।

सौधन्वना ऋभवः सूरचक्षमः संवत्सरे समपृच्यन्त धीतिभिः ॥

RV., I. 110. 4

ऋभुर्विभ्वा वाज इति सुधन्वन आङ्गिरसस्य तयः पुत्राः बभूवुः ।

...आदित्यरश्मय ऋभव उच्यन्ते ॥

Nighaṇṭu, XI. 15, 16, p. 194

Having performed laborious works with zeal, institutors of sacrifice, being mortals, they attained immortality. The R̥bhus, sons of Sudhanvan, radiant like the sun, mixed things together with their works during the year.

R̥bhu, Vibhvā and Vāja were the three sons of Sudhanvan, a descendant of Āṅgīrasa.....

The rays of the sun are called R̥bhus. Also pp. 172, 173, *Nighaṇṭu* (Tr.)

Sāyaṇa think that the term means the rays of the sun, T. is of opinion that this meaning is not suitable in all cases. For instance, in *Rv.*, I. 161. 13, R̥bhus should be taken in the sense of seasons, as otherwise the verse becomes meaningless. Accepting this meaning of the term, the story of the R̥bhus as found in *Rv.*, I. 161 may be stated as follows:

R̥bhus are 3 in number—R̥bhu, Vibhvā and Vāja. They represent three seasons¹ in a year recognised in the early Vedic period. Each of these contains roughly 4 months. They are said to re commence their work at the completion of the year.² They do many wonderful things for the gods. Then they take rest for 12 days in the house of Agohya, the ‘unconcealable’ i. e. the sun. They are thereafter awakened from their sleep. *Vasta* (he-goat) i. e. the sun, gives the information that the hound has awakened them. It is time they should begin their work again. “Then the course begins anew, and anew the earth brings forth fruit, the streams flow; plants cover the heights, and waters, the depths.”³

19. The story in its simplest form as given above does not look like revealing any facts. T. does not however think that it is as inane as it looks.⁴ He tries to explain its inner meaning, and finds one verse in the hymn to be very helpful. The verse runs thus:

सुषुप्वांस ऋभवस्तदपृच्छतागोह्य क इदं नो अब्रुवुधत् ।

श्वानं वस्तो बोधयितारमब्रवीत् संवत्सर इदमद्या व्यख्यत ॥

Rv., I. 161. 13

[Oh R̥bhus ! you were asleep ; thereafter ask Agohya, who is it that woke us up. The He-goat replied, ‘the hound’ is the awakener’. As the year is passed, today you declare the same.]⁶

1 The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also mentions 3 divisions of the year (XIV 1. 1. 28).

2 *Rv.*, IV. 33. 4

3 *The Orion*, p. 168

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 157-170

5 T. rejects rightly ‘wind’ as the meaning of श्वानं suggested by Sāyaṇa.

6 W’s rendering:

Having slept, ye R̥bhus, ye asked: ‘Who, O agohya, hath awakened us.’ The he-goat declares the dog to be the awakener; in a year thus today have ye looked out (i.e., opened your eyes.)—*IA.*, 1895, p. 369

20. As to the proper explanation of the above story, T. states that the three *R̥bhū*s are three seasons of the year of twelve lunar months. The number of days in such a year is $29\frac{1}{2}$ days \times 12 or 354 solar days. But 366 days approximately make one solar year. So, the lunar year is short by 12 days. *R̥bhū*s were, as it were, genii of the seasons. As the year was a lunar year, "12 days were intercalated at the end of each year to make it correspond with the solar year."¹ The spirits of the seasons stop work for these 12 days and go to sleep. This period belongs neither to the old nor to the new year. It is therefore natural to hold that the hound is some constellation in the heavens, whose appearance indicated the beginning of the year. This hound is none other than the Dog-star or *Canis Major*. Thus, when the first of the seasons i. e. *Vasanta* appears, the Dog-star is found in the sky. "In short, the whole story of the *R̥bhū*s, as we find it recorded in the *R̥gveda*, directly establishes the fact that at the time when this legend was formed, the year commenced with the vernal equinox in *Canis Major* or Dog-star."² The end of the year is the end of the three seasons here represented by the *R̥bhū*s.

According to Tilak, 12 days' sleep of *R̥bhū*s refers to intercalation, and year-beginning at vernal equinox with the Dog-star in the background acc. to the interpretation of the story.

29½ days × 12 or 354 solar days. But 366 days approximately make one solar year. So, the lunar year is short by 12 days. *R̥bhū*s were, as it were, genii of the seasons. As the year was a lunar year, "12 days were intercalated at the end of each year to make it correspond with the solar year."¹ The spirits of the seasons stop work for these 12 days and go to sleep. This period belongs

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21. W. denies that the hymn has the aforesaid meaning. He finds it unintelligible, and he therefore thinks that any attempt to interpret it is useless. He makes this concession however that he is prepared to admit the truth of T.'s thesis, if 4 conditions mentioned by him are fulfilled. The arguments advanced by him may be summarised as follows:

The 4 conditions laid down by Whitney for admission of the truth of Tilak's theory and how they can be fulfilled.

The Dog (*श्वानं* in *Rv.*, I. 161. 13) that awakened the *R̥bhū*s (or, at least, was accused by the 'he-goat', identified with the sun by *Yāska*, of doing so), in order that they may resume their duties at the beginning of a new year, can be accepted as *Canis Major* (in Hindu tradition nowhere called Dog), provided the following 4 conditions were fulfilled, viz.

- (1) that the *R̥bhū*s were *divinities* of the season ;
- (2) that *Agohya*, unconcealable one, mentioned in the verse, was the same as the sun ;

1 *The Orion*, p. 169

2 *Ibid.*, p. 170

- (3) that the 12 days of recreation, which T. allows to the R̥bhus, are the 12 days which must be added to make the year a solar one consisting of 366 days ('which neither Vedic tradition nor astronomy sanctions');
- (4) that 'in a year' ('Samvatsare' in the verse) means 'at the end of the year (which might be true if the sleep had been of a year's length, but is far less probable, if not impossible, supposing it to have been of 12 days only).'

W. states that the fulfilment of the above conditions would establish "the sun's start upon his yearly round from a vernal equinox in the neighbourhood of Orion, at four to five thousand years before Christ."² But as W. is sure that a conclusion depending on so many uncertainties and improbabilities is no conclusion at all, he rejects T.'s conclusion that evidence is found in *Rv.*, I. 161. 13 that in 4000 B.C. or 5000 B.C. the year began with the sun at the vernal equinox.

22. Let us see how far these conditions mentioned by W. can be fulfilled.

Condition 1

Whitney's •
Condition 1:
Evidence of
R̥bhus being
divinities.

WHETHER R̥BHUS WERE DIVINITIES

The *R̥gveda* states clearly that the R̥bhus were divinities.

अयं देवाय जन्मने स्तोमा विभ्रभिरागया ।

अकारि रत्नधातमः ॥³

Rv., I. 20. 1

[This wealth-giving hymn has been addressed by the sages, by their own mouth, to the (class of) divinities who had been born.⁴]

Keith treats of R̥bhus as minor gods of nature.⁵ He does not deny their divinity.

1 *IA.*, 1895, p. 369

2 *Ibid.*

3 Sāyaṇa explains the verse thus :

ऋभवो हि मनुष्याः सन्तस्तपमा देवत्वं प्राप्ताः । ते चात्र सृक्ते देवताः ।

[R̥bhus were mortals, who attained godhood by austerities. In this hymn they are the gods praised.]

For Yāska's explanation, see XI. 15. 16 quoted in para 18, footnote.

4 Based on Wilson, *Rv.* (Tr.), vol. 1, pp. 45, 46

5 A. B. Keith, *Philosophy and Religion of the Veda and Upanishads*, I. (1925), pp. 176-178: (In the *R̥gveda*) "they (R̥bhus) are addressed as gods, and are besought to bestow boons on their worshippers, including the dexterity

Condition 2

Whitney's
Condition 2.
evidence that
'Agohya' refers
to the sun,

WHETHER AGOHYA IS THE SUN

23. It is difficult to understand why W. has raised this question at all. For the *Nirukta* XI. 16 clearly says that 'Agohya' is an appellation of Āditya, meaning 'one who cannot be concealed'. It is traced to √ गृह्.

Condition 3

Whitney's
Condition 3: 12
days' sleep is
equivalent to
addition of 12
days by way of
intercalation.

THE MEANING OF 12 DAYS' SLEEP OF THE R̥BHUS¹

24. The R̥gvedic references to year, season, month, days etc. are in several passages not direct, but they are so by implication. For instance,

(a) द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वति चक्रं परि यामृतस्य ।

आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनामो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तम्युः ॥

Rv., I. 164. 11

[The twelve-spoked wheel of the true (sun) revolves round the heavens, and never (tends) to decay: seven hundred and twenty children in pairs, Agni, abide in it.]²

(b) द्वादश प्रथयश्चक्रमकं वीणा नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।

तस्मिन्त् साकं त्रिशता न शङ्खवोऽर्पिताः प्रष्टिनं चलाचलामः ॥

Rv., I. 164. 48

[Twelve follies, one wheel, three axles—who knows this? In that wheel are fixed 360 spokes moving and unmoving.]³

(c) चतुर्भिः साकं नवतिं च नामभिश्चक्रं न वृत्तं व्यतीं रवीविपत् ।

Rv., I. 155. 6

which is theirs specially." But Keith states that "the assertion that the R̥bhus are really the R̥tus" is not "in the slightest degree plausible."

[This opinion has been contradicted by what has been stated in para 21.]

1 A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1917), p. 106: "They [the R̥bhus] rested for twelve days in the house of the sun, Agohya ('who cannot be concealed'). This sojourn of the R̥bhus in the house of the sun in all probability alludes to the winter solstice, the twelve days being the addition which was necessary to bring the lunar year of 354 into harmony with the solar year of nearly 366 days, and was intercalated before the days began to grow perceptibly longer."

2 Wilson, *Rv. (Tr.)*, vol. 2, p. 130

3 Cf. Wilson, *Rv. (Tr.)*, vol. 2, p. 143

[He causes, by his gyrations, 360 periodical revolutions like a circular wheel.]¹

In the first instance, the reference to months and days of the year is not readily intelligible. 12 spokes stand for 12 months, and 720 children in pairs for 360 days and 360 nights.

In the second example, the references are to 12 months, 1 year, 3 seasons and 360 days.

In the third passage, 1 year is said to have 360 revolutions or days.

In none of the above instances, the word 'days' is to be found after 360. The same remark applies to other references to year, days etc. in the *R̥gveda*. Hence a question arises as to the sense in which '360' is used. It may mean 360 solar days, or 360 lunar days equivalent to 354 solar days. In either case, it is shorter than the solar year of 366 days, and therefore requires to be intercalated.

25. Several passages in the *R̥gveda* lead us to conclude that *R̥gvedic* poets were not unaware of the above-mentioned discrepancies and of the method by which they could be corrected. The correction can be inferred to have been made in any of the following ways:

(1) The addition of 12 days at the end of each year as indicated in *R̥v.*, 163. 13 (see para 19). It was perhaps the earliest method. In that case, '360' means 360 tithis (rotations of the moon) equal to 354 ($29\frac{1}{2} \times 12$) solar days, to which 12 days are added to make the lunar year a solar year. The period during which 12 days were added at the end of each year belonged to an age when only 3 seasons were recognised in a year.

(2) The addition of a full month after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. This evolved at a later period. The reference to the addition of one month at the end of a year is found in Vedic literature, but nowhere it mentions how many years should elapse before this intercalation was resorted to. The Vedic Indians at one time changed their lunar year into luni-solar one. In that case 1 month was added after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. But when after a lapse of years Hindus commenced using 'solar year' of 360 days, it fell short of 6 days as compared with full-fledged year. In this case one month was added after 5 years.

1 Sāyana interprets चतुर्भिः साकं नवतिं as four and ninety i. e. 94, but the reasonable explanation is four times ninety i.e. 360 as Muir and other scholars point out.

26. The above remarks point to the fact that the number of seasons constituting a year was different at different times. So, T. is right when he states in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* that as the Aryans entered into India from the North-west, and

The reason for the mention of different numbers of seasons in the *Rgveda*.

advanced into the country, the number of seasons experienced by them increased. This explains why the *Rgveda* and other Vedic literature mention "three, or five, or six, or even seven seasons (ṛtus) in the year,"¹ against which W. made adverse

comments² on ancient Hindu Astronomy. From *Rv.*, I.161.13, this much can be known that the method of intercalation adding 12 days to a year must have been the result of observation of the heavens by the ancient Indo-Aryans at a very early stage of their civilization. This hymn was composed in all probability at the dawn of Indo-Aryan civilization, when the number of seasons was three and 12 days were added to a year for changing it into solar one. In other words, intercalation was practised in those early times.

27. Two references to the 7th season³ are given below from the *Rgveda*, to show what it really was:

Instances of intercalation by the addition of a month.

(a) साकंजानां सप्तथमाहुरेकजं पळ्ळियमा ऋषयो देवता इति ।

तेषामिष्टानि विहितानि धामशः श्यावो रेजन्ते विकृतानि रूपशः ॥

Rv., I. 164. 15

[Of those that are born together, sages have called the seventh the single-born ; for six are twins, and are moveable, and born of the gods ; their desirable (properties), placed severally in their proper abodes, are various (also) in form, and revolve for (the benefit of) that which is stationary.]⁴

Wilson interprets this verse as follows :

"These are six seasons, made up of two months each ; the seventh is the intercalary month, which has no fellow, and has no *Āditya* to preside over it,"⁵ wherefore it is not considered to be of

1 Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 283

2 *IA.*, 1895, p. 364: "With their customary looseness in regard to such matters, the ancient Hindus reckoned three, or five, or six, or seven seasons (*ritu*) in the year."

3 The 7th season of one month is in reality an 'addition of one month for intercalation after 2½ years or 5 years, as the case may be [see para 24].

4 Wilson, *Rv.* (Tr.), vol. 2, pp. 131, 132

5 Wilson's statement that there is no *Āditya* to preside over the 7th month is not correct.

divine origin like the rest.”¹ “.....the several seasons are diversified by the varieties of temperature, produce, and the like, for the benefit of the world.”²

(b) वेद मासो षुतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः ।

वेदा य उपजायते ॥

Rv., I. 25. 8

[He, who, accepting the rites (dedicated to him), knows the twelve months and their productions, and that which is supplementarily engendered.]³

Wilson’s remarks: “*vedā ya upajāyate*, who knows what is *upa*, additionally, or subordinately, produced. The expression is obscure; but in connexion with the preceding, *veda māso dvādaśa*, who knows the twelve months, we cannot doubt the correctness of the Scholiast’s conclusion, that the thirteenth, the supplementary, or intercalary, month of the Hindu luni-solar year is alluded to; ‘that thirteenth or additional month which is produced of itself, in connexion with the year’,—*yas trayodaśo’ dhikamāsa upajāyate samvatsarasamīpe svayam evodpadyate*. The passage is important, as indicating the concurrent use of the lunar and solar years at this period, and the method of adjusting the one to the other”.⁴

28. The reason for giving some details of intercalation from the *R̥gveda* is that some scholars do not admit that the ancient Hindus really knew the use of intercalation.

As we shall see later on, Th. does not directly deny that ancient Indians were familiar with the use of intercalation. His attack is based on the supposed ignorance of Indians about the proper length of the year.⁵

29. Keith also speaks in the same strain. He states that the knowledge of the heavenly bodies displayed by the Vedic people

1 Wilson, *Rv.* (Tr.), vol. 2, pp. 131-132 fn.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 132 fn.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 65

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66 fn.

5 *IA.*, 1895, p. 99: “What here immediately concerns us is the recognition of the fact that anything, like a fairly accurate fixation of the sun’s place among the stars at the winter solstice, cannot be imagined to have been accomplished by people who had no approximately correct notion of the length of the year.”

Keith's criticism is based on his wrong interpretation of passages, and confusion regarding intercalation.

is the most meagre possible, that planets were unknown to the *R̥gveda*, that there is no proof of worship of any heavenly bodies other than the sun and the moon in the *R̥gveda*, and that the rudimentary knowledge of even the division of time is seen in the fact that a year of 360 days and 12

months is, apart from the occasional mention of a 10-month year of gestation, the only year clearly known to the whole of Vedic literature prior to the later Sūtras.

It is to be regretted that Keith nowhere tries to grasp the full meaning of a year of 360 days. He has, however, to admit that the ancient Indians had knowledge of intercalation. Thus says he: "That the year of 12 months, which seems to have been a rough adaptation to the solar year of the synodic month of between 29 and 30 days, was not a perfect year seems, however, to have been recognised, for the Rigveda already contains the mention of a thirteenth supplementary month which must, we may assume, have been intercalated periodically, but there is no evidence worth serious consideration for the view that the Vedic period knew a period of five years as a unit for intercalation."¹

Though Keith admits that ancient Indians had knowledge of intercalation, he confuses the issue when he states that no mention of intercalation after 5 years is made in the Vedic literature. In fact, as has already been pointed out, it is only by reference to particular passages that we can understand whether intercalation is made after one year or 2½ years or 5 years. So, it is in vain that Keith seeks to conclude that the unit for each intercalation was five years, without taking due note of other passages in the *R̥gveda*. That point is discussed by Macdonell and Keith also in *Vedic Index*² while treating of Vedic year and month. They state

How Macdonell and Keith misinterpret R̥bhus.

that numerous passages in the *R̥gveda* speak of 12 months or 360 days for a year, but they contend against the fact that the Vedic period was acquainted

with the year of 354 days. They also reject Zimmer's assertion that in *Rv.*, I. 161. 13 an attempt has been made at intercalation. Macdonell and Keith hold that as the *R̥gveda* does not directly refer to intercalation anywhere, the 12 days "are merely the 'reflexion of the year' (*saṃvatsarasya pratimā*) in the same way

1 Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, 1, p. 79

2 A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (1912), vol. 2, *S.V. Saṃvatsara*, pp. 411-413 ; *S.V. Māsa*, pp. 156-163

that they represent the twelve months and have no relation to chronology at all”.

It is easy to see that the authors do not take note of the main issue. Scholars of their eminence need not be told that non-mention of intercalation in the *R̥gveda* does not prove its non-existence as has been shown in para 19.

30. W. on the other hand contends that neither Vedic tradition nor Vedic astronomy sanctions a year of 366 days, and therefore the idea of intercalation is uncalled for. Whitney on the year being 366 days long. W. would have been correct if the 7th season or the 13th month (presumably for intercalation) had not been mentioned.¹ The Vedic Indians, as their astronomical knowledge advanced, added 12 days after a year, or one month after 2½ lunar, or 5 solar, years, of 360 days.

31. As the ancient Indo-Aryans converted the lunar year into a solar one by adding 12 days after a year of 354 days or one month (30 days) after two years and a half, the 366 days in the year contained an error of ¾ day in each year. Even at the time of the *R̥gveda*, this did not escape the observation of the Indo-Aryans. They discovered a way to correct this small error. It is briefly stated below.

By intercalation the ancient Hindus corrected not only the error in each year, but also the error that remained after first intercalation.

The six seasons have six presiding deities (*Ādityas*). The 7th *Āditya* presides over the 7th season of one month¹. The number of *Ādityas* presiding over seasons is said to be 8. Hence, the 8th *Āditya* must have some season over which to preside. The 8th *Āditya* is the presiding deity of one month that has to be thrown away after each 40 years. The fact is that if we admit that in each year of 366 days an error of ¾th of a day creeps in, we have also to admit that after 40 years the error becomes as big as one month (because $40 \times \frac{3}{4} = 30$ days). One month's error after 40 years is not a negligible thing ; and this error could not be allowed to continue indefinitely, for that would have vitiated astronomical calculations, and religious performances. The Indo-Aryans corrected it by deducting one month from a year after every 40 years. It cannot be conceived that those who were so eager to intercalate the year by adding 12 days or 1 month, as the case may be, would not care to correct this mistake of a month each 40

1 See para 27.

years. Evidence of this correction is found in the following verses of the *Rv.*¹

अष्टौ पुत्रासो अदितेर्ये जातास्तन्वस्परि ।
 देवौ उप प्रैत् सप्तभिः परा मार्ताण्डामास्य ॥८॥
 सप्तभिः पुत्रैरदितिरूप प्रैत् पूर्व्यं युगं ।
 प्रजायै मृत्यवे त्वत् पुनर्मार्ताण्डमाभरत् ॥९॥

[Eight sons (there were) of Aditi who were born from her body; she approached the gods with seven, but threw away Mārtāṇḍa. 8

In a former yuga, Aditi went with seven sons, but she bore Mārtāṇḍa again for the sake of death. 9]

Ādityas are the sons of Aditi. Seven of them stand for seven seasons. But the reference to the 8th Āditya called Mārtāṇḍa (mārta + aṇḍa = dead egg) has a special significance. For, while Aditi presents the first seven sons to the gods, she throws away i.e. bears him (the eighth) for the sake of death. This Āditya, though a deity like the other Ādityas, is not of their category. Description about him becomes meaningful only when we connect this deity (as a presiding deity) with a season (of one month) which is thrown away or given to death and not added (to a year). This is the only way in which परा मार्ताण्डामास्यात् or प्रजायै मृत्यवे.. मार्ताण्डमभरत् can be explained. As we have seen, the necessity for adding 12 days to each year for converting it into a solar one was felt from very early times. This contained an error which needed correction.

It is stated that Indra discovered Śambara concealed in the mountains after a search of 40 years.

यः शंवरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।
 ओजायमान यो अहिं जघान दानुं शयानं स जनास इन्द्रः ॥²

[He, who discovered Śambara dwelling in the mountains for forty years ; who slew Ahi, growing in strength, and the sleeping son of Danu ; he, men, is Indra].³

In other words, the above verses indicate the journey of Indra (the sun) for 40 years. In 40 solar years, each of 366 days, the excess amounts to $\frac{3}{4}$ (of a day each year) $\times 40 = 30$ days. This month of 30 days should be deducted after every 40 years to make the length of the year equal to $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days.

1 *Rv.*, X. 72. 8-9

2 *Ibid.*, II.12,11

3 Wilson, *Rv.* (T.), vol. 2. pp. 237, 238

The conclusion becomes irresistible that the method of correcting the small error of 3/4 of a day every year after 40 years was known to the ancient Hindus.¹

Condition 4

WHETHER SAMVATSARE MEANS 'IN A YEAR'

32. W. feels diffident about the sense in which the word Samvatsare has been used in *Rv.*, 1. 161. 13.² It is not clear however what other rendering would have been better than 'in a year.' If what he intends to state be that 12 days' sleep did not take place at the end of the year, but at any time during the year, it makes no difference, because even in that case there is an addition of 12 days. But if we turn our attention to the text, we find that the end of the year is indicated. Otherwise the last portion of the verse viz इदमद्या व्यह्यत (you declare this today), that it is the end of the year, becomes irrelevant.

Whitney's
Condition 4:
Meaning of
'Samvatsare'.

Tilak fulfils the
4 conditions
laid down by
Whitney.

33. From the foregoing observations, one can easily see that the 4 conditions set by W. have been fulfilled by T. One has therefore to conclude that T.'s interpretation of *Rv.*, 1. 161. 13 is the only one that can be accepted, and that the sun commenced its course for a new year from the vernal equinox in Mṛgaśiras (of which the Dog-star is a part), after the lapse of 12 days that were intercalated.

34. Before leaving this subject, a point raised by W. requires consideration. W. denies that the star Canis Major was called श्वान (Dog-star) anywhere in Hindu tradition. T. gives several instances to prove that Canis Major was called श्वान (Dog). These must have escaped W.'s notice, as otherwise he would not have made the remarks mentioned above.

In Hindu tradi-
tion Canis Major
was called श्वान
(Dog-star):
Whitney's denial
is challenged by
Tilak.

1 Vide Jogesh Ch. Rāy, *Vedic Devatā O Kṛṣṭikāla* (Vedic gods and age of Vedic culture), 1954, pp. 88ff.

2 See para 19.

सुषुप्त्वांस ऋभवस्तदपृच्छतागोह्य क इदं नो अब्रुवुधत् ।

श्वानं वस्तो बोधयितारमब्रवीत् संवत्सर इदमद्या व्यह्यत ॥

[Oh R̥bhus! You were asleep; thereafter ask Agohya who is that woke us up. The He-goat replied, 'the hound is the awakener'. As the year is passed, today you declare the same.]

Some of the instances are reproduced below :

(a) अति द्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा ।

अथा पितृन्त्सुविदत्ताँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति ॥१०

यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ ।

ताभ्यामेनं परि देहि राजन्त् स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीवं च धेहि ॥११

उरूणासावसुनृपा उदुम्बलौ यमस्य दूतौ चरतो जनाँ अनु ।

तावस्मभ्यं दशये सूर्याय पुनर्दातामसुमद्येह भद्रम् ॥१२¹

[(The description of two dogs near the gates of Yama.) Pass by a secure path beyond the two spotted four-eyed Dogs, the progeny of Saramā, and join the wise *pitrs* who rejoice joyfully with Yama. 10

Entrust him, O King, to thy two Dogs, which are thy protectors, Yama, the four-eyed guardians of the road, renowned by men, and grant him prosperity and health. 11

The messengers of Yama, broad-nosed, and of exceeding strength, and satiating themselves with the life (of mortals), hunt mankind; may they allow us this day a prosperous existence here, that we may look upon the sun. 12]²

Read with *Rv.*, X. 10 (the dialogue between Yama and Yamī), the above passage indicates that two sons (dogs) of Saramā (the bitch of heaven) guarded the gates of heaven (the Milky Way). They can be easily identified with Canis Major and Canis Minor on both sides of the Milky Way. The mention of milk suggests that it must be the milk in the galaxy with two dogs on each side.³

(b) *Rv.*, X, 108 is a dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis. The latter had taken away the cows of Indra, who sent his messenger Saramā in search of them. After travelling in most distant places she met the Paṇis. They tried to coax her to remain with them and enjoy their wealth, but failed. On her return, she denied having seen the cows of Indra, at which Indra kicked her, and she vomitted milk. This looks like the Milky Way with which Saramā's connectton is established.⁴

T. points out that Śunāśirau in *Rv.*, IV. 57. 5 is considered by

1 *Rv.*, X. 14

2 Wilson, *Rv.*, (Tr.), vol. 6 p. 33

3 Tilak, *The Orion*, pp. 112, 113

4 *Ibid.*, p. 113

M. to be a very old name of the Dog-star¹ (in dual). The 5th ṛk in IV. 57 runs as follows:

शुनासीराविमां वाचं जुषेथां यद्वि चक्रथुः पयः ।
तेनेमामुपसिञ्चतम् ॥

Rv., IV. 57. 5

[Śuna and Sīra be pleased by this our praise, and consequently sprinkle this (earth) with the water which you have created in heaven]² According to T. Śunāśīrau are invoked in order that they may pour down upon the earth the “milk” which they “make in heaven”.³

Thus the assertion of W. that Canis Major was nowhere called श्वान (Dog-star) in Hindu tradition cannot stand.

(2) VṚṢĀKAPI

35. The Vṛṣākapi hymn (*Rv.*, X. 86), remarkable in many ways, may be cited as an evidence of the antiquity of the *R̥gveda*.

Different scholars have interpreted it differently and reached diverse conclusions.⁴ But the explanation of this hymn as given by T. seems to me cogent for reasons that will be presently stated.

The gist of the story contained in the Vṛṣākapi hymn,—*Rv.*, x.86.

The hymn is elaborately treated by T. Mainly following him, the gist of the story contained in it is as follows:

It was a common practice with the Vedic people to offer sacrifices to Indra for adequate rains and good crops. By the sacrifices, the prayers of the sacrificers are granted. Rains come and abundant crops appear. [Towards the end of rainy season] the sacrifices to Indra are stopped, and people who bring sacrificial things for Indra leave the same at his temple without offering them to him and are therefore wasted. They offer new sacrifices to Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī takes this as an affront to her Lord and becomes very angry with Vṛṣākapi, who, she thinks, is responsible for all this mischief. She makes up her mind to punish him. She says that she will not be satisfied till she can set the Dog, eager for a

1 Cf. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. 2, p. 526

2 Wilson, *Rv.* (Tr.), vol. 3, pp. 224, 225

3 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 113

4 ‘This is a somewhat unintelligible *Sūkta*’—Wilson (Tr.), vol. 6, p. 236 fn.

chase of hog, on Vṛṣākapi (हरितो मृगः, the yellow antelope) to bite him in the ear,¹ or behead the evil-doer.²

Indra however finds no cause for anger with Vṛṣākapi. He is rather glad that his friend (मत्ना) Vṛṣākapi has appeared in time to do his duty viz. giving wealth in the shape of good crops to the people, who in turn are offering sacrifices to Vṛṣākapi in lieu of Indra. But Indrāṇī has to be pacified. So Indra begins to praise the beauty of her person and her many qualities,³ and requests her to forgive Vṛṣākapi.⁴

Indrāṇī does not relent. Failing to rouse up Indra's ire against Vṛṣākapi, Indrāṇī now relates to Indra the great anguish and humiliation to which she has been subjected by Vṛṣākapi for diverting the people to make sacrifices to himself instead of to her husband and thereby rendering useless the sources of pleasure to her. This attempt of Indrāṇī also fails. For, Indra cannot forsake his friend.⁵

How long can a woman (be she a goddess) resist the persuasions of a husband like Indra? Indrāṇī relents at last and orders the wife of Vṛṣākapi to invite Indra to a feast where bulls may be served to him.⁶ This satisfies Indra who informs Indrāṇī that arrangement for his feast has been made.⁶

1 श्वा न्वस्य जंभिषदपि कर्णे वराह्युः etc. ॥४॥

[(Indrāṇī to Indra) Let the dog, eager (to chase) a hog (*varūha*), bite him at his ear.]—*The Orion*, p. 181

2 प्रिया तत्रानि मे कपिव्यक्ता व्यदुषत् ।

शिरो न्वस्य राविष न मृगं दुष्कृते भुवम् etc. ॥५॥

[The kapi spoilt my favourite things. I shall, therefore, cut off his head, in order that an evil-doer may not enjoy happiness.]—*The Orion*, pp. 181, 182

3 Verses 7, 8, 10, 11

4 Verse 12

5 ऋषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्र आदु सुस्तुषे ।

घंसत्त इन्द्र उक्षणाः प्रियं काचित्करं हविः etc. ॥१३॥

[O rich Vṛṣākapāyī! having a good son and a daughter-in-law, let Indra swallow the bulls, your favourite and delightful oblation.]—*The Orion*, p. 184. Presumably this is addressed by Indrāṇī to Vṛṣākapāyī, wife of Vṛṣākapi.

6 उक्षणा हि मे पंचदश साकं पचन्ति विंशतिम् ।

उताहमग्निं पोव इदुभा कुक्षीं प्रीणंति मे etc. ॥१४॥

[Twenty and fifteen oxen are being cooked for me; I shall eat them and be fat. Both the sides of my belly will be filled up.]—*The Orion*, p. 185

Then, at Indrānī's desire, Indra sports with her, as a bull sports among the cows. Indrānī is gratified and forgives Vṛṣākapi.¹

Thus a reconciliation takes place. Indrānī's heart softens so much that she invites Vṛṣākapi, through Indra, to cook and partake of the meat of a slain animal (an antelope), and she supplies materials for cooking the same². [This antelope has nothing to do with the yellow antelope with which Vṛṣākapi has been identified in verse 3]. This turn of events pleases Indra.³

Then comes the time for Vṛṣākapi to descend to his nether house. As friendship has grown, he is invited either by Indra or by Indrānī to come again to their house.⁴

Vṛṣākapi is addressed as the disturber of sleep. It is said that sacrifice will commence when he appears again.⁵

In this way the cycle goes on and on. Whenever Vṛṣākapi appears, the great offender Mṛga, who misleads people, can be seen no more. There is no knowing where he has gone.⁶

1 Verses 15, 16 and 17

2 अयमिन्द्र वृषाकपिः परस्वन्तं हतं विदत् ।

अयं भूनां नवं चरुमादेधस्यान आचितम् etc. ॥ १८ ॥

[O Indra! let Vṛṣākapi get the slain animal. Let him at once have a knife, a fire-place, a new vessel, and a cartload of firewood (to cook the killed animal)]—*The Orion*, pp. 185, 186

3 अयमेमि विचाकशद्विचिन्वन्दासमार्यम् ।

पियामि पाकसुत्वनोऽभि धीरमचाकशं etc. ॥ १९ ॥

[Thus do I go seeing and discriminating between a *dāsa* and an *ārya* I take my drink from those that prepare Soma juice and cook the oblation thus and behold (or protect) the intelligent sacrificers.]—*The Orion*, p. 186

4 धन्व च यन् कृन्तव च कतिस्त्रिता वि योजना ।

नेदीयसो वृषाकपेऽस्तमेहि गृह्यो उप etc. ॥ २० ॥

[O Vṛṣākapi! go to the house—the celestial sphere which is cut off and which contains some (unknown) *yojanas* or stages. From your *nether* house come to our house.]—*The Orion*, p. 191

5 पुनरेहि वृषाकपे सुविता कल्पयावहे ।

य एषः स्वप्नंशनोऽस्तमेपि पथा पुनः etc. ॥ २१ ॥

[O Vṛṣākapi! you, the destroyer of sleep, who are going to the house, come back again, again by (your) way. We would perform the sacrifices.]—*The Orion*, p. 192

6 यदुदंचो वृषाकपे गृहमिन्द्राजगन्तन ।

कस्य पुलवधो मृगः कमगञ्जनयोपनो etc. ॥ २२ ॥

[O mighty Vṛṣākapi! when you rising upwards (or rather northwards) would come to (our) house, where would that great sinner Mṛga be? Where he, who misleads people, would go?]—*The Orion*, pp. 193, 194

36. It is easy to follow the thread of the story from the above Vṛṣākapi means *gist*.¹ The main question requiring solution in the sun at the regard to this hymn is the identity of Vṛṣākapi. Vṛṣākapi means the sun at the autumnal equinox, according to Tilak. T. after giving a translation of the whole hymn verse by verse with detailed explanations,² points out that the word Vṛṣākapi has usually been taken by scholars in the sense of the sun in one or other form, and that in the present hymn it is used to convey a special meaning viz. the sun at the autumnal equinox, with the Dog-star (a part of Mṛgaśiras) in the background, and the equinoctial year begins. The sun at that time can rightly be spoken of as to have shaken off the rains, for just after the rains an equinox is reached.

37. W. ridicules T.'s interpretation of Vṛṣākapi and dismisses it with the following words :

“The use made of it (i.e. the Vṛṣākapi hymn) seems utterly fanciful and unwarranted. Of all who have attempted to bring sense out of that strange and obscure passage of the *R̥g-veda*, no one is less to be congratulated on his success than Mr. Tilak. His discussion of it is only to be paralleled with the endeavour to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, and does not in the least call for examination or criticism in detail.”³

W. has rejected the whole theory of T., but it is regrettable that a scholar of W.'s eminence should advance no arguments to disprove T.'s contention.⁴ Had he done so, counter-arguments could have been produced.

1 The 23rd or last verse of the hymn runs thus :

पर्शुर्ह नाम मानवी साकं ससूव विंशतिम् ।

भद्रं भल त्वस्या अभूयस्या उदरमामयद्विश्च etc. ॥

It does not appear to have any bearing on the story proper. It is a mere statement that Parśus, daughter of Manu, bore 20 sons. Some intervening verses might have been lost, for which a connection cannot be established with previous verses.

2 *The Orion*, pp. 170-197. It is not easy to guess rightly the speakers of different verses. M. in his letter to Burnell, dated Jan. 26, 1874 says: “In the hymn X. 86 there is considerable uncertainty as to the persons to whom each verse is to be assigned.”—Max Müller, *Rv.*, (Text), vol. VI, intr., p. XXV

3 *I.A.*, 1895, p. 369

4 Cf. *The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon'ble Friedrich Max Müller* (in 2 vols), ed by his wife, Longmans, Green & Co. 1902, vol. 2, p. 31

38. Keith also discusses the hymn. He renders the word Vṛṣākapi as male-ape. His comment on the hymn is given below: "One of the most obscure hymns of the Rigveda tells us of a dispute between Indra and Indrāṇī over a being styled Vṛṣākapi, 'male-ape' ; to seek in it a naturalistic interpretation is rendered from the outset almost hopeless when we recognize that the chief figure in the dispute, the angry Indrāṇī, is clearly not a nature personification in any sense."¹

Keith takes Vṛṣākapi to be a male-ape, over whom Indra and Indrāṇī's quarrel is depicted in the hymn.

In another context, Keith discusses the Frog Song, *Rv.* VIII. 103 and does not think it proper to take it as a satirical one. In his opinion, such a hymn would not have been preserved, if it had no religious or magic basis. "The Vṛṣākapi hymn which shows Indra and Indrāṇī in dispute over a male ape may be adduced in this connexion, but in the absence of any surety as to its meaning it is difficult to rely upon it."²

Keith does not find anything more in this hymn than a dispute between Indra and Indrāṇī (a god and a goddess) for a male-ape. It is not reasonable to think that the Vedic poets would give a permanent place to a small and frivolous matter in their sacred treatise, the *R̥gveda*, unless something more serious and significant had been meant.

Keith's remarks on this hymn are not, in short, helpful in arriving at that meaning.

39. A hint as to the identity of Vṛṣākapi is to be found in the reference to Vṛṣākapi as the disturber of sleep (स्वप्नंशनः)³ and to the Mṛga who is said to have disappeared on the appearance of Vṛṣākapi कस्य पुल्वधो मृगः (where is the offensive Mṛga gone?). Verse 21 refers to the rising of an object (Vṛṣākapi) to awaken the world, and verse 22 to the disappearance of Mṛga (a star) on the appearance of the object in the sky.

Identity of Vṛṣākapi.

40. T. states that both Sāyaṇa and Yāska have not been able to get at the real meaning of Mṛga, which is Mṛgaśiras according to him.⁴

Yāska and Sāyaṇa have not been able to get at the real meaning.

1 A. B. Keith, *Philosophy and Religion of the Veda and Upanishads*, I, p. 61

2 *Ibid.*, 2, p. 434

3 Verse 22

4 Tilak, *The Orion*, pp. 193, 194

41. Yāska, an ancient commentator of some of the verses of the *R̥gveda*, picks up in his *Nirukta*, verse 21. Yāska explains *Rv.* X. 86. 21. Lakshman Sarup renders it into English thus: [Indra speaks to Vṛṣākapi:] “O Vṛṣākapi, thou who art the destroyer of dreams, who are about to set along the path once more ; come again. We two will regulate the prosperous course.”¹

Yāska explains the word Vṛṣākapi thus: अथ यं रश्मिभिरभिप्रकम्पयेन्नेति तद् वृषाकपि भवति । वृषाकम्पनः । 12. 27.² (Now he, who with his rays, causes everything to quiver, is called Vṛṣākapi, i.e. the shaker with rays.)³

Yāska’s explanation of the verse is translated as follows:

“O Vṛṣākpi, thou art the destroyer of dreams,—i.e. the sun, by rising (in the morning), causes dreams to be destroyed. As such thou art about to set along the path once more. Come again, we two will regulate the well-stimulated actions”.⁴

42. Vṛṣākapi should, I think, be taken as ‘terrifier of rains’ (vṛṣā=rains, kapi=one who terrifies. If the Vṛṣākapi is terrifier of rains. hymn be carefully analysed, it will be found that it speaks of the arrival of autumn which compels the disappearance of rains through fright. Abundance of crops is noticed, rains falling into disfavour.

Rv. X. 86, points to a time when Mṛgaśras or Dog-star appeared in the sky, the sun being at the autumnal equinox.⁵

1 Verse 21 is cited by Yāska to show the use of the word Vṛṣākapi, the shaker with its rays. See Lakshman Sarup’s ed. *Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta*, Text, p. 215 and Tr., p. 192

2 Sarup, *Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta*, Text, p. 215

3 *Ibid.*, Tr., 193

वर्षतीति वृषा | मेघः | इन्द्रो (वा)
कम्पते अकम्पते अस्मात् इति ।

Bhāniyi Dikshit on Amara

[That which showers rain is Vṛṣā (cloud) or Indra. From it comes the shaking.]

4 पुनरेहि वृषाकपे सुप्रसूतानि वः कर्माणि
कल्पयावहै । य एष । स्वप्रनंशनः । स्वप्रान्नाशयति ।

Sarup, Text, p. 215

5 In passing, I should mention that it has been suggested that *Rv.*, X. 86 is nothing but the story of displacement of Indra-worship by Vṛṣākapi (Sun), worship. But nothing like permanent displacement is hinted at anywhere in the hymn. If that were the purpose, then every śloka in the hymn would not have ended by extolling Indra (विश्वस्मादिन्द्रः उत्तरः). This repetition of

(3) THE MANDUKAS

(FROGS)

43. A complete hymn of the *R̥gveda* viz. VII. 103 is devoted to the description and praise of the Frogs. These creatures are neither symbols of gods nor subjects of respect from the people. There must therefore have been special reasons for which this hymn found a permanent place in the sacred book, the *R̥gveda*.

The views of different scholars on the Frog-song, *Rv.* VII. 103.

Interpreted in the above light, M.'s remarks that the hymn is a satire on the priests, the elaborate ceremonial of the Brāhman being actually turned into ridicule, are beside the mark. M. states that it was curious to observe that the said animals "should have been chosen by the Vedic satirist to represent the priests, which by the earliest satirist of Greece was selected as the representatives of the Homeric heroes."¹

Max Müller.

W. finds the hymn to be simply a humorous one.²

Macdonell and Keith do not subscribe to the above view of M.: "It has been explained by Max Müller as a satire on the Brāhmins. Geldner, agreeing with this view, thinks that it is directed by Vasiṣṭha composer against rival Brāhmins, probably the Viśvāmitras. The view, however, which interprets the hymn as a rain charm seems on the whole more likely."³

Whitney.

Macdonell and Keith.

Macdonell in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* calls it a late hymn. According to him, though the hymn is entirely secular in style, its original purpose is doubtful. He thinks that "the awakening of the frogs at the beginning of the rainy season is here described with a graphic power which will doubtless be appreciated best by those who have lived in India. The poet compares the din of this croaking with the chants of the priests exhilarated by Soma, and with the clamour of pupils at school repeating the words of their teacher."⁴ Macdonell further

Macdonell.

Indra's superiority would not have been made, if Viśākapi-worship had permanently displaced Indra-worship. The real intention underlying the hymn is to point out that at the advent of autumn, Vṛṣākapi-worship was more important because it ushered in wealth and prosperity in the shape of crops.

1 Max Müller, *History*, p. 255

2 *IA.*, 1895, p. 362

3 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* (1912), vol. 2, pp. 120, 121

4 Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 121

states that if the purpose of the hymn be satire upon priests, then how can it have gained admittance into a collection like the *Rgveda*, edited if not composed, by priests? It is not possible that Brāhmins were ignorant of the signification of the poem.¹ •

Keith does not deny an element of humour in the hymn, but he is not prepared to take it as a mere satire on the Brāhmins, for such a hymn would not then have been preserved.²

The above instances show that the interpretations of the Frog-song by different scholars are diverse. The hymn is not difficult to understand, if it is looked at in its proper perspective. It should not be detached from the two previous hymns. These three hymns (101-103) of the 7th Maṇḍala of the *Rgveda* are all prayers to the god of clouds (Parjanya) for shower of rain. Anybody desirous of having rains should immerse himself in water up to the mouth and recite repeatedly the first two hymns. His desire will then be fulfilled, Sāyaṇa following Śaunaka in the *Rgvidhāna* states that if prayer is made in the aforesaid manner, rain would surely fall on the 5th night.

The *Nirukta*³ points out that the 3rd hymn is an invocation by sage Vasiṣṭha to god Parjanya for rainfall. As the frogs supported him by croaking, they were praised by Vasiṣṭha.

This is the background which helps the interpretation of this particular hymn.

44. Some scholars think that hymn 103 of *Rv.* VII is of great importance as they find in the verse indication of the time when it was composed. Others again emphasise that the attempt to prove the antiquity of the *Rgveda* from the verse is futile. This led to a controversy in regard to the right interpretation of the verse, or rather of one word of the verse,⁴ *dvādaśasya*.

1 *Ibid.*, 121

2 Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniṣads*, I, p. 141, and 2, p. 434

3 *Nirukta*, 9. 6

4 The degree of importance attached to the Frog-song (VII. 103) may be realised from the fact that it has drawn attention of many scholars and has been dealt with by Max Müller, in his *History*, p. 258; Macdonell, in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1919, pp. 121, 122; Wilson, in his *Rigveda* (Tr.), vol. IV, p. 202; Kaegi and Geldner, in their *Rigveda*, (Tr.); Jacobi in *I.A.*, 1894, pp. 154ff; Macdonell and Keith, in their *Vedic Index*, vol. 2,

The ṛk in question runs thus :

देवहितं जुगुप्सुर्द्वादशस्य ऋतुं नरो न प्रमिनन्त्येते ।
संवत्सरे प्रावृष्यागतायां तसा घर्मा अश्नुवते विसर्गम् ॥

VII. 103. 9

It has been translated in the following two ways :

(1) 'They observe the sacred order, never forget the proper time of the *twelfth (month)*, these men. As soon as in the year the raintime has come, the hot glow of the sun finds its end' (Jacobi).

(2) 'They observe the sacred order of *the year*, they never forget the proper time, those men, as soon as in the year the raintime has come, the hot glow of the sun finds its end' (Kaegi and Geldner).

45. In translating the ṛk, the question arises, in what sense the word *dvādaśasya* should be taken. It may mean twelfth or twelve-fold, and the significance of the whole verse changes accordingly.

46. J.'s preference is for 'twelfth'. He reproduces the rendering of Kaegi and Geldner, which is as follows: "Sie halten ain des Jahres heilige Ordnung Vergessen nie die rechte zeita, die Männer, sobald im Jahr die Regenzeit gekommen die heirse sonnemglut ein Ende findet".¹ Grassman also translates it in a similar way.

J. on the whole accepts Kaegi and Geldner's rendering, but objects 'to the translation of *dvādaśa* into year' (12 months).² He does not deny the possibility of this meaning, for it can also mean 'with twelve parts'. "*Dvādaśa* strotra in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has this meaning". In his opinion, however, this meaning should not be attached to the word when it stands alone i.e. when the thing which has twelve parts is not mentioned. Therefore, in this passage he takes the word *dvādaśasya*, 'with *māsaḥ* understood'. Hence, J. translates the first portion in the following way: "They observe the sacred order,

pp. 120, 121; Keith, in his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, I, p. 141, and 2, p. 434.

1 "They observe the sacred order of the year, they never forget the proper time, those men, as soon as in the year the raintime has come the hot glow of the sun finds its end."

2 Sāyaṇa makes *dvādaśasya ṛtum* equivalent to *dvādaśa-masātmākasya samvatsarasya ṛtum tam Vasantādikam* i.e. the season beginning with Vasanta (spring) of the year 'with twelve'. —Max Müller, *History*, p. 269

never forget the proper time of the twelfth (month), these men.” From this he concludes that he has for the *R̥gveda* “a year beginning with rainy season, the most obvious and in general most regular division of time, from which the later Hindus called the year *Varshā* or *abda* (=ap+da, rain-giving)”. The first rain comes about the summer solstice. So this passage in the *Rv.* may be a reference to rainy season and summer solstice. J. states that “Those sensible creatures (*narah*)—the frogs are therefore justly praised for never forgetting the right month, the twelfth (month) and with it the proper divisions of the seasons.”¹

W. thinks that J.’s finding from the particular verse that, the beginning of the year was determined by the beginning of the rainy season, cannot be supported. According to him, “*Dvādaśa* does not in fact mean twelfth any more naturally than twelve-Whitney. fold; its ordinal value, though commoner, especially in later time, is not one whit more original and proper than the other, or than yet others; and the proposed change partly as agreeing less with the metrical division of the verse, is, in my opinion, no improvement, but rather the contrary; and no conclusion as to the beginning of the year can be drawn from it with any fair degree of confidence.”²

Th. finds J.’s arguments regarding mention of year-beginning in the *Rv.* unconvincing. He states that J.’s attempt to show that there are traces in the *Rv.* of a beginning of the year in the rains, is futile, because “there is in fact, no reason why any of the three great seasons³ should not, from certain points of view, have been looked upon as the first, and the beginning of the rains is certainly the most striking of the seasonalThibaut. phenomena of the Indian year.” Though he does not object to the idea that the year was later called *varṣā* or *abda*, he cannot support the interpretation of the verse 103. 9 of the 7th Maṇḍala that the twelfth month of the year occurs about the time of the beginning of the rains. In this, he is at one with A. Weber, *Vedische Beiträge*, 1894, p. 34 and E. Windish, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. 48, p. 356; “for *dvādaśasya* in that verse certainly means the year (*saṃvatsara*)—mentioned immediately afterwards—which consists of twelve months.”⁴

1 *IA.*, 1894, p. 154

2 *IA.*, 1895, p. 362

3 *Himā*, *Varṣā*, *Śarad*

4 *IA.*, 1895, p. 95

B. points out first that J. and T. have been able to establish that the Vedic Phālguna, Prauṣṭhapada, and Mārga-
 Not wholly supported by Bühler. śīrṣa years began respectively with the winter and summer solstices and the autumnal equinox.¹

B. then considers two other additional points of J. He states that according to J.'s interpretation, देवहितं जुगुपुर्द्वादशस्य ऋतुं नरो न प्रमिनन्त्यते, means "they guard the sacred order, these males never forget the proper time of the twelfth (month)". "The passage thus alleges that the frogs are annually resuscitated in the twelfth month, of course the last of the hot season, and it indicates that the year began with the rains or about the summer solstice."² In spite of his own experience however he advises caution. As the all-important word dvādaśa is ambiguous, and may mean also 'the (year) consisting of twelve (parts)', he is reluctant to put any great value on a line which may be translated, "they keep the sacred order of the year, these males never forget the proper season—whereby the allusion to the Varṣā is lost." B. therefore rejects J.'s rendering of the verse.³

47. It is true that in the interpretation of the above-mentioned
 But when properly construed, it means 'twelfth' in its context. verse, different scholars have translated it in different ways, but it will be found that the western scholars are generally in favour of taking dvādaśasya in the sense of twelve month rather than twelfth (month). Even J. who treated it first in the sense of twelfth, had to authorise B. to state that J. was fully aware of the objection which may be raised against his argument, and that it was not to be considered of first importance.⁴

This is due to taking the first line only into consideration. Read together with the second line, *dvādaśasya* conveys no other

1 *IA.*, 1894, p. 243

2 B. states that J.'s assertion that the frogs reappear before the rains agrees with actualities in India. In this respect, he relates his own experience. The large species of the frog, the bull frog, makes the night hideous with its cries about a fortnight before the monsoon commences. He states that he will never forget his experience during the hot season of 1863, when he lived in the old Elphinstone College near the Gavāliā Galāo in Bombay. "During the latter half of May, the bull frogs came out every night and sitting round the tank, disturbed my sleep with the noises, which are described in so graphic a manner in the Frog hymn of the *R̥gveda* and the corresponding verses of the *Atharvaveda*."

3 *IA.*, 1894, p. 244

4 *Ibid.*, p. 244

meaning than the twelfth. It is clearly stated that the year goes out (संवत्सरे)¹ and the rainy season begins (प्रावृष्यागतायां). It is as good as saying that the new year begins with the rains. It is idle to expect that in the early times of the Vedas, indication of year-beginning should be as explicit as today. It is only by implication that we understand that the R̥v. mentions that there are 360 days in the year, there are 3, 5, 6 or 7 seasons and that the year was intercalated. It is therefore nothing strange that in the present case there is a mere hint of year-beginning in varṣā.

48. In order to make the meaning clear the verse may be translated as follows:—They protected (maintained) the order of the gods, therefore these persons do not disregard the time of the 12th month of the seasons. On the completion of the year and the appearance of the rainy season, the distressing heat comes to an end.

A translation of the 9th verse, R̥v. VII. 103.

(4) UPĀKARANA

(Commencement of the Study of the Veda in each year)

49. J. states that in ancient India, the commencement of the study of the Veda coincided with the beginning of the rains. He says that in this regard the following information is supplied by the Sūtras:

Determination of the time of Upākarana ceremony in ancient India (from the Sūtras).

According to the *Śāṅkhyāyana-Gr̥hya-Sūtra* (4.5), the Upākarana for the study of the Veda begins औषधिनां प्रादुर्भावे (at the advent of the herbs). The *Gobhila-Gr̥hya-Sūtra* (3.3) specifies the date as the full moon of Prauṣṭhapada (i.e. Bhādra) as well as that of Śravana, which was “the first rainy month in Madhyadeśa in 2000 B.C.”² The *Rāmāyāna*, III. 28. 54 refers to Prauṣṭhapada as the time for beginning the Vedic study.

J. points out that in the Sūtras, these and similar other references to the time for beginning the study of the Veda contain traces of a custom prevalent long before the period of the Sūtras. Apparently, the rains in Śravana and Bhādra cannot refer to one and the same century. J. reconciles the two different months (Śravana and Bhādra) for commencing the study of the Veda by showing that the Sūtras refer to the occurrence of the same event

1 It may also be rendered as ‘at the end of the year’.

2 *IA.*, 1894, p. 155

in two different Nakṣatra epochs,¹ one being much earlier than the other. The importance of these references is emphasised by J., for he concludes that “an antiquated usage has been preserved down to the times, when the position of the heavenly bodies, and hence, the division of the months among the seasons of the year, have undergone alteration.”²

50. It is concluded that the Schools in ancient India in particular Nakṣatra epochs opened *in the rainy season*; it implies that *that season* commenced with Śrāvaṇa in one epoch and with Bhādra in the preceding epoch.

How to explain the mention of different months by the Sūtras for beginning the study of the Veda.

The recession of one month is due to the lapse of time occupied by a Nakṣatra epoch. In fixing approximate length of time of the two epochs, two expressions viz. the ‘sidereal year’ and the ‘tropical year’ will be used. The ‘sidereal year’ is equivalent to the time required by the sun to move from a given star to the same star again, its mean value being 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes and 9·6 seconds. The ‘tropical year’ known also as ‘astronomical’, ‘equinoctial’, ‘natural’, or ‘solar’ year is equivalent to one complete circuit of the ecliptic by the sun, which is equal to 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes and 46 seconds.³

51. It will be seen that the difference between the sidereal year, and the tropical year, amounts to 20 minutes and 23·6 seconds, or 20·4 minutes, approximately. It is contended by T. that the year mentioned in the Vedic works was sidereal and not tropical. “This would necessitate a change in the beginning of the year, every two thousand years or so, to make it correspond with the cycle of natural seasons, and the fact that such changes were introduced twice or thrice is a further proof of the old year being a sidereal one. The difference between the sidereal and the tropical year is 20·4 minutes, which causes the seasons to fall back nearly one lunar month in approximately two thousand years, on an average, if the sidereal year be taken as the standard of measurement.”⁴

1 Such as Mṛgaśiras epoch, Kṛttikā epoch.

2 *IA.*, 1-94, p. 155

3 Chambers, *Twentieth Century Dictionary*, p. 1292:

The *tropical year* is the interval between the consecutive passages of the sun, through the same equinox or the same solstice.

The *sidereal year* is the interval between two consecutive passages of the sun, through a given fixed point of the ecliptic.

4 Tilak, *The Orion*, pp. 18, 19

It should only be pointed out that the ancient Indo-Aryan astronomers were unfamiliar with the terms 'tropical', or 'sidereal'. But as their year was sidereal, they had to correct their calculation by changing the season by a month every two thousand years. •

In the light of the above explanation, the difficulty in ascertaining the time for beginning the study of the Veda is expected to be overcome. According to the Nakṣatra epochs the first month in the rainy season may be Bhādra, Śrāvaṇa, or Āṣāḍha, in order of lesser and lesser antiquity of the related Nakṣatra epoch.

J. places the rainy season commencing in Śrāvaṇa in 2000 B.C. by computing according to his own Table. The rainy season in Bhādra would, therefore, fall in 4000 B.C. The Sūtra should be considered to refer to such times according to J.

52. In discussing the implications of the passages of various Sūtras mentioned by J., W. endorses the principles underlying the above theory,¹ but rejects the idea that the indoor study of the Vedas, even if it be conceded that it began in the rainy season in 4000 B.C., must necessarily be attached to any particular month. He thinks that as the orthodox Vedic student had to go to school for a number of years, the month from which he began his study was immaterial, and also uncertain, depending as it did upon various factors like local conditions, climate etc.²

53. Th. also refers to the Sūtra passages dealt with by J. and dismisses J.'s inference by saying that he finds no sufficient reason for supporting the view that the isolated rule of some *Gr̥hya-Sūtras* preserved remembrances of a period, as remote as 4000 B.C. He is at one with W. in attaching

1 W. has however indirectly admitted the truth of J.'s contention: "The seasons follow the equinoxes, and the solstices; hence the rainy season, for example, began about a month earlier when Aśvinī (Arietis) was at equinox than when Kṛttikās (Pleiades) were there, and about two months earlier than when Mṛgaśīras (Orion) was there."—*IA.*, 1895, p. 361

That difference of one month in the occurrence of the same event indicates a lapse of approximately 2000 years on average is also admitted thus by W: "Pāraskara puts the initiation of the student at the full moon of the month Śrāvaṇa, which would have been the first month of the rains in the second millennium before Christ, while Gobhila sets it, alternately, in the month Bhādrapada, which would have occupied the same position more than two thousand years earlier or when the Vernal equinox was at Orion."

2 *IA.*, 1895, p. 363

no importance to the month in which the study of the Vedas began.¹

54. After making a close examination of several rules connected with sacred matters, B. concludes but fully supported by Bühler. that they indicate that in ancient times, *Praus̥thapada* is the month in which summer solstice fell. B. states that both J. and T.² were struck by one set of such rules, viz. "those regarding the date of Upākarāṇa, or opening of the annual term of study." He further observes that "The Gr̥hya [=G. S.] and Dharma Sūtras [=D. S.] state not merely that the solemn opening of the annual term happens on the appearance of the herbs, i.e., in the first days of the monsoon, when after the first heavy fall of the rains, the new vegetation springs up as if by magic. The monsoon bursts forth all over the Uttarāpatha, and in a large portion of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, exactly, or almost exactly, at the summer solstice."³

B. points out that though the appearance of the herbs should have fallen in a month corresponding to part of June, three different months are referred to by the sacred treatises, corresponding to June, July and August. He thinks that it was *Śrāvaṇa* which was mostly favoured for the Upākarāṇa ceremony.⁴

1 *IA.*, 1895, p. 96

In the opinion of Th., J. supposes "these two determinations [viz. Upākarāṇa in *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādra*] had been made at the times when the summer solstice, which marks the beginning of the rainy season, coincided with the full moon in *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādrapada*, respectively, i.e. about 2000 and 4000 B.C. The latter determination would thus belong to the same period, when the summer solstice was observed to take place in *Phālguna*. But these conclusions, if not supported by ample collateral evidence, are altogether precarious." *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96

2 T. has not dealt with Upākarāṇa.

3 *IA*, 1894, p. 241

4 Bühler arranges the time for beginning the study of the Veda according to different sacred literatures as follows (*IA.*, 1894, p. 241).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>Āśvalāyana G.S.</i> 3.5 | On appearance of herb. <i>Śrāvaṇa</i> full moon or <i>Hasta-day</i> , <i>Śrāvaṇa</i> . |
| (2) <i>Vasiṣṭha D.S.</i> 13.1 | <i>Śrāvaṇa</i> full moon. <i>Praus̥thapada</i> full moon. |
| (3) <i>Pāraskara G.S.</i> 2.10 | <i>Śrāvaṇa</i> full moon or <i>Hasta-day</i> . |
| (4) <i>Śāṅkyhāyana G.S.</i> 4.5 | On appearance of herb. <i>Śrāvaṇa</i> day or <i>Hasta day</i> . |
| (5) <i>Yājñavalkya D.S.</i> 1.142 | On appearance of herb. <i>Śrāvaṇa</i> or <i>Hasta-day</i> . |

A second date of the ceremony in the month of *Bhādra* is suggested by 5 *Ġr̥hya* and *Dharma Śūtras*, and also the *Manu Smṛti*, in addition to *Śrāvaṇa*. "The reason for citing this optional rule is, according to B., that optional rules in Vedic works not merely record ancient usages, which had become obsolete, but which the teachers did not like to omit, on account of their sanctity."¹

55. So, the earliest date for the *Upākarāṇa* ceremony may be fixed at not later than 4000 B.C., concludes B. It should be borne in mind that the study of the Vedas was a very important event in the life of the Indo-Aryans, as it was a sacred duty of every citizen in the first of the *Āśramas*, the *Brahmacarya*. It is not likely that there was no fixed time for initiating this important phase of life of the Indo-Aryans. A little reflection will show that the contention that any month of a year was as good as another cannot be accepted. If the study of the Vedas, and with it the year, had been commenced haphazardly in different months it would have put the citizens of the country to a great inconvenience.²

(6) Manava G.S.	Śrāvaṇa day in the rains.
(7) Manava D.S. 4.95	Śrāvaṇa full moon—bhādrapada full moon.
(8) Kāthaka G.S.	Śrāvaṇa day in the rains.
(9) Viṣṇu Smṛti 3.1	Śrāvaṇa full moon—Bhādrapada full moon.
(10) Baudhāyana G.S. 3.1.1	Āṣadha full moon.
(11) Baudhāyana D.S. 1.12.16	Śrāvaṇa full moon.
(12) Bharadvāja G.S. 2.37	On appearance of herb. During Śrāvaṇa Pakṣa, Śrāvaṇa full moon.
(13) Āpastamba D.S. 1.9.1	Śrāvaṇa full moon.
(14) Hiraṇyakeśa G.S. 2.18	During Śrāvaṇa Pakṣa Śrāvaṇa full moon.
(15) Vaikhānasa G.S. 2.12	Bright half of Āṣadha except 4th, 9th, and 14th.
(16) Gobhila G.S. 3.3	Śrāvaṇa full moon or Hasta-day.
(17) Khādīra G.S. 3.2	Prausthapada (Bhādra) full moon.
(18) Gautama D.S. XVI. 1	Śrāvaṇa day in the rains.

1 *I.A.*, 1894, pp. 241, 242. The *Upākarāṇa* in *Āṣadha* must be a change over at a later date and is not discussed here.

2 Cf Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 2, p. 137. Keith rejects B.'s conclusions without assigning any reason.

56. It is now apparent that the different dates indicated by the Sūtras¹ for beginning the study of the Vedas should not be taken as belonging to the same Nakṣatra epoch. As has been stated above, for each 2000 years, the Varṣā season recedes by one month in the order Bhādrapada, Śrāvaṇa, Āṣāḍha and so on.

Frog Song (Rv. VII. 103) read with the Sūtras on Upākarāṇa, points to the earliest date of Upākarāṇa.

In the last section, it was pointed out that the Frog Song of the Rv. (VII. 103) referred to the Varṣā year in some remote age, of which no time could be fixed.² Considered with what is stated here about the Upākarāṇa ceremony in Varṣā, the Vedic hymn must have been one of the subjects of reminiscences of the Sūtrakāras in their delineation of Upākarāṇa. As Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā was considered to be the most auspicious by many Sūtrakārās for commencing the Vedic study, the alternative date in Prauṣṭhapada must be considered to have been earlier, and placed in the R̥gvedic times.

1 The *Gr̥hya-Sūtras* were composed as formal treatises at a comparatively late Vedic period, but they report practices and prayers of great antiquity,—Bloomfield, the *Atharvaveda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Grundiss Series, p. 5, Oldenberg, SBE., pp. xvii ff.

2 See para 49.

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British Relations with Sind during the first Afghan
Crisis, 1838-1841—A study in Imperial
Foreign Policy

British fear of a Russian invasion of India in conjunction with one of the North-western states was probably the single most important determinant of policy towards that region in the first half of the nineteenth century. The area was hardly ever free of turmoil and with the settlement of the Sikh-Sind crisis, the Afghan-Sikh difficulties came to the fore. Ranjit Singh had seized Peshawar in 1835 at the time of Shah Shuja's last attempt to regain his throne, and Afghan policy ever since had been directed towards its recovery. In early 1837 the Governor-General was "satisfied that there is yet no adequate motive for the interposition of the British power in the contests of the Sikhs and the Afghans," and he did not anticipate any further result from Alexander Burnes' mission to Kabul than "the collection of accurate information, the extension of commercial intercourse and the conciliation of friendly sentiments."¹ But in August Colonel Claude Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana, wrote to Sir William Macnaghten, the

Note: The following footnote abbreviations are used throughout the article. IOR for Indian Office Records; PGR for Punjab Government Records; SC for *Correspondence Relative to Sindh, 1838-1843*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty (London: T. R. Harrison, 1863).

¹ IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 3, April 10, 1837, Encl. 58, Macnaghten to Mc Neil, April 10, 1837.

Governor-General's Secretary, that the Afghans were contemplating joining in alliance with Persia in order to achieve their aims against the Sikhs. This intelligence put a new complexion on things, and Wade suggested that the British should offer to mediate between Dost Mohamed and Ranjit Singh and if Dost refused to co-operate the British should work in conjunction with the Sikhs and Sindians against the Afghans.² Lord Auckland himself felt that events had changed the nature of Burnes' journey from a purely commercial and good-will venture into a political and diplomatic mission to counteract the designs of Russia and Persia.³

Burnes arrived in Kabul on September 20, 1837, and was received by Dost Mohamed "with most gratifying demonstrations of respect and civility."⁴ But he soon reported to Auckland that the Afghan ruler showed a marked predilection for the Russians and Persians.⁵ Actually Dost Mohamed had frequently indicated his preference for a British to a Russian connection,⁶ but lack of support in regard to Peshawar made him look elsewhere for aid.

The danger to India was no doubt greatly exaggerated but the combination of the Russophobe Palmerston in the foreign office and the activities of the Russian agents, Simonitch in Persia and Vickovitch in Kabul, caused Auckland, although he had started his Governor-Generalship as a confirmed opponent of territorial aggrandizement, seriously to consider active intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan. The Persian invasion of Western Afghanistan to besiege Herat settled the issue in Auckland's mind and he decided to replace Dost Mohamed with a ruler more friendly to British designs in Central Asia. The candidate was none other than the oft defeated but ever hopeful ex-

2 *Ibid.*, No. 15, Oct. 9, 1837, Encl. 9, Wade to Macnaghten, Aug. 25, 1837.

3 *Ibid.*, Encl. 1, Minute by the Governor-General, Sept. 7, 1837.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 4, Feb. 21, 1838.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 18, Aug. 13, 1838.

6 PGR, 108/68, Burnes to Macnaghten, December 30, 1837.

monarch, Shah Shuja ul Mulk, whose aspirations the British had previously many times spurned. Auckland wrote:

As to the justice of the course about to be pursued there cannot exist a reasonable doubt. We owe it to our safety to assist the lawful sovereign of Afghanistan in the recovery of his throne. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should in the present crisis of affairs have a decidedly friendly power on our frontier and that we should have an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity in place of a Chief seeking to identify himself with those whose schemes of aggrandizement and conquest are not to be disguised.⁷

Once more unrest on the borders of the empire was motivating direct intervention in countries which the British had no interest in acquiring.

The Secret Committee approved of Auckland's action but they assumed that:

You have not only had certain proofs that those chieftains were irretrievably committed to a policy hostile to British interests—but also that you had the full persuasion that the restoration of Shah Shuja would be acceptable to the great body of Afghans, and moreover that he might be maintained upon the throne more by his own influence and the justice of his sway than by the continued manifest interference of the British government.⁸

This assumption was a faulty one. The failure of Shah Shuja's previous attempts to regain his throne paid ample testimony to his unpopularity with the Afghan chiefs and their subjects. Former Governors-General had been aware of this and Bentinck, when Shuja had applied to him for support in his

7 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 18, Aug. 13, 1838.

8 IOR, *Board's Secret Drafts*, Dec. 4, 1838.

1834 invasion of Afghanistan, had written: "This Government though it did not feel justified in prohibiting the movement of Shah Shooja, had invariably refused to afford him the assistance which he had repeatedly solicited, in aid of his undertaking." Later, in 1836, the ex-king was threatened with expulsion from Ludhiana if he ever again attempted to replace Dost Mahomed.¹⁰

But Auckland determined to persevere. To achieve the replacement of Dost Mahomed with Shah Shuja it was necessary to gain the cooperation of Ranjit Singh and to acquire the right of transit through Sind as well as certain other concessions from the Amirs. It was decided that in order to defray some of the expenses of the expedition and to assure a reward to Ranjit Singh for his co-operation the fiction of a tribute payable to Shah Shuja as suzerain of the Amirs of Sind would be revived and a treaty to this effect was signed by the British, Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh without the Amirs even being a party to it.

The Tripartite Treaty of June, 1838, set up the machinery for the invasion of Afghanistan. The sixteenth article provided that Shah Shuja would relinquish all claims on the Amirs of Sind for a sum to be determined by the British, and it was anticipated that the amount would be in excess of 20 lakhs¹¹.

The Ameers must be made sensible that if they should now deprive themselves of the advantage of his Lordship's mediation, the British Government will be precluded from offering opposition to any measures for the assertion of those claims which the Shah may eventually determine to adopt.¹²

The Resident was to inform the Amirs that Bombay troops might have to occupy Shikarpur in the present emergency and

9 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, March 5, 1835.

10 *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1836.

11 C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* (Calcutta: Govt. of India, 1931), V. I, Punjab, No. 6.

12 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 18, Aug. 13, 1838.

that the article of the treaty of 1832 which prohibited the passage of military stores up the Indus would of necessity have to be suspended.¹³

Auckland now clearly needed a pretext for exacting a new treaty from the Amirs which so thoroughly reversed the provisions of previous agreements. Fortunately for him, on August 13, 1838, Colonel Henry Pottinger, the British Resident in Hyderabad, wrote to Macnaghten that the principal Amirs of Hyderabad had written a letter to the Shah of Persia. Pottinger, himself, did not attach much importance to this as all the Amirs except Sobdar (who was a Sunni and had not joined in the writing of the letter) were Shias and hence the Shah was their ecclesiastical superior.¹⁴ Auckland immediately seized upon this correspondence. He wrote:

The Amiers of Sindh, though all professing friendship have some of them been corresponding in terms of submission...with the Persians, and would thereby justify any course which we may think it expedient to adopt towards them.¹⁵...The Amiers spoke fairly but acted foully.¹⁶

Pottinger was ordered to take the strongest action against Nur Mahomed "for his duplicity in making at the same moment profession of submission to Persia and of close alliance with the British Government¹⁷." If only Sobdar was loyal it should be investigated whether he should not be put at the head of the government in Sind. "Those who are not our friends on the day of trial will be considered our enemies," The Governor-

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1838, Encl. 83, Pottinger to Macnaghten, August 13, 1838.

15 Auckland to Lushington, Sept. 17, 1838, *Auckland Papers*, No. 37694.

16 Auckland to Hobhouse, May 2, 1839, *Auckland Papers*, No. 37695.

17 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, Sept. 24, 1838, Encl. No. 84, Macnaghten to Pottinger, Sept. 6, 1838.

General wrote, "and unhappily it is amongst those that Nur Mahomed has apparently chosen to rank himself."¹⁸ At this juncture the Persians besieging Herat withdrew their forces leaving Auckland a perfect opportunity to extricate himself from what had the makings of a most embarrassing situation. But urged on by the ambitious Macnaghten, he persisted in his course.

It was decided that the Indus Valley and the Bolan Pass would be the main path into Afghanistan rather than the more desirable Khyber Pass which Ranjit Singh controlled and the transit through which he discouraged. Thus when the Amirs refused Shuja's demand for passage through their territories the Governor-General wrote:

The treachery of the Ameers is fully established by a variety of concurrent circumstances, of their having written a slavish areeza to the Shah of Persia.by the treatment openly shown to the self-styled Persian Prince at Hyderabad and their insulting letter to Shah Shoojaool Moolk coupled with the distinct announcement.....regarding opposition to the Shah.¹⁹

As it turned out, none of these accusations could be substantiated. Nevertheless, Auckland determined to station a subsidiary force in Sind²⁰ and if necessary not only to elevate Sobdar to the chieftainship but to guarantee each Amir in his separate possessions in return for his paying a share of the subsidy the Governor-General intended to charge for the maintenance of the British troops in Sind. "By separating the territorial interest of each chief, a separation of their interests will probably follow, making it easier to collect the subsidy."²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 31, Dec. 31, 1838, Encl. 3, Macnaghten to Pottinger (no date).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, Encl. 5, Macnaghten to Pottinger, Nov. 19, 1838. Auckland also mentioned that the British might find it useful to support

Pottinger had not progressed very far in his negotiations when the Amirs produced releases from all tribute payments which Shah Shuja had signed in 1835 in return for aid the Amirs had rendered him in his abortive invasion of Afghanistan. Shuja had agreed to "bestow Sind and Shikarpur and their dependencies on you and your heirs and successors in the same manner that you now hold them. They shall be your territories and property."²² The documents were obviously genuine but when Pottinger duly reported this fact to Auckland, Macnaghten replied:

The Governor-General refrains for the present from recording any opinion relative to the releases which His Majesty Shah Sooja is stated to have executed. Admitting the documents produced to be genuine, and that they imply a relinquishment of all claim to tribute, still they would hardly appear to be applicable to the present circumstances, and it is not conceivable, that His Majesty should have foregone so valuable a claim, without some equivalent, or that some counterpart agreement should not have been taken, the non-fulfillment of the terms of which may have rendered null and void His Majesty's Engagements.²³

With such fatuous reasoning the Governor-General dismissed the Amirs' claims.

Auckland now summarized the British objects in Sind as being "the relief of the navigation of the Indus from all toll, the maintenance of a local British Force, and the separate independence of each chief."²⁴ While Pottinger gained the

the pretensions of a Kalhora descendant at Beckanir who had made overtures to the British. IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 31, Dec. 31, 1838, Encl. 3, Macnaghten to Pottinger (no date).

²² Aitchison, *op. cit.*, v. VIII, pp. 295-296.

²³ IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 31, Dec. 31, 1838, Encl. No. 5, Macnaghten to Pottinger, Nov. 19, 1838.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Encl. No 7, Macnaghten to Pottinger, Dec. 13, 1838.

reluctant consent of Nur Mahomed for the passage of British troops through Sind and deputed Lieutenant W. J. Eastwick to conduct the negotiations on his behalf in Hyderabad, he instructed Eastwick to excuse Sobdar from the payment of any subsidy due to his friendly behavior. If the Amirs should ask what was to prevent the British from demanding even more, once they had submitted to the present terms, Eastwick was to reply that it was

the strong instance of our good faith and the wish to preserve our amicable relations as exemplified by the treaty you convey to them.....We render them our renewed friendship and protection on such moderate terms, and accompanied by so many advantages, that their refusal of the former will show to the world their resolution not to meet us half-way, and to oblige us to take by force, what we ask as friends and protectors.²⁵

The abolition of the Indus toll, Pottinger pointed out, would cost the Amirs only about two or three thousand rupees and would be more than repaid by the thousands of merchants who would then flock to Sind to sell their goods. As to the bringing of troops into the country :

they have only themselves to thank for rendering the arrangement imperative. Had they all acted with the good faith and fidelity we have observed towards them, no such measure could have been thought necessary.²⁶

Not only had the Amirs refused to aid Shuja but they had talked of calling in the Persians, the enemies of the British, to aid them. Eastwick was to take the earliest opportunity of intimating to all the Amirs "that the smallest act of hostility will plunge matters beyond the chance of recall."²⁷

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1839. Encl. Pottinger to Eastwick, Jan. 13, 1839.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Eastwick accompanied by Captain Outram and Lieutenant Leckie arrived in Hyderabad in January, 1839. He carried with him a draft of the proposed new treaty of twenty-three articles. The deputation soon had an audience with the Amirs. Nur Mahomed, the principal Amir, produced a box from which he took, one by one, all the past treaties with the British. He then asked:

What is to become of all these? Since the day that Sind has been connected with the English there has always been something new; your government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories and now you wish to remain. This the Beloochees will never suffer. But still we might arrange this matter, were we certain that we should not be harassed with other demands.²⁸

He asked about the subsidy to Shuja which matter had lain in abeyance for more than four months. "Is this a proof of friendship?" he wanted to know. "We have failed in nothing; we have furnished camels, boats, grains; we have distressed ourselves to supply your wants."²⁹

Among the provisions of the proposed treaty the Amirs particularly objected to Article 13 which would allow the British to use Karachi when weather conditions made the entrance of the mouths of the Indus impossible, to the independence granted to each chief and to the exemption from the subsidy, granted to Mir Sobdar (who after all had been the most vociferous foe of the British in the past and had not been implicated in the letter to the Shah of Persia only because he was a Sunni). As to the subsidy itself, Nur Mahomed's opposition was vociferous. He said:

We ought never to have granted a road through our

28 SC, No. 130, Eastwick to Pottinger, Jan. 26, 1839.

29 *Ibid.*

territories; that was my act alone, all the Beloochees predicted what would happen; this is the consequence of friendship.³⁰

Leckie replied:

This is the consequence of a want of friendship you have only to thank yourselves...As to the benefits resulting from the introduction of a British force into Sindh, they were clear and palpable; employment would be given to thousands, a vast influx of capital would encourage commerce and manufactures, this would eventually find its way into the treasuries of their Highnesses. The Indus, now so barren, would teem with vessels, jungle would yield to the plough, and prosperity succeed to decay and depopulation.³¹

Nur Mahomed did not see how all this concerned the Amirs:

Our Hunting preserves will be destroyed, our enjoyments curtailed; you tell us that money will find its way into our treasury, it does not appear so, our contractors write to us, that they are bankrupt, they have no means of fulfilling their contracts; boats, camels, are all absorbed by the English troops, trade is at a stand; pestilence has fallen on the land.³²

So saying the Amirs prepared to resist the British. Sher Mahomed marched into the capital with a body of troops from Mirpur and Baluchis flocked in from far and wide to defend Hyderabad. But the sight of the Bombay and Bengal divisions converging on the city sapped the Amirs' will to resist and they gave in, cheating the army, as Sir John Keane put it, "of a pretty piece of practice."

The Mirs had meanwhile been deprived of Karachi which the British had long wished to obtain. Admiral F. L. Maitland, while transporting the Bombay reserve force under Brigadier T. Valiant, claimed he was fired on by the Fort of Manora. He promptly bombarded it and captured the town. Sometime later

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

Pottinger, who could hardly be called a partisan of the Amirs, wrote the following reports in which he did not hesitate to avow his conviction that the whole procedure could have been advantageously avoided. He stated that the only shot fired as the Admiral approached was the salute it was customary to fire when a square rigged vessel came into sight or approached the place:

This I had myself witnessed when I came to the port in 1809 with the mission under Mr. Smith, and I likewise know it was done when His Majesty's Frigate Challenger anchored off it in 1830.³³

It was also the custom at the lighthouse at Bombay. The Amirs in an interview with Pottinger declared that there had been no shot in the cannon at the time it was fired and Pottinger in subsequent investigations, determined that there was not a single ball in the fort that would fit any of the guns and that the whole supply of gunpowder amounted to six pounds which was kept in an earthen pot. The entire garrison consisting of sixteen men, many of whom were armed only with a sword, were standing outside the fort admiring the "Wellesley" when the firing began. The Governor of Karachi informed Pottinger that rather than resist the landing he had orders from the Amirs to cooperate with the British in every way.³⁴

Pottinger objected to the seizure of Karachi. He felt that the British should be allowed free access to the port but that it should be returned to the Amirs. He also thought that the Governor-General should obtain a release for Shikarpur from Shuja to show the Amirs "that we do not lose sight of their interests."³⁵

As for the Amirs, they continued to make certain demands: that the British relinquish Karachi and that the contonments in

33 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 32, Sept. 19, 1839. Encl. 4. Pottinger to Maddock, July 6, 1839. For a highly inaccurate description of the capture of Karachi by a participant see M. B. Neill, *Recollections of Four Years Service in the East with His Majesty's Fortieth Regiment* (London: Richard Bentley, 1845).

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

the Karaehi and Hyderabad areas be some distance from the town, that the number of British troops to be quartered in Sind be defined and that the 3,000 Sindian troops provided for in the draft treaty should never be forced to go beyond the Sind frontier; that the British should not interfere in internal disputes; that the towns involved in the treaty be specifically named and that the Hyderabad rupee would be the medium of exchange in all tribute and subsidy payments rather than the Company rupee, which was more valuable.³⁶ Pottinger himself urged the use of the Hyderabad rupee as the use of the Company rupee would press too hard on the Amirs' financial resources, which he had overestimated.³⁷ But the Governor-General rejected Pottinger's suggestions. He considered that the Amirs were not being assessed very heavily, as the British were bearing most of the expenses. Regarding Karachi:

The Governor-General will not call into question the correctness of the reports from the Naval Commander in Chief from which it appears no attention was payed to his pacific overtures before he felt himself compelled to resort to force, nor will his Lordship admit the denial by the Ameers or their subjects of a hostile spirit having swayed their conduct at Karachee or elsewhere. The conduct evinced to the British mission at Hyderabad, the preparations for resistance at the Capital, the intrigues in which they were engaged with our enemies and their procrastination in submitting to the terms of our treaty are all convincing proofs of the faithless and unfriendly spirit of the Ameers and ought not to now be an argument for further concession.³⁸

³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 32, Sept. 19, 1839, Encl. 6. Pottinger to Maddock, July 30, 1839.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Encl., Maddock to Pottinger, Sept. 2, 1839.

The Amirs of Hyderabad were meanwhile mulcted of twenty lakhs of rupees for the payment of Shah Shuja, ten of which were paid at the time of the acceptance of the draft treaty.³⁹

Auckland refused to accede to most of the Amirs' demands concerning the treaty. He declined to be more specific in regard to places involved in the treaty as each Amir was now to be treated as a separate entity and as he had no intimate knowledge of the possessions of each. The stipulation concerning the Sind troops, he stated, was included mainly as a symbol of Sind's subordinate position, and the Governor-General would not limit the Amirs' obligation by permitting these troops to serve only in Sind. The question of Shikarpur was to be turned over to Shuja and the Governor-General's envoy to the Afghan Pretender, William Macnaghten.⁴⁰

The final form of the treaty as sent from Calcutta by Auckland consisted of 14 articles and was more stringent than Pottinger's draft of 23 articles. It provided for a British force to be stationed in Sind, at Tatta or such other place westward of the river Indus as the Governor-General might select. The strength of this force would also be determined by the Governor-General but would not exceed 5,000 men. Mirs Nur Mahomed Khan, Nasir Mahomed Khan and Mir Mahomed Khan were to pay one lakh of company rupees annually, making a total of three lakhs per annum for support of the British force. Mir Sobdar was exempt from any payment. The British Government took upon itself the protection of the territories possessed by the Amirs of Hyderabad, and the four Amirs were guaranteed in their respective holdings, but as separate entities. The British agent would mediate in any conflict between the various Amirs and if necessary aid the aggrieved party. The Amirs could not enter into negotiation with any foreign chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British

39 *Ibid.*, No. 18, Aug. 13, 1838.

40 *Ibid.*, No. 4, March 13, 1839 and No. 32, Sept. 19, 1839.

Government. They would supply, when required, 3,000 men both foot and horse, to work in "subordinate co-operation" with the British for purposes of defense and the British would pay these troops when they were serving beyond the Sind frontier. The Bakroo or Timooree rupee current in Sind was declared to be of equal value with the Company rupee, and the British could set up a mint in Sind for its coining but would have to pay the Amirs seignorage after the conclusion of the Afghan War. No toll was to be levied on ships passing up and down the Indus within the territories of the Amirs of Sind but any goods landed were subject to the usual duties of the country; of course goods to be sold in a British cantonment would be exempt from such duties.⁴¹ The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in March, 1839, and Karachi was provided for in an agreement drawn up at the time of its capture between Rear Admiral Frederick Lewis Maitland and Brigadier T. Valent on the part of the British and Hassal Ben Butcha, the commandant of Manora Fort, and Khyer Mahomed, the Governor of Karachi, on behalf of Nur Mahomed. The First article was the most significant; it said simple "that the full possession of the fort and town of Kurrachee shall be this day given up by the aforesaid Governor to the British forces." The occupation was originally intended to be temporary and the civil government was to be continued "by the authorities of the place"⁴² but Amirs of Sind were destined never to recover Karachi.

While the negotiations were being conducted by Eastwick in Hyderabad, Lieutenant Colonel, Sir Alexander Burnes, newly returned from Kabul, was deputed to Khairpur to negotiate a treaty with Mir Rustam Khan, as British policy had again reverted to encouraging the independence of Khairpur from Hyderabad. He was warmly welcomed by the old chief, who, when informed of the approach of Sir Henry Fane, declared

41 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, v. VIII, pp. 335-338.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

his great satisfaction and said he himself would go to Rohri :

..... that he might show every mark of respect to a person of his Excellency's high rank, and contribute, as far as he could, to the comfort of his voyage and passage through Sindh.⁴³

Burnes asked Rustam to allow the British to occupy the prime defensive position of Bukkur and the Mir replied :

..... that in giving up Bukkur to the British, he had to encounter great disgrace; that his tribe and family were alike opposed to it; but that he was an old man, with but a few years to live, and it was to save his children and his tribe from ruin that he had years ago resolved on allying himself to us; that other invaders of India might be resisted, but if one of our armies were swept away, we could send another, and that such power induced him alike to fear and rely upon us that he was henceforward the submissive and obedient servant of the British.⁴⁴

The Treaty drawn up between Burnes and Rustam on December 24, 1838, provided for perpetual friendship between Mir Rustam, his heirs and successors and the British Government. The British for their part engaged to protect the principality and territory of Khairpur. While Mir Rustam and his heirs acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government and bound themselves to work in subordinate cooperation with it and to have no connection with any other chief or state, the Amir was to commit no aggression and the British Government would arbitrate any dispute which arose. He would furnish troops according to his means and render all possible aid and assistance to the British during the course of the war and would approve of all defensive preparations which the

43 SC No. 108, Burnes to Secretary with the Governor-General, Dec. 28, 1838.

44 *Ibid.*

British might deem necessary. A British Resident and an appropriate escort were to be stationed in Khairpur.⁴⁵ A separate article provided that the British could occupy the island of Bukkur in time of war.⁴⁶ Rustam was also excused from paying anything in support of the Company troops but the British intended to force Rustam's brother Mir Murbaruk Khan to pay a subsidy, as he had been the chief opponent of the British in Khairpur. Rustam, however, insisted that Murbaruk receive the same treatment as himself and an agreement was drawn up to this effect not only with Murbaruk but with Mirs Mahomed Khan and Mahomed Ali Khan.⁴⁷ Auckland as a consequence determined that Murbaruk would have to pay the seven lakhs which was the Khairpur share of the sum payable to Shah Shuja—or at least as much of it as his resources would allow.⁴⁸

The treaty structure was completed in July, 1841, when an agreement was signed with Sher Mahomed of Mirpur after the settlement of the long standing land dispute between the Mirpur and Hyderabad families. The treaty was similar to the one drawn up with Rustam Khan and provided for the freedom of navigation in the Mirpur section of the Indus. Sher Mahomed had hoped to avoid the payment of a subsidy but the British made Rs. 50,000 annually the price for guaranteeing him in his possessions.⁴⁹ The diplomatic machinations found to be necessary due to the Afghan War were now concluded. The Amirs of Hyderabad were still independent but their activities and jurisdiction over their own affairs had been greatly circumscribed while Khairpur was essentially a British protectorate. Auckland wrote to the Secret Committee:

To ourselves it is so desirable to have the military control of the Indus that it would have been highly expedient

45 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, v. VIII, pp. 328-330.

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 331-332.

48 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 4, March 13, 1839.

49 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, v. VIII, pp. 336-338.

to introduce our troops into Sind, even were the whole cost to be payed from our treasuries....I may be permitted to offer my congratulations to your Honorable Committee, upon this timely settlement of our relations with Sind, by which our Political and Military ascendancy in that province is now firmly declared and confirmed. The main provisions of the...engagements are that the Confederacy of the Ameers is virtually dissolved, each Chief being upheld in his own possessions and bound to refer his differences with the other chiefs to our arbitration—*that Sind is placed formally under British protection and brought within the circle of our Indian relations—* that a British Force is to be fixed in Lower Sind at Tatta or such other point as the British may determine...⁵⁰

Hobhouse, who was about to leave office as Chairman of the Board of Control, minuted in the margin: "My successor will of course take immediate notice of this unfortunate arrange"⁵¹ and the Secret Committee felt that

...the virtual establishment of British authority throughout Sind may have been justified by the conduct of the Ameers and by the paramount necessity of securing the line of the Indus for purposes of defence as of commerical enterprise. But it is not to be denied that by reducing the Ameers of Sind to the condition of Tributary and Protected Princes of Hindoostan you have in fact extended the limits of the Indian Empire and may give countenance to the charge of having departed from the resolution proclaimed in your declaration of 1st October, not to attempt any territorial aggrandizement.⁵²

50 IOR, *Indian Secret Letters*, No. 4, March 13, 1839.

51 *Ibid.*, Marginal notation.

52 IOR, *Board's Secret Drafts*, No. 4, July 8, 1839.

As to the course of events in Afghanistan it soon became painfully obvious that Shah Shuja, despite his relatively easy success, was entirely dependent on the support of British bayonets to maintain his position. The very fact that his return to the Afghan throne was achieved with foreign help had served to alienate virtually the whole population and the departure of British forces would no doubt have resulted in Shah Shuja's immediate overthrow. The soldiers' presence being a ruinous drain on the exchequer, a disastrous compromise was finally adopted. It was decided to leave the troops quartered in Afghanistan but to drastically curtail the subsidies paid to the Afghan chiefs. Widespread rebellion was the result and the passes were closed by the aroused tribes.

The details of the ensuing debacle are too well known to bear further repetition. Suffice to say that of the 16,000 men who attempted to extricate themselves from Kabul, only one survived, and that during the crisis both William Macnaghten, the initiator of the Afghan strategy, and Alexander Burnes, whose opinions had so greatly influenced the determination of policy towards Sind, were killed.

ROBERT A. HUTTENBACK

The Battle of Sitabaldi 26th and 27th November, 1817

Raghuji Bhonsla died on the 22nd March 1816. The British President at the court of Nagpur, Mr. Richard Jenkins had written to the Resident of Hyderabad "His Highness the Raja Raghooji Bhonsla died yesterday evening".¹ Raghuji was succeeded by his son Parsoji Bhonsla. Parsoji was incapacitated for government, and so intrigues were manœvered and plots were hatched. Parsoji was "so weak in health as to be incapable of any bodily exertion, he was blind, and lame from a paralysis of lower extremities, in intellect he was more than an imbecile, his eccentricities, in many instances amounted to actual derangement."² As the Chief was not able to administer the country a Regency was formed under Mudhoji Bhonsla, better known as Appa Sahib, Parsoji's cousin. Appa Sahib's position was insecure, and to fortify himself against his enemies he negotiated a treaty with the British government in May 27, 1816. In this he agreed to subsidize a British force, costing Rupees 7,50,000 a year, and to maintain a force of not less than 3,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, with the necessary equipment of guns and war-like stores."³ Appa Sahib owed much to the British government for his elevation to the musnad of Nagpur. Parsoji had delegated all his powers to Appa Sahib, but he was "soon supplanted and murdered by the well-known Mudhoji, otherwise Appa Sahib."⁴ The Resident Mr. Jenkins also doubted the circumstances of the death of Parsoji and reported to the Governor-General, Earl of Moira, "but his death was rather unexpected."⁵

1 Letter from Jenkins to the Resident of Hyderabad, dated 23rd March 1816.

2 Ramsay's Report 1845, p. 16.

3 C. V. Aitchison: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. I, p. 384.

4 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central Provinces, p. 18.

5 Letter from Jenkins to the Governor-General, dated 1st February, 1817.

Appa Sahib however made common cause with the Peshwa, who was then instigating all the Maratha Chiefs to unite against the English. He entered into correspondence with the Peshwa and other Maratha Chiefs in contravention of the terms of the subsidiary alliance. The Governor-General Earl of Moira reprimanded Appa Sahib for breach of the terms of the treaty, because of carrying on correspondence with the other Maratha Chiefs and thus he had "distinctly violated one of the most essential stipulations of the treaty by carrying on a clandestine intercourse with a foreign power."⁶ Appa Sahib terminated the services of those ministers, who were instrumental in forging the subsidiary alliance with the British government, i.e., Nagu Pandit and Narayan Pundit and entered "into an active correspondence with Bajee Row at a period when that prince was occupied in plans known to be hostile to our interests"⁷ The Governor-General warned the Raja of Nagpur for the policy which he was pursuing, "Your highness cannot have failed to mark the consequence of an opposite line of conduct on the part of the Peshwa" and the hazard to which the prince "exposed himself by yielding to the advice of mischievous counsellors."⁸ Appa Sahib was persuaded to recall his envoys from Poona, Indore, Gwalior and other states and had to agree to the British occupation of the fort of Hoshangabad. However, Appa Sahib was in constant communication with the Peshwa, and when the information reached him that the Chief had attacked the British troops, he decided to make common cause with him, and began to strengthen his forces. On the 24th of November 1817 the Raja received a *Khelut* (dress of honour) from the Peshwa, and invited the Resident to witness the ceremony of his investiture in it the next

6 Letter from the Governor-General to Appa Sahib, dated 16th August 1817.

7 Sir John Malcolm, *Political History of India*, Vol. I. p. 503

8 Letter from the Governor-General to Appa Sahib, dated 16th August 1817

day when he also desired to assume the titles of Sena Sahib Soobah on receiving the Juree Putka or golden pennon, the ensign of the title. The Resident declined to witness the ceremony and objected to the Raja's acceptance of a dress of honour from a ruler who was at open war with the British government. Communications between the Raja and the Resident continued upto the 26th November without any fruitful results, whilst the Raja "omitted no profession calculated to lull the British Resident into a false security as to his real views."⁹ Perceiving the hostile attitude of the Raja's force the Resident took some precautionary measures. He arranged that one brigade of the division commanded by Colonel Adams should be left south of Nerbudda, and that a column should be held in readiness to march on Nagpur. Appa Sahib took up the position threatening the Residency on the 25th November. The Resident at half past two on the 26th November called for troops which were stationed near Telingkeri under Colonel Hopeton Scott, and ordered him to occupy the hills of Sitabaldi. He also sent couriers to call in the second division of the Deccan Army which was under General Doveton. Thus the troops when ordered from cantonments "occupied a position on two hills, at the foot of which the Residency lies."¹⁰

On the 26th November the troops stationed at Nagpur consisted of a brigade of two battalions of Madras Native Infantry, the 1st Battalion, 20th Regiment, and 1st Battalion, 24th Regiment both reduced to a great extent by ill-health, the Resident's Escort of two companies of Native Infantry, three troops of the 6th Regiment of Bengal Native Cavalry, and four six-pounders manned by Europeans of the Madras Artillery. The most senior officer was Lieutenant Colonel Hopeton Scott. The total strength of the British forces on the 26th November was 1,795.¹¹ The Raja of Nagpur had under him forces of about

9 Jenkins Report, 1827, p. 70.

10 Supplement to the Govt. Gazette, Thursday, January 8, 1818.

11 Pamphlet on the action of Sitabaldi, (Govt. Press, Nagpur) p. 48.

18,000 men, with thirty-five pieces of cannon. The Nagpur Residency is situated in the west of the city of Nagpur¹² and is separated from it by a rocky hill, running north and south, called Sitabaldi. The hill of Sitabaldi consists of two eminences distant from each other by 300 yards and connected by a low and narrow bridge. At each extremity of the hill, that to the north which is close to the Residency, is considerably larger and a little higher than that to the south, but, the base of the latter, being close to the huts of a village, communicating with the suburbs, and affording facility to the approach of irregulars, was a most important point. The summits have got different geographical peculiarities. Sitabaldi is a flat area, covered with mausoleums and tombs, and its length from east to west is about 280 yards and breadth varies between 120 and 50 yards. The smaller hill is peaked, the top of which is 100 feet long and 17 feet broad. This smaller hill slopes gradually to the north, south and west; the eastern side at 30 yards from the summit is scraped away by the formation of deep and extensive quarry. Both hills are elevated about 100 feet above the level of the surrounding country. The soil of which the hill is composed is much mixed with rocks, so as to render extremely difficult, if not fruitless, any hasty attempt to entrench its summits.¹³ The base of Sitabaldi hill on the eastern side is covered with huts. An extensive village stretches along the foot of it to the south and the houses of the inhabitants of the Residency occupy the bottom of the western face. The troops were arranged in the following manner—the 20th Regiment and Escort were stationed on the great hill, at each extremity of which was a six-pounder; the 24th with two six-pounders were stationed on the smaller hill.¹⁴ Captain Fitzgerald with the three troops of cavalry took up the position by occupying the enclosures surrounding the Residency,

12 Grant Duff, *Voi III*, p. 447.

13 V. Blacker, *Memoirs of the operations of the British Army in India*, p. 112.

14 Supplement to the *Government Gazette*, Thursday, January 8, 1818

which was behind and partly to the right of the larger hill, upon which the remainder of the force was posted.¹⁵ In front and on both flanks of the British position, extended a village of mud huts, occupied by the Arabs, adjoining the foot of the hill and screening the opponents, who were seen, throughout the 26th November to be slowly marshalling their forces. This movement, coupled with the arrival of five guns, left no room for doubt that immediate hostilities were intended. As night fell, Lieutenant Colonel Hopeton Scott undertook some precautionary measures. He was busy distributing sentries opposite to the quarter occupied by the Arab forces, when the Arabs began a fire of musketry on his small party, who forbore from returning it, while attempts were made to convince the enemy that no molestation was intended.¹⁶ These efforts having proved futile, the party replied by firing, and retreated to the top of the hill, under a smart fire of musketry and accompanied by a brisk cannonade from the huts. This was a sign for the attack to begin against the other side of the hill, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides through the whole of the night.¹⁷ The Arabs' greatest efforts were directed against the hill on the left. This was courageously defended by Captain Sadler and the 24th Regiment, but at one juncture they were so overwhelmed and surrounded, that a reinforcement of three European officers and seventy sepoy from the 1st Battalion, 20th Regiment was dispatched to their rescue, because the Arabs had nearly at one crucial moment broken their lines of defence. In this attack Captain Sadler was killed and his adjutant, Lieutenant Grant received two wounds. The heaviest loss which the British had hitherto sustained was at the smaller hill.¹⁸ The Arabs made many efforts to carry it. Despite heavy casualties they were repeatedly reinforced. Captain Charlesworth, who took the command when Captain Sadler was killed, ordered the battalion to withdraw a few paces back and sit down. This tactic was

15 Grant Duff, Vol III, p. 448.

16 V. Balcker, p. 112.

17 Ibid.

18 Grant Duff, Vol III, p. 448

sound—it placed the swell of the small hill between him and the village, which screened his men to a large extent. By one o'clock this admirable corps had suffered so severely that it was determined to withdraw it to the right of the position. Colonel Scott withdrew the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment of Native Infantry, relieving them by the Resident's Escort commanded by Captain Lloyd. These were ordered to confine their position to the nearest summit, which had been strengthened. Some bags of rice were taken to the hill, and these served them so effectively as a breast-work, that they did not lose more than ten men afterwards.¹⁹ On the right the assault was chiefly directed against the face of the hill facing the city, ten guns were brought to mow down the opponents and a heavy fire kept up for five hours, the Arabs issuing from behind the huts, firing and returning.²⁰

The action re-commenced at about six in the morning of the 27th. The point of the great hill, where Captain Bayley commanded, was severely attacked, and terrible loss was inflicted upon his party from the Arab musketry and guns. Two tumbrils exploded accidentally and it caused great loss, terror and consternation. The Arabs exploited the opportunity, stormed the hill with loud cries and were on the verge of carrying it. The situation had become more critical and by ten o'clock a body of Arabs charged the little hill, which completely commanded the larger one occupied by the Escort, a party of the 20 and one gun, and succeeded in carrying it.²¹ The Arabs with swords in their hands with great fury, deflected one of the captured six-pounders on the opponents, got some four-pounders of their own and directed them towards the great hill, the only portion of the position that remained under the control of the British forces; and advanced with rapid strides into the space between the two hills, and "commenced a fire of Matchlocks on our troops on the great hill, not fifty yards from them."²² The fire

19 Supplement to the Government Gazette, Thursday, Jan'y 1, 1818.

20 Appendix to the Government Gazette, Thursday, Jan'y 1, 1818.

21 Supplement to the Government Gazette, Thursday, January 8, 1818

22 *Ibid.*

which they directed from the captured six-pounder inflicted great casualties on the British side; officers and men began to drop fast. Encouraged by their success the Arabs "cavalry and infantry began to close in from every side and to prepare for a general assault."²³ The plain for nearly a mile was fully covered with the Arab horses and they dashed to the huts of the British troops and the shrieks of the women and children reached the ears of the sepoys. Captain Fitzgerald who was stationed over the Residency grounds was attacked, guns were also brought up and bodies of the Arab horse threatened to break it. The situation was crucial, "the fortunes of the day seemed desperate, and the battle was all but lost,"²⁴ when Captain Fitzgerald was seen to charge upon the Maratha horse in the most gallant manner. With his small but compact body, he made a decided and bold charge against their principal mass of horse, who, unable to resist so much impetuosity, broke in all directions, and also abandoned a small battery by which they had been supported.²⁵ With equal success the infantry which was attached to the Maratha horse was destroyed with great fury, and the guns immediately turned against the flying enemy. This bold exploit of Captain Fitzgerald inspired the troops on the Hill with fresh spirit and enthusiasm before dropping from the exhaustion of fifteen hours fighting and had given "the turn to the tide of success on this day, and consequently, to have mainly contributed to the salvation of our interests within the Nagpur dominions."²⁶ Captain Fitzgerald while pursuing the enemy had also captured two guns from them, and everything was topsy-turvy on the plain. A combined attack of cavalry and infantry on the Arabs was being arranged when another tumbril on the lesser hill blew up, causing great confusion amongst the enemy.²⁷ This gave

23 Nagpur District Gazette, p. 46.

24 Major Ross of Bladensburg, Marquess of Hastings, p. 126.

25 V. Blacker, p. 113.

26 Prinsep's Narrative of Political and Military Transactions in India, Vol. I, p. 259.

27 Nagpur District Gazette, p. 47.

the British an encouragement and they carried everything before them, chased the Arabs down the hill in every direction and re-occupied their positions. A party of the 1st Battalion, 20th Regiment made a dash at another body of the Arabs whom they "also routed and took from them two guns and twelve prisoners"²⁸ The Arabs again marshalled their strength and showed a determination to re-occupy their ground, but as they were making efforts to advance, a troop of cavalry under Colonel Smith attacked them round the base of the hill, took them in the flank and completely routed them. The Arabs thereafter were completely demoralized, and made no further efforts and retired to a distance. In the attack upon the small hills, Lieutenant Grant of the 24th Regiment received a third wound which proved fatal. Lieutenant Clarke, Dr. Neven and Mr. Sotheby were killed by the cannonade, the latter whilst bravely endeavouring to rally the Escort. Captain Lloyd was severely wounded. The British troops now moved forward from the hills, dispersed the infantry from the close by huts "the rout was general and complete, the plain was soon cleared of the innumerable body that had just filled in,"²⁹ and by half past two or three o'clock this well-contested conflict came to an end.

The strength of the combatants was very disproportionate. Grant Duff is incorrect when he writes that "the British had not 1,400 men fit for duty in the defence of Seetabuldee".³⁰ The number present on the 26 November 1817 (excluding sick, unarmed recruits, and recruit boys) was 1,795. He is also incorrect when he writes, that the British lost 333 in killed and wounded amongst whom twelve were European officers.³¹ In fact, the total British casualties amounted to 365, including sixteen British officers. Appa Sahib had a force of 18,000 men, half of whom were infantry and of these 3,000 or 4,000 were Arabs,

²⁸ Appendix to the Government Gazette, Thursday, January 1, 1818.

²⁹ Supplement to the Government Gazette, Thursday, Jan'y 8, 1818,

³⁰ Grant Duff, Vol III, p. 450.

³¹ *Ibid.*

who fought with much courage and resolution. The casualties on the side of the Marathas was almost about an equal number.

The result of the battle of Sitabaldi was very disastrous for Appa Sahib. His authority and power were taken away from him, and on the other hand the authority and power of the British government increased to a great extent. It was an action glorious to the handful of British troops engaged, and decisive in its effects, on the subsequent conduct of Appa Sahib.³² Governor-General Earl of Moira's attitude and policy changed radically towards the Nagpur Raja "nothing can exceed the baseness and ingratitude of this conduct. It is to be hoped that he will have to pay dear for it"³³.

The writer of this paper comes to the conclusion, firstly that the battle of Sitabaldi was comparatively not so significant and epoch-making in the life of Appa Sahib and in the history of Nagpur State, as the subsidiary alliance which he contracted with the British Government as the Regent on behalf of Parsoji Bhonsla on 27th May 1816. Secondly the genesis of the battle of Sitabaldi is the subsidiary alliance, and it became apparent that in any future conflict the British power would have the upper hand. The British Government's position was strengthened in the guise of the Trojan Horse (Subsidiary troops). It was a new landmark in the Anglo-Bhonsla relations, as a contemporary writer had put it succinctly, "in the actual conditions of India, no event could be more fortunate than the subsidiary alliance with Nagpur. It struck a serious blow at the power of the Maratha confederacy, and though likely to excite the jealousy and alarm, not only in the minds of the princes of that nation, but in those of Ameer Khan, and the leaders of the Pindaries, the advantages it gave us in the position of our troops, and the facility for all measures, whether of offence or defence, against those predatory chiefs, far overbalanced any bad effects which

32 Jenkins Report, 1827, p 70.

33 Private Journal of Lord Hastings. p 324 (Centry December 12, 1817)

could result from their dissatisfaction."³⁴ While Appa Sahib's position became weaker and shakier due to the vehement opposition of Baka Bacc, Kashie Bacc, Goojba Dada and Naroba Chitnavesse on the one hand, and his power and authority was manifestly eclipsed by British Paramountcy on the other. Appa Sahib himself found the tentacles of the subsidiary alliance more galling, and he pursued a policy which was anti-British.

Present state of the troops at Nagpur on the 26th November, 1817.³⁵

(These are all effectives. All sick, unarmed recruits, recruits have been rigidly excluded.)

Corps	European officers.	Native officers.	Other ranks.	Recruit with arms.	Total.
1. 6 Bengal Native Cavalry (3 troops)	5	9	286	—	300
2. Madras Body Guard (Detachment)	—	1	17	—	18
3. Madras Foot Artillery	1	2	53	—	56
4. 1 Battalion, 20 Madras Native Infantry.	12	11	429	80	532
5. 1 Battalion, 24 Madras Native Infantry.	9	13	510	80	612
6. Resident's Escort	3	3	173	—	179
7. Nagpur Battalion	4	11	13	70	98
Total :	34	50	1,481	230	1,795

34 Malcolm, *Political History of India*, Vol. I, p. 465.

35 Pamphlet on the action of Sitabaldi (Govt. Press, Nagpur), p. 48.

Number of Casualties in the battle of Sitabaldi,
 , 26 and 27 Nov. 1817

Corps	Killed	Wound- ed.	Missing	Total	Remarks.
1. 6 Bengal Native cavalry (3 troops)	23	24	—	47	The 6 Battalion Native Cavalry lost 45 Horses killed wounded missing.
2. Madras Body Guard (Detachment)	—	—	—	—	
3. Madras Foot Artillery	5	16	—	21	
4. 1 Battalion, 20 Madras Native Infantry.	16	49	—	65	
5. 1 Battalion, 20 Madras Native Infantry	59	102	—	161	
6. Resident's Escort	10	33	4	47	
7. Nagpur Battalion	8	15	—	23	
8. Unattached	1	—	—	—	
Total	122	239	4	365	

J. A. RAMALINGAM

Espionage in Kauṭilya's Arthasastra

A striking feature of the practical character of Kauṭilya's statecraft is his dependence on spies. Nowhere else has the system of espionage been so blatantly exposed as in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The word and the office of *dūta* as messenger was known in the ancient times. In Ṛgveda I. 12. 1, I. 161. 3, and VIII. 44. 3, Agni is said to be the *dūta* and is requested to bring the gods to sacrifice. There is also attached to the word the meaning of spy, as Saramā, the bitch of gods, is represented in Ṛgveda X. 108. 2-4 as sent by Indra to find out the treasure of Paṇis. However, a *dūta* is to be distinguished from a *cara* or a *gūḍhapuruṣa* (spy). *Kāmaṇḍakīyanītisāra* XII. 32 says that a *dūta* is an open (*prakāśa*) spy while a *cara* is a spy who works in secret. In modern times also, "an ambassador is often nothing more than an honourable spy acting under the protection of the law of nations."¹ Kauṭilya enjoined upon the king to institute a Department of Spies assisted by the Council of Ministers after trial by various tests.²

Kauṭilya divides his *gūḍhapuruṣas* (spies) into two classes—those called five *saṁsthās* (groups or institutes) and those called *sañcāras* (wandering spies). The former is comprised of five categories of spies;³ viz. those under the guise of a fraudulent disciple (*kāpaṭika-chātra*), a recluse (*udāsthita*), a house-holder (*gṛhapatika*), a merchant (*vaidehaka*), an ascetic practising austerities (*tāpasa*). The second class of spies, i.e., the wandering spies⁴ (*sañcāras*) is comprised of class-mates or colleagues (*sattrins*), a fire brand (*tikṣṇa*), a poisoner (*rasada*), and a men-

1 Encyclopedia Brittanica on 'Espionage'.

2 उपधाभिः शशुद्धामाल्यवर्गो गूढपुरुषानुत्पादयेत्—*Arthaśāstra*, I. 11.

3 कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यञ्जनान्—*ibid.*

4 सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिन्नुकीश्च—*ibid.*

dicant woman (*bhikṣuṇī*). The nomenclature of spies does not end here for Kauṭilya mentions other types of spies also, who, though normally following their trade, spy as and when necessary. Such spies include a sauce-maker (*sūda*), a cook (*arālika*), procurer of water for bathing (*snāpaka*), shampooer, a spreader of bed (*āstaraka*), a barber (*kalpaka*), toilet-maker (*prasādhaka*) and a water servant. There is no limit to disguises under which a spy may be called upon to perform his duty; for instance, a spy may be disguised as a hunch-back, a dwarf, a pigmy (*kirāta*), a dumb, a deaf, an idiot, a blind. Artisans such as dancers, actors and singers, players on musical instruments, buffoons and bards are also required to spy.

Kauṭilya prescribed great care in recruitment of spies for the *samsthās*, lest a wrong person may get into the cadres. Only those persons were selected to act as spy who had in them certain inborn qualities desirable for a particular role. Thus a skilful person capable of guessing the mind of others, alone, is fit to become a spy in the guise of a fraudulent disciple. One who is initiated in asceticism and is possessed of foresight and pure character is fit to be a recluse spy. A cultivator, fallen from his profession, but possessed of foresight and pure character is fit to be a merchant spy. A man with a shaven head (*muṇḍa*) or braided hair (*jaṭila*) and desirous of earning his livelihood is a spy under the guise of an ascetic. The same rule applies to the wandering spies. Those orphans maintained by the State and taught science, palmistry, sorcery, the duties of various orders of religious life, legerdemain, and the reading of omens and augury, are classmate-spies, or spies learning by social intercourse (*sam-sargavidyāsatrinah*). Such brave desperadoes as, reckless of their life, confront elephants or tigers in fight, mainly for the purpose of earning a livelihood, are termed as fiery-spies (*tikṣṇa*). Those who have no trace of filial affection left in them and who are very cruel and indolent are poisoner-spies (*rasada*). A poor widow of Brahmin caste, very clever and desirous of earning her livelihood, is a female ascetic-spy (*parivrājikā*).

Of the two classes of spies, the *samsthās* are superior to the

sañcāras, for the former receive salaries higher than the latter.⁵ As the very name indicates, the *saṁsthās* are stationed in a particular place for some time, while the *sañcāras* have to roam about for the performance of their duties. The *saṁsthās*, as a rule, are required to perform their duty which do not directly involve acts of violent nature, whereas the *sañcāras* are enjoined to commit acts of violence, e.g. murder, loot, arson, etc. as and when necessity demands. Thus the *saṁsthās* may be called secret informants and *sañcāras* secret agents. Although their spheres of work are different, the two organs of espionage have to work in unison, each doing its portion of work in co-ordination with the other.

Having initiated a person into espionage, the minister should tell him, "Sworn to the king, and myself, thou shalt inform us of whatever wickedness thou findest in others."⁶ After the spies have been recruited, those who are of good family, loyal, reliable, well trained in the act of putting on disguises appropriate to the countries and trades, and possessed of knowledge of many languages and arts, are sent by the king to espy in his own country. The entire bureaucracy of the Kauṭilyan administration is under constant vigilance of these spies, for they watch the movements of the ministers, priests, commanders of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers, the officer-in-charge of the harem, the magistrate (*praśāstr*), the collector-general (*samāhartṛ*), the chamberlain (*sannidhātṛ*), the commissioner (*pradeśtr*), the city constable (*nāyaka*), the officer-in-charge of the city (*paura*), the superintendent of transactions (*vyāvahārika*), the superintendent of manufactories (*kārmāntika*), the assembly of councillor (*mantripariṣad*), heads of departments (*adhyakṣas*), the commissioner-general (*daṇḍapāla*) and officers-in-charge of fortifications, boundaries, and wild tracts. While the fiery-spies

5 कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यजनास्साहस्राः

ग्रामभृतकसत्रि तीक्ष्णरसद भिक्षुक्यः पञ्चशताः—*Arthśāstra* V. 3.

6 राजनं मां च प्रमाणं कृत्वा यस्य यदंशलपश्यसि तत्तदानीमेव प्रत्यादिशेति ।

—A. Ś. I. 11.

watch on the public character (*bāhyam cāram*) of these officers, the poisoners and other servants acting as spies watch their private character.

Such a long list of officers put to the charge of spies need not cause any surprise. The stationing of spies to watch the tīrthas is mentioned in several old Sanskrit works.⁷ The eighteen tīrthas⁸ exhaust roughly the entire sphere of work of a state. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 100.36 and *Mahābhārata*, II. 5.38⁹ the first three tīrthas, viz., mantrin, purohita and yuvarāja are excluded from the observation of the spies engaged by a king within his own kingdom, but they are not excluded so far as other states are concerned. A more convenient and probably cheaper method of having reports from other states through the spies was by appointing what were known as ubhaya-veṭanas.⁹ These were the persons on the pay-roll of the state engaging their services as spies, and at the same time, they secured jobs in the departments of other states in which they were asked to collect information, receiving salary from those states also. Spies are also employed to find out spies set up by foreign kings.¹⁰ *

Another function of the spies is to watch the citizens who are disaffected in the king's own dominion. "Having set up the spies over his prime ministers (*mahāmātras*)", enjoined Kautilya "the king shall proceed to espy both citizens and

7 Cf. 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity'—D. R. Bhandarkar, pp. 83-86.

8 They are: 1. Mantrin, 2. Purohita, 3. Yuvarāja, 4. Senāpati, 5. Dauvārika, 6. Antarvaṁśika, 7. Praśāstr, 8. Samāhartr, 9. Sannidhātr, 10. Pradeṣtr, 11. Nāyaka, 12. Paura-vyāvahārika, 13. Kārmāntika, 14. Mantripariṣādyakṣa, 15. Daṇḍapāla, 16. Durgapāla, 17. Antapāla, 18. Āṭavika.

9 कण्टकशोधनोक्ताश्चापसर्पाः परेषु कृतवेतना वसेयुः । सम्पातश्चोरार्थं । त उभयवेतनाः ।—A, Ś. I. 12.

10 परस्य चैके बोद्धव्याः—ibid.

country people."¹¹ To put down disaffection and win over the disaffected citizens, the classmate spies (satrins) are put into commission. They arrange discussion groups in which the qualities of the king are eulogised and the people enjoined to obey him. Those who are loyal receive honours and rewards, but those who are disaffected are brought round by conciliation, gifts, by sowing dissensions, or by punishments.

Each category of spies has a definite sphere for his action. Thus the merchant spies are posted inside the forts, the ascetics are stationed in the suburbs of the forts; the cultivators and the recluse in the country parts; the herdsmen on the boundaries of the country; forest-dwellers, śramaṇas and chiefs of wild tribes in forests to ascertain the movements of enemies.

If the spies discover that the chiefs under the king's service are inimically disposed towards him or have taken side with his enemy, the king in the interest of his kingdom, will proceed to punish in secret such courtiers. A typical example¹² will show that Kauṭilya never bothered to think that a particular method of punishment for sedition is immoral or inhuman. The immediate object before the king was to put down sedition by any means, fair or foul, once it has been found out. A spy may instigate the brother of a seditious minister and with necessary inducements, take him to the king for an interview. The king, after conferring upon him the title to possess and enjoy the property of his seditious brother, may cause him to attack his brother to kill him. Ultimately, he would also be put to death on the plea that he was a fratricide. Kauṭilya was aware that such a measure to punish sedition would not always bring its desired result. The induced person may not always attack his brother. He therefore prescribed several other measures so that if one measure fails, the king may resort to another, so long as the seditious person is not liquidated. What is unpleasant

11 मूढरुत्थमाधिः कृतमहामात्यापसर्पः पौरजानपदानपसर्पयेत्—A.S. I. 13.

12 cf Arthaśāstra, V, 1.

about such secret punishments is that not only the guilty persons are punished but sometimes even the innocent are forced to become the scapegoat.

Spies are also employed to help the courts to bring the offenders to book. Kautilya enumerates thirteen kinds of criminals who, secretly attempting to live by foul means, destroy the peace of the country, viz., counterfeiters of coins, adulterers, robbers, poisoners, etc. Spies pretending to possess supernatural powers associated themselves freely with the suspected offenders and, while the robbers carried on their criminal intentions, they were caught red-handed.¹³ It was then announced that the arrest of the robbers is due to the instructions of the king who has learnt the divine art of catching robbers. Thus, these spies were a double-edged weapon. On one hand, they associated themselves freely with the criminals and caused them to be arrested, while on the other, they secretly passed out to the king information regarding the movements of the robbers, and helped the king to announce his omniscient powers.

✓ The assistance of the spies is also sought in replenishing the treasury. Kautilya enjoins, "The king who finds himself in a great financial trouble and needs money, may collect revenue on demand."¹⁴ Spies under the guise of sorcerers, on the pretext of ensuring safety, would carry away the money of the society of heretics and of the temples. On certain occasions, the superstitious beliefs of the people are fully exploited. For instance, spies will invite the spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the sight. Other means to extract money from the people are also resorted to. One of the spies in the disguise of a merchant may become the partner of a rich trader. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered by the two partners-in-trade, the spy would cause

13 पुराणचोरव्यञ्जना वा चोराननुप्रविष्टास्तथैव कर्म कारयेयुः ग्राहयेयुश्च ।
—A. Ś. IV. 5.

14 कोशमकोशः प्रत्युत्पन्नार्थकृच्छ्रं सङ्गृहीयात्—V. 2.

himself to be robbed of the same, while the money would find its way to the state treasury. Kautilya realised that these measures, if misapplied, might prove ruinous to the king himself. Hence he warned that such measures should in no case be applied to people other than the wicked and seditious.¹⁵

It was however in dealing with the external enemies of the state that these spies played a very dominant and more violent part. It seems that the spies formed the backbone of a conqueror's military campaign. It has already been stated that one class of spies posted in foreign states was known as ubhayavetanas i. e., they were on the pay-roll of both the states. The services of such spies were utilised in causing split in the combination of several kings against one.¹⁶ Spies in the service of the enemy would incite the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants against their king and when the chiefs would conspire against their king at a secret place, the fiery spies would murder them. Even the ministers and other officers of the enemy king would be bribed by the spies to cross over. Kautilya lays down a number of contrivances for destroying the enemy king in those places of worship which he frequents out of faith.¹⁷ To cite an instance, a wall or a stone may be let to fall on the head of the enemy king when he entered a temple. When a war is about to take place or is continuing, the spies (*sattrins*), in company of the astrologers and others would declare, in order to infuse greater enthusiasm into the hearts of the soldiers that their operation would be successful and that of the enemy would fail. It seems that in an enemy's country, wherever one turns his eyes, he finds the spies of the invading king. Disguised as traders, vintners, cooks, servants and officers of the enemy, cowherds,

15 एव दूष्येव धार्मिकेषु च वर्तेत । नेतरेषु ।—ibid.

16 भेदं वा ब्रूयात्—“अनपकारो यथाऽहमेतैस्सम्भूयाभियुक्तः तथा त्वामप्येतेः संहितबलास्वस्था व्यसने वातभियोद्द्यन्ते ; बलं हि चित्तं विकरोति ; तदेषां विघाताय”इति—A. Ś. VII. 14.

17 दैवतेज्यायां यात्रायामभिभस्य बहूनि पूज्यागमस्थानानि भक्तितस्तत्रास्य योगमुब्जयेत् ।—A. Ś. XII. 5.

hunters, snake-charmers, these spies carry on their activity relentlessly. Their ultimate object is to kill the enemy by foul means. Kauṭilya has also laid down certain contrivances under which the king can be captured alive.¹⁸ It will thus appear that the *Arthaśāstra* planned such a network of spies that it would be well-nigh difficult for the enemy to escape. As Kauṭilya stated "intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege and assault are the five means to capture a fort."¹⁹ Such a campaign against an enemy could never have failed.

It may be questioned whether such an overwhelming force of spies let loose in the king's own state as well as the enemy's can always be relied upon; for it is well known that in such a police state, private and personal prejudices would naturally influence the spies while spying on a certain person. Kauṭilya was also aware of this human weakness when he recommended to the king the institute of espionage. He therefore strictly laid down that besides the *saṁsthās* and *sañcāras*, there should be another set of spies independent and unknown to either of them. Only "when the information, thus received from these three different sources is exactly of the same version, it shall be held reliable. If they (the three sources) frequently differ, the spies concerned shall either be punished in secret or dismissed."²⁰ A similar rule about sending several spies on the same mission without their knowledge of each other is laid down in *Viṣṇudharmottara* II. 24, 66-67. *Sāntiparva* (69, 8-12 and 140, 39-42) mentions the places where the spies are to be set up, and emphasises that they should not know each other. The king set apart three

18 A. Ś.—XIII. 2.

19 उपजापापसर्पौ च वामनं पर्युपासनम् ।

अवमर्दश्च पञ्चैते दुर्गलम्भस्य हेतवः ॥—A. Ś. XIII. 4.

20 तयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः ।

तेषामभीक्ष्णविनिपाते तूष्णीं दण्डः प्रतिषेधो वा ।—A. Ś. I. 12.

periods of his daily routine for attending to the spies.²¹ Each day, early in the morning, the king sent out spies; in the afternoon, he used to receive the secret informations gathered by the spies and in the evening, he received secret emissaries. It is evident therefore that the king came in direct contact with the spies and watched their activity from day to day.

One need not be amazed at such an elaborate machinery of espionage that Kauṭilya so meticulously explained. All states in modern times employ spies, informers and secret agents to keep themselves informed of the activities, views and resources of the foreign governments. What Kauṭilya advocated two thousand years ago the modern nations are following in letter and spirit. Machiavelli is just an echo of Kauṭilya and his "Prince" a counterpart of "Arthaśāstra". These spies are thus the eyes of the state (cf. चारचक्षुर्मधीपतिः). As *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* XII. 28 says: "A ruler of the earth having the spies for his eyes is awake even when he is asleep."*

O. P. VERMA

21 A Ś. I. 19.

* The author expresses his thanks and gratitude to Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Nagpur University, who has very kindly gone through the paper, and has suggested some valuable points which have been duly incorporated.

A New Light on the Nalas of Chhattisgarh

PART I

The Nala dynasty of Chhattisgarh or South-Kośala is well known. Recently fresh material and evidence bearing on the history of the dynasty have come to our knowledge. The object of the present article is to reconstruct its history in the light of these findings.

Dr. Pargiter, quoting from the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas says that the descendants of Nala ruled over Kośala or Dakṣiṇa Kośala. According to him the Nala princes flourished in the third century A. D.¹

R. G. Bhandarkar, while dealing with Kīrttivarman I (566-590 A. D.) the Calukya ruler, remarked, "over what province he ruled we do not know."² Fleet, in connection with a Western Calukya inscription, containing a reference to Nalavadi Viṣaya, opined that probably the territory of the Nalas lay adjoining the Bellary Kurnool district, on the Tungabhadra.³ There is a reference to the Nalas in the Aihole⁴ inscription of Pulakesin, the famous Calukya Emperor; this shows that they were rulers of an Eastern Kingdom. D. R. Bhandarkar is of the view that the Nalas flourished in the middle of the eighth century.⁵ Dr. Mirashi, while editing the gold coins of this dynasty, stated that chronologically the Nalas should be placed in the fourth or fifth century A. D.⁶ Dr. B. V. K.

¹ *Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51. Also see *Purāna Index*, p. 231

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, Part II, p. 181.

³ *JB. Br. RAS.*, vol. XVI, pp. 225-235 and also *Bombay Gazetteer* vol. I, Part I, p. 282 & 263.

⁴ *El.*, vol. VI, p. 10.

⁵ *PRAS.*, Western circle for 1903-04 & 48 (Progress & Report of the Arch. Sur.)

⁶ *JNS.*, I 1939, pp. 29-35 with plates.

Rao has assigned the 5th century A. D. to this dynasty.⁷ The editor of the Podagadh inscription has assigned the Nala rulers of the inscription to the latter half of the fifth century A. D.⁸

The date of Nalas, can be determined if we scrutinise their records carefully. Bhavadatta Varman's copper⁹ plates which were found in Morsi Tahsil of Amraoti district of Vidarbha, were issued from Nandivardhana, which has been held to be the capital of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. These plates were discovered with another set of copper plates of Prabhāvatī Gupta.¹⁰ Nandivardhana has been described by many scholars as being the capital of Vākāṭaka kingdom. One of the copper plate grant of Prabhāvatī Gupta, the Regent of Pravarasena II, was issued from Nandivardhana¹¹ and therefore scholars are of view that it must have been the Vākāṭaka capital. Dr. Altekar was of the opinion that, "Purika situated somewhere in Berar, Western C. P. was the earliest Vākāṭaka capital, as mentioned in the Purāṇas. Later on, it was shifted to Nandivardhana, which is most probably Nagardhana (also spelt as Nandardhana) near Ramtek, about 13 miles north of Nagpur."¹² The above place has been located similarly by T. A. Wellsted also.¹³

Thus the above mentioned plate of Bhavadatta Varman which was issued from Nandivardhana, capital of the Vākāṭakas and the fact that it was found in Morsi Tahsil of the Amraoti district prove that he had marched triumphantly to the very heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom and captured the capital.

The Vākāṭaka king, who suffered such a calamitous defeat,

7 *Early Dynasties of Andhrapradesh*, pp. 662-666.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 100 by Y. R. Gupte.

10 *Quarterly Journal of the Bharata Itihās Samsodhaka Mandal*, vol. IV, p. 115-16.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV p. 30 Poona, copper plate of Prabhavati Gupta.

12 *Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, p. 105 Reprinted 1954.

13 Also see RB. Hiralal's *Ins. C.P. & Berar*, p. 11. *JABS.*, New Series, vol. XXIX, p. 159.

was no other than Narendrasena as proved by Dr. Altekar.¹⁴ Therefore we would not be wrong in concluding that Bhavadatta was a contemporary of Vākātaka prince Narendrasena who ruled from c. 440 to 460 A.D. Bhavadatta's supremacy was not challenged during his life time but as soon as he was dead, his adversary who was biding his time succeeded in retrieving the fortunes of his dynasty and carried the fire and sword to the enemy's land. From the above description, it appears that Narendrasena outlived Bhavadatta Varman, and that his tragic defeat occurred in the early part of his reign, sometime about 445 A.D. From the above description we can safely say that he recovered his fortunes very probably by the year 450 A.D. Bhavadatta's reign should, therefore, be taken to extend from c. 430 to 450 A.D. Working on this basis, we may ascertain the time of other kings of the dynasty.

The records in our possession reveal that in all there were seven rulers of this dynasty. Their names are given in the copper plate grant, the two stone inscriptions and the thirty one gold coins excluding those found very recently.¹⁵

Of these the Rithapur¹⁶ copper plate and Podagadh¹⁷ inscription are very important. According to them Bhavadatta had two sons. Skandavarmana¹⁸ is mentioned in the Podagadh inscription and the eldest son, who was most probably Arthapati¹⁹ is mentioned in the Rithapur copper plate. So the two inscrip-

14 *Vākātaka G. Age*, p. 107—In support of the above statement it may be pointed out that the Vākātaka ruler who defeated the Nala king and who carried the war into the enemies' country, captured and devastated that capital," (p. 108) is also described by his son Prithvisena II c. 460-80 A.D. as overlord of Mekala & Kośala. See Balaghat C.P. *El.*, IX p. 267.

15 Shri B. C. Jain showed me some coins bearing name Mahendraditya, in the summer of 1959.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, vol XIX p. 100 by Y. R. Gupta.

17 *El.*, vol. XXI by C. R. Krishnamacharulu.

18 *El.*, *ibid.*

19 *El.*, vol XIX p. 100

tions give us the genealogical relations of the three kings—Bhavadatta, Arthapati, and Skandavarman. We are also in possession of one gold coin of Bhavadatta and two of Arthapati.²⁰

In addition (to the above list) the Rajim stone inscription²¹ mentions another three kings of this dynasty in genealogical order. Their names are Prithvirāja, Viruparāja, and Vilastung. Whether this set of kings²² preceded or followed Bhavadatta and his two sons is now for us to investigate.

The Nala kings of South-Kośala had disappeared from this region by the end of the 5th cent. A.D. and the Sarabhapurians established their sway over it in the following century. The Nalas devoid of their former glory and prestige were now passing their time in obscurity, somewhere in the Bastar State of old C.P. and Berar. They continued to live up to seventh century as mentioned in the Calukya records,²³ but only to suffer perpetual disgrace and humiliation at the hands of foreign invaders.

But as the Rajim stone inscription²⁴ was found in Raipur district, and Rajim being in the heart of South-Kośala, it may be inferred that the kings mentioned therein were ruling in that region. And as the rule of the Nala dynasty came to an end after the death of Bhavadatta's successors, the kings mentioned in the Rajim inscription then must have preceded Bhavadatta.

And now it is to be ascertained what relations, if any, existed between the kings mentioned in the Rajim inscription and Bhavadatta and his successors, and what place should be assigned to Varāharāja in the genealogical table of the Nala

²⁰ *JNSI.*, 1939 pp. 29-35 Prof. Mirashi.

²¹ *El.*, vol XXVI pp. 49-58 (Rajim Stone Ins.) D. R. Mirashi.

²² *El.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 49-58. Rajim Stone Ins.

²³ *Bom. Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 181 (Aihole Ins) also see *JB. BR. RAS.*, vol. XVI pp. 225-35.

²⁴ *JNSI.* pp. 29-35.

dynasty. The discovery of thirty two gold coins bearing the names of Nala kings affords a valuable help in the inquiry. Varāharāja's reign seems to have been stable and prosperous. Of the thirty two gold coins, as many as twenty nine bear his name. They were found along with the coins of Bhavadatta and his successors and there is a close resemblance in all the thirty two coins. Moreover, as stated above, the Nala kings, who followed Bhavadatta and his sons were passing their days in obscurity. Therefore, we are led to believe that the kings of the Rajim inscription preceded Varāharāja who in his turn preceded Bhavadatta and his sons. This is also the view of Dr. Mirashi, who edited the coins of this dynasty.²⁵

A few words are needed for introducing Mahendra Varman's name in the genealogy above.²⁶ He was a ruler of South-Kośala and is known to have been defeated by Emperor Samudragupta, who reigned from c. 320 to 375 A.D. The records of the Nala dynasty show that this dynasty existed in the fourth and fifth cent. A.D., as is also stated in the Purāṇas.²⁷ Since we know of no other dynasty except the Nalas, ruling over this region in the fourth cent. A.D., Mahendra Varman, who was a contemporary of the Gupta emperor must have belonged to this dynasty. The Gupta monarch felt special pride in humbling him, probably because he was the scion of an illustrious dynasty.

It is commonly believed that after his defeat Mahendra Varman and his dynasty were uprooted from this region and a new dynasty, viz., that of Nalas, came to rule over it. The Allahabad Praśasti unambiguously mentions that Mahendra Varman though defeated and taken captive by Samudragupta was later on set free and allowed to rule over his former state. It is therefore only reasonable to think that Mahendra Varman²⁸

25 *Ibid.*

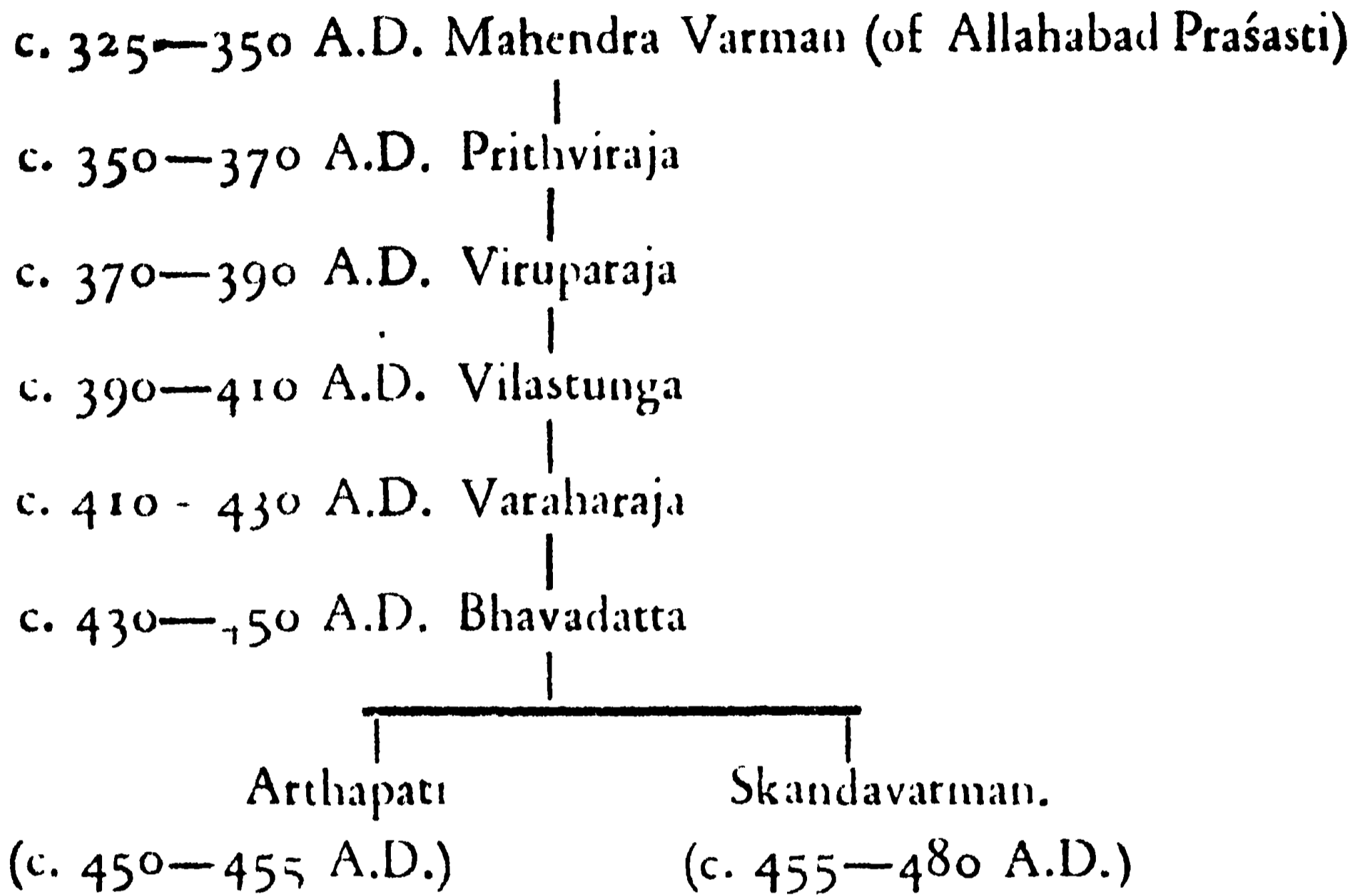
26 CII. vol. III. p. 1.

27 *Purāṇa Text of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

28 About Mahendra Varman's identification, see *infra*.

and his successors ruled over South-Kośāla for the next two centuries with varying fortunes due to the pressure of the Imperial Guptas from the north and of the powerful Vākātakas from the west.

Thus, the genealogical^{28a} table of the Nala dynasty should be like this:—



The absence of any evidence relating to the original home of this dynasty leads us to presume that lay in this very region and the connection of king Mahendra of the Allahabad Praśasti with this dynasty proves that it was the earliest ruling dynasty of Kośāla, known to history.

The Nala kings were of Kṣatriya origin and from their charters, appear to be devout worshippers of Maheśvara or Śiva. The first five verses in the Rajim inscription²⁹ are addressed to Lord Viṣṇu by king Vilastung. Possibly it was under the influence of the Imperial Guptas that they embraced Vaiṣṇavism and later when that influence had waned, they returned to their original cult of Śaivism.

^{28a} All the dates referred above are probable. Though the dates are given in a continuation, but it is not like that exactly, because relations between all the kings have not yet been determined.

²⁹ *El.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 49-58 Dr. Mirashi.

Varāharāja,³⁰ Bhavadatta,³¹ and Arthapati³² worshipped Śiva. In their gold coins, are found images of the bull and the crescent together with other traditional signs. The copper plate inscription issued by Bhavadatta from Nandivardhana is in praise of Śiva and his son Kārttikeya. In case of Skandavarman there is an exception. In the Podagadh inscription³³ issued by him it is Viṣṇu who has been praised and not Śiva.

The gold coins³⁴ of the later rulers bore the images of the bull and the crescent, from which we may guess that their banners also must have borne Śaiva symbols. The Rithapur³⁵ plate contains some description of the banner of Bhavadatta. According to it the emblem employed was, the "Tripataka" which Mr. Y. R. Gupte, editor of the plate, interprets as a hand with three fingers stretched out meaning thereby a banner consisting of three pennons as illustrated here.

PART II

King Mahendra c. 325-350 A. D.

Mahendra of Allahabad Praśasti was the earliest ruler of the dynasty. He was defeated by Samudragupta. He must have ruled from c. 325 to 350 A. D. The praśasti³⁶ stands as an evidence that Mahendra continued his rule even after his reverses at the hands of the imperial ruler. Although the inscription³⁷ furnishes very little information about him, the coins bearing the name "Mahendrāditya," which were found in a large number,³⁸ in South-Kośala,

30 See his coins (JNSI. 1939 pp. 25-35) numerous large etc. ... Ibid and see his copp. pl. (Rithapurmall).

31 *El.*, vol. XIX.

32 *El.*, vol. XIX p. 100 Rithapur copp. pl. of Bhavadatta.

33 *El.*, vol. XXI, Padogadh Ins.

34 *JNSI.*, 1939 pp. 25-35.

35 *El.*, vol. XIX p. 100.

36 *CH*, vol. III p. 1.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *JNSI.*, vol. X, 1948 pp. 137-148.

shed much light on his reign. These coins prove that Mahendra accepted Vaiṣṇava faith and acted wisely by bowing to the Imperial Gupta who was the rising 'Sun on the political horizon of India. Thus not only he saved his dynasty and kingdom from ruin but conferred a new and long life to them, viz.,

C. 350 to 370 A. D. Prithviraj

C. 370 to 390 A. D. Viruparaja

C. 390 to 410 A. D. Vilastung (Rajim Ins.)

Proceeding further we come to Mahendra's successors of the Rajim⁸⁰ inscription. Prithvirāja, Viruparāja and Vilastung mentioned in the aforesaid inscription were in all probability father, son and grandson, thus covering three generations,

Verses 8 and 9, contain a reference to king Prithvirāja, most probably the grand-father of Vilastung. This king was pious and popular and therefore he is compared to the sacred river Rewa (the modern Narmada). He was born in Kaliyuga an era which though marked with material prosperity was, nevertheless accompanied by religious decline. Therefore, like Mandhata, he was created by God to show the people the path of virtue and purity.

The next king Viruparāja is introduced in the 9th verse as a son of Prithvirāja. He is said to have been very popular with his subjects by whom he was universally praised. His fame as a great warrior and skilful general pervaded the whole earth. He was regarded as the very incarnation of truth.

The third and the last king of the inscription, most probably the son of Viruparāja, was Vilastung. The verses addressed to him have been rendered illegible owing to effacement. But it appears that the kingdom had attained stability and its ruler had ample leisure to devote himself to peaceful activities. He was the king, who ordered, the present inscription to be executed. The purpose of the inscription is to record the building of a temple consecrated to Hari or Viṣṇu. The present

temple of Rajim,⁴⁰ where the above inscription was found, is also dedicated to Viṣṇu. "The image worshipped in it is made of black-stone and is a common representation of Viṣṇu with usual symbols of the mace, the discus, the conch and the lotus." (Mirashi). Mr. Cunningham noticed this inscription and has also given a copy of the inscription on plate IX. He simply puts it "about 8th century" and says that, "it contains the name of Prithvirāja".⁴¹ In both of his conjectures he is wrong. Mr. A. E. Nelson, the editor of Raipur District Gazetteer, writes about the Rajim temple that it was "a Vishnuite shrine apparently first built, about 8th or 9th century."⁴² Most probably the time attributed by him for the erection of the temple is on the basis of Gen. Cunningham's statement. Thus it appears that the temple of Rajim was first built by Prithvirāja of the Nala dynasty.

In fixing the chronology of these kings we have to remember that king Mahendra was contemporary of Samudragupta, therefore, he must have reigned from c. 325 to 350 A.D.⁴³ Since the kings of Rajim stone inscription were immediate successors of king Mahendra, therefore, on a rough calculation they seem to have reigned c. 350 to 410 A.D., that is, for a period of sixty years allowing an average period of twenty years to each of the three rulers.

Varāharāja c. 410-430 A. D.

The king who followed the kings of the Rajim inscription was Varāharāja. Nothing is known of him, except his coins, which do little more than giving his name and emblem and referring circumstances of minor importance. These coins were found in 1939, in a lot⁴⁴ which was hoarded underground in a village in

40 *Arch. Sury. of India*, vol. XVII, p. 18 plate IX

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Raipur Dist. Gazetteer*, p. 66.

43 See my paper "King Mahendra of Allahabad Praśasti" in *IHQ.*, March, 1961.

44 *JNSI.*, vol. 1939, pp. 25-35.

the Kondagaon Tahsil of the former Bastar State, Madhya Pradesh.

Of the thirty two coins which were collected no less than twenty nine belong to Varāharāja alone, while only three to the other two kings, namely, Bhavadatta and Arthapati.

The large number of coins show that Varāharāja's reign was stable, prosperous and peaceful. The coins are in two sizes, big and small. The small ones numbering twenty two and the large ones seven. They are of gold. They are all single die coins, with the device and the legend embossed in relief on the obverse. The reverse is blank. The coins are divided into two parts—the upper portion contains figure of the bull and the crescent—the emblem of Śiva. The lower portion bears the legend of the king. These coins are round in shape, and all the coins are in excellent state of preservation, which has made Dr. Mirashi, the editor of these coins, to observe that immediately after their issue they went underground. Dr. Mirashi, after a careful examination of the characters in the coins, came to the conclusion that Varāharāja's coins, "appear to be the earliest and those of Arthapati the latest of the whole lot."⁴⁵ Moreover, the coins of Varāharāja are markedly different from those of Bhavadatta and Arthapati. In the coins of the latter the names of the respective kings are written in the genitive case.⁴⁶ These coins are so thin that it may be doubted, whether they were issued for circulation. The legend on each is in box-headed character, which was current in this region for many centuries and was used for inscribing on the copper plates and coins. On the basis of the chronolgy, we have set up we must place Varāharāja in the first quarter of the fifth century A. D.

Varāharāja was followed by Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman successively. Sufficient information has been gathered about them from a copper plate,⁴⁷ a lithic⁴⁸ record and three gold coins⁴⁹ preserved to us.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*

47 *El.*, vol XIX, p. 100.

48 *El.*, vol XXI.

49 *JNSI.*, 1939, pp. 35-45.

Bhavadatta

Among all the Nāla kings Bhavadatta (c. 430-450 A.D.) had a prosperous reign, which may have lasted for twenty years at least, and had a brilliant military career marked by his victory over the Vākāṭaka ruler Narendrasena (c. 440 to 460 A.D.). His important monument is the Rithapur copper plate,⁵⁰ found at Rithapur in Morsi Tahsil of Amraoti District, in Vidarbha. This inscription gives him the lofty title of "Maharaja Bhattāraka-Arthapati Bhavadattavarman of the Nala family."⁵¹ His name Bhavatta may be the prakritised form of Bhavadatta. This grant was issued from Nandivardhana, though the formal ceremony was concluded at Prayaga at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna. Here it may be recalled that, Nandivardhana⁵², the place from where the grant was issued was the Vākāṭaka capital of Vidarbha. The above place has been located by T.A. Wellsted near Ramtek.⁵³ It is clear that Bhavadatta Varman not only defeated the lord of Vidarbha, seized his capital but penetrated as far as Amraoti district deep into the heart of Nag-Vidarbha region where the above inscription was found. The latest researches have proved that the Vākāṭaka ruler, who suffered reverses and whose fortunes were almost lost, was Narendrasena (c. 440 to 460 A.D.) This is the view of Dr. Altekar⁵⁴ and other historians.

The victory of Bhavadatta must have been an epoch-making event and to celebrate it duly he went to Prayaga, the holiest of holy places of the Hindus and from there he performed the ceremony of granting the village Kadambagiri, which had been already proclaimed at the enemy's capital Nandivardhana. He says that whatever glory he has achieved, was due to Maheśvara and Mahāsena (Kārttikeya).

Finally it appears (lines 21-26) that the grant was issued under the supervision of Mahārāja Arthapati Bhattaraka, who

50 *El.*, vol. XIX, p. 100

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Vākāṭaka G. Age*, p. 105

53 *JABS.*, New Series, vol. XXIX, p. 159.

54 *Vākāṭaka G. Age.*, p. 107

executed it on behalf of his father and mother—Bhavadatta and his queen. This inscription is in box-headed character and written in the Sanskrit language. It was engraved by Boppadeva son of Poddapadhyaya. His glorious career and his fame in arms are again stressed by the Podagadha⁵⁵ inscription of Skandavarman, who calls himself, “the noble son⁵⁶ of king Bhavadatta” “the foremost (scion) of the glorious Nala family.”⁵⁷ The big size of his coins also is a reliable sign of his prosperity.

Arthapati

Bhavadatta was succeeded by his son Arthapati (c. 450-455 A.D.), who had been trained⁵⁸ by his father in statecraft. On many occasions we find him acting⁵⁹ on behalf of his father and assuming semi-royal titles. This was only natural as he was the oldest son and heir-apparent but he proved to be an incompetent⁶⁰ ruler. He was overwhelmed by his father's enemy, Narendrasena, who, smarting under the defeat inflicted on him by Bhavadatta, was only biding his time. Therefore, soon after the death of Bhavadatta he raided his kingdom,⁶¹ captured and devastated his capital and retrieved the fortunes of his dynasty. Arthapati was most probably killed in the battle while defending his territory against the aggressor for we hear of him no longer after the event. His reign seems to have been short⁶² though it began under favourable circumstances. Perhaps he left no male issue behind him, therefore his brother Skandavarman assumed the reins of the government. Arthapati's reign probably lasted from c. 450 to 455 A.D.

Skandavarman (455 to 480 A.D.)

Skandavarman, was the younger brother of Arthapati, because in his Podagadha⁶³ inscription he calls himself “the

55 *El.*, vol. XXI by C. R. Krishnamachary B.A.

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid.*

58 *El.*, vol. XIX, p. 100.

59 *Ibid.*

60 *El.*, vol. XXI.

61 *Vākāṭaka G. Age*, p. 108.

62 *JNSI.*, 1939 pp. 25-35 Dr. Mirashi.

63 *Ibid.*

noble son of Bhavatta." According to his inscription, he reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands, repopulated the deserted town of Pushakari with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father..."

"This pillar⁶⁴ was caused to be planted by king Skandavarman in commemoration of his victory. His record praises Hari in the opening lines. It was raised in the 12th year of his reign in the month of Vaiśākh.

The inscription was composed by Janturadasa, son of (Chau-) li and engraved by Viśvarupa, son of Aja. This ordinance was promulgated on all sides by his general, Pritibhagavata and the order was composed by Malin, who in humbleness calls himself "Alpabuddhi."

The learned editor of the record has assigned it to the latter half of the 5th cent. A.D., which coincides with the date arrived by our calculation. Further, the fact that it was found in Jaypur Agency bordering on the Bastar state lends support to the view that it was only at a later period that they were forced to leave South-Kośala and enter into the wilds of Bastar where they flourished for many centuries.

After Skandavarman, the dynasty lost its former glory, its descendants sought refuge in the forest of Bastar, where they ruled for a fairly long time, but they remained unknown to history.

It is through the Chalukya and other records we hear of them as rulers of Bastar as late as the 7th century A. D. They were no longer lords of Kośala where, a new dynasty, namely that of Sarabhapurians had established itself.

P. L. MISHRA

MISCELLANY

On Bhorani Deo Temple Inscription of V. 1608

Dr. S. L. Katare has done good service to Indian history by editing the Bhoram Deo Temple inscription of V. 1608 in *IHQ*, XXXVI, pp. 97-98. But as some of its readings are admittedly not clear, we are tempted to offer a suggestion or two. In lines 5-6 of the inscription, Dr. Katare's reading is माडाव को पतीसफा कलश भङ्ग कीहे. We propose reading पतीसफा as पतीसाह. Thus read the sentence would mean that the *kalaśa* of the temple had been destroyed by the *Patisāha*, i.e., the Muslim ruler of Māṇḍū. We can hardly think of anyone excepting a Muslim iconoclast as destroying the *kalaśa* of a temple revered throughout the area for its sanctity. As to the identity of this *Patisāha*, he might be Qādir Shāh of Māṇḍū in Mālwa (1535-1542 A.D.) who is said to have reduced to obedience the fief-holders from Bhilsā to the Narmada. Kawardha region where the inscription has been found, no doubt, is at some distance from Malwa, a little away even from the source of the Narmadā. But rulers of Mālwa, Hindu as well as Muslim, have not unoften reached as far as Kawardha and even further.

A portion of the lines 10-11 of the epigraph has been read as घाघुजी कलस अरु षाम वैलाये कमीण कमाल. But the words कमीण कमाल here give no sense. As the letter ल at the end of कमाल is far from definite or clear, could we not read these two words as कमीण क मार ? In that case the sense of the lines 10-11 would be that Ghāghusā had brought back the *kalaśa* and *chatra* after killing the vile wretch who had taken them away. Such an action on Ghāghusā's part is not unlikely in view of the traditional stories current about the hostility between Ghāghusā and the Ratnapura rulers. Our suggestions are however purely tentative. If any better readings or interpretations could be suggested, we shall gladly accept them.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

The Epoch of the Gaṅga Era

In an article under the above title, published in the last issue of this Journal, Mm. V. V. Mirashi has demonstrated to his own satisfaction "that the Gaṅga era did *not* commence in the period from A.D. 546 to 556" (p. 125), as proposed by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXXI, pp. 45 ff., and that 'there should be no doubt about the correctness of the epoch fixed by him' (p. 127). My theory was based on the Māḍagrāma Grant edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* XXXI. 45 which records the grant of a village by Bhīmakhedi II, a feudatory of King Devendravarman of the Later Gaṅga dynasty. The portion containing the date reads as follows: "(Devendravarmanmadevasya vijaya-rājye) sakāvadanāsataśṣṭāsītīsamvartu".....For the portion outside the brackets I suggested the reading *Śak-ābdē¹ nava-śat-āṣṭāsītīsamvatsare* and interpreted it as the Śaka year 988. Now this demolishes the current views on the epoch of the Gaṅga era, held by a number of scholars, including Dr. D. C. Sircar and Mm. V.V. Mirashi. In order to save this current theory Dr. Sircar added a long note at the end of my article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, referred to above, in which he accepted the date read by me as correct, but disputed the identity of Devendravarman with the ruler of the Gaṅga family, as suggested by me. Now Mm. Mirashi accepts the identity of the king as proposed by me, but disputes the reading of the date. Thus, in a way, these two scholars, holding the same view about the epoch of the Gaṅga era, cancel each other's arguments. Dr. Sircar's theory that King Devendravarman of the Māḍagrāma Grant is to be identified, not with the homonymous king of the main branch, but with a king of that name in the Svetaka branch, whose existence is not otherwise known, is hardly tenable, and need not be discussed in the present context. I shall therefore confine myself to the views of Mm. Mirashi on the date. He has

1 In line 8 of the inscription we have *śavada* for *śavda*. So *śakāvada* may be easily taken for *śakābda*.

suggested that the first few letters *viz. sakāvadana* stands for *Śakābdānām*. and the whole expression means the 88th year of a Śaka era ending in 88, but the 'word denoting hundreds has been omitted' (p. 122). It may be a desperate attempt to save a theory, like that of Dr. Sircar, but would hardly commend itself to anyone who goes through the record which is so full of ordinary errors that the omission of *va* after *na* should hardly cause any surprise,² in any case, according to the accepted canon of textual criticism, one would certainly prefer *na* to stand for *nava* rather than jump to the conclusion that the writer did not indicate the century (though the word *śata* is there) and only used the expression for 88. The whole question is thus reduced to the interpretation of the date. Mm. Mirashi's theory falls if we prefer the normal and natural interpretation to his fanciful suggestion.

I leave the matter at that. But before I conclude I must refer to Mm. Mirashi's comment on two of my statements, *viz.*

- (1) There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in Śaka 917.
- (2) No king Devendravarman is known before Śaka 992.

As regards the first, Mm. Mirashi proves my inaccuracy by saying: "If we take the epoch of the Gaṅga era to be A.D. 898-99 as shown by me, it can be easily shown that a Gaṅga king named Anantavarman was ruling in Śaka 917" (p. 126). But when the epoch itself is questioned such an argument merely illustrates a well-known fallacy in logic. What I obviously meant is that apart from any theory about the epoch of the Gaṅga era, which is the subject of dispute, there is no *independent* evidence of the existence of any king named Anantavarman in the Later Gaṅga dynasty ruling in Śaka 917. Mm. Mirashi's theory is

² For example, the letter *ṇa* of *carana* has been omitted in line 6. It is to be noted that Mm. Mirashi, who objects to *na* before *śata* being taken as *nava* felt no scruple in emending *saptarasamata* to *saptadaśamita* in another inscription of the same family (p. 122).

based on the assumption that there was a king Anantavarman ruling about Śaka 917; and he proves the assumption by his theory, which I hold to be untenable. Therefore my statement about Anantavarman still holds good.

Mm. Mirashi's comment on my second statement is still more disingenuous. When I said that there was no other king called Devendravarman before Śaka 992, it should have been obvious to anybody that I meant that there was no king of that name in the royal family which was under discussion. Now, it is well-known that there were four kings called Devendravarman in another family of Gaṅga kings ruling earlier than the family to which belonged the kings discussed both by me and Mm. Mirashi. Mm. Mirashi has referred to Bhandarkar's List as an authority for the four kings named Devendravarman, but he ignores the fact that Bhandarkar, in his genealogical lists, very correctly places these four kings under "Early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga," whereas king Devendravarman, accepted by both Mm. Mirashi and myself as the king mentioned in the Māḍagrāma Grant, is placed under a different ruling dynasty called "The Later Kings of Kalinga" in which there is no other king named Devendravarman. The difference is further emphasized by Bhandarkar when he calls the last Devendravarman of the earlier dynasty as Devendravarman IV, but does not call Devendravarman of the later dynasty as Devendravarman V. I would leave the reader to judge for himself how far Mm. Mirashi and Dr. D. C. Sircar, who made the same comment, are justified in assuming that I was ignorant of the earlier kings named Devendravarman, or deliberately suppressed the fact.

Mm. Mirashi has made much of astronomical data, and has, again, proved to his own satisfaction that the astronomical details given in some Gaṅga records do not fit in with my theory. Now, his elaborate discussion on this point is vitiating by a wrong assumption with which he starts. He begins by saying that according to my theory the epoch of the Gaṅga era "must lie between A.D. 546 and 556" (pp. 122-3). I wonder how he got this idea. I clearly stated: "The Gaṅga era may

therefore be said to have been inaugurated some time between 530 and 560 A.D." (*Ep. Ind.* XXXI, p. 47). Two pages later, I again stated that the 'present Grant places the epoch of the Gaṅga era between 530 and 560 A.D.' I then added that if certain assumptions of mine be accepted, we may fix the initial year of the Gaṅga era within narrower limits, viz., 546 and 556 A.D.

But apart from this, I do not place much weight on the astronomical calculations for fixing the epoch of an era. During the last hundred years almost every one who started any theory about the epoch of an era, which has ultimately proved to be quite wrong, has adduced astronomical calculations in support of his theory. I have written a paper on this subject which will be shortly published in the Altekari Volume of the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*. It will perhaps suffice if I give only two examples. Cunningham, who regarded A.D. 194 as the epoch of the Gupta era, supported it by astronomical data which, in his opinion, did not fit in with the view that the epoch of the era falls in 318-19 A.D.³ When Fleet referred some of the dates in the Nepal inscriptions to Gupta era starting from 319 A.D., he showed that it satisfied the astronomical data of *all the inscriptions* till then known,⁴—exactly the same claim that Mm. Mirashi makes for his own theory of the epoch of the Gaṅga era (p. 127). In conclusion I may add that several scholars, holding different views on the epoch of the Gaṅga era, have supported their theories, widely varying from one another, with the help of the astronomical data. After all this one may be excused for disregarding astronomical data in any discussion of the epoch of the Gaṅga era.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

3 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 81.

4 *Ibid.*, Appendix IV.

On two inscriptions from Sevādā, Rajasthan

Dr. R. C. Agrawala has published the transcripts of two inscriptions from Sevādā in the March issue of the *IHQ*, 1960, pp. 17-22. He has brought out well their political significance. But a few words there, the meaning of which is not quite clear to the editor, throw welcome light on certain aspects of administrative and social organisation of the period.

The Sevādā inscription of V. 1308 is a record of Chāchigadeva's regime as a *Mahārājaputra* when the affairs at Śrīmāla were being managed by the *Pañcakula* consisting of Sīhā etc. But what is specially interesting about the record is the fact that the *Patels* of the village Jājadāuli in Śrīmāla-*deśa* had agreed to give 20 *drammas* to Pratihāra Ūtimasīha (Uttamasīha), son of Pratihāra Jagadhara, in return for the duties he performed as a *talāra*.¹ He was not, however, to spend the money on himself; it was to be put as a permanent deposit, the money accruing from which (as interest) was to be utilised in the *yātrā* (procession) of the (god) Śrī-Jagadahareśvara on the 2nd day of the bright half of Phālguna (every year).² The *Patels* witnessed the document; and in V. 1316 again appear to have been responsible for the re-assertion of the order that in return for the money given the *talāra* was to carry out thoroughly his duties of guarding Deva-lavādā and the village of Jājadāuli.³ Perhaps some negligence on the part of the *talāra* rendered the repetition of the order necessary.

The *talāra*, as pointed out elsewhere by me,⁴ was a police officer whose duty was to go about the city and apprehend law-breakers and thieves. As the *talāra*'s duty in the Sevādā inscription under discussion is given as "*sāra karaṇīyā*,"⁵ it may be interesting to find a *talāra* in the *Prthvicandracarita* describing

1 *Talārāpade*, line 2. Dr. Agrawala has noted it as "an obscure phrase".

2 The words are "*ā-candrārkaṁ*".

3 line 4.

4 *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 205-6.

5 line 4.

himself almost in the same words as “*Ambe talāra, karaum nagara-taṇi sāra* (I am a *talāra*, I guard and take care of the town).⁶ From other literary references that I have put together, it can be established that the *talāra* was known also as *ārakṣika* and *daṇḍapāsika*.⁷ Money for his payment came not from central but local sources and was known as *talarābhavya*. It is a good example of a local tax for a local purpose; and of such taxes there were many in Rājput polity.⁸

The Sevādā inscription of V. 1500 is of the reign of Dūngarsimha of the Ūmaṭa family and records the *jīṇoddhāra* of the temple of Siddheśvara by *Ṭhakura* Dharaṇāka, who according to Dr. Agrawala's reading should be a Bhāṭa, and his wife, Dhāraladevi, described as the granddaughter of Rāṇā Dālhā. If this reading and the interpretation of it by Dr. Agrawala be taken as correct, we have to conclude that in Rājasthān of the fifteenth century not only the Rājput̄s but the bardic community of the Bhāṭs also could use the titles *Ṭhākur* and *Rāṇā* and that some of its members were rich enough to undertake the *jīṇoddhāra* of perhaps a fairly big temple.⁹ An estampage of the inscription would be extremely helpful in deciding the question.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

6 Quoted in *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 206, note 1.

7 See the chapter on Pratihāra administration in the present writer's *Imperial Pratibāras, A Revised Study*.

8 See *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 205.

9 At present the Bhāṭas call themselves *Rāvaṇ*.

REVIEW

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM: Dr. Radha Govinda Basak: Sambodhi Publications Private Limited, 22 Strand Road, Calcutta—1.

Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism is yet another production from the pen of that doyen of Indologists, Dr. R. G. Basak, who even in his 76th year continues to present one after another, the results of his lifelong study in different branches of Indian literature. In this short compendium volume Dr. Basak has addressed himself to general readers, and as such carefully avoiding scholasticism and he has summed up authentic materials drawn from original sources in a manner that will at once arouse interest in them.

The book contains seven popular lectures on the theme of Buddhism delivered by the learned scholar at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. In the very first lecture on the life and teachings of Buddha, he has delineated in a masterly way the circumstances leading to the rise of Buddhism, including a survey of the chief religious and philosophical systems prevalent in India at the time. The philosophical doctrines of Buddhism, like the *pratītyasamutpāda* (the chain of causes and effects) and *nirvāṇa* (the ultimate reality) in lecture I, and other highly technical theories of later Buddhism like the *daśabhūmis* (ten stages leading to Buddhahood) and the *pratyeka Buddhas* (individualistic Buddhas who do not proclaim it to the world) in lecture V, have been discussed by the scholar in a very brief compass but nevertheless with the stamp of his maturity and deep study.

Aśvaghōṣa's, famous Sanskrit epic, the *Buddhacarita*, forms the subject matter of Dr. Basak's second lecture. In addition to giving a summary of the life of Buddha, as available in the extinct portion of the text he has usefully discussed, though briefly, essential traits of Aśvaghōṣa and his works,

Dr. Basak has based his next three lectures (III-V) on the very well known Buddhist work written in a mixed Sanskrit, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. From this voluminous biographical work the learned scholar has chosen some of the important topics only for his discourse. In discussing the incident of Māra's onslaught on Gautama, the author has side by side placed similar theories of conflict between good and evil, current in Brahmanical religious thought long before the advent of Buddhism. To demonstrate its influence on Buddhist philosophers of later period he has referred the account of the conversion of Māra by the saint Upagupta, that is, the ultimate conversion of evil forces, as mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*.

The account of initiation of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, the two chief disciples of Buddha gives us an insight into the interesting processes of conversion to Buddhism as adopted by Buddha.

In his penultimate lecture Dr. Basak has rendered into English the *Asokāvadāna* section of the *Divyāvadāna* for the first time, and has thus thrown light on Aśoka's efforts to help the Buddhist Saṃgha as narrated therein. Emperor Aśoka is well known for his activities leading to the material as well spiritual welfare of his subjects in general. He was no sectarian there. His inscriptions also clearly reveal that he based his injunctions on the essential ethical principles equally commendable to all sects, though some of the inscriptions no doubt indicate the leanings of the great monarch to the principles of Buddhism. The bilingual Greek-Aramaic Insc. of Aśoka from Kandahar has now shown that the Emperor became a convert to Buddhism in the tenth year of his reign. But still for all that, I am afraid, will it not be inaccurate to call Aśoka merely a Buddhist Emperor and dispose of his wide and universal liberality by focussing on the concessions that he might have accorded to any particular religious sect, even if he became a convert to that ?

The last lecture, entitled, 'the interrelation between Brahmanism and Buddhism,' shows the learned scholar in his true form. The masterly treatment of the subject on the basis of

evidences collected equally from the wide variety of Brahmanical and Buddhistic works, not only reveals the depth of his own study but impresses on the reader most effectively that the history of Indian cultural development is always marked by the genius of Indian thinkers who never kept themselves hidebound but on the other hand tried to improve and modernise themselves and their ideas with fresh knowledge and fresher experience. Dr. Basak's efforts in focussing attention on this rationalistic *Sanātana* spirit of Indian thought and culture is indeed highly commendable:

A work on such a noble theme and from such a profound scholar should augur well for the new venture of the Sambodhi Publishers.

SISIRKUMAR MITTRA

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as reflected in the conception of various Incarnations of Viṣṇu.)

RAMACHANDRA SHASTRI RATATE—अथर्ववेदविषये किञ्चित् । The authoritativeness, the extent, the Upavedas and the general contents of the Atharvaveda have been discussed.

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SHIVAPRASAD BHARADWAJ—कालिदासके काव्यमे मंनोवैज्ञानिक विलेषण
(A Psycho-analytical treatment in Kālidāsa's Poems).

(5) THE NAKṢATRA EPOCH IN VEDIC TIMES

1. THE 'SATTRA' OR YEAR-LONG SACRIFICE

57. The Saṃvatsāra Sātra or year-long sacrifice in the shape of *gavām ayana*, *ādityānām ayana*, *aṅgirasām ayana* etc. occupied a

very important place in the life of the ancient Indo-Aryan people. This sacrifice has been elaborately described in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas like the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*. T. states that there are sacrificial hymns in the *R̥gveda* which bear evidence to a considerable development of the sacrificial ceremonies.¹ He further observes that these sacrifices were regulated by a calendar which was based

on an intimate knowledge of months, seasons and year, and their connection with the heavenly bodies. This knowledge could not be acquired within a short time. Continued observation, for

many years together, of the northern and southern courses of the sun, the changes in the seasons, the places of the sun and the moon in respect of particular Nakṣatras, etc. must have been carefully noted before certain conclusions were reached. It is now easy to criticise these conclusions after the lapse of so many centuries during which astronomy made much progress, but we must not overlook the great disadvantages under which those early astronomers had to work. They had neither laboratories nor instruments used by the present-day scientists. Yet they achieved results that do much credit to their intelligence.

58. In the second and third chapters of his *Orion*, T. has treated of Sātra, and the Nakṣatra Kṛttikā, while in the next three chapters, (IV, V, VI),² the Nakṣatra Mṛgaśiras has been dealt with. As the views contained in these chapters raised controversies amongst scholars, brief statements of their views are given below in the first instance, and afterwards they are examined.

Controversies raised by Tilak's views.

1 See Chapter 3, Antiquity of Sacrifice and Writing, in this essay.

2 The relevant chapters of the *Orion* are:

II Sacrifice *alias* the year (pp. 10-31).

III The Kṛttikās (pp. 32-60).

IV Agrahāyaṇa (pp. 61-95).

V The Antelope's Head (pp. 96-128).

VI Orion and his belt (pp. 129-156).

2. ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDA

1. *Opinions of Scholars*

A. TILAK'S ARGUMENTS

59. The two main questions that T. takes up are: (1) the meaning of the terms, Kṛttikā-series and Mṛgaśiras-series and whether they point to the antiquity of the Veda, and (2) the month from which the year-beginning was made in these early times.

60. While dealing with the Kṛttikās, T. uses two passages, one from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, VII. 4.8, and the other from the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa*, V. 9, for establishing his theory. He quotes both the passages, translates the former one, omitting the *Tāṇḍya* passage as it is similar, in every respect, to the one quoted from the *Taitt. Saṃ*.

The two passages referred to above are as follows:

संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमाणा एकाष्टकायां दीक्षेरन्नेषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकाष्ट-
कैतस्यां वा एष एतां रात्रिं वसति साक्षादेव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते आर्तं वा एते
संवत्सरस्याभि दीक्षन्ते य एकाष्टकायां दीक्षन्तेऽन्तनामानावृतू
भवतो व्यस्तं वा एते संवत्सरस्याभि दीक्षन्ते य एकाष्टकायां
दीक्षन्तेऽन्तनामानावृतू भवतः फल्गुनीपूर्णाभासे दीक्षेरन् मुखं वा
एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फल्गुनीपूर्णाभासो मुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते तस्यैकैव
निर्याथत् साम्नेभ्ये विषुवान् संपद्यते चित्रापूर्णाभासे दीक्षेरन् मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य
यच्चित्रापूर्णाभासो मुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते तस्य न काचन निर्या भवति
चतुरहे पुरस्तात् पौर्णाभास्यै दीक्षेरन् तेषामेकाष्टकायां क्रयः सं पद्यते तेनैकाष्टकां न
संबट् कुर्वन्ति तेषां पूर्वपक्षे सुत्या सं पद्यते पूर्वपक्षं मासा अभि सं पद्यते ते पूर्वपक्ष
उत्तिष्ठन्ति तानुत्तिष्ठत ओषधयो वनस्पतयोऽनूत्तिष्ठन्ति तान् कल्याणी कीर्तिरनूत्तिष्ठत्यरा-
त्सुरिमे यजमाना इति तदनु सर्वे राध्नुवन्ति ।

एकाष्टकायां दीक्षेरन् ॥१

एषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकाष्टकैतस्यां वा एतां रात्रि
वसति साक्षादेव तत् संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते ॥२

तस्य सा निर्या यदपोऽनभिनन्दन्तोऽभ्यवयन्ति ॥३

विच्छिन्नं वा एते संवत्सरस्याभिदीक्षन्ते य एकाष्टकायां दीक्षन्तेऽकृतनामानावृतू
भवतः ॥४

आतं वा एते संवत्सरमाभि दीक्षन्ते येऽन्तनामानावृत् अभि दीक्षन्ते ॥५॥

तस्मादेकाष्टकायां न दीक्ष्यम् ॥६॥

फाल्गुने दीक्षेरन् ॥७॥

मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फाल्गुनी मुखत एव तत् संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते ॥८॥

तस्य सा निर्या यत् सम्मेधे विषुवान् संपद्यते ॥९॥

चित्रापूर्णाभासे दीक्षेरन् ॥१०॥

चक्षुर्वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रापूर्णाभासो मुखतो वै चक्षुर्मुखत एव तत् संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते तस्य न निर्यास्ति ॥११॥

चतुरहे पुरस्तात् पूर्णाभास्या दीक्षेरन् ॥१२॥

तेषामेकाष्टकायां क्रयः संपद्यते तेनेकाष्टकां न संवत् कुर्वन्ति ॥१३॥

तेषां पूर्वपक्षे सुत्या संपद्यते पूर्वपक्षे मामाः संतिष्ठमाना यन्ति पूर्वपक्ष उत्तिष्ठन्ति तानुत्तिष्ठतः पशव ओषधयोऽनूत्तिष्ठन्ति तान् कल्याणी वागभिवदत्यरात्पुरिभे सत्विण इति ते रीध्नुवन्ति ॥१४॥

61. *I reproduce below T.'s rendering of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* passage,

“Those who are about to consecrate themselves for the year (sacrifice) should do so on the Ekāshṭakā (day). The Ekāshṭakā is the wife of the year ; and he [i.e., the year] lives in her [i.e., the Ekāshṭakā] for that night. (Therefore they) practically sacrifice (by) beginning the year. Those that sacrifice on the Ekāshṭakā, sacrifice to the distressed (period) of the year. It is the season (*dual*) whose name comes last. Those, that sacrifice on the Ekāshṭakā, sacrifice to the reversed (period) of the year. It is the season (*dual*) whose name comes last. They should consecrate themselves for the sacrifice on the Phalgunī full-moon. The Phalgunī full-moon is the mouth of the year. They sacrifice (by) beginning the year from the very mouth. It has only one fault, viz., that the Viṣhūvān [i.e., the equator or the central day] falls in the rains. They should consecrate them-

selves for the sacrifice on the Chitrā full-moon. The Chitrā full-moon is the mouth of the year. They sacrifice (by) beginning the year from the very mouth. It has no fault whatsoever. They should consecrate themselves for the sacrifice four days before the full-moon. Their *Kraya* [i.e., the purchase of Soma] falls on the Ekāṣṭakā. Thereby they do not render the Ekāṣṭakā void [i.e., of no consequence]. Their *Sutyā* [i.e., the extraction of Soma juice] falls in the first [i.e., the bright] half (of the month). Their months [i.e., the monthly sacrifices] fall in the first half. They rise [i.e., finish their sacrifice] in the first half. On their rising, herbs and plants rise after them. After them rises the good fame that these sacrifices have prospered. Thereon all prosper.”¹

Citrā full-moon.

4 days before the full-moon

The different times of the commencement of Sattrā, and their signification.

62. The above passage, read with the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa*, V. 9, indicates different times for beginning the year-long Sattrā. They are :

1. The first is the Ekāṣṭakā day. In explaining its meaning T. refers to *Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Sūtra*, II. 4. 1—हेमन्तशिशिरयोश्चतुर्णामपरपक्षानामष्टमीष्वष्टकाः—which denotes that the term is used for the 8th day of the latter (dark) half of the four months of Hemanta and Śiśira seasons.² He does not however forget to point out that sometimes it denotes the 8th day of the dark half of each of the 12 months in the year, as in द्वादशैकाष्टकाः द्वादशमावास्याः ॥ (*Tāṇḍya-Br.*, X. 3. 11). He further states that in commenting on the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa*, V. 9, Sāyaṇa observes that the word Ekāṣṭakā is used there in the secondary sense, and quotes *Āpastamba-Gr̥hya-Sūtra*, VIII. 21. 10 (या माध्या पूर्णमास्या उपरिष्ठाद्यष्टका तस्याष्टमी ज्येष्ठ्या सम्पद्यते । तामेकाष्टकेत्यावृत्ते ।) and that both Jaimini and Āpastamba interpret it to mean the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha (Śiśira), i.e., the particular day which the Mīmāṃsakas understand by Ekāṣṭakā. T. concludes that Ekāṣṭakā is practically the ‘constructive beginning’ of the year, and the year-long sacrifice may be commenced on that day.³

1 Ekāṣṭakā, and its meaning.

1 *The Orion*, pp. 46, 47

2 *Ibid.*, p. 47

3 *Ibid.*, p. 48

There are however three objections to the commencement of the sacrifice on Ekāṣṭakā day as pointed out in the above quoted passage. T. enumerates them thus.

Three objections against Ekāṣṭakā. (a) The 8th day of the dark half of Māgha falls in the distressed (ऋत) period of the year. Following Śabara and other commentators, T. takes this distress to be due to cold, and points out that though Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the words is different (implying according to him that the old year is brought to an end), yet both Sāyaṇa and Śabara agree that in those days, the year ended before the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha.¹

(a) in distressed period of the year ;

(b) The day falls in the last season. In explaining how it can be in the last season, T. states that though Ekāṣṭakā marks the beginning of the year, it is nonetheless in the last season of the year, for it is continuation of the last season of the previous year ended on the 7th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha. The difficulty created by the use of the word ऋतु in dual (dvi-vacana) in the passage is removed by T. by a reference to *Taitt.-Sam.*, IV. 11. 1. and *Vājasaneyi-Sam.*, 13-25, where also the word is used in dual implying two months constituting the season (like the word scissors in English) to denote singular number—द्विवचनमेकवचनार्थम् । (Mahīdhara).²

(b) in the last season ;

(c) To commence sacrifice on the Ekāṣṭakā day is to sacrifice to the reversed व्यस्त period of the year, because the sun then turns away from the winter solstice. T. points out that according to Śabara this indicates the change of *ayanas*, and that this opinion is endorsed by Sāyaṇa.³

(c) in a reversed period of the year.

63. II. The second is Phalgunī full moon day which gets over the above three objections. It was known as the first day of the year. By sacrificing on this day, one avoids the difficulties encountered in the case of Ekāṣṭakā and still sacrifices at the beginning of the year. (मुखं वा एतत् वत्सरस्य). This has however one fault, viz. that if

II Phalgunī full-moon.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50

3 *Ibid.*, p. 50

It may be noted here that according to T. it seems that Śabara quotes from the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa* where it clearly states the first objection as follows: "not delighted with water they go to *avabhṛtha* (i.e., the final bath.)"

sacrifice commences on Phalgunī full-moon day, the middle or central day, i.e., the Viṣuvat falls in the rainy season, which is not a desirable time. T. explains how the Viṣuvat falls in the rainy season thus: the first 12 days are devoted to consecration and twelve more to *Upasads*, after which the sacrifice proper commences. So the Viṣuvat falls after 6 months and 24 days from Phalgunī full-moon, i.e., 'on the 9th of the bright half of the month of Āśvina' (Sāyaṇa). If winter solstice or beginning of cold season should fall on the Māgha full-moon, the summer solstice or the end of the summer and the beginning of the rainy season would fall a little after the full moon in Śrāvaṇa (or Bhādra). Therefore, the months of Bhādra and Āśvina represented the rainy season at the time referred to in the *Taitt.-Sam.*, and the Viṣuvat in the rainy season was not auspicious.¹

III Citrā full-moon (faultless). 64. III. The third is the Citrā full-moon, which was faultless and open to no objection.²

65. IV. The fourth is 4 days before the full-moon. There is no specific mention of the month to which this full-moon is to be attached. It may mean,

(a) any full-moon day in the year, as Ekāṣṭakā may mean the 8th day of the dark half of any month in the year, though it has the special sense of being the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha ;

(b) the Citrā full moon which is mentioned immediately before in the same passage ;

(c) the Māgha full-moon as Ekāṣṭakā is mentioned immediately afterwards.³

In one of the Adhikaraṇas, Jaimini discusses the subject and decides in favour of the full-moon in the month of Māgha.⁴

1 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 51

2 *Ibid.*, p. 51

3 *Ibid.*, pp 51, 52

4 *Ibid.*, p. 52:

1. पौर्णमास्यामनियमोऽविशेषात् ।
2. आनन्तर्यात् चत्वी स्यात् ।
3. माघो वकाष्टकाश्रुतेः ।
4. अन्या अपीति चेत् ।
5. न भक्तित्वादेशा हि लोके ।
6. दीक्षापराधे चानुग्रहात् ।
7. उत्थाने चानुप्ररोहात् ।
8. अस्यां च सर्वलिङ्गानि ।

Jaimini states that those who sacrifice on this full-moon day can purchase their Soma on the Ekāṣṭakā which is no other than the one mentioned, in the beginning, and that the full-moon must, therefore, be the one next preceding this Ekāṣṭakā. When the sacrifice is finished, the herbs and plants spring up, which can happen only in the Vasanta season according to Śabara.¹

66. Jaimini's interpretation of this part of the passage leads T. to deduce the following conclusions :

Tilak accepts the meaning attributed to it by the Mīmāṃsakas, viz. 4 days before the full-moon of Māgha.

(a) In the days in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, the winter solstice occurred before the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha. Whether the solstitial day fell on the Māgha full-moon is difficult to say,

priests not selecting a day in the reversed period of the year. The choice of a day before the full-moon in Māgha clearly indicates that solstice occurred on that day. So, the full-moon in Māgha was one of the beginnings.²

(b) The year commenced with winter solstice.³

(c) "As there cannot be three real beginnings of the year at the interval of one month each, the passage must be understood as recording a tradition about the Chitrā full-moon and the Phalgunī full-moon being once considered as the first days of the year."⁴

(d) Viṣuvat lost its primary meaning and fell in the rainy season when the sacrifice commenced in Phalgunī full-moon.⁵

67. These conclusions lead T. to affirm that confirmatory and direct evidence "of the coincidence of the Kṛttikās with the vernal equinox in the days of" the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* has been found

T. states that independently of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*, there are four different statements in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* and *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa* clearly showing that the vernal equinox was then in the Kṛttikās, viz.

(1) The *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa* give lists of Nakṣatras, and their presiding deities always with the Kṛttikā at the beginning⁶;

(2) The *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* has an express statement that the Kṛttikās are the mouth of the Nakṣatras;⁷

(3) the passage quoted above tells us that winter solstice fell in the month of Māgha;⁸

1 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 52

3 *Ibid.*, p. 54

5 *Ibid.*, p. 54

7 *Ibid.*, p. 54

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54

4 *Ibid.*, p. 54

6 *Ibid.*, p. 54

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55

(4) it is stated that the Kṛttikās are the mouth of the Deva Nakṣatras, i.e., Nakṣatras in the northern hemisphere above the vernal equinox.¹

According to T., there is enough evidence "to establish the proposition that the Kṛttikās coincided with the vernal equinox, when the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* was compiled."² The time of compilation of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* is determined by T. to be 2350³ B.C. by a reference to W.'s calculation.⁴

68. T. states that in those days Māgha and Phālguna were comprised in Śiśira, and Caitra and Vaiśākha in Vasanta. As evidence, T. cites several instances from the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras*, which indicate that the full-moon night in the month of Phālguna is the first night of the year.

The signification of winter solstice in Māgha. Different texts regarding beginning of the year in Phālguna. 'The Phalgunī full-moon is the first night of the year.' – the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*⁵. The *Taittirīya*⁶ and *Śāṅkhāyana*⁷-*Brāhmaṇas* contain similar passages.

The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁸ after stating that the Uttarā and Pūrvā Phalgunī are respectively the beginning and the end of the year,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 55

2 *Ibid.*, p. 55

3 3000 B.C. according to his *Arctic Home*.

4 *Sūrya Siddhānta*, add. notes, p. 328

5 एषा ह संवत्सरस्य प्रथमा रात्रिर्यत् फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी योत्तरैषोत्तमा या पूर्वा मुखत एव तत् संवत्सरमारभते ।

VI. 2. 2. 18 [Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 67 fn.]

And furthermore, at the Phālguna (full-moon), for the full-moon of Phālguna, that is, the second (Phālguna), is the first night of the year: and that first (Phālguna) is the last (night of the year): he then begins the year at the very mouth (beginning). —Eggeling (tr.), *Śat. Br.*, pt. III, p. 179

6 एषा वै प्रथमा रात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यदुत्तरे फाल्गुनी । मुखत एव संवत्सरस्याग्निमाधाय बलीयान् भवति । I. 1. 2. 8. [Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 67 fn.]

Uttarā Phalgunī is the first night of the year. One becomes rich by consecrating the fire at the mouth of the year.

7 मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी

IV. 4 [Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 67 fn.]

The Phalgunī full-moon is the mouth of the year.

8 मुखमुत्तरे फाल्गुन्यौ पुच्छं पूर्वे । तद् यथा प्रवृत्तस्यान्तौ समेतौ स्यात्मेवमेतत् संवत्सरस्यान्तौ समेतौ भवत । II. I. 19 [Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 67fn.]

adds: “just as the two ends of a thing meet so these two termini of the year meet together”.

The Sūtra writers, though not so explicit, distinctly state that year-long sacrifices “should be commenced either on the Citrā or the Phālgunī full-moon night”, indicating thereby the beginning of the year.¹

These examples prompt T. to conclude that “If these passages mean anything, we must hold that the Phālgunī full-moon night was once considered to be actually the *first* night of the year, or to put it in a modern form the new year’s night.”²

The fact that the Māghī, the Phālgunī and the Caitrī full-moons “are mentioned together in the *same* passage of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, and for the *same* purpose” impels T. to conclude that the real meaning of the passage in the *Taitt. Saṃ.* and the passages in the *Brāhmaṇas* must be understood to be that with the full-moon the year commenced at the winter solstice for the purpose of year-long sacrifice.³

69. T. states that in the above-quoted passage of the *Taitt. Saṃ.* there is a reference to an older year beginning,—
 According to Tilak the *Taitt. Saṃ.* refers to an older year-beginning. “the full moon in Phālguna did as a matter of fact once commence the year at the winter solstice.”⁴

This was so, says T., after the priests changed their mouth (starting point) of the Nakṣatras to Kṛttikās (from Mṛgaśiras). They however continued to recognise and record in the texts the Nakṣatra Mṛgaśiras as the mouth of the preceding series for the preceding Nakṣatra epoch and that for sacrificial purposes.⁵

One objection to the above-mentioned view may be put thus : To admit that the Hindus knew of an earlier Nakṣatra series with

In Uttarā Phalgunī is the beginning, and in Pūrvā Phalgunī the end (of the year). Just as the two ends of a thing meet, so these two termini of the year meet together. [Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 67]

¹ तेषां (सांवत्सरिकाणां) फाल्गुन्यां पौर्णमास्यां चैत्र्यां वा प्रयोगः । *Āśvalāyāna-Śr.-Sū.* I. 2. 14. 3 ; *Kāt. Śr. Sū.* V. 1. 1 ; *Sān. Śr. Sū.* III. 8. 1, XIII. 18.3 [Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 67 fn.]

² Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 68

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70: “.....the old priests, after changing their starting point to Kṛttikās and framing the calendar accordingly, continued to recognize for sacrificial purposes, the older positions of the Nakṣatras.”

Mṛgaśiras as the mouth is to indicate that the time of the Vedic works is to be pushed back another 2000 years. Therefore, that view is unacceptable to those scholars who think that Mṛgaśiras series was unknown to the Indo-Aryans of the time.

T. however thinks that the Vedas contain sufficient evidence in favour of the familiarity of the Indo-Aryans with the Nakṣatra series with Mṛgaśiras at their head. According to him, it can be gathered from the *Brāhmaṇas* that the texts speak of year beginning with Phālgunī full-moon, with which winter solstice coincided. Therefore, if in the commencement of the year there is a recession of one month, viz. from Phālguna to Māgha the vernal equinox must also have receded from Mṛgaśiras to Kṛttikās according to the principle that the lapse of each 2000 years brought about a recession of one month or of 2½ Nakṣatras on an average.¹

70. T. considers the notion, that in old times the year once commenced with the month of Mārgaśirṣa or Agrahāyaṇa, to be a prevalent common error. He deals with this question at some length in his chapter on 'Agrahāyaṇa'² and concludes that only two beginnings of the year were known to ancient Indo-Aryan literature:—1) from Phālguna (winter solstice), the Nakṣatra being Mṛgaśiras (which T. equates with Agrahāyaṇa), and 2) from Māgha (winter solstice), the Nakṣatra being Kṛttikās (which was the mouth of the Nakṣatra series). In both the cases the year commenced from the vernal equinox.³

B. JACOBI'S ARGUMENTS

71. J. has treated the year-beginning a little differently from T. It has already been pointed out that J. finds, in the Frog Song (*Rv.*, VII. 103) and in Upākaraṇa (mentioned in the Dharma and Gr̥hya Sūtras)⁴, a reference to the year-beginning in the rainy season (Varṣā) in early Vedic times. As to the month with which this season began at that time, J. states that "The full moon in Bhādrapada belongs to the summer solstice in Phālgunī; the first rainy month was therefore Bhādrapada or Prauṣṭhapada, since the summer

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-95

3 *Ibid.*, p. 89

4 See paras 43-48, and 49-56

solstice coincided...with the beginning of the rainy season.”¹ Further, The opening of the schools, therefore, in Prauṣṭhapada appears to go back to earliest times of the *R̥g-veda*, for even then it is likely there was an official scholastic year, in which the sacred science was communicated orally.”²

J. thus finds that “an antiquated usage [Upākarāṇa] has been preserved down to times when the position of the heavenly bodies, and hence, the division of the months among the seasons of the year, have undergone alteration.”³

He therefore expects to find similar traces of change in the more modern Vedic works.⁴ Extensive searches convince him that Kṛttikā is almost always the first in order of Nakṣatras in later Vedic works. For instance, the *Kauṣītaki-Br.*, V. 1, has “ūttare phalgū form the beginning (*mukham*), while the *pūrve phalgū* form the tail (*puccham*) of the year”; and the *Taitt-Br.*, I. 1. 2. 8 : “the *pūrve phālgunī* is called the last night, *jaghanyā rātriḥ*, the *ūttare phālgunī*, on the other hand, is called the first night of the year.”⁵ These indicate, states J., more exactly that there was an older Vedic period, tradition of which is kept up here, when the colure passed through Uttara Phālgunī: and it must not be taken as contemporary testimony.”⁶

72. J. then goes on to deal with the probability of prevalence of two other dates for the beginning of the year. He states that the counter-part of the Varṣā year (which began with a summer solstice), was the Himā year beginning six months earlier [than the previous one] with winter solstice, the first month of which would be Phālguna. J. cites the following in support of his statement :

मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फल्गुर्नोपूर्वमासः ।

Taitt. Sam., VII. 4, 8, 1-2⁷

मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फाल्गुनः ।

Pañcaviṃśa Br., V. 9. 9⁸

73. The third kind of year was the Śarad year, states J., simply mentioned as Śarad in the *R̥gveda*. Such a year began

1-3 *IA* 1894, p. 155

4 *Ibid.*, p. 156

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 155. 156

6 *Ibid.*, p. 156

7 What is phālgunī full-moon is the mouth of this the year.

8 What is phālguna is the mouth of this the year.

with autumnal equinox or with full moon nearest to the same.¹

J. finds himself corroborated by the fact that the first month of the Śarad year is Agrahāyana (meaning 'belonging to the beginning of the year') which is same as Mārgaśīrṣa. "As at that time Mṛigaśīras denoted the vernal equinox, it follows that the autumnal full moon must occur in conjunction with the same sign and that the first month must be Mārgaśīras."²

74. The three sorts of years pointed out by J. have the following initial months for the three divisions of 4 months each,—Caturmāsyaṇi ṛtumukhāni:

Himā year month	Śarad year month	Varṣā year month
I. Phālguna (12th) portion in previous year.	II. Caitra (1st)	III. Vaiśākha (2nd)
II. Āṣāḍha (4th)	III. Śrāvaṇa (5th)	I. Prā- (6th) uṣṭhapada
III. Kārtika (8th)	I. Mārgaśīrṣa (9th)	II. Pauṣa (10th) ³

In explaining the apparent contradiction in Vedic statements about the Caturmāsya ceremony, "inasmuch as all the above three lists are recorded as existing side by side," J. is impelled to conclude that these periods of 4 months cannot be references to actual seasons, for he thinks it to be impossible that within a single period, even if extended to 1000 years or more, one season could have begun in three successive months. "The contradiction, however, disappears if we assume that the division of the year current at the epoch of the *R̥g-veda*, the three kinds of year which have been proved to exist before, were in later times retained for liturgical purposes."⁴

75. J. is satisfied that, "These combinations point, ... without a possibility of error, to a position of the colures, such as we have given for the oldest period, that of the *R̥g-veda*. The later Vedic period introduced a correction, consisting in the transference of the opening point of the year from Mṛigaśīras to Kṛittikā; and it is precisely this circumstance that gives a material significance to the determination,

1 "Now at the time in which the summer solstice was in Uttara-Phalgunī, and the winter solstice was in Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, the autumnal equinox was in Mūla, and the vernal equinox was in Mṛigaśīras."—*IA.*, 1894, p. 156

2-3 *IA.*, 1894, p. 156

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157

for it must have been approximately correct for the time of the correction."¹

76. The tables of Nakṣatras on the basis of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, edited by W., p. 211, are appended by J. to his article.² They are reproduced here. A reference to them shows that the vernal equinox was in the Kṛttikā, and the summer solstice in Māghā about 2500 B.C. J. admits the possibility of an error of five centuries on the part of these early astronomers, so that the period may lie between 3000 and 2000 B.C. In this connection he rejects the evidence of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*, as he thinks that it belongs to a much later date, say, 14th or 15th century B.C.³

77. J. therefore holds that his chief thesis has been proved. "The Vedic texts, properly so called, contain a determination of the colures, which was evidently correct for them, and was only corrected in the *Jyotiṣa*, a determination that leads us to at least the beginning, of the three thousand years B.C. Considerably older than this, even, is the position of the colures, which we may infer for the *R̥g-Veda*, a position which, as our table shews, corresponded to reality about 4500 B.C."⁴

J. states that the *R̥gveda*, as a mature product, may belong to a later date, but he refers to the civilization as extending from about 4500 to 2500 B.C., in the second half of which is to be placed the collection of hymns as they have come down to us.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 157
3-4 *Ibid.*, p. 157

2 *Ibid.*, p. 159

Longitudes of Principal Stars of the Nakstras at various times

No.	Name	560 A.D.	0 B.C.	1000 B.C.	2000 B.C.	3000 B.C.	4000 B.C.	Name of Stars
27	Aśvinī	13·93°	6·70°	353·83°	341·04°	328·31°	315·64°	Arietis
28	Bharanī	26·90	19·67	6·80	354·01	341·28	327·61	Muscae
1	Kṛttikā	39·97	32·74	19·87	7·08	354·35	341·68	Tauri
2	Rohiṇī	49·75	42·52	29·65	16·86	4·13	350·46	Aldebaran
3	Mṛgaśiras	63·67	56·44	43·57	30·78	18·05	5·38	Orionis
4	Ārdrā	68·71	61·48	48·61	35·82	22·09	9·42	Beteigeuze
5	Punarvasu	93·23	86·00	73·13	60·34	47·61	34·94	Polux
6	Puṣya	108·70	101·47	88·60	75·81	63·08	50·41	Cancri
7	Aśleṣā	112·33	105·10	92·3	79·44	66·71	54·04	Hydrae
8	Maghā	129·81	122·58	109·71	96·92	84·19	71·52	Regulus
9	Pūrva Phalgunī	141·25	134·02	121·15	108·36	95·63	82·96	Leonis

No.	Name	560 A.D.	0 B.C.	1000 B. C.	2000 B.C.	3000 B.C.	4000 B.C.	Name of Stars
10	Uttara Phalgunī	151·61	144·38	131·51	118·72	105·99	93·32	Leonis
11	Hasta	173·45	166·22	153·35	40·56	127·83	115·16	Corvi
12	Citrā	183·81	176·58	163·71	150·92	137·19	125·52	Spica
13	Svātī	184·20	176·97	164·10	151·31	138·58	125·91	Arcturus
14	Viśākhā	211·00	203·77	190·90	178·11	165·38	152·71	Librae
15	Anurādhā	222·57	215·34	202·47	189·68	176·95	164·28	Scorpionis
16	Jyeṣṭhā	229·73	222·50	209·63	196·84	183·11	171·44	Antares
17	Mūla	244·55	237·32	224·45	211·66	198·93	186·26	Scorpionis
18	P. Āṣādhā	254·53	247·30	234·43	221·64	208·91	196·24	Sagittariu
19	U. Āṣādhā	262·35	255·12	242·25	229·46	216·73	203·06	"
20	Abhijit	265·25	258·02	245·15	232·36	219·63	206·96	Vega
21	Śravaṇā	281·68	274·45	261·58	248·79	236·06	223·39	Atair
22	Śraviṣṭhā	296·31	289·08	276·21	263·42	250·69	238·02	Delphini
23	Satabhiṣaj	321·25	314·32	301·45	288·66	275·93	263·26	Aquarii
24	P. Bhādrapadā	333·45	326·22	313·35	300·56	287·83	275·16	Pegasi
25	U. Bhādrapadā	349·13	341·90	329·03	316·24	303·51	290·84	Andromedae
26	Revatī	359·83	352·60	339·73	326·93	314·21	301·54	Piscium

Supplementary Tables

I		II	
Degrees	Years	Years	Degrees
1°	78	100	1.28°
2	156	200	2.56
3	234	300	3.84
4	312	400	5.12
5	390	500	6.40
6	469	600	7.68
7	547	700	8.96
8	625	800	10.24
9	703	900	11.52
10	781	1000	12.80
11	859		
12	937		

Note—This table is based on that given by Whitney in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, for A.D. 560. The precession has been calculated according to Bessel. The supplementary Tables serve to determine approximately (i) the longitude for the intervals between the dates mentioned in the large table, and (2) the periods for longitudes not mentioned.¹

C. WHITNEY'S ARGUMENTS

• CRITICISM OF THE VIEWS OF JACOBI AND TILAK

78. W. introduces his subject² by stating that J. and also T.³ arrived at an accordant conclusion, viz. that "the oldest period called Vedic goes back to or into the fifth millennium before Christ—an antiquity as remote as that long recognized for Egyptian civilization, and recently claimed, on good grounds, for that of Mesopotamia also." He calls this a startling novelty; but does not reject the conclusion outright, and demands distinct and unequivocal evidence in its favour before he accepts it.⁴

Whitney states that the fixing of age of the *Rgveda* in the 5th millennium B.C. is a startling novelty.

1 *IA.*, 1894, p. 159

2 "On a recent attempt, by Jacobi and Tilak, to determine on astronomical evidence the date of the Earliest Vedic Period as 4000 B.C".—*IA.*, 1895, pp. 361-369

3 *IA.*, 1895, p. 365

4 *Ibid.*, p. 361

79. He then goes on to make an elaborate survey of the views of J. and T. item by item, but before doing that he puts the general argument of the two scholars briefly thus:

The general argument of Jacobi and Tilak as summarised by Whitney.

“The Hindus (as also the Chinese, the Persians, and the Arabs) had a lunar zodiac of 27 (or 28)

asterisms, rudely marking the successive days of the moon’s circuit of the heavens. Since the establishment of the Hindu science of astronomy, under Greek influence and instruction, in the first centuries of our era, the series of asterisms has been made to begin with Aśvinī (in the head of Aries), for the acknowledged reason that that group was nearest the vernal equinox at the time. But earlier, in the *Brāhmaṇas*, etc., the series always began with Kṛittikā (Pleiades), presumably because, owing to the precession, that group had been nearest to the equinox: and this was the case some two thousand and more years before Christ. Some two thousand and more years yet earlier, the equinox was near to the Mṛigaśiras or the head of Orion; if, therefore, it can be made to appear that the Hindus once began their asterismal system with Mṛigaśiras and because of the latter’s coincidence with the equinox, we shall conclude that they must have done so more than four thousand years before Christ. But the same sum can be worked in terms of months. The Hindu months are lunar, and are named sidereally, each from the asterism in or adjacent to which the moon is full in the given month: but the seasons follow the equinoxes and solstices; hence, the rainy season, for example, began about a month earlier when Aśvinī (Aries) was at the equinox than when Kṛittika (Pleiades) was there, and about two months earlier than when Mṛigaśiras (Orion) was there; and if it can be shown that the year always commenced with a fixed season¹, and has twice changed² its initial month³, [then] Mṛigaśiras (Orion) will thus also be proved to have been at the equinox at a recorded or remembered period in Hindu history. And this, in one of the two alternative methods, or in both combined, is what our two authors attempt to demonstrate.”⁴

(A) WHITNEY ON JACOBI’S VIEWS

80. W. then examines the theory of year-beginning as propounded by J. and T. The former discovers the existence of a

1 (consisting of 2 months)

2 Once when the Mṛgaśiras series began and after that, when the Kṛttikā series began.

3 [of the season consisting of 2 months]

4 *IA.*, 1895, pp. 361-362

Varṣā year in Vedic times from the mention of frogs in Frog-song

(*R̥v.*, VII. 103),¹ and of Upākarāṇa, i.e., commencement of the study of the Veda in the Sūtras.² Whitney does not think that Frog-song (*R̥v.*, VII. 103) or the Upākarāṇa ceremony indicates a Varṣā-year in Vedic times. W. denies that *R̥v.*, VII. 103. 9, on which J. depends, establishes unequivocally the Varṣā year.³ Nor is he convinced that the Sūtrakāras intended to attach the commencement of the study of the Veda to any particular month.⁴

As regards J.'s statement on the connection established by several

of the *Brāhmaṇas* between the two Phalgunīs and the beginning and end of the year, W. makes use of the following Vedic texts.

The *Taittirīya-Saṃhita*, VII. 4. 8 and the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, V. 9. 8 "say simply that 'the full-moon in Phalgunī is the mouth (*mukha*, i. e., beginning) of the year'; this would imply a position of the sun near the western of the two Bhādrapadas (Pegasi, etc), and determine the Phālguna month, beginning 14 days earlier, as the first month."⁵

The *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, V. I makes an almost identical statement with an addition that "the latter (eastern) Phalgu's are the mouth, the former (western) are the tail."⁶

The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, I.6.2 virtually comments on the above when it says that "the former Phalgunī's are the last night of the year, and the latter Phalgunī's are the first night of the year."⁷

The *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 2.2.18 gives a little different version thus: "The full-moon of Phalgunī is the first night of the year—namely, the latter one; the former one is the last [night]."⁸

W.'s comment on the above is as follows: "All this, it seems,

can only mean that, of two successive (nearly) full-moon nights in Phalgunī, the former, when the moon is nearer the former Phalgunī, is the last night of one year, and the other, the first night of the next year; and the only conclusion to be properly drawn from it is that the full-moon of the month Phālguna divides the two years."⁹ According to Whitney, the Indo-Aryans had not attained such astronomical exactitude as would enable them to draw a line between Pūrva and Uttara Phalgunī.

1 Vide paras 43-49

2 Vide paras 50-56

3 See para 46, and also *IA.*, 1895, p. 362

4 See para 52, and also *IA.*, 1895, p. 363

5-9 *IA.*, 1895, p. 363

W. believes that the statement has two parts, but he finds no reason why J. should take the two parts completely, separately by an unaccountable procedure and infer from the one part that Phālguna was recognised by the *Brāhmaṇas* as the first month of the year, and from the other part that summer solstice was determined by the *Brāhmaṇas* to lie between the former and the latter Phalgunī's. He states that the sun in the Phalgunī's had no connection with the problem and that the *Brāhmaṇas* could not be supposed to possess such an astronomical exactitude as would enable them to draw a line between the former and latter Phalgunī's.¹ "What they [i.e., the *Brāhmaṇas*] have really done is bad and blundering enough, but quite of a piece with their general treatment of matters involving astronomical observation. For it is senseless to talk, in connection with the full-moon in Phālguna, of a year-limit between the two Phalgunī's; if the definition would fit the circumstances in a given year, it could not possibly do so in the year following, nor in the year after that, nor even in two years in succession."² W. concedes that these *Brāhmaṇa* passages indicate one of the beginnings of the year in Phālguna, which may be due to various causes "besides the occurrence of the solstice near that group of stars 4000 B.C."³

Whitney admits that one of the year-beginnings may be in Phālguna, according to the *Brāhmaṇas*.

Other year-beginnings were also recognised for four-month sacrifices.

"With their customary looseness in regard to such matters, the ancient Hindus reckoned three, or five, or six, or seven seasons (ṛtu) in the year; and there was no controlling reason why any of these might not have been given the first place—the vacillating relations of the lunar months to the actual seasons adding their share of the confusion."⁴ W. states that ancient four-month sacrifices are of primary importance, and that therefore all that was necessary was to arrange the year with any month as the first month for the convenience of the sacrifice.⁵

81. W. opposes J.'s assertion that "The later Vedic period has applied a correction consisting in the transfer of the initial point to Kṛittikā (the Pleiades); and this very circumstance gives their determination a real significance; it must have been nearly right at

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 364

2-5 *Ibid.*, p. 364

the time of the correction.”¹ W. finds want of candour on the part of J. for not adding a caveat to his former statement to the following effect: “provided the system of asterisms was really of Hindu origin and modification.” W. states that the widely prevalent view among deep scholars, that Hindu asterismal system had no originality, specially as it is found in a large part of Asia, must have been known to J. The only question that remains to be solved by J. is “whether it was brought into India or carried out of India.” Instead of doing that, “what possible grounds has Prof. Jacobi for regarding its Indian origin as so certain that the opposing view has no claim even to be referred to” ? asks W.

82. Some scholars, W. states, are of opinion that the source of knowledge of astronomy possessed by Indo-Aryans was China or Arabia. He himself as well as A. F. Weber looks upon Mesopotamia as the source. “Nothing in the *R̥g-veda* nor in the *Br̥hmanas*, and nothing in later Sanskrit literature, tends in any degree to give us the impression that the ancient Hindus were observers, recorders, and interpreters of astronomical phenomena. On the contrary, their treatment of such facts.....shews the same looseness and heedlessness that is characteristic of Hindu genius everywhere in its relation to objective truth, to successive historical occurrences.”² He finds that in the *R̥gveda* there is no mention of the planets, and concludes from this omission that the Vedic poets were then not in a position to devise any asterismal system. It is true, he admits, that a late hymn or two of the *R̥v.*, and passages in the *Br̥hmanas*, show that the Vedic people knew of a year of 360 days, divided into 12 months of 30 days each,—which gave practically 354 solar days only. But “what their relation to one another, how their differences were reconciled, and by what method either reckoning was kept in unison with the true year, no one knows. The earliest so-called ‘Vedic’ astronomical manual the (*Vedāṅga*), the *Jyotisha*, whose first object, seemingly, it ought to be to give rules on such points, is mostly filled with unintelligible rubbish, and leaves us quite in the lurch as regards valuable information.” A change came, and the Hindu astronomy was grounded on sound basis only when, the Greek

Whitney thinks that the conception of vernal equinox at Kṛttikās is a borrowed one.

Whitney states that ignorance of astronomy in R̥gvedic and later Vedic times is an admitted fact.

According to Whitney, it was in the first century A. D. that Indo-Aryans borrowed a true astronomical science from the Greeks.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 364

2 *Ibid.*, p. 365

influence came over it. And when, not long after the beginning of our era the Hindus had borrowed from Greece a true astronomical science, the product of long continued and accurate observation, they at once proceeded to cast it into an artificial form, founded on assumed and consciously false data, adapting it to purely closet use, with exclusion of further observation : taking in as part of the data a grossly inaccurate determination of the positions of certain selected 'junction-stars' (*yogatārā*) of the asterisms, which positions they called 'dhruva' (fixed), thus virtually denying the precession. That such observers and reasoners as these should have been capable, some four or five thousand years before Christ, of determining, or believing themselves to have determined, the position of the summer solstice as between β and δ Leonis lacks to my mind any semblance of plausibility. 'Instead of shifting the beginning (*mukha*) of the asterismal series from *Mṛigaśiras* (Orion's head) to *Kṛittikā* (Pleiades) in the later Vedic period, I hold it as alone probable that they received the system from abroad with *Kṛittikā* at its head and would probably had retained it in that form until the present-day but for the revolution wrought in their science by Greek teaching. When the beginning was shifted from *Kṛittikā* to *Aśvinī* (Aries), it was for good reason, and owing to the change of position of the equinox ; but the credit of this belongs to the Greeks, and not to the Hindus.'¹

(B) WHITNEY ON TILAK'S VIEWS

83. After the above review of J.'s position in regard to year-beginning, W. examines the relevant portion of T.'s *Orion* chapter by chapter. He accuses T. of attaching undue importance to *Bhagavadgītā*² which, due to its late date and secondary origin, would not be supported by western scholars. He praises T.'s excellent spirit of investigation, "with much and various learning" and "with commendable ingenuity", but all the same he thinks that T.'s arguments are in general "strained, its premises questionable, and the conclusions lacking in solidity."³

Whitney says that Tilak has not been able to prove his thesis that in 5th millennium B.C., the asterism *Mṛigaśiras* was close to vernal equinox.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 365

2 T. is said to have been led to his investigation by Śri Kṛṣṇa's claim in the *Gītā* that he was *Mārgaśīrṣa* among the months.

3 *IA.*, 1895, p. 365

According to W., one of the main objects in view in the *Orion* is the establishment of the fact that the asterism M̥rgāśiras (lit. 'deer's head') with its surroundings, or the constellation Orion with its neighbours, "was a great centre of observation and myth-making in the earliest time even back to the period of Indo-European or Aryan unity—and this, not only because of its conspicuous beauty as a constellation, but also, and principally, for its position close to the vernal equinox in the fifth millennium B.C."¹

84. The second chapter of T.'s *Orion* is called "Sacrifice alias the Year." W. tries to refute T.'s contention in the following way:

Whitney opposes
Tilak's
theory that
Sattra reflects
the year.

"That there is a close relation between natural periods of time and the sacrifices is a matter of course; the morning and evening oblations depend upon the day; the new-moon and full-moon ceremonies, upon the natural month; the four-month or seasonal sacrifices, upon the recognised seasons; and so, when the round of the year had made itself plain, there were established rites to mark its recurrence. But Mr. Tilak appears to hold that the year was fixed and maintained ^{by} and for the sake of the great Sattra ('session') or protracted sacrifice that lasts a whole year."² W. thinks that T. wrongly views³ "the year-sattra as a primitive Indo-European institution, the necessary auxiliary to a calendar", because he forgets that every ceremony of more than 12 days is called a *Sattra*, the *Sattras* being of a great variety of lengths, and because he cannot see that all of them "bespeak of a highly elaborated sacrificial system, implying orders of priests, accumulated wealth, and, one may even say, regulated city life."⁴ He further points out "the utter and palpable mistake of T." in tracing in the *R̥gveda* the two ayanas or halves of the year, "the northern and the southern—those, namely, in which the sun moves respectively northward and southward, from solstice to solstice, or else (for the word has both varieties of application) on the north and on the south of the equator from equinox to equinox",—in other words, *devayāna* and *pitryāna*,

1-2 *Ibid.*, p. 366

3 In support of his contention, W. quotes the following passage from *The Orion*, pp. 13, 14: "Without a yearly *Sattra* regularly kept up, a Vedic Rishi could hardly have been able to ascertain and measure the time in the way he did... The idea of a sacrifice extending over the whole year may be safely supposed to have originated in the old days of the history of the Aryan race."

4 *IA.*, 1895, p. 366

which according to W. have no such meaning. "There is, in fact, nothing yet brought to light in the *Rig-veda* to indicate, or even

Whitney finds that equinoxes and even solstices were unknown at the time of the *R̥gveda*.

intimate, that in its time such things as *ayanas* and equinoxes and solstices, regarded as distances and points in the heavens, had ever been thought of; everything of the kind that the author of the *Orion* thinks to find there is projected into the oldest Veda out of the records of a much later period."

According to W. "this fundamental error of T. is bad enough to vitiate his whole argument."¹

85. In dealing with the next chapter III of the *Orion*, on Whitney admits Kṛttikās, W. admits at once the main point of T. viz. Tilak's main point that in earlier times the Indo-Aryan asterismal system began with Kṛttikās; but denies that Mṛgaśiras series was known to them that "in the earlier time the asterismal system began with Kṛttikā (Pleiades) instead of Aśvinī (Aries) which is conceded by every one."² His complaint is against T.'s bare mention (p. 6) of the crucial question of the origin of the system, though, according to W., he had no other alternative. For, "if he is in a position, as he claims, to prove that India had a yet earlier system beginning with Mṛgaśiras (Orion), he has demonstrated the Hindu origin."³ W. points out that a considerable part of the chapter is taken up in fully quoting, translating and discussing two parallel passages from the *Taittirīya* and *Kauṣṭiki Brāhmaṇas*,⁴ determining the different times of consecration [Dīkṣā] for the year-long Sattrā, and concludes that the four different times are;

- (1) the last quarter in the month of Māgha (Ekāṣṭakā);
- (2) the full-moon of the following month Phālguna;
- (3) the full-moon of the next month Caitra,
- (4) four days before the full-moon (i.e. of Caitra: but some authorities regard Māgha as intended in the texts). W. states that T. rejects the above first two dates, because they are inconvenient due to cold and other causes and approves of the other two (actually one)⁵.

The explanation regarding the four different times of consecration in the year-long Sattrā as prescribed in the literatures.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 366

2-3 *Ibid.*, p. 367

4 This is a mistake. T. uses the *Taitt. Saṃ* and *Tāṇḍya Br.* for his purpose, and not *Taitt. Br.* and *Kāuṣ. Br.* For the omission of the *Kāuṣ. Br.*, Th. criticises T. later on.

86. W. condemns T.'s dependence on the passages quoted from the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.*, by stating that "there is nothing to be fairly inferred from these quoted passages except that considerable diversity prevailed in practice, and was allowed, as regards time for commencing the Sattrā and that the element of astronomical exactness did not enter into the case at all".¹ This conclusion of W. is based on his belief that T. was unable to establish three important data mentioned below. They, as W. says, would have been, if proved, valid premises for T.'s conclusion. The three data which require to be proved are :—

- (1) "If, this Sattrā were, as Mr. Tilak assumes, a counterpart of the year, established in primeval times on competent astronomical knowledge, for the purpose of keeping the calendar straight, and accordingly adapted precisely to the movements of the sun;
- (2) "and if the *Vishuvant* or central day (with 180 days of ceremonies in a certain order preceding it, and 180 days of the same in a reverse order following it), were attached necessarily to an equinox, because the word *Vishuvant* implies an equal division of the day between light and darkness; and
- (3) "if there were no way of explaining the series of alternative beginnings excepting by recognizing two of them as conservative traditions from times that fitted these astronomical conditions;—

then, and only then, we could use them as sufficient data, inferring from them the positions of the equinox, and hence, the epochs, at which they were successively established. But all these necessary conditions appear to be wanting.....So far as any preference is shown in connection with the incidence of the *Vishuvant* day, it is for the solstice instead of the equinox, And the texts which set forth the different dates side by side are plainly unaware of any deeper reason for the choice of one instead of another."²

1 For the passages, see para 60.

2 *IA.*, 1895, p. 366

